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FOR READY REFERENCE
READING AND RESEARCH

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ВЕСЕЛІІЦО БЕРУЧІІЦА БОВ ДНЕ ДИВЛА ДІУВЪ, МУВ ІЗ СЕРЦУМІ.

RECRUITING PEASANTS FOR THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR IN GERMANY

THE NEW LARNED HISTORY

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STUDIES AND DRAWINGS BY ALAN C. REILEY AND OTHERS

IN 12 VOLUMES

VOL. IV.—ELEC TO FROB



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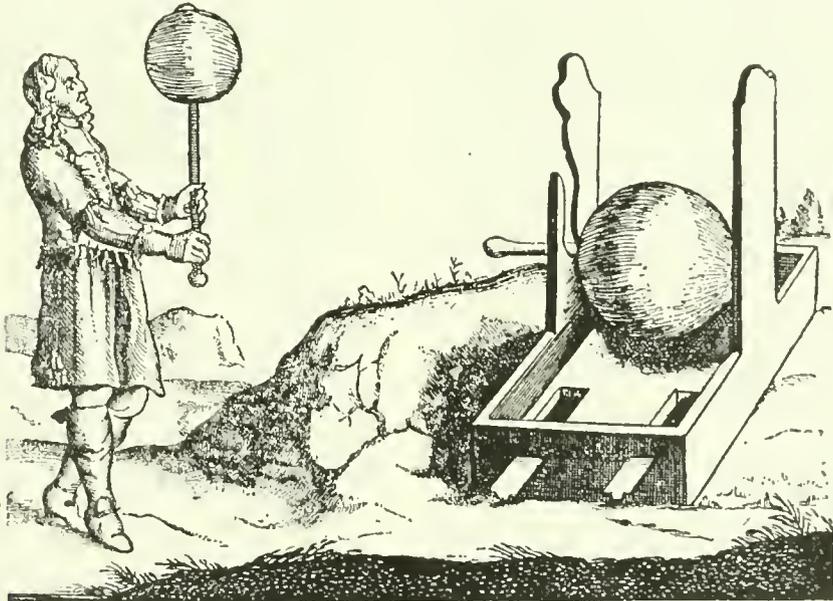
FOR READY REFERENCE, READING AND RESEARCH

VOLUME IV

ELECTRICAL DISCOVERY AND INVENTION

Early experiments.—That amber when rubbed attracts light bodies was known in the earliest times. "It is the one single experiment in electricity which has come down to us from the remotest antiquity. . . . The power of certain fishes, notably what is known as the 'torpedo,' to produce electricity, was known at an early period, and was commented on by Pliny and Aristotle." Until the sixteenth century there was no scientific study of

master of Magdeburg, Otto von Guericke. The latter first noted the sound and light accompanying electrical excitation. These were afterwards independently discovered by Dr. Wall, an Englishman, who made the somewhat prophetic observation, "This light and crackling seems in some degree to represent thunder and lightning." Sir Isaac Newton made a few experiments in electricity, which he exhibited to the Royal Society. . . .



THE ORIGINAL ELECTRICAL MACHINE OF VON GUERICKE

A globe of sulphur was rotated on an axis, and electricity produced by the friction of the hands held against the globe

these phenomena. "Dr. Gilbert can justly be called the creator of the science of electricity and magnetism. His experiments were prodigious in number. . . . To him we are indebted for the name 'electricity,' which he bestowed upon the power or property which amber exhibited in attracting light bodies, borrowing the name from the substance itself, in order to define one of its attributes. . . . This application of experiment to the study of electricity, begun by Gilbert three hundred years ago, was industriously pursued by those who came after him, and the next two centuries witnessed a rapid development of science. Among the earlier students of this period were the English philosopher, Robert Boyle, and the celebrated burgo-

Francis Hawksbee was an active and useful contributor to experimental investigation, and he also called attention to the resemblance between the electric spark and lightning. The most ardent student of electricity in the early years of the eighteenth century was Stephen Gray. He performed a multitude of experiments, nearly all of which added something to the rapidly accumulating stock of knowledge, but doubtless his most important contribution was his discovery of the distinction between conductors and non-conductors. . . . Some of Gray's papers fell into the hands of Dufay, an officer of the French army, who, after several years' service, had resigned his post to devote himself to scientific pursuits. . . . His most

important discovery was the existence of two distinct species of electricity, which he named 'vitreous' and 'resinous.' . . . A very important advance was made in 1745 in the invention of the Leyden jar or phial. As has so many times happened in the history of scientific discovery, it seems tolerably certain that this interesting device was hit upon by at least three persons, working independently of each other. One Cuneus, a monk named Kleist, and Professor Muschenbroeck, of Leyden, are all accredited with the discovery. . . . Sir William Watson perfected it by adding the outside metallic coating, and was by its aid enabled to fire gunpowder and other inflammables."—T. C. Mendenhall, *Century of electricity*, ch. 1.

1745-1747.—Franklin's identification of electricity with lightning.—"In 1745 Mr. Peter Collinson of the Royal Society sent a [Leyden] jar to the Library Society of Philadelphia, with instructions how to use it. This fell into the hands of Benjamin Franklin, who at once began a series of electrical experiments. On March 28, 1747, Franklin began his famous letters to Collinson. . . . In these letters he propounded the single-fluid theory of electricity, and referred all electric phenomena to its accumulation in bodies in quantities more than their natural share, or to its being withdrawn from them so as to leave them minus their proper portion." Meantime, numerous experiments with the Leyden jar had convinced Franklin of the identity of lightning and electricity, and he set about the demonstration of the fact. "The account given by Dr. Stuber of Philadelphia, an intimate personal friend of Franklin, and published in one of the earliest editions of the works of the great philosopher, is as follows:—'The plan which he had originally proposed was to erect on some high tower, or other elevated place, a sentry-box, from which should rise a pointed iron rod, insulated by being fixed in a cake of resin. Electrified clouds passing over this would, he conceived, impart to it a portion of their electricity, which would be rendered evident to the senses by sparks being emitted when a key, a knuckle, or other conductor was presented to it. Philadelphia at this time offered no opportunity of trying an experiment of this kind. Whilst Franklin was waiting for the erection of a spire, it occurred to him that he might have more ready access to the region of clouds by means of a common kite. He prepared one by attaching two cross-sticks to a silk handkerchief, which would not suffer so much from the rain as paper. To his upright stick was fixed an iron point. The string was, as usual, of hemp, except the lower end, which was silk. Where the hempen string terminated, a key was fastened. With this apparatus, on the appearance of a thunder-gust approaching, he went into the common, accompanied by his son, to whom alone he communicated his intentions, well knowing the ridicule which, too generally for the interest of science, awaits unsuccessful experiments in philosophy. He placed himself under a shed to avoid the rain. His kite was raised. A thunder-cloud passed over it. No signs of electricity appeared. He almost despaired of success, when suddenly he observed the loose fibres of his string move toward an erect position. He now pressed his knuckle to the key, and received a strong spark. Repeated sparks were drawn from the key, a phial was charged, a shock given, and all the experiments made which are usually performed with electricity.' And thus the identity of lightning and electricity was proved. . . . Franklin's proposition to erect lightning rods which would convey the lightning to the ground, and so protect the buildings to

which they were attached, found abundant opponents. . . . Nevertheless, public opinion became settled . . . that they did protect buildings. . . . Then the philosophers raised a new controversy as to whether the conductors should be blunt or pointed; Franklin, Cavendish, and Watson advocating points, and Wilson blunt ends. . . . The logic of experiment, however, showed the advantage of pointed conductors; and people persisted then in preferring them, as they have done ever since."—P. Benjamin, *Age of electricity*, ch. 3.

1784-1800.—Discoveries of Coulomb Galvani and Volta.—In 1784 Coulomb devised the torsion balance, by means of which he was enabled to discover the law bearing his name; "the force exerted between two small electrified bodies varies inversely as the square of the distance between them." "The fundamental experiment which led to the discovery of dynamical electricity [1786] is due to Galvani, professor of anatomy in Bologna. Occupied with investigations on the influence of electricity on the nervous excitability of animals, and especially of the frog, he observed that when the lumbar nerves of a dead frog were connected with the crural muscles by a metallic circuit, the latter became briskly contracted. . . . Galvani had some time before observed that the electricity of machines produced in dead frogs analogous contractions, and he attributed the phenomena first described to an electricity inherent in the animal. He assumed that this electricity, which he called vital fluid, passed from the nerves to the muscles by the metallic arc, and was thus the cause of contraction. This theory met with great support, especially among physiologists, but it was not without opponents. The most considerable of these was Alexander Volta, professor of physics in Pavia. Galvani's attention had been exclusively devoted to the nerves and muscles of the frog; Volta's was directed upon the connecting metal. Resting on the observation, which Galvani had also made, that the contraction is more energetic when the connecting arc is composed of two metals than where there is only one, Volta attributed to the metals the active part in the phenomenon of contraction. He assumed that the disengagement of electricity was due to their contact, and that the animal parts only officiated as conductors, and at the same time as a very sensitive electroscop. By means of the then recently invented electroscop, Volta devised several modes of showing the disengagement of electricity on the contact of metals. . . . A memorable controversy arose between Galvani and Volta. The latter was led to give greater extension to his contact theory, and propounded the principle that when two heterogeneous substances are placed in contact, one of them always assumes the positive and the other the negative electrical condition. In this form Volta's theory obtained the assent of the principal philosophers of his time."—A. Ganot, *Elementary treatise on physics* (Tr. by Atkinson), bk. 10, ch. 1.—Volta's theory, however, though somewhat misleading, did not prevent his making what was probably the greatest step in the science up to this time, in the invention (about 1800) of the Voltaic pile, the first generator of electrical energy by chemical means, and the forerunner of the vast number of types of the modern "battery." Further means of generating electrical energy were discovered in the early part of the nineteenth century through the work of Oersted and Ampère. (See below: 1820-1825.)

1803-1905.—Storage cell.—"It is stated that Gautherot [in 1801] . . . found that platinum or silver electrodes would give a current of short

duration after the electrolysis of water. In 1803 Ritter noted the same thing (using gold wires), and constructed the first secondary battery, plates of gold and discs of cloth moistened with ammonia. Some knowledge of the subject was contributed by Volta himself, by Davy and by Marianini, and in 1837 Schoenbein used 'suboxide of lead.' Work with oxides of lead was done by Grove, Wheatstone, Siemens, and Faraday, and in 1842 Grove attracted attention to his 'gas battery' of fifty cells, which was powerful enough to produce an arc light. The commercial development of the storage cell dates from 1860 in the work of Planté who used the lead, lead oxide, sulphuric acid combination. Others have tried lead-copper, lead-zinc, and copper-iron (alkaline zincate solution), but the only important improvement in the lead cell since the time of Planté was that of 'pasting' (which now means shortening the time of 'forming' the plates by having pellets of lead salts forced into holes in the plates, sometimes by a hydraulic press). This was made a commercial success by Faure in 1870, but the process had been invented by Metzger previously. It was invented independently in this country, and the U. S. courts gave the decision for priority to Brush. The only radical change since then has been the development (about 1905) of the nickel-iron cell by Edison. (The solids are nickel oxide and iron, the liquid is a solution of caustic potash containing a little lithium hydrate.) Its advantages are that it is much lighter, will stand a high charging rate, and is not injured by lying idle when discharged."—A. L. Jordan, *Short stories of great inventions* (*School Science and Mathematics*, Apr., 1917).

1815-1921.—Electric furnaces.—Thermo-electric industries.—Reduction of aluminum.—Carborundum.—"Electric heating dates from the time of Volta and Davy, but the first experiment in electrometallurgy was the production of cementation steel [steel hardened in carbon packing under the influence of long continued heat] by William Pepys (Eng.) about 1815. It was not until 1853 that attempts at electric furnaces were made, one in England by J. H. Johnson, another in France by Pichou. These were commercial failures. The first furnace attracting public attention was that of William Siemens in 1878, where the molten metal formed one electrode. The Cowles Brothers (Eng.) in 1884 and 1885 finally succeeded in the production of aluminum alloys, and aluminum itself was made (by a combination of the electrolytic and heating effects) by Hall in America and Heroult in France, in 1886 or 1887. Elihu Thomson patented a resistance furnace in 1886, Borchers (Ger.) produced a successful one in 1891, and DeLaval made an attempt in 1892. In 1892 also, Moissan, using an arc furnace and employing the marvelous non-conducting properties of quick-lime, produced calcium carbide; while Acheson, using a resistance furnace, discovered the well-known abrasive carborundum. This was followed by the commercial production of calcium carbide (whence the making of acetylene gas) by Willson in 1895. A new type, the induction furnace, useful where iron free from carbon is desired, was invented by Ferranti in Italy and Colby in America in 1897. Work along similar lines was done by Stassano (It.), 1898; Kjellin (Swedish), 1900; Hjorth (Swedish), 1904; Frick (Eng.), 1904; and Girod (Fr.), about 1905."—A. L. Jordan, *Short stories of great inventions* (*School Science and Mathematics*, Apr., 1917).—"There are clustered at Niagara a number of unique industrial establishments, the importance of which will undoubtedly increase rapidly. In the carborundum factory we find huge furnaces heated

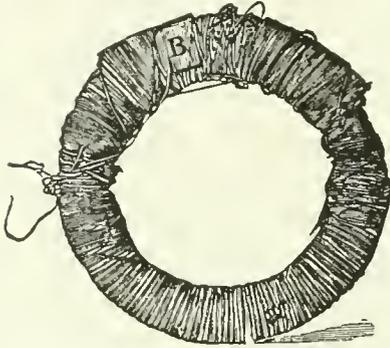
by the passage of electric current, and attaining temperatures far beyond those of the ordinary combustion of fuel. These electric furnaces produce carborundum, a new abrasive nearly as hard as the diamond, which is a combination of carbon and silicon, unknown before the electric furnace gave it birth. Sand and coke are the raw substances for its production, and these are acted upon by the excessively high heat necessary to form the new product, already in extensive use for grinding hard materials. The metal aluminum, which not many years ago cost \$2 an ounce, is . . . produced on a large scale . . . and sold at a price which makes it, bulk for bulk, cheaper than brass. Here, again, electricity is the agent; but in this case its power of electrolyzing or breaking up strong chemical unions is employed. . . . Works for the production of metallic sodium and other metals similarly depend upon the decompositions effected by the electric current. Solutions of ordinary salt or brine are electrolyzed on a large scale in extensive works established for the purpose. . . . The very high temperature which exists in an electric arc, or between the carbons of an arc lamp, has in recent years found application in the manufacture of another important compound, which was formerly but slightly known as a chemical difficult to prepare. Carbide of calcium is the compound referred to, and large works for its production exist at Niagara. Here again, as in the carborundum works, raw materials of the simplest and cheapest kind are acted upon in what may be termed an electric-arc furnace. Coke, or carbon, and lime are mixed and charged into a furnace in which an enormous electric arc is kept going. . . . The importance of carbide of calcium rests in the fact that, by contact with water, it produces acetylene gas. The illuminating power of this gas, when burned, is its remarkable property."—*Electrical advance in ten years* (*Forum*, Jan., 1898).—"At the intensely high temperature of the electric arc the nitrogen of the air can be made to burn, and from the gas so formed nitric acid can be made. To do this on a large scale a very special kind of arc is required. In one process, the Birke-land Eyde, the arc is a great flat disk of flame about six feet across. In another, the Schönherr, the arc is produced in a tube, and is as much as twenty feet long. Nitric acid is used for making nearly all the explosives used in modern war; without it, armies would be of but little use."—C. Hall, *Triumphs of invention*, pp. 159, 181.—Since the beginning of the twentieth century electric furnaces have been used in an increasing degree, in the manufacture of steel. This is especially the case in the production of the hard steel alloys of, e.g., tungsten, chrome, nickel, vanadium steel, but also in making steel for rails. In 1921, J. A. Fleming, in "Fifty years of electricity," stated that at that time there were in existence electric furnaces which were capable of producing 200 tons of steel per day per furnace.

1820-1825.—Oersted, Ampère, and the discovery of the electro-magnet.—"There is little chance . . . that the discoverer of the magnet, or the discoverer and inventor of the magnetic needle, will ever be known by name, or that even the locality and date of the discovery will ever be determined. . . . The magnet and magnetism received their first scientific treatment at the hands of Dr. Gilbert. During the two centuries succeeding the publication of his work, the science of magnetism was much cultivated. . . . The development of the science went along parallel with that of the science of electricity . . . although the latter was more fruitful in novel discoveries and unex-

pected applications than the former. It is not to be imagined that the many close resemblances of the two classes of phenomena were allowed to pass unnoticed. . . . There was enough resemblance to suggest an intimate relation; and the connecting link was sought for by many eminent philosophers during the last years of the eighteenth and the earlier years of the present century."—T. C. Mendenhall, *Century of electricity*, ch. 3.—"The effect which an electric current, flowing in a wire, can exercise upon a neighbouring compass needle was discovered by Oersted in 1820. This first announcement of the possession of magnetic properties by an electric current was followed speedily by the researches of Ampère, Arago, Davy, and by the devices of several other experimenters, including De la Rive's floating battery and coil, Schweigger's multiplier, Cumming's galvanometer, Faraday's apparatus for rotation of a permanent magnet, Marsh's vibrating pendulum and Barlow's rotating star-wheel. But it was not until 1825 that the electromagnet was invented. Arago announced, on 25th September, 1820, that a copper wire uniting the poles of a voltaic cell, and consequently trav-

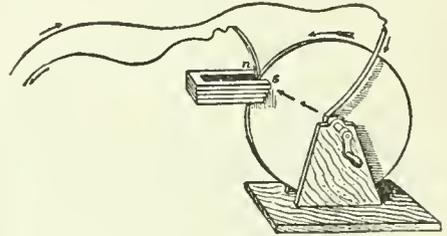
steel needles upon which he was experimenting, and had shown that the flow of electricity around the coil could confer magnetic power upon the steel needles. . . . The electromagnet, in the form which can first claim recognition . . . was devised by William Sturgeon, and is described by him in the paper which he contributed to the Society of Arts in 1825."—S. P. Thompson, *Electromagnet*, ch. 1.

1823-1921.—Dynamo-electrical machines.—"A dynamo-electrical machine is one which converts mechanical into electrical energy, or vice-versa, by means of the relative motion of a conductor carrying an electric current, and an interlinked magnetic field. When the conversion is from mechanical to electrical energy, the machine is called a generator; and when the conversion is from electrical to mechanical energy, the machine is called a motor."—F. B. Crocker, *Dynamo-electric machinery*, p. 1.—Induction was discovered in 1831 by Michael Faraday, who used for his later experiments an iron ring wound with copper wire, the forerunner of the great dynamos of our time. From this beginning he worked in to what he called a new electrical machine. "A disc of copper was mounted



FARADAY'S ANCHOR RING

With which he discovered the induction of electric current

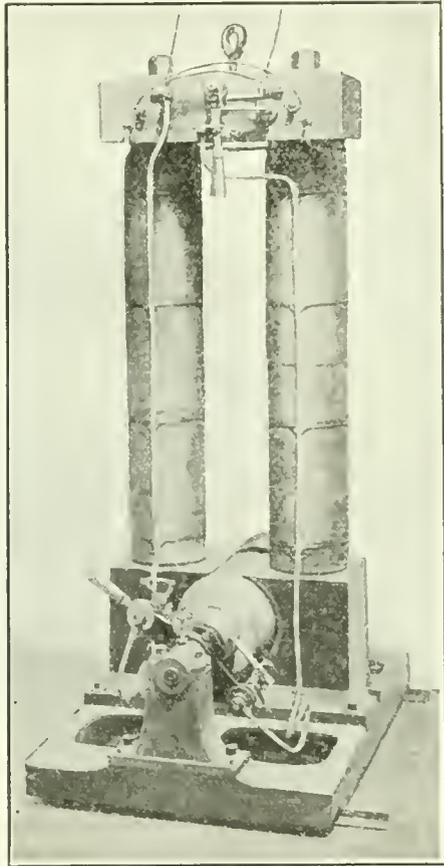
FARADAY'S FIRST ELECTRIC GENERATOR,
PRODUCING DIRECT CURRENTS

ersed by an electric current, could attract iron filings to itself laterally. In the same communication he described how he had succeeded in communicating permanent magnetism to steel needles laid at right angles to the copper wire, and how, on showing this experiment to Ampère, the latter had suggested that the magnetizing action would be more intense if for the straight copper wire there were substituted one wrapped in a helix, in the centre of which the steel needle might be placed. This suggestion was at once carried out by the two philosophers. 'A copper wire wound in a helix was terminated by two rectilinear portions which could be adapted, at will, to the opposite poles of a powerful horizontal voltaic pile; a steel needle wrapped up in paper was introduced into the helix.' 'Now, after some minutes' sojourn in the helix, the steel needle had received a sufficiently strong dose of magnetism.' Arago then wound upon a little glass tube some short helices, each about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, coiled alternately right-handedly and left-handedly, and found that on introducing into the glass tube a steel wire, he was able to produce 'consequent poles' at the places where the winding was reversed. Ampère, on October 23rd, 1820, read a memoir, claiming that these facts confirmed his theory of magnetic actions. Davy had, also, in 1820, surrounded with temporary coils of wire the

as shown in [the figure] . . . on a conducting axle and arranged to be turned between the poles of a strong horseshoe permanent magnet. The edge of the disc and a portion of the axle were carefully amalgamated and strips of lead adjusted to make sliding contact on the amalgamated surfaces. As the disc was turned, the successive radii connecting the axle with the point of the edge in contact with the outer lead strip or brush became virtually successive wires moved through the magnetic field, and a continuous flow of current in one direction resulted. If the direction of rotation reversed, the current direction also reversed. A new electric machine indeed! . . . Here was a true electric generator producing—in a very small amount, it is true, but nevertheless, producing—the same unidirectional flow of electricity which under the name *direct current* is supplying nearly all the electric care and many of the lights and motors of this electric age."—W. A. Durgin, *Electricity*, pp. 61-62.—This "discovery of induction by Faraday, in 1831, gave rise to the construction of magneto-electro machines. The first of such machines that was ever made was probably a machine that never came into practical use, the description of which was given in a letter, signed 'P. M.,' and directed to Faraday, published in the *Philosophical Magazine* of 2nd August, 1832. We learn from this description that

the essential parts of this machine were six horse-shoe magnets attached to a disc, which rotated in front of six coils of wire wound on bobbins." Sept. 3rd, 1832, Pixii constructed a machine in which a single horse-shoe magnet was made to rotate before two soft iron cores, wound with wire. In this machine he introduced the commutator, an essential element in all modern continuous current machines. "Almost at the same time, Ritchie, Saxton, and Clarke constructed similar machines. Clarke's is the best known, and is still popular in the small and portable 'medical' machines so commonly sold. . . . A larger machine [was] constructed by Stöhrer (1843), on the same plan as Clarke's, but with six coils instead of two, and three compound magnets instead of one. . . . The machines, constructed by Nollet (1849) and Shepard (1856) had still more magnets and coils. Shepard's machine was modified by Van Malderen, and was called the Alliance machine. . . . Dr. Werner Siemens, while considering how the inducing effect of the magnet can be most thoroughly utilised, and how to arrange the coils in the most efficient manner for this purpose, was led in 1857 to devise the cylindrical armature. . . . Sinsteden in 1851 pointed out that the current of the generator may itself be utilised to excite the magnetism of the field magnets. . . . Wilde [in 1863] carried out this suggestion by using a small steel permanent magnet and larger electro magnets. . . . The next great improvement of these machines arose from the discovery of what may be called the dynamo-electric principle. This principle may be stated as follows:—For the generation of currents by magneto-electric induction it is not necessary that the machine should be furnished with permanent magnets; the residual or temporary magnetism of soft iron quickly rotating is sufficient for the purpose. . . . In 1867 the principle was clearly enunciated and used simultaneously, but independently, by Siemens and by Wheatstone. . . . It was in February, 1867, that Dr. C. W. Siemens' classical paper on the conversion of dynamical into electrical energy without the aid of permanent magnetism was read before the Royal Society. Strangely enough, the discovery of the same principle was enunciated at the same meeting of the Society by Sir Charles Wheatstone. . . . The starting-point of a great improvement in dynamo-electric machines was the discovery by Pacinotti of the ring armature . . . in 1860. . . . Gramme, in 1871, modified the ring armature, and constructed the first machine, in which he made use of the Gramme ring and the dynamic principle. In 1872, Hefner-Alteneck, of the firm of Siemens and Halske, constructed a machine in which the Gramme ring is replaced by a drum armature, that is to say, by a cylinder round which wire is wound. . . . Either the Pacinotti-Gramme ring armature, or the Hefner-Alteneck drum armature, is now adopted by nearly all constructors of dynamo-electric machines, the parts varying of course in minor details."—A. R. von Urbanitzky, *Electricity in the service of man*, pp. 227-242.—"The motor historically precedes either the magneto or dynamo electric generator. Barlow's wheel of 1823, the first electric motor, was similar in construction to Faraday's disc of 1831, which was the original magneto electric generator. The Jacobi electric motor of 1838 was large enough to propel a boat carrying fourteen passengers at three miles an hour, and Page in 1851 constructed a car driven by a sixteen horse power electric motor at nineteen miles per hour, [whereas the dynamo-electric machine was not invented by C. W. Siemens and Wheatstone until 1867]. These as well as other electrical motors of those early times were far more

powerful and were regarded as more practical or more promising than the contemporaneous magneto-electric generators. The Pacinotti ring of 1861, the prototype of modern armatures, was primarily intended to be used as a motor, although the inventor suggested that it could also be used to generate electric currents. All of these early electric motors depended upon primary batteries for their supply of electrical energy, and it was found that the cost of operation was excessive for any considerable power. . . . The result was that the motor had to stand aside while the generator was being developed to commercial success, which development began about 1880 [after the production

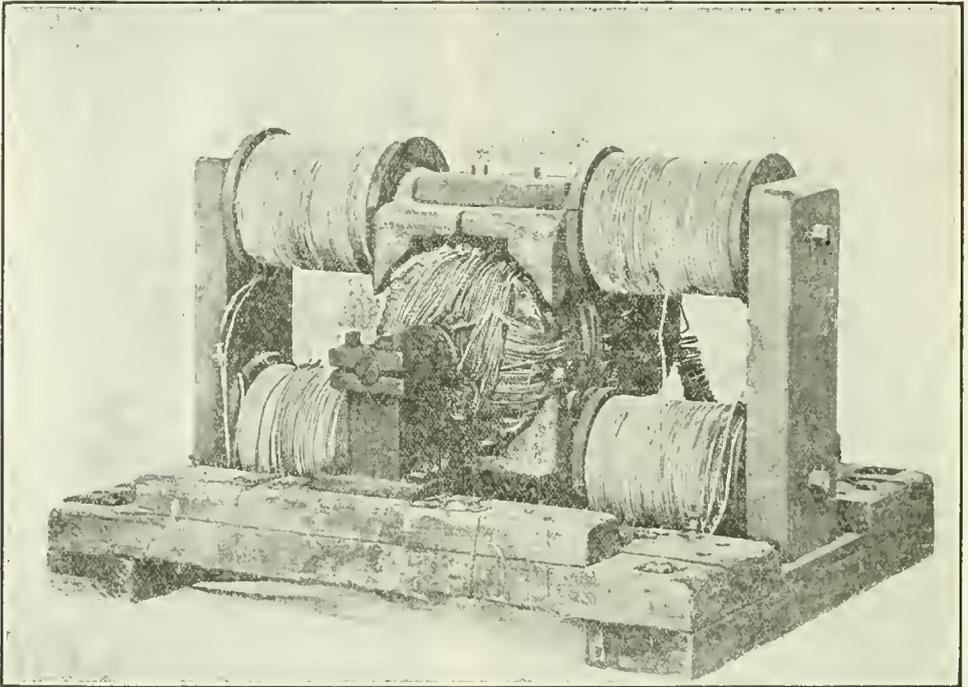


EARLY EDISON "Z" GENERATOR BUILT IN 1883

of Edison's generator of 1870]. Even then the electrical energy produced was used entirely for arc and incandescent lighting. In fact, it was not until 1887 that central stations with their system of distribution had become sufficiently large and well enough regulated so that the use of electric motors was encouraged, or even permitted, except in a few cases. . . . Electric light having been practically introduced, and more or less generally established, inventors, manufacturers, also those who produced electrical energy, turned some attention to electrical power, which, from about 1888, has been a prominent part of electrical engineering, including railway as well as stationary motors. The former type, also the induction and synchronous alternating-current motors, began to be introduced . . . about that time or soon after. Since this compara-

tively recent epoch, the progress of electric power in all its branches has been at an extraordinarily rapid rate and with most far-reaching results, unequalled by any other art or industry, in anything like the same period of time."—F. B. Crocker, and M. Arendt, *Electric motors*, pp. 1-2.—"The compounding feature was set forth in theory by John Hopkinson (Eng.) in 1870, but the first commercial machine is said to have been built by Brush. The compound dynamo invention has been claimed for Sinsteden (1871), Varley (1876), Field, Edison, and Siemens, separately (during 1880), Swan (1882), Swinburne (1882), Shuckert (1883), and was patented by Crompton & Kapp in England. The advantages of lamination date from the work of Foucault on 'eddy currents' in 1850, but were pointed out in connection with dynamos by Gramme. A patent on laminated construction

gan to come into commercial use, it was discovered that any one of the modern machines designed as a generator of currents constituted a far more efficient electric motor than any of the previous forms which had been designed specially as motors. It required no new discovery of the law of reversibility to enable the electrician to understand this; but to convince the world required actual experiment."—A. Guillemin, *Electricity and magnetism*, pt. 2, ch. 10, sect. 3.—"The fact is that every dynamo can be made to run as a motor. Faraday's discovery (1831), that a conductor moved in a magnetic field has a current induced in it, was the reverse of his experiment (1821) where a magnet rotated about a wire carrying current; but Lenz (1838) seems to have been the first to recognize that fact. The real reversibility of an actual dynamo was shown by Jacobi in 1850. This did



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TWO-PHASE ALTERNATING DYNAMO, BUILT IN 1878 BY ELIHU THOMSON

was taken out in this country by Edward Weston in 1882. This long list may well close with mention of the work of Lord Kelvin, who assisted in developing the modern dynamo (1881); of Gordon, who built large two-phase machines in the same year; of Elihu Thomson, who patented the interpole or commutating-pole dynamo in 1885, this being a modern form of the 'slotted-pole' dynamo suggested by the late Silvanus P. Thompson several years before."—A. L. Jordan, *Short stories of great inventions* (*School Science and Mathematics*, Mar., 1917).—"It has been known for . . . years that every form of electric motor which operated on the principle of mutual mechanical force between a magnet and a conducting wire or coil could also be made to act as a generator of induced currents by the reverse operation of producing the motion mechanically. And when, starting from the researches of Siemens, Wilde, Nollet, Holmes and Gramme, the modern forms of magneto-electric and dynamo-electric machines be-

not become generally known, and it was independently discovered by Pacinotti (1864) and by Rowland in America. Another story has it that it was stumbled upon at the Vienna Exposition of 1873 by a workman who connected two leads (not knowing them to be alive) to a dynamo, which at once ran as a motor. By some, the discovery is credited to Fontaine and Gramme [1870]."—A. L. Jordan, *Short stories of great inventions* (*School Science and Mathematics*, Apr., 1917).—"Galileo Ferraris, in Italy, and Nikola Tesla, in the United States, brought out motors operating by systems of alternating currents displaced from one another in phase by definite amounts and producing what is known as the rotating magnetic field. The result of the introduction of polyphase systems has been the ability to transmit power economically for considerable distances, and, as this directly operated to make possible the utilization of water-power in remote places and the distribution of power over large areas, the immediate outcome of

the polyphase system was power transmission; and the outcome of power transmission almost surely will be the gradual supersession of coal and the harnessing of the waste forces of Nature to do useful work."—*Electrical Review*, Jan. 12, 1901.—The following is a description of Tesla's invention: "If the north and south poles of a small horseshoe magnet be suspended over a bar of soft iron free to revolve in a horizontal plane, or be placed over an ordinary compass-needle, the latter will be attracted at either end by the poles of the magnet and take up a position parallel to a straight line drawn between the two poles of the magnet. Now if the latter be revolved through any angle the soft iron or needle will follow, being dragged around by the magnet, and if the magnet be caused to revolve regularly the iron will also revolve, being pulled around by the full force of the magnet. It was not feasible, however, to cause the magnet to revolve in this way, and Tesla's invention consisted in obviating this trouble and, in fact, greatly simplifying the problem. He conceived the idea that if he took an iron ring and used two alternating currents, one of which had its maximum value at the instant that the other had a zero value—or, in other words, two currents whose periods were such that one waned as the other increased—he could produce in that iron ring by winding these circuits in alternate coils surfaces that without any mechanical movement of the parts would travel around that ring with a rapidity equal to the number of changes of direction of the currents employed. He thus had a ring, the north and south poles of which were rapidly revolving just as would the poles of the horseshoe magnet were it tied at its middle to a twisted string and allowed to revolve. A piece of iron pivoted at its middle placed concentric with this ring would therefore be dragged around by the changing poles of the ring. He had thus discovered what is somewhat awkwardly expressed by the expression 'the rotary magnetic field,' and also the use of what have been termed 'polyphased currents'—the one referring to the magnetism and the other to the combination of currents by which this changing magnetism was produced. This discovery is undoubtedly one of the most important that has ever been made within the domain of alternating currents."—N. W. Perry, *Engineering Magazine*, v. 7, p. 780.—See also AUTOMOBILES: 1858-1010; 1889-1005.

ALSO IN: S. P. Thompson, *Dynamo-electrical machines*.

1825-1921.—Development of the electro-magnet.—"Take an iron bar . . . and wind round it spiral coils of copper wire . . . spun over with silk or cotton to insulate the turns. Connect the ends of this wire to a battery . . . and the iron instantly becomes a powerful magnet. . . . Such an arrangement is called an *electro-magnet*, and it was first given to us by an English electrician, William Sturgeon, in 1825, who employed, however, a winding consisting of only a single layer of rather thick copper wire. Joseph Henry, . . . in the United States, bestowed on the electro-magnet additional powers by winding it with very many turns of fine silk-covered copper wire. J. P. Joule, a British engineer, invented divers forms of improved electro-magnets about 1840 remarkable for their great power of lifting other masses of iron. Large electro-magnets made on Joule's principles are now (1921) in common use in engineering works, and are used for lifting heavy masses of iron and materials such as scrap iron . . . [as well as in breaking up large masses of scrap metal by lifting heavy iron weights which, when the current is cut off from the magnet, drops with smashing force on

the material to be broken up.] The electro-magnet, in some form or another, is the basis of all modern electric telegraphy, of telephony, of machines for generating electric currents by mechanical power called dynamos, of electric motors, electric bells, induction coils, and countless other appliances used in 'everyday life.'—J. A. Fleming, *Fifty years of electricity*, pp. 1-2.—"They are used for drawing a bit of steel dust out of a man's eye [or a steel fragment from a wound] and for magnetic cranes which will hold up a weight of many tons. Edison invented a magnetic separator for sorting out iron ores. The broken ore has to pass through an apparatus containing electro-magnets. First comes a set of magnets just strong enough to pick out the richest kind of ore, known as magnetite; then a stronger set which separates . . . hematite, and the useless residue passes on and is got rid of."—C. Hall, *Triumphs of invention*, p. 150.

1831-1921.—Transformers.—Alternating current instruments.—"The transformer was really discovered by Faraday in 1831, but it did not become of industrial value until 1882, when Gaulard & Gibbs began to make transformers in England. In this long period, men had not been idle, however, work having been done by C. F. Varley, Jablochhoff, Ferranti, Zipernowsky, and others. The first transformer in the United States is claimed to have been that of William Stanley at Great Barrington, Mass., in 1885."—A. L. Jordan, *Short stories of great inventions (School Science and Mathematics, Apr., 1917)*.—In 1870, according to the *Scientific American* of May 29, J. B. Fuller invented and patented the first working transformer made in the United States. Stanley's model was a decided improvement and was the basis for later transformer construction in the United States. "About 1885, however, it became clear that transformers can be worked independently if the different primary circuits are arranged in parallel between two mains kept at constant high pressure, these primary circuits being joined across from one main to the other like the rungs of a ladder between the two side pieces, whilst the secondary circuits of each transformer are isolated. A system of parallel working of transformers was accordingly devised by three Hungarian inventors, Messrs. Zipernowsky, Deri and Blathy, of Budapest. . . . They constructed an alternator capable of supplying electric current at a pressure of 1,000 volts, and the transformers were designed to reduce this pressure to 100 volts on the secondary side. A number of these transformers had their primary circuits supplied with current at 1,000 volts, when arranged in parallel on the alternator. Incandescent lamps were then placed in parallel on the secondary circuit of each transformer . . . and it was found that lamps could be turned on or off on any one transformer without affecting those on any other. An experimental plant of this kind, brought to England in 1885 by Mr. Zipernowsky, of Budapest, was erected and tested at the Inventions Exhibition at South Kensington, London, by the author. Two transformers were used, each of 10 h. p. These were constructed to reduce electric pressure from 1,000 volts to 100 volts. They were, therefore, called *step-down* transformers. In process of time great advances were made in building alternating current transformers for very high voltages. In 1800 and 1801 Mr. Ferranti built transformers for reducing voltage from 10,000 to 2,000 volts, and later on as electric transmission of power developed, transformers were built in the United States for pressures as high as 100,000 volts."—A. J. Fleming, *Fifty years of electricity*, pp. 132-133, 137.

"In all cases of transmission of electricity over

long distances for lighting or power purposes the currents are 'alternating.' They flow first one way and then the other, reversing perhaps twenty times a second, or it may be two hundred, or even more times in that short period. Some electric railways are worked with alternating current, and it is used for lighting quite as much as direct current and is equally satisfactory. In wireless telegraphy it is essential. In that case, however, the reversals may take place millions of times per second. Consequently, to distinguish the comparatively slowly changing currents of a 'frequency' or 'periodicity' of a few hundreds per second from these much more rapid ones, the latter are more often spoken of as electrical oscillations. And these alternating and oscillating currents need to be measured just as the direct currents do. Yet in many cases the same instruments will not answer. There has therefore grown up a class of wonderful measuring instruments specially designed for this purpose, by which not only does the station engineer know what his alternating current dynamos are doing, but the wireless operator can tell what is happening in his apparatus, the investigator can probe the subtleties of the currents which he is working with. . . . One trouble in connection with measuring these alternating currents is that they are very reluctant to pass through a coil. One method by which this difficulty can be overcome [is by] . . . the heating of a wire through which current is passing. This is just the same whether the current be alternating or direct. One of the simplest instruments of this class has been appropriated by the Germans, who have named it the 'Reiss Electrical Thermometer,' although it was really invented [in the nineteenth century] nearly a century ago by Sir William Snow Harris. It consists of a glass bulb on one end of a glass tube. The current is passed through a fine wire inside this bulb, and as the wire becomes heated it expands the air inside the bulb. This expansion moves a little globule of mercury which lies in the tube, and which forms the pointer or indicator by which the instrument is read. . . . [While] thermogalvanometers . . . ascertain the strength of a current by the heat which it produces, the simple little contrivance of Sir William Snow Harris has more elaborate successors, of which perhaps the most interesting are those associated with the name of Mr. W. Duddell. . . . We have just noted the fact that electricity causes heat. Now we shall see the exact opposite, in which heat produces electrical pressure and current. And the feature of Mr. Duddell's instruments is the way in which these two things are combined. By a roundabout but very effective way he rectifies the current to be measured, for he first converts some of the alternating current into heat and then converts that heat into continuous current. If two pieces of dissimilar metals be connected together by their ends, so as to form a circuit, and one of the joints be heated, an electrical pressure will be generated which will cause a current to flow round the circuit. The direction in which it will flow will depend upon the metals employed. The amount of the pressure will also depend upon the metals used, combined with the temperature of the junctions. With any given pair of metals, however, the force, and therefore the volume of current, will vary as the temperature. Really it will be the difference in temperature between the hot junction and the cold junction, but if we so arrange things that the cold junction shall always remain about the same, the current which flows will vary as the temperature of the hot one. The volume of that current will therefore be a measure of the temperature. Such an arrangement is known as a thermo-

couple, and is becoming of great use in many manufacturing processes as a means of measuring temperatures. . . . Mr. Duddell has also perfected a wonderful instrument called an Oscillograph, for the strange purpose of making actual pictures of the rise and fall in volume of current in alternating circuits. To realise the almost miraculous delicacy of these wonderful instruments we need first of all to construct a mental picture of what takes place in a circuit through which alternating current is passing. The current begins to flow: it gradually increases in volume until it reaches its maximum: then it begins to die away until it becomes nil: then it begins to grow in the opposite direction, increases to its maximum and dies away once more. That cycle of events occurs over and over again at the rate it may be of hundreds of times per second. . . . As the current flowing [through two fibres in the instrument] increases or decreases, or changes in direction, the mirror [attached to the fibres] will be slewed round more or less in one direction or the other. The spot of light thrown by the mirror will then dance from side to side with every variation, and if it be made to fall upon a rapidly moving strip of photograph paper a wavy line will be drawn upon the paper which will faithfully represent the changes in the current. In its action, of course, it is not unlike an ordinary mirror galvanometer, but its special feature is in the mechanical arrangement of its parts which enable it to move with sufficient rapidity to follow the rapidly succeeding changes which need to be investigated. It is far less sensitive than, say, a Thomson Galvanometer, but the latter could not respond quickly enough for this particular purpose."—T. W. Corbin, *Marvels of scientific invention*, pp. 34-41.

1856-1889.—Electric welding.—"Electric welding, forging, etc., are very nearly related to work with furnaces. The first electric welding of which we have record is that of a bundle of iron wires by Joule in 1856. The use of the arc for cutting and welding (where the material is one electrode) dates back to 1881 when De Meretens did 'lead burning' with it. A more general use was made by the Russian Bernardos about 1901. The deflected-arc process began with Wederman in 1874, who used an air blast; the use of a magnet for deflecting the arc was by Zerener about 1881. A very novel and spectacular method is that of the 'water-pail forge,' introduced by LaGrange and Hoho (Belgians) in 1892. Lastly, one of the most important welding processes is that of Elihu Thomson (1889), employing the heat from the resistance (at the points of contact) to the heavy current from the secondary of a special step-down transformer."—A. L. Jordan, *Short stories of great inventions (School Science and Mathematics, Apr., 1917)*.

1879-1917.—Home devices.—Sewing machine.—Electric cooker.—Vacuum cleaner.—The electrical sewing machine came into use for manufacturing purposes long prior to its introduction as a household device. The first motor designed for use in a sewing machine was constructed at Menlo Park, for Thomas Edison in 1879. It was followed in 1889 by a motor made for the Singer Sewing Machine Company, by Philip Dhiel, who had applied for the patent in 1886, and made his first machine in 1887.—"Very soon after the discovery of the battery, it was found that a wire gets hot when a current is flowing through it. . . . The heating effect of a current in a wire depends on the resistance offered to the passage of the current; by doubling the resistance the rate at which heat is produced is also doubled. It also depends on the strength of the current; but when this is

doubled the rate of heat production becomes, not twice only, but four times as great; three times the current gives nine times the heat, and so on. The resistance of a long wire greater than that of a short one; of a thin wire greater than that of a thick one."—C. Hall, *Triumphs of invention*, p. 177.—"The first practical attempt at electric cookery was made in England in 1890. And the first effort to introduce electric cookery to the public was at the Crystal Palace Electrical Exhibition in London in 1891. In 1895 in the Cannon Street Hotel, London, the first electrically-cooked banquet was given in honor of the Lord Mayor and was a success both in the cookery and in creating general interest. The first activities in the United States took place about 1900 when a fireless cooker manufacturer in Toledo put an electric heating unit in his device. No progress worthy of mention occurred until 1905, when three electrical manufacturers began to experiment with a frail and undependable hot-plate. It was not until 1909 that a range which 'stood up' and cooked for any length of time was put on the market."—*Electric range handbook*, p. 48.—"The modern electric cooker or stove with its time and temperature control, apparently leaves nothing more to be done in the culinary line, unless, perhaps, some horticulturist invents self-cooking vegetables. The electric stove . . . consists of two heating chambers built as a unit upon the heat insulation principle. Built into the door of each chamber, is a thermometer controlling an adjustable electric switch which may be set to open at any desired temperature. This switch controls the current supply to the heating element of that chamber. In series with the chamber-controlling switches is a master switch under control of an alarm clock, which may be set to close the switches at any desired time. With this stove the preparation of a full dinner becomes a simple matter. The prepared vegetables are placed in one compartment, the thermometer being set to boiling temperature; the meat is placed in the other compartment, that temperature being set to roasting temperature. The house-wife then sets the clock to turn on the current at the proper time, and goes off to the matinee or spends the afternoon shopping with some friend. At the proper time the clock switches on the current, and the respective thermometers regulate the current, so as to supply just exactly the proper amount of heat to each compartment. Ten minutes before dinner time the compartments are opened and the food, which contains all the natural juices unaltered by gas or products of combustion, is placed upon the table. . . . There are a series of connecting sockets upon the top of the stove to which the electric broilers and coffee percolators may be attached."—H. H. Gordan, *Labor-saving devices for the home* (*Scientific American*, Oct. 12, 1912, p. 300).—"Perhaps one of the most efficient aids to domestic operations are the variety of carpet cleaners which . . . [were] placed upon the market [in the first decade of the century]. Especially vacuum cleaners present great advantages both in point of thoroughness and ease of operation. . . . The instrument consists of an electric motor driving a fan-blower, which latter creates the requisite blast of air to carry the dust from the floor or carpet through an outlet into a collecting bag. In the front portion of the sweeper, just over the suction opening, is located a rotary brush actuated by the same motor which also drives the fan. When the apparatus is in use for sweeping carpets the suction opening is raised somewhat from the level of the floor, and the force of the draft of air drives the carpet up against the suction opening, thus producing a vacant space be-

tween the carpet and the floor. . . . At the same time the brush is passed vigorously over the raised portion of the carpet, straightening the matted pile and dislodging the dirt. Owing to the pocket formed under the carpet, there is a rush of air right through the fabric, so that it is thoroughly purged of all dust. The use of such a sweeper brings with it a double gain. Not only is a perfect cleansing secured without effort in handling the instrument, but the tedious task of taking up the carpet and relaying it is either avoided entirely or at any rate occurs at much longer intervals. The action of the blower can be used for airing confined spaces, mattresses, bedding, etc., or for inflating pillows. The motor normally rotates at 3,400 revolutions per minute."—*Cleaning with electricity* (*Scientific American*, June 24, 1911, p. 626).—There are also in existence among labor- and fuel-saving devices, chief among which may be mentioned the electric washing machine, the electric flat-iron and roller, and electric dish washer.

MEASURING INSTRUMENTS

1833-1921. — Ammeter. — Galvanometers. — Electrometers. — Dynamometers. — "Electrical measurements are generally made by means of the connection between electricity and magnetism. A current of electricity is a magnet. Whenever a current is flowing it is surrounded by a region in which magnetism can be felt. This region is called the magnetic field, and the strength of the field varies with the strength that is the number of amperes in the current. . . . The switchboard at a generating station is always supplied with instruments called *ammeters*, an abbreviation of *amperemeters*, for the purpose of measuring the current passing out from the dynamos. Each of these consists of a coil of wire through which the current passes. In some there is a piece of iron near by, which is attracted more or less as the current varies, the iron being pulled back by a spring and its movement against the tension of the spring being indicated by a pointer on a dial. In others the coil itself is free to swing in the neighbourhood of a powerful steel magnet, the interaction between the electro-magnet, or coil, and the permanent magnet being such that they approach each other or recede from each other as the current varies. A pointer on a dial records the movements as before. In yet another kind the permanent magnet gives way to a second coil, the current passing through both in succession, the result being very much the same, the two coils attracting each other more or less according to the current. Another kind of ammeter known as a thermo-ammeter works on quite a different principle. It consists of a piece of fine platinum wire which is arranged as a 'shunt'—that is to say, a certain small but definite proportion of the current to be measured passes through it. Now, being fine, the current has considerable difficulty in forcing its way through this wire and the energy so expended becomes turned into heat in the wire. . . . The wire, then, is heated by the current passing through it, and accordingly expands, the amount of expansion forming an indication of the current passing. The elongation of the wire is made to turn a pointer. A simple modification makes any of these instruments into a voltmeter. This instrument is intended to measure the force or pressure in the current as it leaves the dynamo. A short branch circuit is constructed, leading from the positive wire near the dynamo to the negative wire, or to the earth, where the pressure is zero. In this circuit is placed the instrument, together with a coil

made of a very long length of fine wire so that it has a very great resistance. . . . Instruments of the ammeter type can also be used as ohmmeters. In this case what is wanted is to test the resistance of a circuit, and it is done by applying a battery, the voltage of which is known, and seeing how much current flows."—T. W. Corbin, *Marvels of scientific invention*, pp. 25-27.—"The Wheatstone Bridge, the great fundamental measuring instrument for all ordinary resistances, was brought to public attention by Wheatstone in 1845, but this was, as Wheatstone himself states, invented by Christie in 1833. We are more or less familiar with its variations in construction (slide wire, 'Post Office,' dial decade, etc.), but some neglect the importance of a sensitive galvanometer and an accurate resistance box. The latter is the invention of Werner Siemens, but the 'rheostat' is credited to Wheatstone. The story of the search for a suitable resistance material (before manganin, platinoid, etc., were selected) is interesting, as is also that of the 'aging' of the wire, the difficulty of determining its exact temperature at the time of measurement, and other refinements, as the use of the ice bath or motor-stirred oil immersion. The names of Carey Foster, Lord Kelvin, and Varley should also be put down for their share in the development of the bridge."—A. L. Jordan, *Short stories of great inventions* (*School Science and Mathematics*, Apr., 1917).

The simplest form of the *galvanometer*, also a much used measuring instrument, "is a needle like that of a mariner's compass very delicately suspended by a thin fibre in the neighbourhood of a coil of wire. The magnetic field produced by the current flowing in the wire tends to turn the needle, which movement is resisted by its natural tendency to point north and south. Thus the current only turns the needle a certain distance, which distance will be in proportion to its strength. The deflection of the needle, therefore, gives us a measure of the strength of the current. But such an instrument is not delicate enough for the most refined experiments, and the improved form [the mirror galvanometer] generally used is due to . . . the late Lord Kelvin. He originally devised it [in 1858] it is interesting to note, not for laboratory experiments, but for practical use as a telegraph instrument in connection with the early Atlantic cables. . . . This wonderful instrument consisted of a magnet made of a small fragment of watch-spring, suspended in a horizontal position by means of a thread of fine silk, close to a coil of fine wire. . . . With a small current the movement of the magnet was too small to be observed by the unaided eye, so it was attached to a minute mirror. . . . The magnet was cemented to the back of this, yet both were so small that together their weight was supported by a single thread of cocoon silk. Light from a lamp was made to fall upon this mirror, thereby throwing a spot of light upon a distant screen. Thus the slightest movement of the magnet was magnified into a considerable movement of the spot of light. . . . The task of watching the rocking to and fro of the spot of light was found to be too nerve-racking for the telegraph operators, and so Lord Kelvin improved upon his galvanometer in two ways. He first of all managed to give it greater turning-power. . . . Then he utilised this added power to move a pen whereby the signals were recorded automatically upon a piece of paper. The new instrument is known as the Siphon Recorder. The added power was obtained by turning the instrument inside out, as it were, making the coil the moving part and the permanent magnet the fixed part. This enabled him to em-

ploy a very powerful permanent magnet in place of the minute one made of watch-spring. . . . So now we have two types of galvanometer, both due originally to the inventions of Lord Kelvin. For some purposes the Thomson type (his name was Sir William Thomson before he became Lord Kelvin) are still used, but in a slightly elaborated form. Its sensitiveness is such that a current of a thousandth of a micro-ampere will move the spot of light appreciably. . . . But there is . . . an instrument which can detect a millionth of a micro-ampere, or one millionth of a millionth of an ampere. It is not generally known that we are all possessors of an electric generator in the form of the human heart, but it is so, and Professor Einthoven, of Leyden, wishing to investigate these currents from the heart, found himself in need of a galvanometer exceeding in sensitiveness anything then known. . . . So the energetic Professor set about devising a new galvanometer which should answer his purpose. This is known as the 'String Galvanometer.' . . . [By the proper use of photographic plate or paper] a permanent record is made of the changes in the flowing current. An electric picture can thus be made of the working of a man's heart. He holds in his hands two metal handles or is in some other way connected to the two ends of the fibre by wires just as the handles of a shocking coil are connected to the ends of the coil. The faint currents caused by the beating of his heart are thus set down in the form of a wavy line. Such a diagram is called a 'cardiogram,' and it seems that each of us has a particular form of cardiogram peculiar to himself, so that a man could almost be recognised and distinguished from his fellows by the electrical action of his heart."—T. W. Corbin, *Marvels of scientific invention*, pp. 28-32.

"The galvanometer has a near relative, the *electrometer*, the astounding delicacy of which renders it equally interesting. It is particularly valuable in certain important investigations as to the nature and construction of atoms. The galvanometer, it will be remembered, measures minute currents; the electrometer measures minute pressures, particularly those of small electrically charged bodies. . . . In its simplest form the electrometer is called the 'electroscope.' Two strips of gold-leaf are suspended by their ends under a glass or metal shade. As they hang normally they are in close proximity. Their upper ends are, in fact, in contact and are attached to a small vertical conductor. A charge imparted to the small conductor will pass down into the leaves, and since it will charge them both they will repel each other so that their lower ends will swing apart. Such an instrument is very delicate, but because of the extreme thinness of the leaves it is very difficult to read accurately the amount of their movement and so to determine the charge which has been given to them."—T. W. Corbin, *Marvels of scientific invention*, pp. 32, 34.—"In a more recent improvement, . . . only one strip of gold-leaf is used, the place of the other being taken by a copper strip. The whole of the movement is thus in the single gold-leaf, as the copper strip is comparatively stiff, and it is possible to arrange for the movement of this one piece of gold-leaf to be measured by a microscope. The other principal kind of electrometer [the *quadrant electrometer*] we owe, as we do the galvanometers, to the wonderful ingenuity of Lord Kelvin. In this the moving part is a strip of thin aluminium. . . . A charge . . . passes down to the aluminium 'needle,' . . . [which swings] between two metal plates carefully insulated. Each plate is cut into four quadrants. . . . One set of quadrants is

charged positively, and one set negatively, by a battery, but these charges have no effect upon the needle until it is itself charged. As soon as that occurs, however, they pull it round, and the amount of its movement indicates the amount of the charge upon the needle, and therefore the pressure existing upon the charged body to which it is connected. The direction of its movement shows, moreover, whether the charge be positive or negative. A little mirror is attached to the needle, so that its slightest motion is revealed by the movement of a spot of light, as in the case of the mirror galvanometers."—*Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.—An ammeter was constructed by Sir William Thomson in 1881; an ammeter and voltmeter known as the Thomson-Rice was constructed in the early eighties. "Soon after 1882 many inventors endeavoured to supply simple portable instruments with scales divided to indicate, by the pointing of a needle, the value of a current in amperes, of a voltage in volts. The later Professors Ayrton and Perry were early in the field as inventors of such instruments, and Messrs. Crompton and Kapp designed others of a different type. . . . Another instrument called a portable dynamometer was devised about 1882, which depended on the fact that when a coil of wire which is suspended so as to be free to rotate, is placed near to another fixed coil, and the two coils are traversed by the same electric current, the movable coil tends to turn so as to place its axis in line with that of the other. This movement is resisted by the torsion of a spiral spring, and when the current passes, the top of this spring can be twisted so as to bring the coils back to their original position. . . . The instrument . . . has a scale of degrees by which to measure the twist given to the head of the torsion spring. . . . A large amount of invention was expended . . . between 1880 and 1890 in devising forms of electric quantity and energy-meters for use in houses and buildings . . . called *ampere-hour* and *watt-hour meters*."—J. A. Fleming, *Fifty years of electricity*, pp. 272, 283.

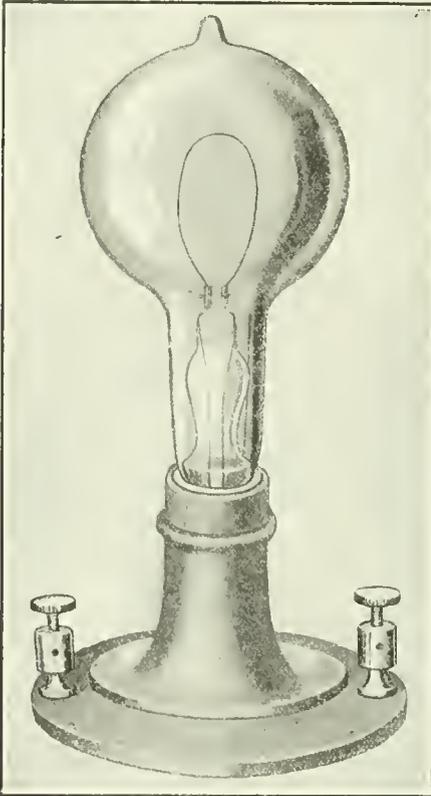
ELECTRIC LIGHTING

1810-1876.—Davy's electric arc.—The Jablockoff candle.—"The earliest instance of applying Electricity to the production of light was in 1810, by Sir Humphrey Davy, who found that when the points of two carbon rods whose other ends were connected by wires with a powerful primary battery were brought into contact, and then drawn a little way apart, the Electric current still continued to jump across the gap, forming what is now termed an Electric Arc. . . . Various contrivances have been devised for automatically regulating the position of the two carbons. As early as 1847, a lamp was patented by Staité, in which the carbon rods were fed together by clockwork. . . . Similar devices were produced by Foucault and others, but the first really successful arc lamp was Serrin's, patented in 1857, which has not only itself survived until the present day, but has had its main features reproduced in many other lamps. . . . The Jablockoff Candle (1876), in which the arc was formed between the ends of a pair of carbon rods placed side by side, and separated by a layer of insulating material, which slowly consumed as the carbons burnt down, did good service in accustoming the public to the new illuminant."—J. B. Verity, *Electricity up to date for light, power, and traction*, ch. 3.—See also INVENTIONS: 10th century: Artificial light.

1841-1921.—Incandescent light.—The invention of incandescent lamps actually antedated the arc

lamps which were used before them. "The first strictly incandescent lamp was invented in 1841 by Frederick de Molyens of Cheltenham, England, and was constructed on the simple principle of the incandescence produced by the high resistance of a platinum wire to the passage of the electric current. In 1849 Péciré employed iridium for the same purpose, also alloys of iridium and platinum, and iridium and carbon. In 1845 J. W. Starr of Cincinnati first proposed the use of carbon, and associated with King, his English agent, produced, through the financial aid of the philanthropist Peabody, an incandescent lamp. . . . In all these early experiments, the battery was the source of electric supply; and the comparatively small current required for the incandescent light as compared with that required for the arc light, was an argument in favor of the former. . . . Still, no substantial progress was made with either system till the invention of the dynamo resulted in the practical development of both systems, that of the incandescent following that of the arc. Among the first to make incandescent lighting a practical success were Sawyer and Man of New York, and Edison. For a long time, Edison experimented with platinum, using fine platinum wire coiled into a spiral, so as to concentrate the heat, and produce incandescence; the same current producing only a red heat when the wire, whether of platinum or other metal, is stretched out. . . . Failing to obtain satisfactory results from platinum, Edison turned his attention to carbon, the superiority of which as an incandescent illuminant had already been demonstrated; but its rapid consumption, as shown by the Reynier and similar lamps, being unfavorable to its use as compared with the durability of platinum and iridium, the problem was, to secure the superior illumination of the carbon, and reduce or prevent its consumption. As this consumption was due chiefly to oxidation, it was questionable whether the superior illumination were not due to the same cause, and whether, if the carbon were enclosed in a glass globe, from which oxygen was eliminated, the same illumination could be obtained. Another difficulty of equal magnitude was to obtain a sufficiently perfect vacuum, and maintain it in a hermetically sealed globe inclosing the carbon, and at the same time maintain electric connection with the generator through the glass by a metal conductor, subject to expansion and contraction different from that of the glass, by the change of temperature due to the passage of the electric current. Sawyer and Man attempted to solve this problem by filling the globe with nitrogen, thus preventing combustion by eliminating the oxygen. . . . The results obtained by this method, which at one time attracted a great deal of attention, were not sufficiently satisfactory to become practical; and Edison and others gave their preference to the vacuum method, and sought to overcome the difficulties connected with it. The invention of the mercurial air pump, with its subsequent improvements, made it possible to obtain a sufficiently perfect vacuum, and the difficulty of introducing the current into the interior of the globe was overcome by imbedding a fine platinum wire in the glass, connecting the inclosed carbon with the external circuit; the expansion and contraction of the platinum not differing sufficiently from that of the glass, in so fine a wire, as to impair the vacuum. . . . The carbons made by Edison under his first patent in 1870, were obtained from brown paper or cardboard. . . . They were very fragile and shortlived, and consequently were soon abandoned. [In 1879 Edison's generator brought efficiency up to about 90 per cent. This with the division of electric cur-

rent, also an Edison invention, made domestic use of electric light economically possible.) In 1880 he patented the [carbon lamp] process which, with some modifications, he . . . [long adhered to]. In this process he . . . [used] filaments of bamboo, which . . . [were] taken from the interior, fibrous portion of the plant."—P. Atkinson, *Elements of electric lighting*, ch. 8.—In the meantime "Swan [an Englishman] was trying to discover a synthetic substance, which would be equal to the natural fibre. Here he achieved distinct success, because he was the first to evolve and to perfect the squirting process which is now used all over the world in connection with the preparation of the filament. This brought about the first commercial 'subdi-



REPLICA OF EDISON'S FIRST INCANDESCENT
LAMP

vision of the electric light,' because thereby it was rendered possible to produce an artificial fibre, made from cellulose, which subsequently was proved to be the ideal material for the filament. Incidentally it may be mentioned that in consummating this great achievement for incandescent electric lighting Swan also laid the basis of another industry which to-day has reached enormous proportions—the manufacture of artificial silk. Swan's discovery sealed the commercial success of universal electric illumination, because his later improvements rendered it possible to produce a filament of exceeding fineness and uniformity. Thus a degree of economy which had never before been attainable was reached in the distribution of electricity, which led to the extension of the range of lighting from central supply stations. . . . In 1881

Edison, considering that the conditions were ripe for the exploitation of his discovery in Europe, planned the invasion of Paris and London. The Edison plant was placed near Holborn Viaduct, and the adjacent thoroughfares, together with the City Temple and part of the General Post Office, were electrically illuminated. In the furor which was created Swan appears to have been overlooked, the lamps which he had invented failing to claim pronounced attention. In Paris the Edison installation at the Exhibition created a wild excitement, the American inventor becoming the hero of the hour. . . . But the interests which had supported Mr. Swan were not disposed to tolerate the American march of triumph. The Edison interests received a severe shaking-up, when at the heyday of their sensational advance, by the intervention of litigation. . . . The fight over the claim for the invention of the incandescent electric light was fought stubbornly and bitterly. Thousands of pounds were sunk in trying to prove this and rebutting that. . . . The upshot of this spirited bout in the [British] Law Courts was somewhat unexpected, although perfectly logical under the unusual circumstances which prevailed at the time. Terms were arranged between the two antagonists, who decided to combine forces and thus be in a position to wage war against other claimants. In this manner was born, in 1883, the Edison and Swan United Electric Light Company, and the lamp placed upon the market was and is still known far and wide as the 'Ediswan,' a generic title formed by compounding the names of the British and American inventors."—F. A. Talbot, *Electrical discovery*, pp. 227-229.—"The next advance was initiated by Auer von Welsbach, who also invented the gas mantle. He suggested the use of the refractory metal osmium for filaments, but a still more valuable improvement was made in 1903, when W. von Bolton produced the tantalum lamp. He succeeded in preparing the highly infusible metal tantalum in the form of wire, and with it, owing to its very high melting point, he made an incandescent lamp which required a power of only 1.5 or 1.6 watts to yield one candlepower. With this material glow lamps were made of small candlepower to work at a voltage of 110 or less. The tantalum lamp . . . had a useful life of 600-800 hours, and an efficiency of 0.6 candle-power per watt expended in it. But this, in turn, was replaced by the tungsten lamp of Just, Hanaman and Kuzel. The difficulty at first was to produce this highly infusible metal in the form of wire. Originally, a process was employed which consisted in obtaining the metals in a colloidal condition in which extremely small metal particles are embedded in a gelatinous material. This is squirted into a filament and then dried and reduced to the condition of an aggregation of metallic particles welded together by passing an electric current through it. Later on methods were invented by Dr. W. D. Coolidge for fusing the metal in an electric furnace, and drawing it into fine wire. . . . In a 105-volt lamp of about 16 c.p., a length of some 24 inches of tungsten wire is employed. This wire is zig-zagged over a sort of frame composed of a central glass rod with small projecting pins of wire radiating at both ends. . . . Tungsten lamps are now obtainable for working on all the standard supply voltages, 100, 105, 110, 200, 210, 220 or 240, and of candlepower as low as 10 for the lower voltages, and 16 to 32 or more for the higher. . . . Although the high vacuum drawn-wire tungsten lamp is the most widely used of any type of incandescent lamp at present (1920) in domestic illumination, yet in the last year or two a gas-filled tungsten lamp has been introduced, having a still higher luminous

efficiency. In this lamp the glass bulb is not exhausted, but is filled at a reduced pressure with nitrogen, argon, or some inert gas, and its presence reduces the tendency of the tungsten to volatilise, and therefore it can be worked at a higher temperature. . . . The luminous efficiency varies from 1.8 to 2.0 c.p. per watt, with a useful life of about 1,000 hours. . . . These gas-filled lamps are called 'half-watt lamps,' because they emit one candle-power of light for every half-watt of electrical power expended in them. They are now made in very large sizes (2,000 c.p. or more) for street and open space illumination. . . . The half-watt lamp is more costly than the vacuum lamp, but its greater first cost is recovered in the diminished cost of electric energy by its greater efficiency after a certain number of hours' use. It has become a very formidable rival to both flame arc lamps and high pressure gas lamps in street lighting."—J. A. Fleming, *Fifty years of electricity*, pp. 164-167.—"While the electric light is extensively utilised for general and varied illuminating purposes, this by no means exhausts its spheres of usefulness. It is being widely employed for medical purposes, especially in the treatment of certain skin diseases such as tubercular lupus. The best known and most successful of these is that perfected by Dr. Finsen, who contrived a special lamp for the purpose [1893]. The light is very powerful, and is particularly rich in the ultra-violet rays, which are of distinct therapeutic value. The Crookes tube, which is employed in connection with X-ray photography, is another type of electric lamp designed to fulfill a specific duty. The electric light has also been discovered to possess first-class sterilising properties, the ultra-violet rays being fatal to microbic life. The lamps are of special design, so as to secure the maximum intensity of the necessary rays, and the water is passed before the light in a thin sheet or veil. The most deadly germs succumb instantly to the action of these rays, and the most heavily contaminated water can be speedily and cheaply sterilised by this process. Simple installations operating on this system are obtainable for use in the ordinary home, while it may be elaborated to meet the exacting and heavy demands of a densely populated town or city with equal success. Indeed, several plants have been laid down upon the Continent, upon which the citizens depend exclusively upon the germ-destroying properties of the ultra-violet rays in electric light, adapted to the purpose, for their pure drinking water."—F. A. Talbot, *All about inventions and discoveries*, pp. 227-236.—On January 23, 1913, Thomas Edison was awarded the Rathenau gold medal, by the American museum of safety for an electric safety lamp, for the use of miners. This lamp, it was said, represented the work of many years on the part of its inventor. About the same time F. Faerber, of Dortmund, Germany, was awarded a prize of \$30,000 offered by the British government for a satisfactory electric lamp for use by miners.

Also in: *Electrical World*, Jan. 25, 1913; Feb. 15, 1913.

1876.—Brush arc lamp.—"The reign of the Jablochhoff candle was summarily cut short, in the main, by the appearance of the arc lamp devised by Charles F. Brush, an American inventor. This was very similar in its general features to that in use to-day. . . . [With the perfection of the arc dynamo] the electric arc lamp [was brought] well within the realms of practical use, and as a result of vigorous campaigning and enterprise to initiate the public into the advantages of the new illumination, great headway was made throughout the world. Developments followed in such rapid suc-

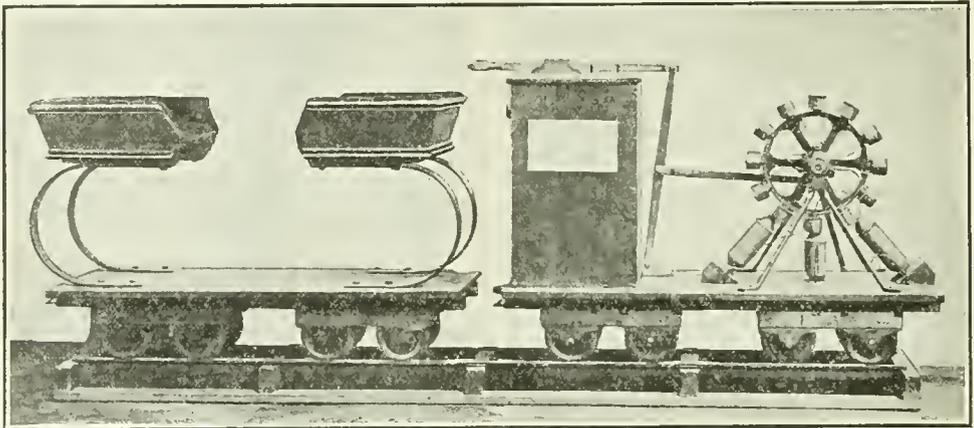
cession, and the contributions of the men of science were so skilfully applied, that the invention became firmly planted among the community, especially as the light was so vastly superior to gas, no matter from what point of view it was considered. But as time passed the problem of electric illumination assumed a new significance. The arc-lamp's sphere of utility was somewhat limited, and the need for some other form of electric lighting became felt more and more acutely. The arc-lamp was excellent for the brilliant illumination of streets, open spaces, and interiors of spacious buildings, but was not adapted to the illumination of the average shop or the suburban home. Here gas reigned supreme, and at the time this form of consumption constituted an excellent sheet-anchor for the gas-producing interests. If electric lighting were to be rendered a menace to the supremacy of its rival in this field, a revolutionary development was essential. The light would need to be free from all complexity, of less candle-power, require no attention, dispense with the daily renewal of the carbons, and impose no more tax upon the intelligence of the user than the gas. Moreover, in order to be able to compete more effectively with the coal rival, electricity would have to be furnished upon a similar basis and at a comparative price, because in such matters the pocket governs the decision of the prospective customer. This demand precipitated what became known as the effort to 'subdivide the light,' and it was a problem which attracted many industrious scientists and investigators. One and all attacked the question contemporaneously and, for the most part, unknown to each other."—F. A. Talbot, *All about inventions and discoveries*, pp. 223-224.

ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVES

1847-1899.—Early experiments and development.—"Owing to the high speed of early motors, the builders of the first locomotives were at a disadvantage. . . . [As early as 1847 Moses G. Farmer of Vermont experimented with such an engine, which he successfully demonstrated at his lectures.] Most early machines consisted merely of a wooden truck carrying an ordinary stationary motor from which power was transmitted to the axles either by chain and sprocket, or shafting and bevel gears. . . . [and were first used for mine haulage]. In the early days of motor building a motor of large output and comparatively small dimensions, with a safe heating-limit, was not produced, and for this reason the first mine locomotives were of the single-motor type. . . . The first electric mine haulage plant in America . . . was installed in July, 1887, in Lykens Valley Colliery, Pennsylvania. . . . The potential used was 400 volts. The power was transmitted by pinion and gear from the armature shaft . . . to a counter-shaft carried in the field frame of the motor and running at 400 revolutions. A chain and sprocket . . . connected this first counter-shaft to a second one between the forward and rear wheels. . . . A locomotive employed in one of the early American mine haulage plants, installed in 1880, at the Erie Colliery, near Scranton, Pa. . . . consisted of a 40 H.P., 220-volt motor surrounded by a heavy wooden frame-work carrying the wheels and gearing. The power was transmitted from the motor to one axle . . . and from the first set of drivers to the second by means of connecting rods. . . . The speed, under full load, was six miles per hour. . . . The machine installed at Forest City, Pa., U. S. A., in 1891 . . . showed a great improve-

ment over previous construction. Connecting rods were still used between the drivers, but the motor was hung between the wheels and ran at a speed requiring only double-reduction gearing. . . . The only important step between the Forest City machine and the . . . standard mine locomotive . . . was the substitution of two motors, operating the drivers independently, in place of the single-motor construction with connecting rods. The art of motor building soon reached a point where it was possible to build a motor of such dimensions and low speed that it could be hung between the wheels and connected to the driving axles by single-reduction gearing. The two-motor type of locomotive was then adopted, and experience has shown that the most efficient results can be secured by the independent application to the separate drivers of the total power required. . . . One motor is hung on each axle and drives it through single-reduction gearing. . . . The pioneer manufacturers of electric mine locomotives on a comprehensive scale were Messrs. Siemens & Halske, of Berlin. In 1882 they equipped the Royal Coal Mines at Zaukerode with a locomotive designed

the day they were first put in operation. The locomotive built by Siemens at Berlin in 1879 was the first machine to demonstrate the fact that great possibilities lay in the application of electric power to tractive service. In October, 1883, Leo Daft's locomotive *Ampère* was in operation on the Saratoga, Mt. McGregor and Lake George Railroad in New York State, U. S. A. . . . In 1885 the same inventor built a second locomotive, the *Ben Franklin*, and operated it for several weeks on the . . . Elevated Railway in New York City. This machine was rebuilt in 1888, and was then the most powerful electric locomotive in the world. It ran regularly, for nearly eight months between the frequent steam trains. . . . [See also NEW YORK CITY: 1689-1920.] Space forbids mention of many experimental locomotives built in America, Great Britain, Germany, France, Sweden and Switzerland, but the Heilmann Locomotive, built by the Electric Traction Society, of Paris, in 1895, demands notice, because of its unique character. A complete electric plant mounted on wheels was an idea probably never before conceived, nor has its materialisation since been attempted.



EARLIEST ELECTRIC ENGINE

to haul . . . an aggregate weight of about eight tons . . . at a speed of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour. This equipment was the first successful mine haulage plant in the world. The locomotive was of the single-motor type, and although the construction would to-day be considered crude, it hauled satisfactorily an average of 700 to 800 cars per day,—the work for which it was designed. . . . Swedish manufacturers were among the first in the field, and as early as 1890 the Allmänna Svenska Elektriska Aktiebolaget, of Vesteras, had two locomotives. . . . It is of interest to note that electric mine locomotives are in operation in almost every European country, and in China, Japan, Australia, the Sandwich Islands, South Africa, Chili and Mexico. . . . Contrary to the experience in the other branches of the application of electric energy, the development in this field has by no means been accomplished along gradually progressive lines. During a number of years experimental machines were built and operated in Germany, America, Great Britain and France, but none attained permanent commercial success. Meanwhile, the general art was rapidly advancing, and almost without warning . . . installations were made which have proved unreservedly successful from

The question of transmission was entirely eliminated, as a single truck carried boiler, engine, generator, and motors. . . . The close of the year 1890 marked the first permanent invasion of the field of steam-railroading by the electric locomotive. In December of that year the City and South London Railway . . . was opened to the public. The first sixteen locomotives furnished for this installation possessed many features which are characteristic of the best modern practice. . . . Each locomotive is equipped with two 50 H.P. motors of the gearless type, the axles forming the armature shafts. The axles also carry the lower end of the field frames, the upper ends being supported by a flexible link connection. . . . The installation made by the General Electric Company, of New York, in 1895 at Baltimore, U. S. A., for hauling the regular passenger trains of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway a distance of 14,500 feet through the city, involved the use of the largest electric locomotives . . . [which had at that time been] put in operation. The locomotive is mounted upon two four-wheeled trucks, and each truck is equipped with two motors. . . . The four motors are gearless, and the armature is carried on a sleeve. Spiders are shrunk on the ends of this sleeve, and the drivers are rotated by the spider-

arms which project between the spokes and are provided with double rubber cushions. Each motor has an output of 360 H.P., or a total of 1440 for each locomotive."—G. B. Mair, *Electric locomotive (Cassier's Magazine, Aug., 1899)*.—"The armatures in the locomotives [used by the City and South London] . . . are wound directly on the axles. . . . The two motors are permanently coupled in series and are controlled by a plain rheostat switch with twenty-six contacts; there is also a reversing switch for reversing the current in the armatures. . . . The rewinding of an armature, to the ordinary mind, or even to the average electrical engineer, is a serious matter; but when it is said that most of these armatures run 150,000 miles before rewinding becomes necessary, it will be seen that it is not such a heavy item. The average life of an armature is over 100,000 miles before rewinding. . . . Experience shows that in no case can the armature failures be traced to having the armature directly secured to the axle of the locomotive. . . . It was thought that the existing locomotives could be improved, and early in 1897 some experiments were made. . . . One of the locomotives was reconstructed as the result. The armature and magnets were removed for series-parallel working, and a new form of series-parallel switch, suitable for locomotive work, was developed. The switch is very similar to, and is operated in almost the same manner as, the ordinary rheostat switch. There is no magnetic blow-out or equivalent device, and in actual work this series-parallel controller has shown that it is eminently suitable for heavy locomotive work."—P. V. McMahon, *City and South London electric railway (Cassier's Magazine, Aug., 1899)*.—Later development in electric locomotives belongs to the history of railroads.—See also INVENTIONS: 20th century: Railroad brakes.

ELECTRIC POWER

1896-1921.—Power from Niagara Falls.—"Perhaps . . . no better example of the varied application of electric energy exists than at Niagara. Certainly no grander exemplification of the way in which electric forces may be called into play, to replace other and unlike agencies, can be cited. Here at Niagara we may forcibly realize the importance of cheap and unailing power developed from water in its fall. We find the power of huge water wheels delivered to the massive dynamos for giving out electric energy."—*Electrical advance in ten years (Forum, Jan., 1898)*.—The following description of the engineering work by which Niagara was harnessed to turbines and dynamos, for an enormous development of electrical power, is taken from a paper read by Mr. Thomas Commerford Martin, of New York, at a meeting of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, June 10, 1896, and printed in the Proceedings of the Institution, Vol. 15; reprinted in the Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1896, p. 223: "Niagara is the point at which are discharged, through two narrowing precipitous channels only 3,800 feet wide and 160 feet high, the contents of 6,000 cubic miles of water, with a reservoir area of 90,000 square miles, draining 300,000 square miles of territory. The ordinary overspill of this Atlantic set on edge has been determined to be equal to about 75,000 cubic feet per second, and the quantity passing is estimated as high as 100,000,000 tons of water per hour. The drifting of a ship over the Horse Shoe Fall has proved it to have a thickness at the center of the crescent of over 16 feet. Between Lake Erie and Lake On-

tario there is a total difference of level of 300 feet, and the amount of power represented by the water at the falls has been estimated on different bases from 6,750,000 horsepower up to not less than 16,800,000 horsepower, the latter being a rough calculation of Sir William Siemens, who, in 1877, was the first to suggest the use of electricity as the modern and feasible agent of converting into useful power some of this majestic but squandered energy. . . . It was Mr. Thomas Evershed, an American civil engineer, who unfolded the plan of diverting part of the stream at a considerable distance above the falls, so that no natural beauty would be interfered with, while an enormous amount of power would be obtained with a very slight reduction in the volume of the stream at the crest of the falls. Essentially scientific and correct as the plan now shows itself to be, it found prompt criticism and condemnation, but not less quickly did it rally the able and influential support of Messrs. W. B. Rankine, Francis Lynde Stetson, Edward A. Wickes, and Edward D. Adams, who organized the corporate interests that, with an expenditure of £1,000,000 in five years, have carried out the present work. So many engineering problems arose early in the enterprise that after the survey of the property in 1800 an International Niagara Commission was established in London, with power to investigate the best existing methods of power development and transmission, and to select from among them, as well as to award prizes of an aggregate of £4,400. This body included men like Lord Kelvin, Mascart, Coleman Sellers, Turrettini, and Dr. Unwin, and its work was of the utmost value. Besides this the Niagara Company and the allied Cataract Construction Company enjoyed the direct aid of other experts, such as Prof. George Forbes, in a consultative capacity; while it was a necessary consequence that the manufacturers of the apparatus to be used threw upon their work the highest inventive and constructive talent at their command. The time-honored plan in water-power utilization has been to string factories along a canal of considerable length, with but a short tail race. At Niagara the plan now brought under notice is that of a short canal with a very long tail race. The use of electricity for distributing the power allows the factories to be placed away from the canal, and in any location that may appear specially desirable or advantageous. The perfected and concentrated Evershed scheme comprises a short surface canal 250 feet wide at its mouth, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles above the falls, far beyond the outlying Three Sisters Islands, with an intake inclined obliquely to the Niagara River. This canal extends inwardly 1,700 feet, and has an average depth of some 12 feet, thus holding water adequate to the development of about 100,000 horsepower. The mouth of the canal is 600 feet from the shore line proper, and considerable work was necessary in its protection and excavation. The bed is now of clay, and the side walls are of solid masonry 17 feet high, 8 feet at the base, and 3 feet at the top. The northeastern side of the canal is occupied by a power house, and is pierced by ten inlets guarded by sentinel gates, each being the separate entrance to a wheel pit in the power house, where the water is used and the power is secured. The water as quickly as used is carried off by a tunnel to the Niagara River again. . . .

"The wheel pit, over which the power house is situated, is a long, deep, cavernous slot at one side, under the floor, cut in the rock, parallel with the canal outside. Here the water gets a fall of about 140 feet before it smites the turbines.

The arrangement of the dynamos generating the current up in the power house is such that each of them may be regarded as the screw at the end of a long shaft, just as we might see it if we stood an ocean steamer on its nose with its heel in the air. At the lower end of the dynamo shaft is the turbine in the wheel pit bottom, just as in the case of the steamer shaft we find attached to it the big triple or quadruple expansion marine steam engine. . . . The wheel pit which contains the turbines is 178 feet in depth, and connects by a lateral tunnel with the main tunnel running at right angles. This main tunnel is no less than 7,000 feet in length, with an average hydraulic slope of 6 feet in 1,000. It has a maximum height of 21 feet, and a width of 18 feet 10 inches, its net section being 386 square feet. The water rushes through it and out of its mouth of stone and iron at a velocity of 26½ feet per second, or nearly 20 miles an hour. More than 1,000 men were employed continuously for more than three years in the construction of this tunnel. . . . The first transmission of power from Niagara Falls to Buffalo was made at midnight, November 15-16, 1896, when 1,000 horsepower was sent over the wires to the power-house of the Buffalo Railway Company. The important event was signalled to the citizens by the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells and sounding of steam whistles."—*Electrical Review*, Jan. 12, 1901.

In 1913, "twenty-three years after the breaking of ground for the tunnel, the aggregate amount of power developed by The Niagara Falls Power Company and its allied interests, the Canadian Niagara Power Company, [was] about 175,000 h.p., with additional capacity in course of construction amounting to 50,000 h.p. . . . In the two Power Houses on the American side, the capacity of the turbines and generators [was] 5,500 h.p. each; in the Canadian Plant, 5 units of 10,000 h.p. and 2 units of 12,500 h.p. [were] installed. From the generators, the power, now in the form of electrical energy, is distributed through copper cables to the main copper bus bars located in a subway below the Power House floor, and from these bus bars [copper bars to which the electricity is delivered from the generating machines] is sent out over feeder cables run in ducts under ground to the different manufacturing establishments located nearby, or is sent to the step-up transformer stations for transmission at higher voltage to Buffalo, Lockport, the Tonawandas, Olcott, Bridgeburg and Fort Erie. . . . The Power House of the Canadian Niagara Power Company is located on the Canadian side of the river, a short distance above the Horseshoe Fall. . . . All three plants are inter-connected by heavy copper cables for the transmission of electrical energy so that power generated in any one plant can be sent out either direct . . . or can be transmitted through the inter-connecting cables to either of the other two plants for similar distribution. Thus the whole system is a single unit. . . . [On the company's lands] are located some thirty industries utilizing over 100,000 h.p. for manufacturing purposes. Except in the case of the more distant plants, the power for these industries is distributed at generator voltage, namely, 2,200 volts, 2-phase. For the more distant plants, the voltage is stepped up in transformers from 2,200 volts, 2-phase, to 11,000 volts, 3-phase. . . . On the Canadian side of the river the local distributing plant consists of one 3-phase, 2,200 volt and one 3-phase, 11,000 volt overhead circuit having an aggregate length of about ten miles. . . . For long-distance transmission, the electrical power de-

livered by the generators is stepped up to a higher voltage. . . . This is done by means of transformers located in transformer stations near the different Power Houses. The step-up transformer plant on the American side of the river contains 20 air-blast transformers of 1,250 h.p. each, . . . which change the generated current from 2,200-volt, two-phase, to 22,000-volt, three-phase, and 14 . . . transformers of 2,500 h.p. each, . . . which transform the generated current into three-phase current at either 11,000 volts, or 22,000 volts, as may be required. On the Canadian side of the river, the step-up transformer plant, . . . contains fifteen 1,675 h.p. transformers . . . and six 5,850 h.p. transformers, . . . which change the generated current from 11,000 volts, three-phase, to either 22,000, 33,000, 38,500 or 57,300 volts, three-phase, by slight changes in the connections. . . . From the step-up transformer plants overhead circuits distribute the electrical power at 22,000 volts to Buffalo, the Tonawandas, Lockport, Olcott and Fort Erie. . . . The total output of the three plants for the year ended February 28th, 1913, was 868,285,380 kilowatt-hours. To produce this output by steam would require the consumption of 1,800,000 tons of coal, or 5000 tons daily."—*Harnessing Niagara Falls (Pamphlet)*, pp. 5-8, 12-15.—In August, 1921, it was stated that the Provincial Hydroelectric Power Commission of Ontario serves about "250 municipalities, operates 13 distinct systems scattered over the province, and distributes 365,000 h.p. of hydroelectric energy [from Niagara]."—*Scientific American*, Aug. 6, 1921, p. 91.—"Enormous construction work was necessary to utilize the water power of Niagara. . . . [A dozen or more two-phase alternators generate the current at a pressure of 5,000 volts.] This voltage is raised to 11,000 for transmission to the City of Buffalo, . . . and the Cataract Co., which own the power station, supply thousands of horse-power to adjacent works for the manufacture of carborundum, aluminum, calcium carbide, alkali, and other electric products. . . . In addition they furnish currents for lighting, traction and heating to numerous towns and cities round. Altogether about 800,000 h.p. is now (1921) tapped from the Falls. At the present time there are four companies which draw and distribute power from Niagara Falls, three operating on the Canadian, and one on the American side. The former take 450,000 h.p. and the latter 350,000 h.p. from the Falls. There is, however, another great scheme on hand on the Canadian side, known as the Queenston-Chippewa Power Co., which has for its object to draw off another 500,000 h.p. [by deflecting the course of the Welland River, which now flows into the Niagara at Chippewa] and to utilize not merely the head of water of the Falls, but the full drop of level between Lakes Erie and Ontario, which is nearly double that of the Falls alone."—J. A. Fleming, *Fifty years of electricity*, pp. 239-241.

1921.—Other power plants.—Great and outstanding as it is, however, Niagara is but one of the many instances of the utilization of water power for the generation of electricity. "In about twenty years [written in 1921] the world has been covered with immense power houses converting the potential energy of coal by means of steam engines or else the potential energy of water at a high level into electric energy, which is transmitted to distant places [by means of wires and wire cables carried overhead on poles or towers, or, as in the case of cities and other populous places, through underground conduits]."—J. A. Fleming, *Fifty years of electricity*, p. 259.—The Shawingen



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BENJAMIN FRANKLIN



ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL

GREAT MEN IN THE FIELD OF ELECTRICITY

Falls in Quebec, upon which the asbestos industry is largely dependent, is a case in point. "The Caribou [Cal.] power plant transmits the power generated [at Caribou] . . . by aluminum cables, over an inch in diameter . . . to the San Francisco Bay distributing center. . . . The voltage is 165,000 . . . delivered across the bay by submarine cables. The power development . . . begins in Lake Almanor . . . and ends 75 miles distant, a drop of 4,000 feet. The waters . . . are used over and over again during this drop (seven times), for the generation of . . . power, [and are finally distributed] for irrigation. . . . The power thus developed . . . [furnishes] more than 300,000 . . . horse power for . . . agriculture business and industry."—*Scientific American*, Aug. 20, 1921, p. 143.—"Several power plants are now owned by the Compana Chilena de Electricidad

ing cities such as Zurich, Baden . . . and others" —J. A. Fleming, *Fifty years of electricity*, pp. 190, 191, 241.—"A unique position is occupied by the Victoria Falls and Transvaal Power Company, in South Africa. This has existed since and has reached an output of half a milliard (500,000) k.w. hours yearly. . . . The energy generated is used for various industrial purposes, but a large part is used to compress air for use in driving mining and other machinery, up to approximately 80,000 H.P. The total capacity of generators in commission amounts to 288,000 H.P., the compressed air plant alone having an output of 78,000 H.P., the transformer capacity is 473,000 k.w.a." —G. Klingenburg, *Large electric power stations*, ch. 6, p. 165.—It was proposed in 1922 to generate 220,000 volts on the Pit River, transmit the power to a station near Sacramento, and transform it



LONG LAKE STATION OF THE WASHINGTON (STATE) WATER POWER COMPANY

Ltd. in Santiago, Chile, which is to control the Chilean Tramway and Light Co. . . . and furnish electrification now under way of the first zone of the State Railways."—*United States Commerce Reports*, Jan. 2, 1922, p. 21.—"About 400,000 H.P. obtained from water power are employed in Norway, in producing nitric acid . . . yielding some 180,000 tons annually. . . . [The production of aluminum which we also owe to electricity is carried on at Neuhausen, Switzerland, and at Loch Leven in Scotland where the power is taken from the Falls of Foyers.] The manufacture of calcium carbide is conducted on a vast scale at Odda, Norway, using many thousands of electrical horse power, taken from lakes lying 1,300 feet above Odda. [This, a purely electro-thermal industry, is also carried on in Sweden, Germany, France, Japan, Canada.] One of the largest of [the] Swiss stations is at Beznau on the Aar, . . . in the north of Switzerland. In 1907 it distributed 20,000 H.P. over an area of 800 square miles, includ-

into 110,000 volts, so that it might be distributed to the cities and regions about San Francisco Bay. These are but a few, taken almost at random, of the great hydro-electric power stations which are steadily and economically producing the light, heat and power upon which modern industry depends in a great and increasing degree. Moreover numerous steam plants are used, where water power is not available, to generate the power needed for city lighting, to say nothing of the individual plants owned by industrial concerns which are out of economical reach of the large distributing plants. A very interesting development of electrical power, which may be compared to these individual plants, is its use on merchant ships and battleships, from lighting equipment and electrically controlled steering gear up to the electrical driving apparatus of such a vessel as U. S. S. "Tennessee."—See also EUROPE: Modern period: Mechanical revolution.

ALSO IN: *Scientific American*, Aug., 1922.

TELEGRAPHY AND TELEPHONY

Telegraph

1753-1874.—Early history.—Perfected telegraph.—“The first actual suggestion of an electric telegraph was made in an anonymous letter published in the Scots Magazine at Edinburgh, February 17th, 1753. The letter is initialed ‘C. M.,’ and many attempts have been made to discover the author’s identity. . . . The suggestions made in this letter were that a set of twenty-six wires should be stretched upon insulated supports between the two places which it was desired to put in connection, and at each end of every wire a metallic ball was to be suspended, having under it a letter of the alphabet inscribed upon a piece of paper. . . . The message was to be read off at the receiving station by observing the letters which were successively attracted by their corresponding balls, as soon as the wires attached to the latter received a charge from the distant conductor. In 1787 Monsieur Lomond, of Paris, made the very important step of reducing the twenty-six wires to one, and indicating the different letters by various combinations of simple movements of an indicator, consisting of a pith-ball suspended by means of a thread from a conductor in contact with the wire. . . . In the year 1790 Chappe, the inventor of the semaphore, or optico-mechanical telegraph, which was in practical use previous to the introduction of the electric telegraph, devised a means of communication, consisting of two clocks regulated so that the second hands moved in unison, and pointed at the same instant to the same figures. . . . In the early form of the apparatus, the exact moment at which the observer at the receiving station should read off the figure to which the hand pointed was indicated by means of a sound signal produced by the primitive method of striking a copper stewpan, but the inventor soon adopted the plan of giving electrical signals instead of sound signals. . . . In 1795 Don Francisco Salva . . . suggested . . . that instead of twenty-six wires being used, one for each letter, six or eight wires only should be employed, each charged by a Leyden jar, and that different letters should be formed by means of various combinations of signals from these. . . . Mr. (afterwards Sir Francis) Ronalds . . . took up the subject of telegraphy in the year 1816, and published an account of his experiments in 1823, [based on the same idea as that of Chappe]. Ronalds drew up a sort of telegraphic code by which words, and sometimes even complete sentences, could be transmitted by only three discharges. . . . Ronalds completely proved the practicability of his plan, not only on [a] short underground line, . . . but also upon an overhead line some eight miles in length, constructed by carrying a telegraph wire backwards and forwards over a wooden framework erected in his garden at Hammersmith. . . . The first attempt to employ voltaic electricity in telegraphy was made by Don Francisco Salva, whose frictional telegraph has already been referred to. On the 14th of May, 1800, Salva read a paper on ‘Galvanism and its application to Telegraphy’ before the Academy of Sciences at Barcelona, in which he described a number of experiments which he had made in telegraphing over a line some 310 metres in length. . . . A few years later he applied the then recent discovery of the Voltaic pile to the same purpose, the liberation of bubbles of gas by the decomposition of water at the receiving station being the method adopted for in-

dicating the passage of the signals. A telegraph of a very similar character was devised by Sömmering, and described in a paper communicated by the inventor to the Munich Academy of Sciences in 1809. Sömmering used a set of thirty-five wires corresponding to the twenty-five letters of the German alphabet and the ten numerals. . . . Oersted’s discovery of the action of the electric current upon a suspended magnetic needle provided a new and much more hopeful method of applying the electric current to telegraphy. The great French astronomer Laplace appears to have been the first to suggest this application of Oersted’s discovery, and he was followed shortly afterwards by Ampère, who in the year 1820 read a paper before the Paris Academy of Sciences.”—G. W. de Tunzelmann, *Electricity in modern life*, ch. 9.—“The European philosophers kept on groping. At the end of five years [after Oersted’s discovery], one of them reached an obstacle which he made up his mind was so entirely insurmountable, that it rendered the electric telegraph an impossibility for all future time. This was [1825] Mr. Peter Barlow, fellow of the Royal Society, who had encountered the question whether the lengthening of the conducting wire would produce any effect in diminishing the energy of the current transmitted, and had undertaken to resolve the problem. . . . ‘I found [he said] such a considerable diminution with only 200 feet of wire as at once to convince me of the impracticability of the scheme.’ . . . The year following the announcement of Barlow’s conclusions, a young graduate of the Albany (N. Y.) Academy—by name Joseph Henry—was appointed to the professorship of mathematics in that institution. Henry there began the series of scientific investigations which is now historic. . . . Up to that time, electro-magnets had been made with a single coil of naked wire wound spirally around the core, with large intervals between the strands. The core was insulated as a whole: the wire was not insulated at all. Professor Schweigger, who had previously invented the multiplying galvanometer, had covered his wires with silk. Henry followed this idea, and, instead of a single coil of wire, used several. . . . Barlow had said that the gentle current of the galvanic battery became so weakened, after traversing 200 feet of wire, that it was idle to consider the possibility of making it pass over even a mile of conductor and then affect a magnet. Henry’s reply was to point out that the trouble lay in the way Barlow’s magnet was made. . . . Make the magnet so that the diminished current will exercise its full effect. Instead of using one short coil, through which the current can easily slip, and do nothing, make a coil of many turns; that increases the magnetic field: make it of fine wire, and of higher resistance. And then, to prove the truth of his discovery, Henry put up the first electro-magnetic telegraph ever constructed. In the academy at Albany, in 1831, he suspended 1,060 feet of bell-wire, with a battery at one end and one of his magnets at the other; and he made the magnet attract and release its armature. The armature struck a bell, and so made the signals. Annihilating distance in this way was only one part of Henry’s discovery. He had also found, that, to obtain the greatest dynamic effect close at hand, the battery should be composed of a very few cells of large surface, combined with a coil or coils of short coarse wire around the magnet,—conditions just the reverse of those necessary when the magnet was to be worked at a distance. Now, he argued, suppose the magnet with the coarse short coil,

and the large-surface battery, be put at the receiving station; and the current coming over the line be used simply to make and break the circuit of that local battery. . . . This is the principle of the telegraphic 'relay.' In 1835 Henry worked a telegraph-line in that way at Princeton. And thus the electro-magnetic telegraph was completely invented and demonstrated. There was nothing left to do, but to put up the posts, string the lines, and attach the instruments."—P. Benjamin, *Age of electricity*, ch. 11.—"At last we leave the territory of theory and experiment and come to that of practice. 'The merit of inventing the modern telegraph, and applying it on a large scale for public use, is, beyond all question, due to Professor Morse of the United States.' So writes Sir David Brewster, and the best authorities on the question substantially agree with him. . . . Leaving for future consideration Morse's telegraph, which was not introduced until five years after the time when he was impressed with the notion of its feasibility, we may mention the telegraph of Gauss and Weber of Göttingen. In 1833, they erected a telegraphic wire between the Astronomical and Magnetical Observatory of Göttingen, and the Physical Cabinet of the University, for the purpose of carrying intelligence from the one locality to the other. To these great philosophers, however, rather the theory than the practice of Electric Telegraphy was indebted. Their apparatus was so improved as to be almost a new invention by Steinhilf of Munich, who, in 1837 . . . succeeded in sending a current from one end to the other of a wire 36,000 feet in length, the action of which caused two needles to vibrate from side to side, and strike a bell at each movement. To Steinhilf the honour is due of having discovered the important and extraordinary fact that the earth might be used as a part of the circuit of an electric current. The introduction of the Electric Telegraph into England dates from the same year as that in which Steinhilf's experiments took place. William Fothergill Cooke, a gentleman who held a commission in the Indian army, returned from India on leave of absence, and afterwards, because of his bad health, resigned his commission, and went to Heidelberg to study anatomy. In 1836, Professor Mönke, of Heidelberg, exhibited an electro-telegraphic experiment, 'in which electric currents, passing along a conducting wire, conveyed signals to a distant station by the deflexion of a magnetic needle enclosed in Schweigger's galvanometer or multiplier.' . . . Cooke was so struck with this experiment, that he immediately resolved to apply it to purposes of higher utility than the illustration of a lecture. . . . In a short time he produced two telegraphs of different construction. When his plans were completed, he came to England, and in February, 1837, having consulted Faraday and Dr. Roget on the construction of the electric-magnet employed in a part of his apparatus, the latter gentleman advised him to apply to Professor Wheatstone. . . . The result of the meeting of Cooke and Wheatstone was that they resolved to unite their several discoveries; and in the month of May, 1837, they took out their first patent 'for improvements in giving signals and sounding alarms in distant places by means of electric currents transmitted through metallic circuits.' . . . By-and-by, as might probably have been anticipated, difficulties arose between Cooke and Wheatstone, as to whom the main credit of introducing the Electric Telegraph into England was due. . . . Mr. Cooke accused Wheatstone (with a certain amount of justice, it should seem) of entirely

ignoring his claims; and in doing so Mr Cooke appears to have rather exaggerated his own services. Most will readily agree to the wise words of Mr. Sabine: 'It was once a popular fallacy in England that Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone were the original inventors of the Electric Telegraph. The Electric Telegraph had, properly speaking, no inventor; it grew up as we have seen little by little.'—H. J. Nicoll, *Great movements*, pp. 424-429.—"In the latter part of the year 1832, Samuel F. B. Morse, an American artist, while on a voyage from France to the United States, conceived the idea of an electro-magnetic telegraph which should consist of the following parts, viz: A single circuit of conductors from some suitable generator of electricity; a system of signs, consisting of dots or points and spaces to represent numerals; a method of causing the electricity to mark or imprint these signs upon a strip or ribbon of paper by the mechanical action of an electro-magnet operating upon the paper by means of a lever, armed at one end with a pen or pencil; and a method of moving the paper ribbon at a uniform rate by means of clock-work to receive the characters. . . . In the autumn of the year 1835 he constructed the first rude working model of his invention. . . . The first public exhibition . . . was on the 2d of September, 1837, on which occasion the marking was successfully effected through one-third of a mile of wire. Immediately afterwards a recording instrument was constructed . . . which was subsequently employed upon the first experimental line between Washington and Baltimore. This line was constructed in 1843-44 under an appropriation by Congress, and was completed by May of the latter year. On the 27th of that month the first despatch was transmitted from Washington to Baltimore. . . . The experimental line was originally constructed with two wires, as Morse was not at that time acquainted with the discovery of Steinheil, that the earth might be used to complete the circuit. Accident, however, soon demonstrated this fact. . . . The following year (1845) telegraph lines began to be built over other routes. . . . In October, 1851, a convention of deputies from the German States of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg and Saxony, met at Vienna, for the purpose of establishing a common and uniform telegraphic system, under the name of the German-Austrian Telegraph Union. The various systems of telegraphy then in use were subjected to the most thorough examination and discussion. The convention decided with great unanimity that the Morse system was practically far superior to all others, and it was accordingly adopted. Prof. Steinheil, although himself . . . the inventor of a telegraphic system, with a magnanimity that does him high honor, strongly urged upon the convention the adoption of the American system. [The first of the printing telegraphs was patented in the United States by Royal E. House, in 1846. The Hughes printing telegraph, a remarkable piece of mechanism, was patented by David E. Hughes, of Kentucky, in 1855. A system known as the automatic method, in which the signals representing letters are transmitted over the line through the instrumentality of mechanism, was originated by Alexander Bain of Edinburgh, whose first patents were taken out in 1846. An autographic telegraph, transmitting despatches in the reproduced hand-writing of the sender, was brought out in 1850, by F. C. Bakewell, of London. The same result was afterwards accomplished with variations of method by Chas. Cros, of Paris, Abbé Caseli, of Florence, and others.]

The possibility of making use of a single wire for the simultaneous transmission of two or more communications seems to have first suggested itself to Moses G. Farmer, of Boston, about the year 1852." The problem was first solved with partial success by Dr. Gintl, on the line between Prague and Vienna, in 1853, but more perfectly by Carl Frischen, of Hanover, in the following year. Other inventors followed in the same field, among them Thomas A. Edison, of New Jersey, who was led by his experiments finally, in 1874, to devise a system "which was destined to furnish the basis of the first practical solution of the curious and interesting problem of quadruplex telegraphy."—G. B. Prescott, *Electricity and the electric telegraph*, ch. 20-40.

1754-1866.—Submarine cables.—Their early history.—Laying the Atlantic cable.—"Among the applications of the telegraph which deserve special mention for magnitude and importance is the Atlantic Cable. For boldness of conception, tireless persistence in execution, and value of results, this engineering feat, though nearly a half century old, still challenges the admiration of the world, and marks the beginning of one of the great epochs of the Nineteenth Century. It was not so brilliant in substantive invention, as it added but little to the telegraph as already known, beyond the means for insulating the wires within a gutta percha cable, but it was one of the greatest of all engineering works."—E. W. Bryn, *Progress of invention in the nineteenth century*, p. 32.—"A submarine telegraph cable is merely a land-line completely isolated for its whole length, as water is so potent a conductor of electric force. A cable consists of three essential parts,—the core, or conductor, of copper, because that is the best conducting substance known; the skin, or insulator, of gutta-percha, because this is quite as effective in its resistance to the electric current; and the shield, or protector, of steel wire, to strengthen the cable in handling and submerging, and to protect it against the dangers of chafing on the bottom of the ocean, especially in shoal water; of injury by marine insects, and of damage from various other causes. . . . Cables are made in two-mile lengths and as each such section is completed, its electrical resistance is tested by a special machine and carefully noted. When a cable is made it is put on board the cable ship which is to submerge it. . . . The cable is stored in tanks in the ship's hold, and when she reaches the place where the laying process is to commence, she lands a 'shore-end,' a section bound with steel to the thickness of a man's arm to withstand the chafing of the surf, winds, and currents. This is taken to the cable house, usually a short distance above high-water and to which the cable is laid in a trench, and then the ship steams seaward, putting out the cable as she goes. The process is continued day and night, or from seven to ten knots an hour, as the weather warrants. An Atlantic cable is usually laid in little over a week. The last Atlantic cable [prior to 1915] was laid from Penzance, Cornwall, England, to Bay Roberts, Newfoundland, in thirteen days by the *Colonia*, the biggest cable-laying ship in the world."—P. T. McGrath, *Transatlantic cables and their control* (*American Review of Reviews*, May, 1915, pp. 591-592, 594-595).—"As early as 1811, Sömmerring insulated a wire with India rubber, and laid it across the Isar River near Munich for experimental purposes. In 1838 Pasley insulated a conductor by winding it with tarred rope and pitched yarn. He used this cable for sub-aqueous cable purposes in connection with a Cooke-

Wheatstone telegraph. In 1842 Morse laid in New York harbor a wire insulated with hemp saturated with pitch and tar, and coated with India rubber. In 1845, Cornell laid in the Hudson River twelve miles of duplex cable. . . . This cable gave excellent service until it was broken by ice."—*Modern land and submarine telegraphy* (*Encyclopedia of applied electricity*, v. 7, p. 272).—The feasibility of submarine cables was first suggested in 1795 by a Spaniard, Salva, before the Barcelona Academy of Sciences. In 1813 John Robert Sharpe, an Englishman, transmitted signals through seven miles of insulated wire in a pond. This was followed in 1838 by a practical demonstration of the transmission of signals, in actual experiment, by Colonel Pasley of the Royal Engineers, at Chatterton, England. In 1839, Dr. O'Shaughnessy, director of the East India Company's telegraph system, transmitted telegraphic signals through insulated wire laid under the Hugli River in India. An important step was taken in 1842, when Prof. Samuel F. B. Morse insulated a wire with hemp soaked with tar and pitch, surrounded with India rubber, laid it between Castle Garden and Governor's Island in New York harbor, and succeeded in transmitting electric currents and signals through it. In 1850, submarine telegraph lines, insulated with gutta percha, was laid across the English Channel connecting Dover and Calais. A few messages were exchanged, but it soon ceased to operate. The first successful line was established between Dover and Calais in 1851. A cable containing four copper wires was insulated with gutta percha, surrounded by tarred hemp and protected by 10 galvanized iron wires wound spirally about it. This was then laid across the English channel and opened for public telegraph business on November 13, 1851, and continued in constant use for many years. Its weight was 7 tons per mile, and it was 25 miles long. The success of the cross-channel cable "gave rise to numerous other cable enterprises around England and many experiments: Three attempts between Hollyhead, England, and Dublin, Ireland: First, no hemp between conductor and armor; second, no armor, and the cable broke many times while laying and was broken by strong currents soon after laying; no weight to hold it to the bottom; third attempt, a good cable was made, but an inadequate brake apparatus on the vessel laying it caused so much to run out that there was not enough to reach Ireland. But the success of the Dover-Calais cable across the Straits of Dover kept the spark of hope burning among the people. . . . [In 1853 the] Fourth attempt to reach Ireland was successful between Scotland and Ireland. These cables all had from four to six conductors. Only one year elapsed before there was another cable in demand between England and the continent, and it was laid in 1853 between Dover and Ostend and had six conductors. Within ten years, one-half dozen excellent cables ranging between 25 and 117 miles connected England with the continent, and cables were then laid for short distances in the Mediterranean Sea. [During] . . . 1855, a gutta percha insulated wire was laid in the Black Sea 300 miles; no armor except ten miles at each shore end. It was broken shortly after the taking of Sebastopol and was never repaired. Great trouble was experienced in laying this wire with no armor on which strain could be put. In order to prevent strain, much more wire was paid out than the distance required. 1857: Cables were laid from Sardinia to Malta and from Malta to Corfu, each 500 miles long. One cable only lasted a short time, being too light; . . . [the] bottom was uneven

and attempts to repair were unsuccessful. The other lasted about two years."—B. O. Lenoir, *History and uses of submarine cables* (Stone and Webster Public Service Journal, Dec., 1914, pp. 448-449).

"Cyrus Field . . . established a company in America (in 1854), which . . . obtained the right of landing cables in Newfoundland for fifty years. Soundings were made in 1856 between Ireland and Newfoundland, showing a maximum depth of 4,400 metres. Having succeeded after several attempts in laying a cable between Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, Field founded the Atlantic Telegraph Company in England. . . . The length of the . . . cable [used] was 4,000 kilometres, and was carried by the two ships Agamemnon and Niagara. The distance between the two stations on the coasts was 2,640 kilometres. The laying of the cable commenced on the 7th of August, 1857, at Valentia (Ireland); on the third day the cable broke at a depth of 3,660 metres, and the expedition had to return. A second expedition was sent in 1858; the two ships met each other half-way, the ends of the cable were joined, and the lowering of it commenced in both directions; 140 kilometres were thus lowered, when a fault in the cable was discovered. It had, therefore, to be brought on board again, and was broken during the process. After it had been repaired, and when 476 kilometres had been already laid, another fault was discovered, which caused another breakage; this time it was impossible to repair it, and the expedition was again unsuccessful, and had to return. In spite of the repeated failures, two ships were again sent out in the same year, and this time one end of the cable was landed in Ireland, and the other at Newfoundland. The length of the sunk cable was 3,745 kilometres. Field's first telegram was sent on the 7th of August, from America to Ireland. The insulation of the cable, however, became more defective every day, and failed altogether on the 1st of September. From the experience obtained, it was concluded that it was possible to lay a trans-Atlantic cable, and the company, after consulting a number of professional men, again set to work. . . . The Great Eastern was employed in laying this cable. This ship, which . . . [was] 211 metres long, 25 metres broad, and 16 metres in height, carried a crew of 500 men, of which 120 were electricians and engineers, 179 mechanics and stokers, and 115 sailors. The management of all affairs relating to the laying of the cable was entrusted to Canning. The coast cable was laid on the 21st of July, and the end of it was connected with the Atlantic cable on the 23rd. After 1,326 kilometres had been laid, a fault was discovered, an iron wire was found stuck right across the cable, and Canning considered the mischief to have been done with a malevolent purpose. On the 2nd of August 2,196 kilometres of cable were sunk, when another fault was discovered. While the cable was being repaired it broke, and attempts to recover it at the time were all unsuccessful; in consequence of this the Great Eastern had to return without having completed the task. A new company, the Anglo-American Telegraph Company, was formed in 1866, and at once entrusted Messrs. Glass, Elliott and Company with the construction of a new cable of 3,000 kilometres. Different arrangements were made for the outer envelope of the cable, and the Great Eastern was once more equipped to give effect to the experiments which had just been made. The new expedition was not only to lay a new cable, but also to

take up the end of the old one, and join it to a new piece, and thus obtain a second telegraph line. The sinking again commenced in Ireland on the 13th of July, 1866, and it was finished on the 27th. On the 4th of August, 1866, the Trans-Atlantic Telegraph Line was declared open."—A. R. von Urbanitzky, *Electricity in the service of man*, pp. 767-768.

1855-1917.—Printer system.—Cables.—The first practical telegraph type-printing machine was devised by D. E. Hughes, an Englishman, in 1855. The system has been greatly improved and "the printing telegraphs of to-day produce their messages by the direct operation of typewriting machines or mechanisms operating substantially in the same manner as the ordinary typewriting machine. The methods by which the electrical impulses coming over the line are transformed into mechanical operation of the typewriter keys, or what corresponds to the typewriter keys, vary. It would be difficult to describe how this function is performed without entering upon much detail of a highly technical character. Suffice it to say that means have been devised by which each combination of electrical impulses coming over the line wire causes a channel to be opened for the motor operation of the typewriting key-bar operating the corresponding letter upon the typewriter apparatus. These machines write the messages with proper arrangement of the date line, address, text, and signature, operating not only the type, but also the carriage shift and the line spacing as required. A further step in advance has been made by feeding the blanks into the receiving typewriter from a continuous roll, an attendant tearing the messages off as they are completed. The entire operation is automatic from beginning to end and capable of considerable speed. There remained the problem of devising some means by which a number of automatic units could be operated over the same line at the same time. This is not by any means a new proposition. Here again various solutions have been offered by the scientists both of Europe and of this country, and different systems designed to accomplish the desired object have been placed in operation. One of the most recent and we believe the most efficient so far developed, is the so-called multiplex printer system, devised by the engineers of the Western Union Telegraph Company and now being extensively used by that company. Perhaps the best picture of what is accomplished by this system can be given by an illustration. Let us assume a single wire between New York and Chicago. At the New York end there are connected with this wire four combined perforators and transmitters, and four receiving machines operating on the typewriter principle. At the Chicago end the wire is connected with a like number of sending and receiving machines. All these machines are in simultaneous operation; that is to say, four messages are being sent from New York to Chicago and four messages are being sent Chicago to New York, all at the same time and over a single wire, and the entire process is automatic. The method by which eight messages can be sent over a single wire at the same time without interfering with one another cannot readily be described in simple terms. It may give some comprehension of the underlying principle to say that the heart of the mechanism is in two disks at each end of the line which are divided into groups of segments insulated from each other, each group being connected to one of the sending or receiving machines, respectively. A rotating contact brush connected to the line wire passes over the disk,

so that, as it comes into contact with each segment, the line wire is connected in turn with the channel leading to the corresponding operating unit. The brushes revolve in absolute unison of time and position. To use the same illustration as before, the brush on the Chicago disk and the brush on the New York disk not only move at exactly the same speed, but at any given moment the two brushes are in exactly the same position with regard to the respective group of segments of both disks. If we now conceive of these brushes passing over the successive segments of the disks at a very great rate of speed, it may be understood that the effect is that the electrical impulses are distributed, each receiving machine receiving only those produced by the corresponding sending machine at the other end. In other words, each of the sets of receiving and sending apparatus really gets the use of the line for a fraction of the time during each revolution of the brushes of the distributor or disk mechanism. The multiplex automatic circuits are being extended all over the country and are proving extremely valuable in handling the constantly growing volume of telegraph traffic. What has thus been achieved in developing the technical side of telegraph operation must be attributed in part to that impulse toward improvement which is constantly at work everywhere and is the most potent factor in the progress of all industries, but in large measure it is the reflex of the growing—and recently very rapidly growing—demands which are made upon the telegraph service. Emphasis is placed on the larger ratio of growth in this demand in recent years because it is peculiarly symptomatic of a noticeably wider realization of the advantages which the telegraph offers as an effective medium for business and social correspondence than has heretofore been in evidence. It means that we have graduated from that state of mind which saw in the telegraph something to be resorted to only under the stress of emergency, which caused many good people to associate a telegram with trouble and bad news and sudden calamity. . . . That is but one of the conditions which accounts for the growing use of the telegraph. Another is to be found in the recognition of the convenience of the night letter and day letter. This has brought about a considerable increase in the volume of family and social correspondence by telegraph, which will grow to very much greater proportions as experience demonstrates its value. In business life the night letter and day letter have likewise established a distinct place for themselves. Here also the present development of this traffic can be regarded as only rudimentary in comparison with the possibilities of its future development, indications of which are already apparent. It has been discovered that the telegram, on account of its peculiar attention-compelling quality, is an effective medium not only for the individual appeal, but for placing business propositions before a number of people at once, the night letters and day letters being particularly adapted to this purpose by reason of the greater scope of expression which they offer. Again, business men are developing the habit of using the telegram in keeping in touch with their field forces and their salesmen and encouraging their activities, in cultivating closer contact with their customers, in placing their orders, in replenishing their stocks, and in any number of other ways calculated to further the profitable conduct of their enterprises.”—W. K. Towers, *Masters of space*, pp. 272-280.—“Duplex operating of land telephone lines was introduced commercially in

1858, and the same year William Thomson patented a duplex method of operating submarine cable; this, however, was not immediately applied to commercial operations. . . . In 1862 Varley patented an artificial cable . . . with which a better balance was obtainable, but it was not until Muirhead patented an artificial line that the problem was so satisfactorily solved as to make duplex cable operation commercially successful.”—*Encyclopedia of applied electricity*, v. 7, p. 73.—“Probably the most important of the inventions relating to submarine telegraphs is the siphon recorder, invented by Sir William Thomson, now Lord Kelvin (U. S. Pat. No. 156,807, Nov. 17, 1874). It is called a siphon recorder because the record is made by a little glass siphon down which a flow of ink is maintained like a fountain pen. This siphon is vibrated by the electric impulses to produce on the paper strip a zigzag line, whose varying contour is made to represent letters.”—E. W. Bryn, *Progress of invention in the nineteenth century*, p. 32.

Also in: C. De F. Chandler, *Submarine telegraph cables* (*Scientific American*, Aug., 1922).

In 1915 there were “seventeen working cables across the Atlantic, distributed as follows: Four ‘Anglo-American’ cables between the British Isles and America, via Heart’s Content, Newfoundland. Three ‘Western Union’ cables,—two between the British Isles and America, via Bay Roberts, Newfoundland, and one via Canso, Nova Scotia. One ‘Direct U. S.’ cable between the British Isles and America, via Harbor Grace, Newfoundland. Five ‘Commercial’ cables,—two between the British Isles and America, via St. John’s, Newfoundland; two via Canso, and one via Horta, Azores. Two French cables,—one between Brest and New York, via St. Pierre, Miquelon, and one via Cape Cod. Two German cables between Borkum and New York, via the Azores. The Anglo-American Cable Company enjoyed a fifty-year monopoly in Newfoundland which made it impossible for any other cable company to effect a landing there until 1904, but as soon as this prohibition was removed all the other cable companies at once began to seek terms of entry. . . . Early in 1912 all the British telegraph cables in the North Atlantic, those of the Anglo-American Telegraph Company, were secured by the Western Union Telegraph Company of New York, under a 99-year lease, the one cable owned by the Direct United States Cable Company being also secured on similar terms. The result of this was that the control of every cable submerged in this section of the ocean, except the two French cables and the two German cables, passed under American control, and even the German cables may be virtually said to be so controlled also as to their western ends, because the Commercial Cable Company has an alliance with them. . . . [This made] American capitalists . . . absolute masters of this whole system of intercommunication across the Atlantic, with all the advantages appertaining thereto.”—P. T. McGrath, *Transatlantic cables and their control* (*American Review of Reviews*, May, 1915, pp. 591-594).

1915-1922.—Confiscation of German cables.—All British line.—United States cable law.—Cables in 1922.—During the Great War, the German cables were confiscated by Great Britain and France. In 1919, the Western Union Cable Co. abrogated its lease of the “Direct U. S. Cable,” giving as its reason the fact that the line was frequently out of operation, and thereupon the British government entered into negotiation for the purchase of the line, with a view to making

it a link in a line of "All British" telegraphic communication between England and Australia. In 1921, the United States government passed an Act "to prevent unauthorized cable landings in the United States, or any part of its possessions." This Act, up to the latter part of 1922, had prevented the landing at Miami of a cable laid for the Western Union Co., which it was said would connect with a British cable line from Brazil to the Barbadoes, and give color to a claim by the British company to a monopoly of cable communication between the United States and Brazil. In 1922, the importance of cable communication was again brought home when a body of armed men, in rebellion against the Irish Free State, took possession of Western Union cable stations in the southwest of Ireland. In 1922 "the submarine telegraph cables of the world number 530, with a total mileage of about 242,195; a sufficient length to encircle the earth at the equator about ten times. The longest section of submarine cable is part of the British Pacific cable between Vancouver and Fanning Island. This very long section has the remarkable record of uninterrupted service from natural causes since the original laying 19 years ago; except that during the recent war, the German cruiser 'Nürnberg' cut this cable as an act of hostility."—C. De F. Chandler, *Submarine telegraph cables* (*Scientific American*, Aug., 1922).

Telephone

1875-1893.—**Invention and early use.**—"The first and simplest of all magnetic telephones is the Bell Telephone." In "the first form of this instrument, constructed by . . . Graham Bell, in 1876 . . . a harp of steel rods was attached to the poles of a permanent magnet. . . . When we sing into a piano, certain of the strings of the instrument are set in vibration sympathetically by the action of the voice with different degrees of amplitude, and a sound, which is an approximation to the vowel uttered, is produced from the piano. Theory shows that, had the piano a much larger number of strings to the octave, the vowel sounds would be perfectly reproduced. It was upon this principle that Bell constructed his first telephone. The expense of constructing such an apparatus, however, deterred Bell from making the attempt, and he sought to simplify the apparatus before proceeding further in this direction. After many experiments with more or less unsatisfactory results, he constructed the instrument . . . which he exhibited at Philadelphia in 1876. In this apparatus, the transmitter was formed by an electromagnet, through which a current flowed, and a membrane, made of gold-beater's skin, on which was placed as a sort of armature, a piece of soft iron, which thus vibrated in front of the electromagnet when the membrane was thrown into sonorous vibration. . . . It is quite clear that when we speak into a Bell transmitter only a small fraction of the energy of the sonorous vibrations of the voice can be converted into electric currents, and that these currents must be extremely weak. Edison applied himself to discover some means by which he could increase the strength of these currents. Elisha Gray had proposed to use the variation of resistance of a fine platinum wire attached to a diaphragm dipping into water, and hoped that the variation of extent of surface in contact would so vary the strength of current as to reproduce sonorous vibrations; but there is no record of this experiment having been tried. Edison proposed to utilize the fact that the resistance of carbon varied under pressure. He had in-

dependently discovered this peculiarity of carbon, but it had been previously described by Du Moncel. . . . The first carbon transmitter was constructed in 1878 by Edison."—W. H. Preece, and J. Maier, *Telephony*, ch. 3-4.—In a pamphlet distributed at the Columbian exposition, Chicago, 1893, entitled "Exhibit of the American Bell Telephone Co.," the following statements are made: "At the Centennial Exposition, in Philadelphia, in 1876, was given the first general public exhibition of the telephone by its inventor, Alexander Graham Bell. Seventeen years later, more than half a million instruments were in daily use in the United States alone, six hundred million talks by telephone are held every year, and the human voice is carried over a distance of twelve hundred miles without loss of sound or syllable. The first use of the telephone for business purposes was over a single wire connecting only two telephones. At once the need of general intercommunication made itself felt. In the cities and larger towns exchanges were established and all the subscribers to any one exchange were enabled to talk to one another through a central office. Means were then devised to connect two or more exchanges by trunk lines, thus affording means of communication between all the subscribers of all the exchanges so connected. This work has been pushed forward until now have been gathered into what may be termed one great exchange all the important cities from Augusta on the east to Milwaukee on the west, and from Burlington and Buffalo on the north to Washington on the south, bringing more than one half the people of this country and a much larger proportion of the business interests, within talking distance of one another. . . . The lines which connect Chicago with Boston, via New York, are of copper wire of extra size. It is about one sixth of an inch in diameter, and weighs 435 pounds to the mile. Hence each circuit contains 1,044,000 pounds of copper."

1900.—**Dr. Pupin's revolutionary improvement in long-distance telephony.**—The most important advance in telephonic science that has been made since the invention of the Bell instrument was announced at about the beginning of the new century (1900), as the result of studies pursued by Dr. Michael I. Pupin, of Columbia University, New York. Mathematical and experimental investigations which Dr. Pupin had been carrying on, for several years, led him to a determination of the precise intervals at which, if inductance coils are inserted in a long conductor, an electric current in traversing it may be made to travel far without much loss of force. He is said to have taken a hint from seeing how waves of vibration in a cord are strengthened by lightly "loading" it at certain exact points, determined by the wave lengths. It is probably correct to describe his invention as being a scientific ascertainment of the points in a long telephonic circuit at which to load the electric current in it, and the precise loading to be applied. In a paper published in the "Western Electrician," describing his investigations mathematically, Dr. Pupin wrote: "If an increase in efficiency of wave transmission over a cord thus loaded is to be obtained, it is evident that the load must be properly subdivided and the fractional parts of the total load must be placed at proper distances apart along the cord, otherwise the detrimental effects due to reflections resulting from the discontinuities thus introduced will more than neutralize the beneficial effects derived from the increased mass. . . . The insertion of inductance coils at periodically recurring points along the wave conductor produces the same effect

upon electrical wave transmission as the distribution of the small loads along the stretched cord . . . produces upon mechanical wave transmission along the cord."

The result is that conversation by telephone over a distance of 3,000 miles is made not only practicable but easy, and that it is as practicable through submarine cables as through overland wires. Dr. Pupin's invention was sold to the Bell Telephone Company for a very large sum. Similar results in long distance communication were attained for wireless telephony by DeForest's audion.—See also below: Wireless, or radio: 1915-1921.

1915-1917. — Transcontinental line. — Increase in business.—"The first practical telephone line [built between 1876 and 1878] was a copy of the best telegraph line of the day. A line wire was strung on the poles and housetops, using the ground for the return circuit. Electrical disturbances, coming from no one knows where, were picked up by this line. Frequently the disturbances were so loud in the telephone as to destroy conversation. When a second telephone line was strung alongside the first, even though perfectly insulated, another surprise awaited the telephone pioneer. Conversation carried on over one of these wires could plainly be heard on the other. Another strange thing was discovered. Iron wire was not so good a conductor for the telephone current as it was for the telegraph current. The talking distance, therefore, was limited by the imperfect carrying power of the conductor and by the confusing effect of all sorts of disturbing currents from the atmosphere and from neighboring telephone and telegraph wires. These and a multitude of other difficulties, constituting problems of the most intricate nature, impeded the progress of the telephone art, but American engineers, by persistent study, incessant experimentation, and the expenditure of immense sums of money, . . . [overcame] these difficulties. They . . . created a new art, inventing, developing, and perfecting, making improvements great and small in telephone, transmitter, line, cable, switchboard, and every other piece of apparatus and plant required for the transmission of speech. As the result of nearly forty years of this unceasing, organized effort, on the 25th of January, 1915, there was dedicated to the service of the American public a transcontinental telephone line, 3,600 miles long, joining the Atlantic and the Pacific, and carrying the human voice instantly and distinctly between San Francisco and New York and Philadelphia and Boston. On that day over this line Doctor Bell again talked to Mr. Watson, who was now 3,400 miles away. It was a day of romantic triumph for these two men and for their associates and their thousands of successors who have built up the great American telephone art. The 11th of February following was another day of triumph for the telephone art as a product of American institutions, for, in the presence of dignitaries of the city and State here at Philadelphia and at San Francisco, the sound of the Liberty Bell, which had not been heard since it tolled for the death of Chief-Justice Marshall, was transmitted by telephone over the transcontinental line to San Francisco, where it was plainly heard by all those there assembled. Immediately after this the stirring tones of the 'Star-spangled Banner' played on the bugle at San Francisco were sent like lightning back across the continent to salute the old bell in Philadelphia. It had often been pointed out that the words of the tenth verse of the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus, added

when the bell was recast in 1753, were peculiarly applicable to the part played by the old bell in 1776. But the words were still more prophetic. The old bell had been silent for nearly eighty years, and it was thought forever, but by the use of the telephone a gentle tap, which could be heard through the air only a few feet away, was enough to transmit the tones of the historic relic all the way across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Thus, by the aid of the telephone art, the Liberty Bell was enabled literally to fulfil its destiny and 'Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.' The two telephone instruments of 1876 had become many millions by 1916, and the first telephone line, a hundred feet long, had grown to one of more than three thousand miles in length. This line is but part of the American telephone system of twenty-one million miles of wire, connecting more than nine million telephone stations located everywhere throughout the United States, and giving telephone service to one hundred million people. Universal telephone service throughout the length and breadth of our land, that grand objective of Theodore N. Vail, has been attained."—W. K. Towers, *Masters of space*, pp. 289-294.—"There were 54,319 telephones reported at the census of 1880. This had increased to 11,716,520. . . . In 1917 there were 113 telephones to each 1,000 population."—Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Census of Electrical Industries, 1917, Telephones*, p. 221.—"The number of calls made during the year [1917 was] estimated at 21,842,000,000, an average of over 200 for every [individual member of the community]."—*Official U. S. Bulletin*, May 18, 1919, p. 16.

1920-1921. — Amplifiers. — Projecting apparatus. — Loud speakers.—"The attenuation of current in a thousand mile cable is something almost unbelievable. . . . But with thirty amplifiers, ordinary telephone currents produce ordinary speech at the end of such a line."—C. Claudy, *Scientific American*, May 15, 1920.—A spectacular demonstration of the power of such instruments brought their use to the attention of the general public. "On Armistice Day [Nov. 11, 1921] when the body of an unknown soldier was laid at rest in Arlington cemetery, President Harding's address and the prayers and the songs at Arlington were heard as clearly and with as much feeling by 30,000 persons in New York City and 20,000 in San Francisco as though . . . these audiences had been . . . within the Arlington Amphitheater. In addition to this at least 100,000 persons scattered on the hillsides outside the Amphitheater also heard the entire ceremony with little difficulty. . . . The electrical equipment used on Armistice Day divides itself into two distinct sets of apparatus. First, the apparatus for increasing the volume of speech at Washington, New York and San Francisco; secondly, the apparatus for projecting it out to the large audiences, loud-speakers of the type developed by the Bell Telephone System being installed for the purpose. These loud-speakers were joined by a single telephone circuit which extended across the continent. . . . This circuit is likewise a development . . . [which had recently] been perfected and installed. . . . In many respects the principles underlying the operation of the loud-speaker and those underlying a long-distance telephone circuit (e.g., the transcontinental circuit used on Armistice Day) are similar. Each usually comprises a transmitter containing loosely packed granules of carbon whose agitation by the air waves created by the voice gives rise to variations of the electric cur-

rent flowing through them, these variations being an exact copy of these waves; a receiver of the electromagnetic type which converts the variations of the telephone current back into sound waves; and an amplifier for increasing the energy of the telephone current as it comes from the transmitter. Now in flowing through a long circuit such as the transcontinental line, the telephone current grows steadily weaker. . . . Long-distance telephony, therefore, demands some form of amplifier to restore the voice current to its original value. In circuits more than a few hundred miles long, the restoring or amplifying is, for practical reasons, done at regular intervals along the line. These amplifiers are known as telephone repeaters. . . . In connection with the loud-speaker we employ amplifiers, not to restore an attenuated telephone current as it traverses a long circuit, but to magnify the original current as it comes from the transmitter to the order of thousands or even millions of times, and then to reconvert it into very intense sound waves by means of large and powerful receivers. The amplifier of the loud-speaker may receive the small telephone current which it is to magnify directly from a transmitter, as was the case at Arlington, or from a telephone line, as in New York and San Francisco. . . . The intense sounds generated by the receivers were directed to each audience by clusters of large wooden horns or 'projectors' shaped very much like megaphones. . . . Calculations show that the loud-speaker at Arlington was capable of stepping up the energy of the telephone current coming from its transmitter considerably over one billion fold. . . . The total amplification within the transcontinental line was over one hundred million million fold. Combining this amplification of the line with that imparted to the telephone current before reaching the line in Arlington and after leaving it at San Francisco, gives the total amplification as about ten trillion trillion fold. . . . And it should be borne in mind that this trillion trillion fold amplification was so accurately controlled and applied that the audience at San Francisco heard the speeches and songs as realistically as though they were standing but a few feet from the speaker's stand at Arlington. The amplifiers of both the loud-speaker and the telephone repeater make use of the three-electrode vacuum tube which, . . . reduced to its simplest terms, is simply an electric valve so extremely sensitive that by its means one electric current (can control with absolute accuracy the flow of another current) which may be as much as a million times larger. To bring out this control action of the amplifier more clearly, consider the course of events in the transcontinental circuit. . . . A small undulatory current is generated by the transmitter on the speaker's stand at Washington whenever sound waves strike it. This small current flows only as far as the first amplifier where it brings about the liberation of a much larger undulatory current from a battery associated with this amplifier. . . . The new and larger current flows to the first repeater station at Newtown Square, in reaching which it has become much smaller than it was originally. At this repeater it liberates from a Newtown Square battery a third current—about as large as that which previously started from Arlington—which flows to New York, where the process is again repeated, and so on through the remainder of the fifteen repeater stations extending across the country. The final stage of amplification occurs in the amplifier of the San Francisco loud-speaker, in which the current coming from the telephone

line causes the liberation of a relatively very large current from the power plant of the loud-speaker. This final current operates the battery of loud-speaking receivers directly. While a minute or more may be required to read about the progress of the telephone current across the country . . . in reality . . . it is known that in the improved type of transcontinental circuit the telephone currents travel across the country with practically the speed of light, so that a given event in Washington and its reproduction 3500 miles away are virtually simultaneous."—*Scientific American*, Feb., 1922, pp. 120-121.

Wireless, or radio

1864-1903. — Maxwell. — Hertz. — Marconi. — First use of the discovery.—"In 1864, Maxwell observed that electricity and light have the same velocity, 186,400 miles a second, and he formulated the theory that electricity propagates itself in waves which differ from those of light only in being longer. This was proved to be true by Hertz, in 1888, who showed that where alternating currents of very high frequency were set up in an open circuit, the energy might be conveyed entirely away from the circuit into the surrounding space as electric waves. . . . He demonstrated that electric waves move with the speed of light, and that they can be reflected and refracted precisely as if they formed a visible beam. At a certain intensity of strain the air insulation broke down, and the air became a conductor. This phenomenon of passing quite suddenly from a non-conductive to a conductive state is . . . also to be noted when air or other gases are exposed to the X ray. Now for the effect of electric waves such as Hertz produced, when they impinge upon substances reduced to powder or filings. Conductors, such as the metals, are of inestimable service to the electrician; of equal value are non-conductors, such as glass and gutta-percha, as they strictly fence in an electric stream. A third and remarkable vista opens to experiment when it deals with substances which, in their normal state, are non-conductive, but which, agitated by an electric wave, instantly become conductive in a high degree. As long ago as 1866 Mr. S. A. Varley noticed that black lead, reduced to a loose dust, effectually intercepted a current from fifty Daniell cells, although the battery poles were very near each other. When he increased the electric tension four- to sixfold, the black-lead particles at once compacted themselves so as to form a bridge of excellent conductivity. On this principle he invented a lightning-protector for electrical instruments, the incoming flash causing a tiny heap of carbon dust to provide it with a path through which it could safely pass to the earth. Professor Temistocle Calzecchi Onesti of Fermo, in 1885, in an independent series of researches, discovered that a mass of powdered copper is a non-conductor until an electric wave beats upon it; then, in an instant, the mass resolves itself into a conductor almost as efficient as if it were a stout, unbroken wire. Professor Edouard Branly of Paris, in 1891, on this principle devised a coherer, which passed from resistance to invitation when subjected to an electric impulse from afar. He enhanced the value of his device by the vital discovery that the conductivity bestowed upon filings by electric discharges could be destroyed by simply shaking or tapping them apart. . . . The coherer, as improved by Marconi, is a glass tube about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch in internal diameter. The electrodes are inserted in this tube

so as almost to touch; between them is about $\frac{1}{30}$ of an inch filled with a pinch of the responsive mixture which forms the pivot of the whole contrivance. This mixture is 90 per cent. nickel filings, 10 per cent. hard silver filings, and a mere trace of mercury; the tube is exhausted of air to within $\frac{1}{10000}$ part. . . . The coherer, when unexcited, forms a link which obstructs the flow of a current eager to leap across. The instant that an electric wave from the sending-station impinges upon the coherer it becomes conductive; the current instantly glides through it, and at the same time a current, by means of a relay, is sent through [a] powerful voltaic battery, so as to announce the signal through an ordinary telegraphic receiver. An electric impulse, almost too attenuated for computation, is here able to effect such a change in a pinch of dust that it becomes a free avenue instead of a barricade. Through that avenue a powerful blow from a local store of energy makes itself heard and felt. No device of the trigger class is comparable with this in delicacy. An instant after a signal has taken its way through the coherer a small hammer strikes the tiny tube, jarring its particles asunder, so that they resume their normal state of high resistance. We may well be astonished at the sensitiveness of the metallic filings to an electric wave originating many miles away, but let us remember how clearly the eye can see a bright lamp at the same distance as it sheds a sister beam. . . . An essential feature of this method of etheric telegraphy, due to Marconi himself, is the suspension of a perpendicular wire at each terminus, its length twenty feet for stations a mile apart, forty feet for four miles, and so on, the telegraphic distance increasing as the square of the length of suspended wire. In the Kingstown regatta, July, 1898, Marconi sent from a yacht under full steam a report to the shore without the loss of a moment from start to finish. This feat was repeated during the protracted contest between the 'Columbia' and the 'Shamrock' yachts in New York Bay, October, 1899. On March 28, 1899, Marconi signals put Wimereux, two miles north of Boulogne, in communication with the South Foreland Lighthouse, thirty-two miles off. In August, 1899, during the manoeuvres of the British navy, similar messages were sent as far as eighty miles. . . .

"A weak point in the first Marconi apparatus was that anybody within the working radius of the sending-instrument could read its message. To modify this objection secret codes were at times employed, as in commerce and diplomacy."—G. Iles, *Flame, electricity and camera*, ch. 16.

"Shall we not," said Professor John Trowbridge, in an article published in the *New York Tribune*, January 6, 1901, "in the next hundred years dispense with the limitations of wires and speak boldly through space, reaching some expectant human ear hundreds of miles away with the same ease that we now converse in a room? It is already possible to send messages by dots and dashes sixty to seventy miles without the use of wires. In the early days of the telephone this was the practical limit of that instrument, and we are all familiar with the immense extension which has taken place. Shall we not see a similar extension in the field of wireless telegraphy? Some late experiments which I have made lead me to be optimistic in regard to a possible great extension of the methods of wireless telegraphy.

"In the first place, I believe that these experiments prove that wireless telegraphy is not necessarily or merely accomplished through the air,

but, on the contrary, that the earth plays the controlling part, and that the message flows, so to speak, through the earth or over its surface rather than through the air. The most striking experiment was as follows: The poles of a storage battery of twenty thousand cells were connected with the ground at the Jefferson Laboratory, and I was enabled to receive the message in a room three quarters of a mile from the laboratory without the use of masts or wires of any sort. The earth was the medium of communication, and it seems possible, by arranging the sending and receiving apparatus suitably in connection with the electrical capacity of the earth, that we may dispense with lofty masts and overcome in this way the curvature of the earth." On March 12th, 1901, the chief of the Weather Bureau, Professor Moore, gave to the Press the following statement as to experiments in progress along the Virginia and North Carolina coast: "The most efficient method of long distance transmission has been found to be from wire cylinders. The new coast stations are being equipped with cylinders of sixteen wires each and 140 feet in length. From these cylinders it is expected to cover a magnetic field of not less than five hundred miles. The stations now in operation are at Hatteras and at Roanoke Island, in Pamlico Sound, North Carolina. Workmen are beginning the construction of a station at Cape Henry, which will be the third station. When this is finished the two remote stations will be 127 miles apart."

"Up to the commencement of 1902 the only receivers that could be practically employed for the purposes of wireless telegraphy were based on what may be called the coherer principle—that is, the detector, the principle of which is based on the discoveries and observations made by S. A. Varley, Professor Hughes, Calsecchi Onesti, and Professor Branly. Early in that year the author was fortunate enough to succeed in constructing a practical receiver of electric waves, based on a principle different from that of the coherer. . . . The action of this receiver is in the author's opinion based upon the decrease of magnetic hysteresis, which takes place in iron when under certain conditions this metal is exposed to high frequency oscillations of Hertzian waves. . . .

"This detector is and has been successfully employed for both long and short distance work. It is used on the ships of the Royal Navy and on all trans-Atlantic liners which are carrying on a long-distance news service. It has also been used to a large extent in the tests across the Atlantic Ocean. . . . The adoption of this magnetic receiver was the means of bringing about a great improvement in the practical working conditions of wireless telegraphy by making it possible to do away with the troublesome adjustments necessary when using coherers, and also by considerably increasing the speed at which it is possible to receive, the speed depending solely on the ability of the individual operators. Thus a speed of over 30 words a minute has been easily attained. . . .

"In the spring of 1903 the transmission of news messages from America to the *London Times* was attempted, and the first messages were correctly received and published in that newspaper. A breakdown in the insulation of the apparatus at Cape Breton made it necessary, however, to suspend the service, and, unfortunately, further accidents made the transmission of messages unreliable, especially during the spring and summer. In consequence of this, the author's company decided not to attempt the transmission of any more public messages until such time as a reliable and

continuous service could be maintained and guaranteed under all ordinary conditions. . . . In October, 1903, it was found possible to supply the Cunard steamship *Lucania* during her entire crossing from New York to Liverpool with news transmitted direct to that ship from Poldhu and Cape Breton."—G. Marconi, *Recent advances in wireless telegraphy* (Annual Report Smithsonian Institution, 1905-6, pp. 137-142).

1899.—First sea equipment.—"Although an installation was carried on the *St. Paul* for one trip in 1899, the credit of being the pioneers in the use of wireless telegraphy on the ocean belongs to the North-German Lloyd and Cunard Companies. The first vessel fitted was the *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse*, and the lead of the Germans was immediately followed by the English company. Both vessels were fitted by the Marconi Company, which has the distinction of being the first company to equip vessels on a commercial basis."—*Correspondence of the London Times*, July 2, 1909.

1903.—Tuning devices.—"It is well to remember that the year 1903 is the earliest date at which radio-telegraphy could be regarded as really workable, and of material practical utility. Previous to then, 'wireless' working was very uncertain, but in that year tuning devices were introduced, the principle of which was originally due to Sir Oliver Lodge; and it is these that have made so much difference in the application of Hertzian waves for the purposes of telegraphy. Practical success in radio-telegraphy should not, in fact, be judged from the point of view of the distance at which signals can be sent—or received—but rather from the standpoint of non-interference and secrecy. The essential element in wireless telegraphy—above all others—is, indeed, a discriminating or selective method. For the main purposes of radio-telegraphy, immunity from interference by syntony is essential. Thus a selective system in time of war would be invaluable; a non-selective system almost worse than useless. Syntonic wireless telegraphy entails in the first place, a similar rate of oscillation, or tune—i.e., a similar wave length—at the sending and receiving ends. Indeed, the real problem in wireless telegraphy is to arrange the receiving apparatus so that it is alive to notes of one definite frequency, or pitch, but deaf to any other notes, even though of but slightly different pitch. This is effected by the proper adjustment of inductance and capacity, as first shown by Sir Oliver Lodge. . . . It is, however, at present, impossible to secure really complete secrecy from any method of open wave radiation. A radio-telegraphist, with the right apparatus and a knowledge of the tune, could upset any system of Hertzian wave telegraphy. It should, therefore, be clearly understood that there are, as yet, definite limits to the practical results of tuning for securing absolute selectivity and secrecy."—C. Bright, *Useful sphere for radio-telegraphy* (*Westminster Review*, Apr., 1908).

1907.—Inauguration of Transatlantic service.—"The Transatlantic wireless service was inaugurated in October, 1907, between Ireland and Canada, the charges being reduced from 1s. per word for business and private messages and 5d. per word for Press messages to 5d. and 2½d. respectively, these charges not including the land line charges on both sides of the Atlantic. . . . The first wireless messages across the Atlantic were sent from the Canadian station at Table Head, in Cape Breton, in 1902. This station was afterwards removed to its present site, five miles inland, and there greatly enlarged. Ever since 1902 Mr. Marconi has been conducting experiments and mak-

ing new discoveries and improvements until, at the present day, wireless telegraphy across the Atlantic, over a distance of 2000 miles, is an assured success. . . . Press traffic . . . was started on October 17, 1907. On February 3, 1908, the service was extended to private and business telegrams between Montreal and London."—*Correspondence of the London Times*, June 25, 1909.

1909.—Singular unexplained phenomena.—Speaking at Stockholm, Sweden, on the occasion of his receiving the Nobel Prize, in December, 1909, Mr. Marconi gave the following account of some unexplained phenomena that are experienced in the working of radio-telegraphy. He said that "a result of scientific interest which he first noticed during the tests on the steamship *Philadelphia* and which was a most important factor in long distance radio-telegraphy was the very marked and detrimental effect of daylight on the propagation of electric waves at great distances, the range by night being usually more than double that attainable during daytime. He did not think that this effect had yet been satisfactorily investigated or explained. . . . He was now inclined to believe that the absorption of electric waves during the daytime was due to the ionization of the gaseous molecules of the air effected by ultra-violet light, and as the ultra-violet rays which emanated from the sun were largely absorbed in the upper atmosphere of the earth, it was probable that the portion of the earth's atmosphere which was facing the sun would contain more ions or electrons than that portion which was in darkness, and therefore, as Sir J. J. Thomson had shown, this illuminated and ionized air would absorb some of the energy of the electric waves. Apparently the length of wave and amplitude of the electrical oscillations had much to do with this interesting phenomenon, long waves and small amplitudes being subject to the effect of daylight to a much smaller degree than short waves and large amplitudes. . . . For comparatively short waves, such as were used for ship communication, clear sunlight and blue skies, though transparent to light, acted as a kind of fog to these waves. . . . It often occurred that a ship failed to communicate with a near-by station, but could correspond with perfect ease with a distant one. . . . Although high power stations were now used for communicating across the Atlantic, and messages could be sent by day as well as by night, there still existed short periods of daily occurrence during which transmission from England to America, or *vice versa*, was difficult."

1909-1912.—Rescues at sea.—Legislation.—The importance of the use of wireless telegraphy at sea was dramatically demonstrated on January 23, 1909, when, in a dense fog, the steamship *Republic*, of the White Star Line, was struck amidships by the Italian liner the *Florida*, twenty-six miles off the island of Nantucket. Both ships were badly damaged; but the *Republic* had a wireless equipment, by means of which the operator, Jack Binns, called the *Baltic*, which was similarly equipped, to their aid. The passengers were taken off, and the *Florida* was salvaged, but the *Republic* sank. Following upon this accident "in February [1909] the United States House of Representatives passed a Bill providing that 'every ocean passenger steamer certified to carry 50 passengers or more, before being granted a clearance for a foreign or domestic port 100 miles or more distant from the port of her departure from the United States, shall be equipped with an efficient radio-telegraph installation, and shall have in her employ and on board an efficient

radio-telegrapher.' . . . [This bill was approved in 1910.] Following the example of the United States Congress a Bill has been introduced in the Canadian House of Commons. An Italian Royal Decree dated March 14 provides that all vessels of whatever nationality clearing from Italian ports with emigrants shall carry a wireless installation."—*Correspondence of the London Times, July 2, 1909.*—In April, 1912, the *Titanic* struck an iceberg and went down in midocean, and 1517 of her passengers and crew were lost, 706 being rescued from boats by the *Caronia* which came up in response to calls from the wireless telegraph. Following this second catastrophe, and a third International Conference, which opened in London on June 4, the United States government passed a law which enacts that auxiliary power must be provided for the radio telegraph, and that in passenger ships which carry over a certain number of passengers, two skilled operators must be employed. The provisions of this act also cover cargo vessels, but in case of boats which carry less than 100 men one operator only is required to be certificated, and may be relieved by a sailor who is competent to send and receive signals.

1914-1918.—*Developments during the World War.*—It was in the period of the World War, however, that wireless telegraphy became an all-important factor in the life of the various nations, and hence received the greatest impetus. "During the war [World War] and since, messages have been sent direct from Washington to all parts of the world. . . . Long messages are copied off on a machine something like a type-writer, which, however, does not make type impression, but cuts perforations in a long sheet of paper. The paper is then run through a transmitter at a high speed and the message is sent out at a rate of as much as twelve hundred words a minute. At the receiving-station, the message is received photographically on a strip of paper. . . . In this way a perfect record is made of the message in dots and dashes, which are translated into the corresponding letters of the alphabet. . . . [The wireless compass] is another radio invention which . . . [the United States] contributed during the war, that proved of utmost service in thwarting German spies. . . . It was a simple matter to obtain the necessary apparatus, because there was plenty of it to be had everywhere. . . . It was highly important that these concealed stations be located. . . . The audion had made it possible to receive radio signals on a very small aerial. In place of the ordinary stationary aerial a frame five feet square was set up so that it could be turned to any point of the compass. A few turns of copper-bronze wire were wound round it. This was called the 'wireless compass.' It was set up on the roof of the radio station and concealed within a cupola. The shaft on which it was mounted extended down into the operating-room and carried a wheel by which it could be turned. On the shaft was a circular band of aluminum engraved with the 360 degrees of the circle, and a couple of fixed pointers indicated true north and south. Now when a signal was received by the aerial, . . . the compass [was] . . . turned until the loudest sound [was] . . . heard in the receiver and then the compass dial [showed] . . . from what direction the signals [were] . . . coming. At the same time, another line on the signals [would] . . . be found by a second station with another compass. These directions [were] . . . traced on a map; and where they [met], . . . the sending-station must be located. With this apparatus it was possible to locate the direction of the station within a de-

gree. After the station had been located as closely as possible in this way, a motor-truck was sent out in which there was a concealed radio compass. The truck would patrol the region located by the fixed compasses, and with it the position of the concealed station could be determined with perfect accuracy. . . . Even receiving-sets were discovered with the portable compass, but to find them was a far more difficult task. . . . [Since the close of the war] a number of radio-compass stations have been located around the entrance and approach to New York Harbor. Similar stations have been, or soon will be, established at other ports. As soon as a ship arrives within fifty or a hundred miles of port she is required to call for her bearings. The operator of the control station instructs the ship to send her call letters for thirty seconds, and at the same time notifies each compass station to get a bearing on the ship. This each does, reporting back to the control station. The bearings are plotted on a chart and inside of two minutes from the time the ship gives her call letters, her bearing is flashed to her by radio from the control station. The chart on which the plotting is done is covered with a sheet of glass. Holes are pierced through the glass at the location of each compass station. On the chart, around each station, there is a dial marked off in the 360 degrees of the circle. A thread passes through the chart and the hole in the glass at each station. These threads are attached to weights under the chart. When a compass station reports a bearing, the thread of that station is pulled out and extended across the corresponding degree on the dial. The same is done as each station reports and where the threads cross, the ship must be located."—A. R. Bond, *Inventions of the Great War, pp. 198-200, 202-205, 206, 208.*

"As soon as there seemed to be a possibility that . . . [the United States] might be drawn into the war, the Secretary of the Navy asked for the design of apparatus that would make it possible for ships to converse with one another and with shore stations. . . . A special equipment was designed for battleships and on test it was found that ships could easily converse with one another over a distance of thirty-five miles and to shore stations from a distance of a hundred and seventy-five miles. The apparatus was so improved that nine conversations could be carried on at the same time without any interference of one by the others. When it became certain that we should have to enter the war, there came a call for radiotelephone apparatus for submarine-chasers, and work was started on small compact outfits for these little vessels."—*Ibid., pp. 191-193.*

RADIOTELEPHONES FOR AIRPLANES.—"Then there was a demand for radiotelephone apparatus to be used on airplanes. . . . The first task was to make the apparatus noiseproof. A special sound-proof room was constructed in which a noise was produced exactly imitating that of the engine exhaust of an airplane engine. In this room, various helmets were tried in order to see whether they would be proof against the noise, and finally a very suitable helmet was designed, in which the telephone receiver and transmitter were installed. By . . . [the summer of 1917] the work had proceeded so far that an airplane equipped with transmitting-apparatus could send spoken messages to an operator on the ground from a distance of two miles. The antenna of the airplane consisted of a wire with a weight on the lower end, which hung down about one hundred yards from the body of the machine. But a trailing antenna was

a nuisance in airplane manœuvres, and it was also found that the helmet which was so satisfactory in the laboratory was not just the thing for actual service in an airplane. It had to fit very tightly around the ears and the mouth, and as the airplane went to high altitudes where the air-pressure was much lower than at the ground level, painful pressures were produced in the ears which were most annoying. Aside from that, in actual warfare airplanes have to operate at extreme heights, where the air is so rare that oxygen must be supplied to the aviators, and it was difficult to provide this supply of oxygen with the radio helmet tightly strapped to the head of the operator. But after considerable experiment, this difficulty was overcome and also that of the varying pressures on the ears. Another great difficulty was to obtain a steady supply of power on the airplane to operate the transmitting-apparatus. It has been the practice to supply current on airplanes for wireless-telegraph apparatus by means of a small electric generator which is revolved by a little propeller. The propeller in turn is revolved by the rush of air as it is carried along by the plane. But the speed of the airplane varies considerably. At times, it may be traveling at only forty miles per hour, and at other times as high as one hundred and sixty miles per hour, so that the little generator is subjected to great variations of speed and consequent variations of voltage. This made it impossible to produce the steady oscillations that are required in wireless telephony. After considerable experiment, a generator was produced with two windings, one of which operated through a vacuum tube, somewhat like an audion, and to resist the increase of voltage produced by the other winding. Then another trouble developed. The sparks produced by the magneto in the airplane motor set up electro-magnetic waves which seriously affected the receiving-instrument. There was no way of getting rid of the magneto, but the wires leading from it to the engine were incased in metal tubes which were grounded at frequent intervals, and in that way the trouble was overcome to a large extent. The magnetos themselves were also incased in such a way that electro-magnetic waves would not be radiated from them. Instead of using trailing wires which were liable to become entangled in the propeller, the antenna was extended from the upper plane to the tail of the machine, and later it was found that by using two short trailing antennæ one from each tip of the wings, the very best results could be obtained. Still another development was to embed the antenna wires in the wings of the plane. It was considered necessary, if the apparatus was to be practicable, to be able to use it over a distance of two thousand yards, but in experiments conducted in October, 1917, a couple of airplanes were able to talk to each other when twenty-three miles apart, and conversations were carried on with the ground from a distance of forty-five miles. The conditions under which these distances were attained were unusual, and a distance of three miles was accepted as a standard for communication between airplanes. The apparatus weighed only fifty-eight pounds and it was connected with both the pilot and the observer so that they could carry on conversations with each other and could both hear the conversation with other airplanes or the ground. As a matter of fact, airplanes with standard apparatus are able to talk clearly to a distance of five miles and even to a distance of ten miles when conditions are favorable, and they can receive messages from the ground over almost any dis-

tance. A similar apparatus was constructed for submarine-chasers with a standard range of conversation of over five miles. . . . This was particularly . . . [valuable] in the case of submarine detection, when it was possible for a seaplane or a balloon to report its findings at once to submarine-chasers and destroyers, and to guide them in pursuit of submarines. The improved audion holds out a wonderful future for radiotelephony. For receiving, at least, no elaborate aerial will be needed, and with a small loop of wire, an audion or two and simple tuning-apparatus any one can hear the radio gossip of the whole world."—*Ibid.*, pp. 193-198.

1915-1921.—Use of De Forest's audion.—Wireless telephony from Montauk Point to Wilmington, Del.—Transcontinental and transoceanic speech.—"Before the war, an aviator when on the wing was both deaf and dumb. He could communicate with other airplanes or with the ground only by signal or, for short distances, by radiotelegraphy, but he could not even carry on conversation with a fellow passenger in the machine without a speaking-tube fitted to mouth and ears so as to cut out the terrific roar of his own engine. Now the range of his voice has been so extended that he can chat with fellow aviators miles away. This remarkable achievement and many others in the field of radio-communication hinge upon a delicate electrical device invented by DeForest in 1906 and known as the 'audion.' For years this instrument was used by radio-telegraphers without a real appreciation of its marvelous possibilities, and, as a matter of fact, in its earlier crude form it was not capable of performing the wonders it has achieved since it was taken over and developed by the engineers of the Bell Telephone System."—A. R. Bond, *Inventions of the Great War*, pp. 184-185.—"The audion is a small glass bulb from which the air is exhausted to a high degree of vacuum [in other words a vacuum tube]. The bulb contains three elements. One is a tiny filament which is heated to incandescence by a battery, so that it emits negatively charged electrons. The filament is at one side of the bulb and at the opposite side there is a metal plate. When the plate and the filament are connected with opposite poles of a battery, there is a flow of current between them, but because only negative electrons are emitted by the filament, the current will flow only in one direction—that is, from the plate to the filament. If the audion be placed in the circuit of an alternating-current generator, it will let through only the current running in one direction. Thus it will 'rectify' the current or convert alternating current into direct current. But the most important part of the audion, the part for which DeForest is responsible, is the third element, which is a grid or flat coil of platinum wire placed between the filament and the plate. This grid furnishes a very delicate control of the strength of the electric current between plate and filament. . . . The range of wire telephony was greatly increased by the use of certain coils invented by Pupin [see above: Telephone: 1900], which were placed in the line at intervals. . . . Used as a relay, the improved audion made it possible to pick up very faint wireless-telegraph messages and in that way increased the range of radio outfits. Messages could be received from great distances without any extensive or elaborate aërials, and the audion could be used at the sending-station to magnify the signals transmitted and send them with far greater power. Having improved the audion and used it successfully for long-distance telephone conversation over

wires, the telephone company began to experiment with wireless telephony."—*Ibid.*, pp. 185-188.—"Attempts at long-distance talking without wires were made from Montauk Point, on the tip of Long Island, to Wilmington, Delaware, and they were successful. This was in 1915. The apparatus was still further improved and then the experiment was tried of talking from the big Arlington station near Washington to Darien, on the Isthmus of Panama. This was a distance of twenty-one hundred miles, and speech was actually transmitted through space over that great distance. That having proved successful, the next attempt was to talk from Arlington to Mare Island and San Diego, on the Pacific Coast, a distance of over twenty-five hundred miles. This proved a success, too, and it was found possible even to talk as far as Honolulu. The engineers now felt confident that they could talk across the Atlantic to Europe, and so in October of 1915 arrangements were made to conduct experiments between Arlington and the Eiffel Tower in Paris. . . . The Eiffel Tower could be used only for short periods of time, and there was much interference from other high-powered stations. Nevertheless, the experiment proved perfectly successful, and conversation was carried on between . . . [Washington and Paris], a distance of thirty-six hundred miles. At the same time, an operator in Honolulu, forty-five hundred miles away, heard the messages, and so the voice at Arlington carried virtually one third of the way around the globe."—A. R. Bond, *Inventions of the Great War*, pp. 191-192.

1918-1920.—Alexanderson alternator.—"For a number of years the design of radio frequency alternators has occupied the attention of Mr. E. F. W. Alexanderson and his staff. Starting with the development of several experimental types of alternators, they have steadily progressed towards the design of more powerful machines, which are now available for commercial use. Standardized alternator sets for transmission, at wave lengths between 6,000 and 10,000 meters, and between 10,500 and 25,000 meters are now [1921] under construction. . . . In September 1918 a 200 kilowatt alternator set was installed at the New Brunswick station of the Radio Corporation."—Abstract of paper by E. E. Bucher, *Scientific American Supplement*, Oct. 20, 1921.—"Instead of utilizing oscillations generated by vacuum tubes as has been the practice, the oscillations are now produced by a high-frequency alternator. . . . This does not mean that the vacuum tube has been discarded, for a limited number of these tubes are necessary to regulate the oscillations produced by the alternator and to superimpose the telephonic signals upon the continuous wave emitted by the machine. Perhaps the greatest advantage of this new machine is that the wave length transmitted may be varied simply by changing the speed of the machine. As a result of this invention, the patents of which are held here in the United States, the whole business of radio communication has undergone a transfer of control that means much to the future of this country in a political and commercial way. . . . In the days prior to the invention of the Alexanderson alternator the radio stations were sending out irregular waves, which like a drunken driver covered all the available street by their zigzagging. The new apparatus has done away with this. . . . Seven messages can now be made to keep their own path and travel on the same right of way formerly occupied by a single message. Another great advance in radio has come from the development of the so-called barrage re-

ceiver, which allows simultaneous sending and receiving. . . . Through the use of this invention a receiving station may be located close to a sending station which transmits on the same wave length, and yet the receiving station will be insensitive to the signals transmitted by that station, though it can receive messages from the other side of the ocean. Just after we got into the war the powerful German wireless station at Nauen was used to drown . . . messages from the United States [to France and England]. . . . This muddled the American communications beyond understanding and caused Alexanderson and his associates to start investigations of remedial measures that led to the perfecting of the barrage receiver, which effectively shut out the German signals. . . . Before this wireless talking was a one-way business. One person could listen, but could not answer back until the speaker had finished and both had thrown a switch simultaneously to reverse the process. A final wonderful radio development is the practice of photographic receiving of wireless messages. The instrument employed for this work is also a United States invention, having been discovered by an electrical engineer named C. A. Hoxie. This instrument permits the eye to replace the ear in reading a wireless communication. It enables greater speed in receiving, greater accuracy and a permanent record. It will decipher messages that operators were unable to get by ear. In practice the machine has already recorded at the rate of 400 words a minute, which is as fast as a machine gun shoots. . . . The mechanism of this new receiving device is comparatively simple. The tape on which the message is recorded is propelled by an electric motor. Automatically this tape enters a developing fluid; then a hypo fixing bath; next it is washed in running water and dried by electric heat assisted by forced draft. All of this process is invisible, as it is effected inside of the little machine. The message pours out of the wonderful device into a basket and contains an average of the word for every inch of tape. The time to record, develop, fix, wash and dry the tape is from two to four minutes. The rolls of tape are 1000 feet long and a continuous message of 10,000 words can be recorded without reloading the machine."—F. W. Parsons, *New day in communication* (*Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 7, 1920, pp. 30, 32).

1919.—Long distance radio.—"Loud speakers."—Amplifiers.—Repeaters and projectors.—The use of vacuum tube amplifiers, and other highly scientific devices brought about an increasingly rapid development of long distance telephony, both by wire and radio, and a surprising adaptation of its use to public speaking. In 1919 it was stated that "wonders have been wrought in public speaking within the last few weeks, thanks to the intensive application of the vacuum tube amplifiers, and the loud speaking telephone. . . . Public speeches have been transmitted by means of the wireless telephone through many miles of space to an expectant audience."—*Scientific American*, May 10, 1919.

1921.—The radio link.—"The radio telephone has become part and parcel of our wire telephone system and is fast becoming as practical as the latter. The American Telephone and Telegraph Co. (in 1921) conducted experiments with radio links and the Transcontinental [telephone] line. The telephonic communication in this case was established between the steamship "Gloucester" . . . off Deal Beach, N. J., and Santa Catalina Island, situated some thirty miles off the coast

of California . . . from the Gloucester to Deal Beach via radio; from Deal Beach to New York, via telephone line; from New York to San Francisco via transcontinental Telephone line, from San Francisco to Los Angeles . . . [and] from Los Angeles to Long Beach via telephone line; and from Long Beach by radio to . . . Catalina Island. The first commercial radio and connecting land toll line is the Santa Catalina and California radio link which was set in operation . . . [in 1920]. The Avalon-Los Angeles circuit . . . [consists] of a little more than one mile of wire line from Avalon [Catalina Islands] . . . to Pebble Beach a 31½ mile radio link to Long Beach, and 25 miles additional wire circuit to Los Angeles."—*Scientific American*, Nov., 1921, p. 40.

Survey of late inventions

For the most part new discoveries are worked out in laboratories, where scientists are employed by the great corporations to guide and improve the works and where they have all the complicated and delicate instruments and machinery needed to carry out experiments, at their command. It is difficult to estimate the great results which have flowed from the small beginnings of a hundred years ago; but a short account of a day spent by Thomas Edison at the plant of one of these great corporations is of interest, as giving some idea in non-technical terms, to the general reader, of the power which has been gained through the science of electricity.

"Thomas A. Edison, who has dealt in marvels all his life, was amazed at some of the things he saw today in the General Electric Company laboratories. . . . He saw a mercury boiler so much more efficient than steam that when it is perfected it will mean a saving of one-third in coal used to produce power. He saw a machine for registering the voice by light on a moving picture film that has unlimited possibilities of development—including talking-movies. And he saw vacuum tubes that have in them the germ of greater things than the world has yet known in electrical science. The day was in all ways a tribute to Edison, for although the application of electron energy, as demonstrated to him, is the beginning of a new science, the future of which is so vast that physicists dare not predict what may be found in it, they traced it all to his invention forty-three years ago of the incandescent bulb, the study of which has produced the vacuum tube which E. W. Rice, Jr., said, 'is destined to revolutionize our present methods of generation, transmission and utilization of electricity.' So they called him 'Master' and showed him things of which he had not dreamed when he blazed the path. Steinmetz juggled his lightning bolts for him, splintered wood and dissipated metal in a flash of fire. . . . Langmuir showed him tubes that Edison thought might mean much in long-distance transmission of power until 'you can't tell where it will end'; and he held a 100,000 candle power incandescent lamp which made his own first bulb seem like the glow of a firefly, a bulb which he did not believe could have been built. It was a great day for Edison and a great day for the physicists of the company, for it marked the achievements of forty years.

"He went to the room where in a heat of 5,500 degrees Fahrenheit, the greatest heat produced by man, he saw bars of tungsten run through a furnace and drawn out into wires. From there he went to the room where Dr. Irving Langmuir, inventor of the vacuum tubes, which the other day

took the place of enormous alternators in sending wireless messages across the Atlantic, showed him some of the big lamps he and his assistants have been working on. . . . The evolution by which they were changed from air-cooled to water-cooled tubes, so that they could be built larger and larger to carry more and more power, was explained. . . . The pallo photo phone, the machine which registers sound on a moving picture film so that voices and music may be reproduced in ordinary wireless loud-speaking phones and may be developed into talking movies in which the picture and sound would be perfectly synchronized, was demonstrated to Edison by the inventor, C. A. Hoxie. . . . This machine, while still in the experimental stage, has had great things predicted for it. The record is made by causing the sound waves to produce vibrations on a minute mirror. A beam of light reflected by the mirror strikes a photographic film kept in motion and which, when developed, shows a band of white with delicate markings on the edges which correspond to the sound reproduced. On account of the small mirror, its low inertia, and other factors, it is possible to produce a sound record which includes the very delicate overtones which give quality to music and speech and which, it was said, had not been so successfully accomplished by any other method of recording sound waves. The reproduction of the sound from the film is accomplished by moving the film in front of a delicate electrical device which produces an electromotive force that varies with the amount of light falling upon it. By a combination of vacuum or electron tubes an apparatus has been produced which responds to variation in the light falling on it with a speed so high that it can only be compared with that of light itself, or with the speed of the propagation of wireless waves in space. Therefore when this film is moved continuously in front of such a device, the device produces an electric current corresponding very accurately to the original sound wave. This electric current may be used to operate a telephone or loud speaker, and has been used to operate the radio transmitting station WGY of the General Electric Company. A method of taking the last bit of gas out of a vacuum tube was demonstrated by Dr. Langmuir. It was a small induction coil, which was set down over the tube, or electric bulb. The current penetrated the glass without heating it, and made the filament in the bulb glow, so as to burn up the gas. Dr. Langmuir put a small file inside the coil, and it turned red, and then told Mr. Edison to put his finger in the coil. He did so and laughed, as his finger did not even warm. He had seen induction coils before, but not this application of them. . . . Dr. [Charles] Steinmetz took him in charge then and went over to the big electrical laboratory where he is sole ruler. He has reproduced the phenomena of lightning in making experiments [first brought to public notice in 1921] to test lightning arresters and insulation.

"There were 120,000 volts in the big plates up near the ceiling. From them a wire led to a large electrode. About five inches below it was another electrode, from which a wire led to a piece of elm limb about five inches long and three thick. When Dr. Steinmetz gave the signal electricity began to gather in the plates, corresponding to storm clouds, until it reached 120,000 volts, when it exploded like a rifle shot across the gap and the piece of wood fell to pieces. Some of the bark fell twenty feet away. Another bit of elm was blown apart, and then an insulator, pro-

ected by Dr. Steinmetz's lightning arrester, was placed on the table. The cells exploded, and the insulator stood up. On the next test with the arrester removed the insulator was cracked open. Mr. Edison suggested that two insulators be used, and Dr. Steinmetz had them placed. . . . Nothing happened; the insulators stood up.

"Now we will convert some tungsten into helium," said Dr. Steinmetz. "Some people claim that they can change one metal into another by high electric currents. We have never been able to do that here."

"But when the tungsten was put on the table and the lightning hit it, it vanished. Helium gas it was supposed to turn into, although Dr. Steinmetz said they had never tested the gas to make sure. Dr. Steinmetz has a way of discharging 250,000 volts, and is now working on one to throw 500,000 volts.

"Several other buildings were visited and then Mr. Edison was taken to the turbine shop, where the turbines for driving battleships and electric generators are made. One was there of 40,000 horsepower that would light 2,000,000 sixteen-candle power Edison lamps, enough for a city of 200,000 persons. . . . In one of the turbine shops the new mercury boiler was shown him by the inventor, W. L. R. Emmet, engineer in charge of turbine work. This boiler was built to utilize the heat efficiency which is lost in steam boilers. The mercury is vaporized at a heat of 1,000 degrees and the vapor goes at a relatively low pressure into a turbine. From there it passes into a condenser, where it condenses at a temperature so much higher than is necessary to heat water that the condenser acts as a heater for a steam boiler, the steam from which goes to a steam turbine. Then the condensed mercury, still at high temperature, goes back to its own boiler. The mercury boiler it was explained, increases the output of kilowatt energy per unit of coal some 30 per cent., and saves that amount of coal. If 1,000 pounds of coal were used in a steam boiler, only 700 pounds would be used in the mercury boiler, a great increase in efficiency."—*New York Times*, Oct. 19, 1922.

"A 1,000,000-watt vacuum tube has been developed in the General Electric Research Laboratory here by J. H. Payne, Jr. The huge capacity tube is a magnetron, involving the principle of magneto control as developed by Dr. Albert W. Hull of the Laboratory. The tube is expected to be of much importance, both in radio work and long distance power transmission. Its output is about 40 amperes at 25,000 volts, and serves as a rectifier to change alternating to direct current, and also to change direct to alternating current of any frequency or to convert low frequency alternating current to high frequency. It is thought that one tube will be sufficient to carry radio telephone signals across the Atlantic. This tube consists essentially of a water-cooled cylindrical anode 30 inches long and 1¾ inches in diameter. In the axis of the anode is a tungsten filament four-tenths of an inch in diameter and 22 inches long. This filament is excited by current of 1,800 amperes at 10,000 cycles, the filament excitation requiring about 20 kilowatts. The magneto field produced by this large heating current is sufficient to "cut off" the electrical current from the cathode to the anode during a portion of each half cycle of the current passing through the cathode, this action taking the place of that of the grid in the three electrode tube. The electron current to the cathode is thus interrupted 20,000 times per second. By the use of properly tuned

circuits this can be used for the production of high frequency power radio or any other purpose."—*Toronto Mail and Empire*, Oct. 25, 1922.

ELECTRICITY. See ELECTRICAL DISCOVERY.

ELECTRO-MAGNET. See ELECTRICAL DISCOVERY: 1820-1825.

ELECTROMETER, electric measuring instrument. See ELECTRICAL DISCOVERY: Measuring instruments: 1833-1921.

ELECTRONS, particles of matter charged with negative electricity. See CHEMISTRY: Radio-activity: Cathode ray theory; Electric discharges.

ELECTROSCOPE, measuring instrument. See ELECTRICAL DISCOVERY: Measuring instruments: 1833-1921.

ELEGIT, Writ of. See COMMON LAW: 1286: Writ of elegit.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL SYSTEMS. See EDUCATION: Modern; and Modern developments.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS ACT. See ENGLAND: 1866-1897.

ELEMENTS, Chemical: Table of. See CHEMISTRY: General: Phlogiston period.

ELEPHANT, Order of the, Danish order of knighthood instituted in 1693 by King Christian V.

ELEPHANTINE, city of ancient Egypt, located on an island of the same name immediately below the first cataract of the Nile. See AFRICA: Ancient and medieval civilization: Development of Egyptian civilization; EGYPT: Old empire and middle empire.

ELEPHANTINE POPYRI. See ALPHABET: Theories of origin and development.

ELESBAAN, or Caleb (fl. 6th century), king of Abyssinia. See ABYSSINIA: 6th-16th centuries.

ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES.—"For many centuries Greece had been the home of certain cults distinguished alike from the domestic worship of the private citizen and the public ceremonies of the State. They were reserved for those who had been specially admitted after due preparation. The person of the candidate must be purified; he must be pledged to secrecy concerning the holy sights and sacred words; disclosure might involve the penalty of death. Such rituals of a ruder kind are now known to be wide-spread among the peoples of the lower culture, and certain elements in Greek practice which had acquired the sanctity of ancient custom may have been derived from an earlier and cruder stage of thought and life. Two great religious ideas emerge out of the obscurity in which these mysteries still remain in spite of all the labours of recent students for their elucidation. They were believed to open a way to direct communion with the Deity, and—perhaps as a natural consequence—to secure for the believer the promise of a happy immortality. Most famous of all were the mysteries of Eleusis. The town stood on a low rocky height guarding a bay upon the coast of Attica, opposite the island of Salamis. Across the hills and the fertile plain which separated it from Athens ran the Sacred Way, twelve miles in length, adorned in the course of many generations with temples and monuments. Along this road as early as the seventh century (perhaps earlier still) passed the processions year by year in the month of September, to and fro, bearing the 'holy things,' or escorting the 'fair young god' Iacchos. There were lustrations as the candidates for initiation (*mystae*) bathed in the sea; and they were required to be sexually pure, and to have abstained from certain forbidden foods. There was something in the nature of a religious

drama or passion-play, in which Demeter and the Maid (Kore, her daughter) and Aidoneus, lord of the under-world, took part. There was a display of consecrated objects, and the *mystæ* partook of some sacred food. There was a discourse by the presiding officer or hierophant. It probably explained the meaning of what was offered to the wondering gaze of the beholders. The fame of the Mysteries, the solemnity of the previous preparations, the concentration of thought and expectation on great themes, the contagion of numbers, the sympathy of a vast crowd from distant lands, all intensified the impression. The result was, as Aristotle phrased it, that they felt certain emotions, and were put into a certain frame of mind. Writing in the time of Julian in the fourth century A. D., Themistius compared the experiences of the initiated with those of the soul at the point of death; there were glooms and terrors, and then a wondrous light; the initiate was received into pure regions with holy dance and song; he joined in the divine communion and companied with the blessed, while those outside were huddled together in filth and fog. From the days of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter which practically threw the mysteries open to all Greece, it had been believed that they secured for the initiated a better lot in the world beyond the grave. Women, and even slaves, were admitted, and finally all limits of nationality were transcended, and the entry was made as wide as Roman citizenship. The homicide was rejected, and Nero suffered the ignominy of exclusion. The professor of unhalloved rites might not enter, and the door was closed against Apollonius or Tyana as a wandering magician. Otherwise there seem to have been no definite moral demands upon the candidates. They were not redeemed from any sinful ways. No pattern of conduct was held up before them; nor was the nature of the future life made clear. But they were inspired with faith in a happy immortality; and the sense of belonging to a vast community who had marched together along the Sacred Way, added to the conviction of a consecrated destiny, may well have given to many devout spirits an elevation of sentiment which dignified and strengthened their whole character. A decree of the Amphictyonic Council in the second century B. C. declared it to be 'the tradition of the mysteries that the greatest of human blessings is fellowship and mutual trust.' The epitaph on a certain hierophant, who passed on to the immortals in the tenth year of his office, affirmed that he found death not an evil but a blessing. The Eleusinian faith spread far and wide, and doubtless prompted many a prayer like that inscribed on Alexandrian grave-reliefs that the departed 'might reach the region of the holy ones.'—J. E. Carpenter, *Phases of early Christianity*, pp. 215-216.—'The Eleusinian mysteries continued to be celebrated during the whole of the second half of the fourth century, till they were put an end to by the destruction of the temple at Eleusis, and by the devastation of Greece in the invasion of the Goths under Alaric in 395.'—W. Smith, in *Gibbon's History of the decline and fall of the Roman empire*, ch. 25 (note).—See also ELEUSIS.

ALSO IN: R. Brown, *Great Dionysiak myth*, ch. 6, sect. 2.—J. J. I. von Dollinger, *Gentile and the Jew*, v. 1, bk. 3.—C. C. Felton, *Greece, ancient and modern*, course 2, lect. 10.

ELEUSIS.—Eleusis was originally one of the twelve confederate townships into which Attica was said to have been divided before the time of Theseus. In 700 B. C. it was annexed to Athens.

(See ATHENS: B. C. 700-565.) It "was advantageously situated [about fourteen miles northwest of Athens] on a height, at a small distance from the shore of an extensive bay, to which there is access only through narrow channels, at the two extremities of the island of Salamis [see GREECE: Map of ancient Greece]; its position was important, as commanding the shortest and most level route by land from Athens to the Isthmus by the pass which leads at the foot of Mount Cerata along the shore to Megara. . . . Eleusis was built at the eastern end of a low rocky hill, which lies parallel to the sea-shore. . . . The eastern extremity of the hill was levelled artificially for the reception of the Hierum of Ceres and the other sacred buildings. Above these are the traces of an Acropolis. A triangular space of about 500 yards each side, lying between the hill and the shore, was occupied by the town of Eleusis. . . . To those who approached Eleusis from Athens, the sacred buildings standing on the eastern extremity of the height concealed the greater part of the town, and on a nearer approach presented a succession of magnificent objects, well calculated to heighten the solemn grandeur of the ceremonies and the awe and reverence of the *Mystæ* in their initiation. . . . In the plurality of enclosures, in the magnificence of the pylæ or gateways, in the absence of any general symmetry of plan, in the small auxiliary temples, we recognize a great resemblance between the sacred buildings of Eleusis and the Egyptian Hiera of Thebes and Philæ. And this resemblance is the more remarkable, as the Demeter of Attica was the Isis of Egypt. We cannot suppose, however, that the plan of all these buildings was even thought of when the worship of Ceres was established at Eleusis. They were the progressive creation of successive ages. . . . Under the Roman Empire . . . it was fashionable among the higher order of Romans to pass some time at Athens in the study of philosophy and to be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. Hence Eleusis became at that time one of the most frequented places in Greece; and perhaps it was never so populous as under the emperors of the first two centuries of our æra. During the two following centuries, its mysteries were the chief support of declining polytheism, and almost the only remaining bond of national union among the Greeks; but at length the destructive visit of the Goths in the year 396, the extinction of paganism and the ruin of maritime commerce, left Eleusis deprived of every source of prosperity, except those which are inseparable from its fertile plain, its noble bay, and its position on the road from Attica to the Isthmus. . . . The village still preserves the ancient name, no further altered than is customary in Roman conversions."—W. M. Leake, *Topography of Athens*, v. 2: *The demi*, sect. 5.—See also ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES; GOTHs: 395.

ELEVATED RAILWAYS, New York. See NEW YORK CITY: 1869-1920.

EL FASHER, town of Africa, capital of Darfur, occupied by British during World War. See SUDAN: 1914-1920.

ELGAR, Sir Edward William (1857-), English composer; conductor of the Worcester Instrumental Society, 1882; organist at St. George's, 1885; established his European reputation with the beautiful oratorio, "The Dream of Gerontius." See MUSIC: Modern: 1842-1921; Modern English composers.

ELGIN, James Bruce, Earl of (1811-1863), British statesman and colonial ruler; 1842, governor of Jamaica; 1846, governor-general of Canada, where he succeeded Lord Durham, and engaged

in the important work of putting into effect his predecessor's policy; 1856, special envoy to China; 1858, negotiated treaty of Tientsin, and Treaty of Yeddo; 1860, concluded convention with Chinese government; appointed viceroy and governor-general of India, where he died.—See also CANADA: 1843-1849; CHINA: 1856-1860.

ELGIN, Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of (1766-1841), British diplomat and art collector, donor of marbles to British museum. See BRITISH MUSEUM: Explorations and accessions; PARTHENON: 1801.

ELGIN, Victor Alexander Bruce, 9th Earl of (1849-1917), British statesman; 1886, commissioner of works; 1894-1899, governor-general and viceroy of India; 1900, chairman of Royal Commission on South African War; 1905, secretary of state for colonies; 1907, president at imperial conference.—See also BRITISH EMPIRE: Colonial and imperial conferences: 1907; RACE PROBLEMS: 1903-1908.

ELGIN MARBLES. See BRITISH MUSEUM: Explorations and accessions; PARTHENON: 1801.

EL GIRHEIR, place in Palestine, region of attacks by Turks, in 1917. See WORLD WAR: 1917; VI. Turkish theater: c, 2, ii.

EL HADHR. See HATRA.

ELIJAH, Hebrew prophet. See JEWS: Religion and the prophets.

ELIOT, Charles William (1834-), American educator. Professor of chemistry at Harvard, 1858-1863, and at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1865-1869; president of Harvard University, 1869-1909; president emeritus since 1909.

ELIOT, George (1819-1850), pen name of Mrs. Mary Ann Evans Cross, English author. See ENGLISH LITERATURE: 1832-1880.

ELIOT, John (1604-1690), clergyman and missionary of early colonial times, known as the "Apostle to the Indians," and famed for his labors among them. He wrote a catechism, the first book printed in the Indian language. This was followed by a primer, and a translation of the Bible, which was printed in 1663, the first Bible printed in America. To separate the converted Indians from their tribes he made a settlement at Nonantum in 1646, and in 1651 moved it to Natick, Mass., where a church was built in 1660; John Eliot arrived in Boston in 1631, and in 1632 settled in Roxbury, where he lived for the rest of his long life.

ELIOT, Sir John (1592-1632), English statesman whose career is associated with the parliamentary struggle with the crown in the last years of James I and early years of Charles I. Member of Parliament irregularly between 1614 to 1629. Prominent in the impeachment of the duke of Buckingham in 1625 and in the formulation and enactment of the Petition of Right. He died in the Tower of London. See ENGLAND: 1629.

ELIS.—Elis was an ancient Greek state, occupying the country on the western coast of Peloponnesus, adjoining Arcadia, and between Messenia at the south and Achæa on the north. It was noted for the fertility of its soil and the rich yield of its fisheries. But Elis owed greater importance to the inclusion within its territory of the sacred ground of Olympia, where the celebration of the most famous festival of Zeus came to be established at an early time. The Elians had acquired Olympia by conquest of the city and territory of Pisa, to which it originally belonged, and the presidency of the Olympic games was always disputed with them by the latter. Elis was the close ally of Sparta down to the year 421 B. C., when a bitter quarrel arose between them, and Elis allied herself with Athens. (See

ATHENS: B. C. 419-416.) Elis suffered heavily in the wars which ensued. It was afterwards at war with the Arcadians, and joined the Ætolian league against the Achæan league. The city of Elis was one of the most splendid in Greece; but little now remains, even of ruins, to indicate its departed glories.—See also OLYMPIC GAMES.

1909.—Earthquake. See GREECE: 1909 (July).

ELISHA, Hebrew prophet. See JEWS: Religion and the prophets.

ELISII, tribe in ancient time, in Polish lands. See LYGIANS.

ELISSA, or Dido, legendary founder of Carthage. See CARTHAGE: Founding of.

ELIZABETH (1553-1603), queen of England from 1558 until 1603. Daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn; educated a Protestant, and studied under Roger Ascham; repealed the Catholic laws of the previous reign and completely established the Anglican Church (see CHURCH OF ENGLAND: 1534-1563); 1564, concluded the Treaty of Troyes with France, renouncing English claims to Calais; 1587, signed the death warrant of Mary, Queen of Scots, who had been guilty of plotting against her; 1588, her navy under Admiral Howard defeated the Spanish Armada and prevented an invasion of England. Her reign was one of great commercial enterprise and intellectual activity.—See also ENGLAND: 1558-1603; IRELAND: 1558-1560; NETHERLANDS: 1581-1584; 1585-1586.

ELIZABETH, industrial city on the Elizabeth river in New Jersey, first settled in 1665. See NEW JERSEY: 1664-1667.

ELIZABETH AMÉLIE EUGÉNIE (1837-1898), empress-queen of Austria-Hungary and wife of Francis Joseph; assassinated in 1898. See AUSTRIA-HUNGARY: 1898 (September).

ELIZABETH FARNESE (1602-1766), queen of Spain. She was a princess of Parma; married Philip V of Spain. See ITALY: 1715-1735; SPAIN: 1713-1725; 1726-1731.

ELIZABETH PETROVNA (1700-1762), empress of Russia, 1741-1762, daughter of Peter the Great. Was placed on the throne after a short revolution; took part in the War of the Austrian Succession, and later in the Seven Years' War against Frederick the Great; allowed herself to be ruled by favorites. See RUSSIA: 1740-1762.

ELIZABETH STUART (1596-1662), queen of Bohemia; daughter of James VI of Scotland (James I of England), and wife of Frederick V, elector palatine of the Rhine and king of Bohemia. See GERMANY: 1618-1620; 1621-1623.

ELIZABETHAN AGE: Drama. See DRAMA: 1558-1592; 1592-1648.

Economic progress. See ENGLAND: 1558-1603. Literature. See ENGLAND: 1558-1603: Literature; ENGLISH LITERATURE: 1530-1660.

Parliament. See ENGLAND: 1558-1603: Parliament.

EL KEFR, town in Palestine, taken by British in 1918. See WORLD WAR: 1918: VI. Turkish theater: c, 8.

ELKESAITES, "the name of a section of syncretistic Jewish Christianity. . . . Elxai is probably not the name of a person but the name of a book which was the chief authority for this sect. . . . As origin reports, this book was believed to have fallen from heaven. . . . The work itself contains a large element of natural religion mingled with Judaistic and Christian ideas. . . . Ritschi regards the Elkesaites as the antipodes of the Montanists, and asserts as their chief peculiarity the setting forth of a new theory of remission of sins by a new baptism. Giessler has wrongly identified them with the Ebionites. . . . The Elkesaites were not a distinct sect but rather

a school scattered among all parties of the Judeo-Christian Church. This syncretistic-gnostic Judaism contributed to the origin of Islam."—*New Schaff-Herzog religious encyclopedia*, v. 4, pp. 112-113.

ELK HORN, or Pea Ridge, Battle of. See U. S. A.: 1862 (January-March: Missouri-Arkansas).

ELKINS, Stephen Benton (1841-1911), American capitalist and politician. Delegate to Congress from Territory of New Mexico, 1873-1877; vice president of the West Virginia Central and Pittsburg railway; secretary of war, 1890-1893; United States senator, 1894-1911; prominent in connection with railway legislation. See COMMODITY CLAUSE OF THE HEPBURN ACT; RAILROADS: 1887-1906; 1908-1909; U. S. A.: 1910 (March-June).

EL KUBEIBEH, town in Palestine, southeast of Joppa, held by Turks in 1917. See WORLD WAR: 1917: VI. Turkish theater: c, 2, iv.

EL KUNEITRA, town in Syria, east of the Jordan, scene of battle in 1908. See WORLD WAR: 1918: VI. Turkish theater: c, 21.

ELKUS, Abram I. (1867-), American lawyer and diplomat. Ambassador to Turkey, 1916-1917; made judge of court of appeals of New York, 1919.

ELKWATER, Battle of. See U. S. A.: 1861.

ELLA (d. c. 514), king of the South Saxons; founded the kingdom of Sussex by defeating the Britons and capturing the Roman city of Anderida.

ELLANDUM, Battle of (823), decisive victory of Egberht, the West Saxon king, over the Mercians.

ELLEBRI. See IRELAND: Tribes of early Celtic inhabitants.

EL LEJJUN, town in Palestine, scene of battle in 1918. See WORLD WAR: 1918: VI. Turkish theater: c, 16.

ELLENBOROUGH, Edward Law, Earl of (1790-1871), British statesman; 1828 lord privy seal; 1841, governor-general and viceroy of India, during the Indian mutiny and the conquest of Sind; 1844, was recalled by the directors of the East India Company, but received the thanks of Parliament and the title of earl; 1846, first lord of admiralty; 1858, president board of control. See INDIA: 1836-1845.

ELLERY, William (1727-1820), American statesman and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. See U. S. A.: 1776 (July): Text of Declaration of Independence.

ELLESMERE, Baron. See BRACKLEY, THOMAS EGERTON.

ELLICE ISLANDS, archipelago in the Pacific ocean, under British protection, situated half-way between Piji and Golbert. See PACIFIC OCEAN: 1800-1914.

ELLCOTT, Joseph (1760-1826), American civil engineer, founder of the city of Buffalo. See BUFFALO: 1799.

ELLIOTT, Howard (1860-), American railway president, on executive committee of railroads. See RAILROADS: 1916-1920.

ELLIOTT, Jesse Duncan (1782-1845), American naval officer, in War of 1812. See U. S. A.: 1812 (September-November).

ELLIS, John Willis (1820-1861), governor of North Carolina. See NORTH CAROLINA: 1861 (January-May); U. S. A.: 1860-1861 (December-February); 1861; President Lincoln's call to arms.

ELLIS, William Hodgson (1845-), Canadian chemist. See FERTILIZERS: Chemistry applied to soil cultivation.

ELLIS ISLAND, small island in upper New York bay, one mile southwest from the Battery. It was bought by the United States from New York state in 1808. It was used as a powder magazine until 1891, when it was made an immigrant station. The present buildings were erected in 1897.

ELLSWORTH, Ephraim Elmer (1837-1861), American lawyer and soldier. In 1861 he organized Zouave regiment in New York, of which he became colonel. See U. S. A.: 1861 (May: Virginia).

ELLSWORTH, Oliver (1745-1807), American statesman and jurist. Member Connecticut Assembly 1773-1775; member Continental Congress, 1778-1783; member of Governor's Council in Connecticut 1780-1785, 1803-1807; judge of State Superior Court, 1785-1789; member of Constitutional Convention, 1787; United States senator, 1789-1796; chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1796-1799; diplomatic commissioner to France, 1799-1800. See U. S. A.: 1787.

ELMACIN, El-Makin or Elmacinus, George (c. 1223-1274), Christian historian of Arabia. See HISTORY: 21.

EL MENDUR, in Palestine, seven miles south of Gaza, occupied by British in 1917. See WORLD WAR: 1917: VI. Turkish theater: c, 1, ii.

ELMET, small kingdom of the Britons which was swallowed up in the English kingdom of Northumbria early in the seventh century. It answered, roughly speaking, to the present West-Riding of Yorkshire. Leeds "preserves the name of Loidis, by which Elmet seems also to have been known."—J. R. Green, *Making of England*, p. 254.

EL MEZEIREH, in Syria, taken by British in 1918. See WORLD WAR: 1918: VI. Turkish theater: c, 4.

ELMIRA, industrial city of New York, situated on the Chemung river. In 1779 it was the scene of a battle (see U. S. A.: 1779 [August-September]); 1815, incorporated as village of Newton; 1828, named Elmira; 1836, became a county seat; and in 1864 it was chartered as a city. It is noted for its railroad car shops, bridge works, and radiator works. It is the site of a famous reformatory. See PRISON REFORM: England.

EL MIRR, in Syria, taken by the British in 1918. See WORLD WAR: 1918: VI. Turkish theater: c, 4.

EL MUGHEIR, in Palestine, southeast of Jappa, captured by British in 1918. See WORLD WAR: 1918: VI. Turkish theater: c, 12.

EL MUNTAR, in Palestine, near Jericho, taken by British in 1918. See WORLD WAR: 1918: VI. Turkish theater: c, 1.

ELOHIST RECORD: First and second, term applied by modern scholars to certain biblical works. See HISTORY: 14.

ELPHINSTONE, Mountstuart (1779-1859), Anglo-Indian statesman, lieutenant-governor of Bombay, 1819-1827. Served as commander in Indian wars. See INDIA: 1816-1819.

EL PARDO, Pact of (1885). See SPAIN: 1885-1896.

EL PASO, city in Texas on Mexican border, scene of Mexican bandit riots in 1919. See MEXICO: 1919 (June-December).

ELSTER, Battle of (1080). See PAPACY: 1056-1122.

ELTEKEH, victory won by the Assyrian, Sennacherib, over the Egyptians, before the disaster befell his army which is related in II. Kings 19:35. Sennacherib's own account of the battle has been

found among the Assyrian records.—A. H. Sayce, *Fresh light from the ancient monuments*, ch. 6.

ELUSATES, tribe of Aquitaine. See AQUITAINE: Ancient tribes.

ELVIRA, Battle of (1319). See SPAIN: 1273-1460.

ELVIRA, Synod of (306). See IDOLATRY AND IMAGE WORSHIP: Image worship in Christianity.

ELXAL. See ELKESAITES.

ELY, city in Cambridgeshire, England, famous for its cathedral. See ENGLAND: 1069-1071.

ELYMAIS, ancient Greek name of southern portion of Elam. See ELAM.

ELYMEIA, southernmost portion of Macedonia. See MACEDONIA.

ELYMIANS, ancient people. See SICILY: Early inhabitants.

ELYOT, Sir Thomas (c. 1400-1546), English educational writer. See ENGLISH LITERATURE: 1530-1660.

ELYSIAN FIELDS, in Greek belief the abodes of the righteous after death, the "Isles of the Blest." "In the year 81 B. C. [Sertorius] . . . happened to meet . . . with some seamen who had recently visited the 'Atlantic Islands.' These they described as being two in number, separated by a very narrow channel, and lying in the open sea at a distance of ten thousand stadia (1000 geographical miles) from the African coast. The climate of the islands they reported to be delightfully temperate, exempt from cold and violent winds and from excessive rain, with a soft and moist air, which not only rendered the soil fertile for cultivation, but produced self sown fruits in great abundance. The account thus given took such hold on the imagination of Sertorius that he was seized with a strong desire to betake himself to this spot . . . but he was forced to desist from this project by the unwillingness of the Cilician pirates, who formed the crews of his ship, to accompany him. As was natural, these islands were identified with the 'Islands of the Blessed' which had been celebrated from early days in Greek poetry—'where there is no snow nor yet great storm, nor any rain', . . . indeed, we are told that the barbarians themselves believed that in them were to be found the Elysian plains and the Abodes of the Happy, of which Homer had sung. Though the distance from the continent which is attributed to these islands must in any case have been a great exaggeration, yet it seems impossible to regard the Canaries, lying as they do within easy reach of the African coast, as corresponding to them; and the circumstance that they are spoken of as two only, suggests that Madeira and the neighboring Porto Santo were meant. . . . At a later period, however, there is no doubt that the islands which were known as *Fortunatae Insuloe* were the Canaries."—H. F. Tozer, *History of ancient geography*, pp. 225-226.—See also CANARY ISLANDS.

ELZEVIRS, family name of famous Dutch printers. See PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1583-1680.

EMAIN MACHA, famous hill of ancient Ireland. See ARMAGH.

EMANCIPATION, Brazil: Of slaves. See BRAZIL: 1871-1888.

EMANCIPATION, Irish: Of Catholics. See IRELAND: 1811-1820.

EMANCIPATION, Prussian edict of. See GERMANY: 1807-1808.

EMANCIPATION, Russian: Of serfs. See RUSSIA: 1861-1864.

EMANCIPATION, United States: Preliminary proclamations. See U. S. A.: 1862 (May):

General Hunter's emancipation order; 1862 (September).

Lincoln's proclamation. See U. S. A.: 1863 (January).

Of families of colored soldiers. See U. S. A.: 1865 (March): Emancipation of families of colored soldiers.

Of slaves in Missouri. See MISSOURI: 1862-1865.

EMANIA, famous palace of ancient Ireland. See IRELAND: Tribes of early Celtic inhabitants.

EMANUEL I (1469-1521), king of Portugal, 1405-1521. His reign is noteworthy for the continuance of Portuguese discoveries and the extension of their trading posts.

"**EMBALMED BEEF**", popular term for the inferior quality of canned beef served to American soldiers in Spanish-American War. See U. S. A.: 1808-1899.

EMBARGO: Definition.—Pacific or hostile.—"Embargo pure and simple is nothing more than the detention of ships in port; and it may be put in force for good reason by a state against its own vessels, as was done by the United States in 1807, when to avoid the violent action of both French and English cruisers neutral American merchantmen were for a time prevented from leaving American ports by the act of their own Government. A detention of this kind is called Pacific Embargo, and it has no necessary connection with any attempt to obtain redress for injuries received. When merchant vessels of the offending state are detained in the ports of the state which deems itself aggrieved, we have an instance of such an attempt, and it is called Hostile Embargo. Some writers regard it as a kind of Reprisal; but there is a distinction between the two in that the former consists of seizures in the waters of the offended state, and the latter of seizures on the high seas and in the ports of the state which gives the provocation. The legal effects of Hostile Embargo were stated by Lord Stowell in a luminous judgment in the cases of the *Boedes Lust*, which arose in 1803. After the rupture of the Peace of Amiens, Great Britain had good reason to believe that Holland was only waiting for an opportunity in order to join France against her. An Embargo was, therefore, laid upon all Dutch vessels in British ports with the object of inducing Holland to give up her alliance with Napoleon. Its effect was just the contrary. War broke out, and the question of the legal effect of the original seizure of the Dutch vessels came before a Prize Court. Lord Stowell laid down that Hostile Embargo was at first equivocal in its legal aspects and its real character was determined by the events that followed it. If war broke out, its commencement had a retroactive effect and made the seizure belligerent capture from the first. If satisfaction was given and friendship restored between the two states, the original seizure amounted to nothing more than civil detention and worked no disturbance of proprietary rights. Up to and during the last century Hostile Embargo was often resorted to in contemplation of hostilities. If a state found in its ports a considerable number of vessels belonging to a probable adversary, it was apt to seize the opportunity and lay hands upon them before the actual outbreak of war. The growth of commercial interests, and possibly a quickened sense of justice, have caused the practice to be discontinued; and in modern times the merchant vessels of the enemy found in port at the commencement of hostilities are generally allowed a fixed period in which to depart without molestation."—T. J.

Lawrence, *Principles of international law*, pp. 295-297.—The so-called pacific embargo is theoretically a domestic matter, and may be laid to avoid friction or to conserve supplies. An embargo on arms and munitions is occasionally used as a measure of very strict neutrality. The pacific embargo is capable, however, of use as a war measure, and may in some cases be more effective than blockade. The term has been extended to include other methods of transportation than by ship, just as has the doctrine of continuous voyage.

First American embargoes.—The United States laid her first embargo on March 26, 1794, in retaliation for the British orders in council. It remained in effect for sixty days. Later, during the wars between France and England, the United States was driven to pass first, a non-importation act in April, 1806, and then in December, 1807, a strict embargo act. This latter act prevented American vessels from engaging in any foreign commerce. It naturally met with much opposition in the New England States, the commercial center of the Union, where influential interests were almost entirely Federalist, and ready to oppose any measure of the Democratic-Republicans, who were then in power. (The opposition was so intense that in many sections secession was advocated.) Although smuggling was carried on to no small degree, the nation's exports fell from \$108,000,000 in 1807 to \$22,000,000 in 1808. As a means of bringing England and France to terms, the embargo was a failure. The United States suffered far more than either of the belligerents. This was realized by Congress in February, 1809, when a repeal bill was passed. Another embargo was laid in December, 1813, to remain in force until January 1, 1815. It was repealed, however, in April, 1814, for the same reasons which caused the repeal of the Embargo of 1807. "New England could not be coerced into subscription to national loans, but she might be prevented from trading with the enemy. Accordingly, a new and rigid embargo was enacted in December, 1813. Hardly was it on the statute-book when it had to be modified to prevent the people of the island of Nantucket from starving, because of the rigid enforcement of the prohibition of intercourse with the mainland. A fortnight after the passage of this embargo came the news of the overwhelming defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig, which meant that all the continent of Europe was now open to British commerce. . . . By April the futility of the embargo was clear: it was not serviceable either abroad or at home, and on Madison's recommendation it was repealed, April 14."—K. C. Baheock, *Rise of American nationality*, 1811-1819 (*American Nation: A history*, v. 13, pp. 158-159).—See also TARIFF: 1808-1824; U. S. A.: 1804-1809; 1808-1810; 1813-1814; 1912-1916.

During the World War.—"On March 1, 1915, the British Government informed the principal neutral powers that, in view of German violation of international law, it and the French Government would 'hold themselves free to detain and take into port ships carrying goods of presumed enemy destination, ownership, or origin,' and added that it was 'not intended to confiscate such vessels or cargoes unless they would otherwise be liable to condemnation.' Ten days later an Order in Council put this program into effect. Originally, the 'embargo,' as it came to be called, was defended simply as a retaliatory measure. Very soon however, the foreign office began to characterize it as a 'blockade,' although it is clearly a new application of the blockade principle, especially as it interferes with commerce through neutral ports.

The question of the effect of the embargo on the war has been much discussed. Without doubt it . . . contributed to make Germany's task much more difficult, and especially in the matter of the manufacture of high explosives. . . . [Later] developments, especially the entry of the United States into the war . . . strengthened the embargo."—*War cyclopedia*, p. 85.

"The President [of the United States] acting under authority given him by an Act of Congress, . . . forbade the export of a long list of articles to any of the fifty-six countries and their dependencies, save under licenses obtained from the bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. The purpose of the Government, he said, was to better the food conditions which had risen and were likely to arise before the crops were harvested. In liberating any surplus over and above our own needs, the wants of nations fighting against Germany and her Allies would be first considered. 'Neutrals would not be unduly hampered; but the Government must be assured that they were husbanding their own resources, and that our own supplies did not directly or indirectly go to feed the enemy. Not only was the shipment of food and fodder to be restricted, but such essentials as pig iron, steel, bullets, arms, ammunition and explosives. The ban was to go into effect on July 15 [1917]. . . . A comparison of our exports during the nine months ending with March, 1917, with those for a like period ending with March, 1913, the year before the war, showed that those to Denmark had nearly trebled, those to Norway had increased ninefold, those to Sweden four-fold and those to Switzerland twenty-five fold. This did not mean that everything brought from our country was sent by these neutrals into Germany. Much of it was, and the rest went to make up the depletion of their own products caused by shipments to Germany. Sweden in times of peace was a large exporter of iron ore, but she was now selling to Germany each year more than she had ever before sold to all the world, and to replace her depleted stock was importing ore from the United States. Assurances from these neutrals that they would not send to Germany wheat, grain, copper, war supplies of any kind, bought from us, meant little if what they bought was merely to replace their own products sold to our enemy. This was the source of supply our duty to our Allies and ourselves required we should stop. A Danish journal did not believe that the contest for liberty and democracy would be fought with weapons which would mortally wound small nations. Before the war President Wilson had again and again upheld the right to neutrals to carry on trade with one of the belligerents. Before the war American goods in large quantities went through Denmark to Germany. Indeed, it was to defend the neutral commercial rights of America that the United States declared war. A German journal called the embargo a brutal assault against little neutrals. In France the embargo was hailed as one of the decisive acts of the war. The Allies, despite the vigilance of their navies, had failed to make the blockade tight. A new measure was needed. This the United States had furnished by forbidding indirect aid to the enemy. From Norway came a special commission, headed by the Arctic explorer Nansen, to remonstrate. Norway, he said, was dependent on the United States for supplies. In times of peace she bought from Germany sugar, grain and fats; but now she must get them from America. She was in great need of iron and grain. The harvest would be poor and little could be expected from the crop. When the

new minister from Switzerland arrived there accompanied him a commission to present the needs of that country as to food. She raised but twenty per cent. of her food supply, and besides her own population must feed thousands of interned people from neighboring countries. After some negotiation with Norway an agreement was reached by which she promised, if allowed to buy forty-seven thousand tons of cereals, to give up thirty-six thousand tons of wheat and rye for the benefit of Belgium. The rest, eleven thousand tons of barley, she was to keep. Germany had sunk seventeen of twenty-three Belgium Relief Commission ships, and it was to replace this loss that the thirty-six thousand tons were to be given up at cost and taken to Belgium in vessels Norway had chartered to carry foodstuffs home. A like agreement was tentatively made with Holland for the loading of some thirty of her ships, provided the larger part of their cargoes was given to Belgium. But the Exports Council would not consent, and it was soon announced that no ships with American wheat would be allowed to sail to the ports of any northern neutrals before the first of December. The Netherlands, despite its protest, it was said, had wheat and grain enough for her population until that time.—J. B. McMaster, *United States in the World War*, pp. 370-372.—See also **TARIFF**: 1919.

See also **BLOCKADE**; **CONTINENTAL SYSTEM OF NAPOLEON**; **CONTINUOUS VOYAGE**; **FREEDOM OF THE SEAS**; **INTERNATIONAL LAW**.

EMBASSIES. See **DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICE**: Diplomatic service.

EMBLEMS, Sacred. See **FLAGS**: Origin.

EMBOSSSED TYPE, printing produced in relief for the blind, read by touch of the fingers. See **EDUCATION**: Modern developments: 20th century; Education for the deaf, blind and feeble-minded; **Blind**.

EMBOURG, one of the forts around Liège, France, scene of fighting during World War. See **WORLD WAR**: 1914: I. Western front: b.

EMBRYOLOGY. See **SCIENCE**: Modern: 20th century; Embryology.

EMDEN, German cruiser in the World War, which after a spectacular career as a commerce raider (1914), was destroyed by the Australian cruiser *Sydney* at the Cocos islands, Nov. 9, 1914. See **AUSTRALIA**: 1914-1915; **STRAITS SETTLEMENTS**: 1914; **WORLD WAR**: IX. Naval operations: h.

EMERGENCY CURRENCY ACT. See **MONEY AND BANKING**: Modern: 1908.

EMERGENCY PARAGRAPH: Austrian constitution. See **AUSTRIA**: 1893-1900.

EMERGENCY TARIFF BILL, Farmers, United States. See **TARIFF**: 1921 (March).

EMERITA AUGUSTA, colony of Roman veterans settled in Spain, B. C. 27, by the emperor Augustus. It is identified with modern Merida, in Estremadura.—C. Merivale, *History of the Romans*, ch. 34, note.

EMERSON, Ralph Waldo (1803-1882), American essayist and poet. Throughout his contemplative life, his constant philosophy, leaning toward Transcendentalism but tempered by New England common sense, proclaimed the supremacy of the individual and his liberty of thought and action, striking an important note in American scholarship, and winning recognition in Europe. See **BIBLE**, **ENGLISH**: Modern estimates of the Bible; **AMERICAN LITERATURE**: 1830-1845.

EMERTINES, tribe in Georgian republic. See **GEORGIA**, **REPUBLIC OF**: Ethnology.

EMESA, modern Homs in Syria, situated on the Orontes, once famous for a magnificent temple

to Baal, in which Elagabalus, Roman emperor, commenced life as a priest.

272.—Defeat of Zenobia by Romans. See **PALMYRA**.

636.—Capture by Arabs. See **CALIPHATE**: 632-639.

EMIGRATION. See **IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION**.

ÉMIGRÉS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. See **FRANCE**: 1789 (July-August), (August), (August-October); 1789-1790; 1791 (July-September); 1791-1792; **GERMANY**: 1791-1792.

"ÉMILE," novel on the subject of education, by Rousseau. See **EDUCATION**: Modern: 18th century; Rousseau.

EMIN PASHA (Eduard Schnitzer) (1840-1892), German explorer and African administrator. He served in Equatorial Africa successively under the Turkish, British and German governments, and was finally murdered by Arab slave-raiders. See **AFRICA**: Modern European occupation; **Chronology of European exploration**: 1885-1889.

EMINENT DOMAIN: Definition and explanation.—Constitutional limitations.—"It is a necessary attribute of every government that it shall have the right to acquire for public purposes the ownership or control of private property even without the consent of the owner. Such property is essential to the carrying on of governmental functions; it is needed for forts, navy-yards, post-offices, custom-houses, prisons, highways, and so on. The *domain* or property-taking right of the government must therefore be *eminent* or paramount, that is, superior to the property-holding right of any individual. This is a well-recognized doctrine of both jurisprudence and political science, so well recognized, in fact, that it is now never disputed. In the absence of constitutional limitations, therefore, the nation and the several states might each take, at their own will and pleasure, any private property for any purpose and under such terms of payment as their legislatures might provide or even without any payment at all. In England, parliament has that unfettered authority, although it does not practise the tyranny of taking property without paying for it. But in America the constitution contains express limitations upon the power of eminent domain. The nation is restricted by the terms of the Fifth Amendment and the states are limited, for the most part in the same words, by the terms of their own respective constitutions. The limitations in both cases are twofold; the taking of property must be for a public purpose, and just compensation to the owner must be given. But what is a public purpose? The courts have been liberal in their interpretation of this term. They have upheld the taking of land for post-offices and other buildings, for parks, and for all other purposes related to the functions of government. Not only may the government itself exercise this right of taking private property for public purposes, moreover, but it may confer the same right by franchise-grant upon railroads and other corporations engaged in public or quasi-public enterprises. It is with reference to these public service corporations, indeed, that the chief difficulty is found in determining the constitutional limitations upon the right of eminent domain. It may be generally stated, however, that such power as the government itself possesses in the matter of condemning private property it may delegate to any public utility corporation. On the other hand, whatever limitations apply to the original authority of the government in this field also apply when the

power is delegated to a subordinate corporation."—W. B. Munro, *Government of the United States*, pp. 294-295.

Meaning of "public use."—Exclusion of apartment houses from residence districts by eminent domain.—The cases, *State v. Houghton* (Minnesota, October 24, 1919, 174 N.W. 885; same, Minnesota, January 23, 1920, 176 N.W. 159), "present an interesting judicial debate upon the question whether by use of the power of eminent domain and the payment of compensation apartment houses may lawfully be excluded from residence districts in cities. By an act of 1915 the legislature of Minnesota authorized cities of the first class to establish residence districts upon the petition of fifty per cent of the property owners in the district sought to be affected, and to exclude from such residence districts a long and varied list of industrial and mercantile establishments together with 'apartment houses, tenement houses, flat buildings.' The cities were authorized to effect the exclusion of these undesirable buildings or establishments by means of eminent domain and the payment of compensation. The compensation was to be paid out of assessments upon the property of the residents of the districts thus benefited. In this case a mandamus was asked to compel the building inspector of Minneapolis to issue a permit for an apartment in one of these restricted districts. On the original hearing the court held that this statute and the ordinance of the city council of Minneapolis passed in pursuance of it provided for an unconstitutional use of the power of eminent domain. The majority opinion, written by Judge Dibell, narrowed the issue of the case to the question whether the condemnation of property rights provided for was for a 'public use' or not, inasmuch as it is well established that private property may be taken only for a public use. It was pointed out that the property condemned under these enactments, property in the nature of an easement, or restricted use, was not property of which the public could make any actual use. The public gained by such condemnation no right to enter upon or use the property affected. The 'use' acquired was merely negative in character. The court further declared that the 'public use' for which the property was being taken was public only in the sense that it worked to the advantage and benefit of the surrounding property owners who desired protection from the erection of ugly or inappropriate structures. If the desire or need for protection of this kind is to be regarded as constituting a 'public use' for which private property may be taken by right of eminent domain the limits of the doctrine are hard to fix and much injustice may result. 'When the humble home is threatened by legislation upon aesthetic grounds, or at the instance of a particular class of citizens who would rid themselves of its presence as not suited in architecture or in other respects to their own more elaborate structures, a step will have been taken inevitably to cause discontent with the government as one controlled by class distinction, rather than in the interests and for the equal protection of all.' There is, of course, no question of the police power raised in this case. In fact the supreme court of Minnesota had in an earlier decision held that apartment houses could not be excluded from residence districts by a mere exercise of the police power since there was nothing in their character to justify the conclusion that they could properly be classed as nuisances (*State v. Houghton*, 134 Minn. 226, 158 N. W. 1017). Two justices dissented from the decision of the

majority in this case and filed a brief opinion in which they laid emphasis upon the undesirable results of allowing apartment houses to invade residence districts without restraint and expressed the view that 'it is about time that courts recognize the aesthetic as a factor in the affairs of life,' and that aesthetic protection is a proper field of legislative control. On a rehearing of the case the dissenting justices won a majority of the court to their point of view, the decision just discussed was reversed, and the statute and ordinance in question were held constitutional. The opinion of Judge Holt admitted that the public received no actual, physical use of the property taken by eminent domain, and that only a portion of the public could reasonably be said to be benefited by the taking. His opinion is in effect a vigorous protest against a narrow and inelastic definition of the term 'public use' in the law of eminent domain. The meaning of 'public use' must expand with time and the needs of society and purposes which are intimately connected with the welfare of the community or a substantial portion of it may legitimately be furthered by the condemnation of private property rights. Apartment houses are a menace to the welfare of the people living in residence districts. They destroy the beauty of the neighborhood and bring about depreciation in the value of surrounding property. This results in loss to the owners of the property affected and loss to the city in the form of diminished taxable values. 'Giving the people a means to secure for that portion of a city wherein they establish their homes, fit and harmonious surroundings, promotes contentment, induces further efforts to enhance the appearance and value of the home, fosters civic pride, and thus tends to produce a better type of citizens.' It is the conclusion of the court that property condemned for such purposes is condemned for a public use. It will be observed that the clash of opinion in these two cases presents an issue by no means new. There have long been two distinct interpretations applied to the term 'public use' in the law of eminent domain. One of these would make 'public use' synonymous with 'use by the public' and thereby limit the taking of private property to the cases in which the public actually acquires title and possession. The opinion of the majority in the first case examined approximates this point of view. This doctrine has the very obvious advantage of providing an explicit and unvarying test by which courts may determine whether or not the use for which property is being condemned is public or private. It is doubtless this definiteness which has commended it to the approval of an overwhelming majority of courts and commentators (Lewis, *Eminent Domain*, Secs. 257-258). The opposing view is that 'public use' in eminent domain should be construed to mean 'public welfare' and that any taking of private property which can be justified upon this broad ground may be sustained. It is this doctrine upon which Judge Holt bases his opinion in the second case. While it commands the adherence of only a small minority of the courts which have passed upon it, strong pressure is being exerted in its behalf. The adoption of this more liberal doctrine of public use seems necessary if the condemnation of various types of easements, or excess condemnation, are to be employed in the working out of city planning programs and it seems probable that its acceptance will tend to spread in spite of the dangers which are undoubtedly connected with it."—R. E. Cushman, *American Political Science Review*, Aug., 1920, pp. 462-464.—"United States v.

North American Transportation and Trading Company (253 U. S. 330) establishes that when the government appropriates private property for public use under legislative sanction but without instituting condemnation proceedings, it impliedly promises to pay therefor and may be sued on its promise in the Courts of Claims."—E. S. Corwin, *Constitutional law in 1919-1920* (*American Political Science Review*, Feb., 1921, p. 60).

ALSO IN: H. E. Mills and A. L. Abbott, *Law of eminent domain*.—C. F. Randolph, *Law of eminent domain in the United States*.—P. Nichols, *Power of eminent domain*.—R. E. Cushman, *Excess condemnation*.

EMIR. See AMIR.

EMIR FEISUL. See FEISAL.

EMITES, tribe. See JEWS: Early Hebrew history.

EMMA, Adélaïde Wilhelmina Thérèse (1858-), queen regent of the Netherlands, 1890-1898. See NETHERLANDS: 1890-1898.

EMMANUEL PHILIBERT (1528-1580), duke of Savoy, renowned prince of the Renaissance, and Italian general, son of Charles III. Entered the service of Charles V and commanded the imperial army against the French, whom he defeated in 1557 at Saint-Quentin; 1559, recovered Savoy, which had been taken by the French from Charles III. See SAVOY AND PIEDMONT: 1559-1580.

EMMAUS, Battle of (166 B. C.), defeat of a Syrian army under Gorgias by Judas Maccabæus.

EMMENDINGEN, Battle of (1796). See FRANCE: 1796 (April-October).

EMMET, Robert (1778-1803), Irish revolutionary leader of the insurrection in 1803. See IRELAND: 1801-1803.

EMMICH, Otto von (1848-1915), German general. Was a lieutenant in the campaign of 1871; became general of infantry, 1909; in 1914 besieged Liège; later served on the Eastern front. See BELGIUM: 1914-1918: German occupation; WORLD WAR: 1914: I. Western front: a.

EMPEDOCLES, Greek philosopher of 5th century B. C. with theories on the "Four Sparks of Truth." See EVOLUTION: Historical development of the idea.

EMPEROR: Origin of title. See IMPERATOR: Final significance of Roman title.

Japanese.—Extent of power. See JAPAN, CONSTITUTION OF.

EMPEROR-WORSHIP, Rome. See RELIGION: B. C. 750-A. D. 30.

EMPIRE DAY, May 24, inaugurated in honor of Queen Victoria's birthday. See ENGLAND: 1903 (June).

EMPIRE PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION, 1919. See BRITISH EMPIRE: Colonial federation: Imperial federation proposals: 20th century.

EMPIRIC SCHOOL OF PHYSICIANS. See MEDICAL SCIENCE: Ancient: 2nd century.

EMPIRICISM, system of philosophy. See KANT, IMMANUEL.

EMPLOYERS' BLACKLISTS. See BLACKLIST, INDUSTRIAL.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY. See SOCIAL INSURANCE; ARIZONA: 1912; BELGIUM: 1886-1909; COMMON LAW: 1837; LABOR LEGISLATION: 1862-1920; NEW HAMPSHIRE: 1911: Employers' Liability Act.

EMPORIA, ancient name for coast region south of Carthage. See CARTHAGE: Dominions.

EMPRESS-DOWAGER, of China. See Tsz'e Hsi.

EMS DISPATCH. See ABEKEN, HEINRICH; FRANCE: 1870 (June-July).

ENA OF BATTENBERG (Victoria Eugénie), queen of Spain, 1906-1902-1906. See SPAIN:

ENCHANTED ISLES. See GALÁPAGOS ISLANDS.

ENCINA, Juan del (1468-1534), Spanish dramatist, termed the "father of the Spanish theater." See SPANISH LITERATURE: 1200-1500.

ENCISO, Martín Fernández de (c. 1470-c. 1528), Spanish lawyer, explorer and geographer. Settled in America at Santo Domingo for a time; attempted settlements in Colombia; aided in founding Darien; deposed by Balboa. See COLOMBIA: 1490-1536; AMERICA: 1509-1511.

ENCOMIENDA.—"Social inequality increased in this period [Moslem period, 711-1035], due to a decline in wealth and to an accentuation of the hazards of life. The higher nobility attained to vast privileges and authority, although less than in other parts of Christian Europe. They were often, but not always, allowed to conquer lands for themselves, rule their own estates with almost absolute authority, leave the king's service for that of another monarch, and be free from taxation. The social prestige of the nobles was weakened, however, through the king's right to grant titles of nobility. The king might also deprive a noble created by himself of his titles and lands. Most of the nobility of the lower grades were in fact retainers of the greater nobles or of the king, usually rendering military service in return for protection. This state of dependence was called *encomienda* (commendation),—a term used centuries later to cover the virtual enslavement of the American Indians."—C. E. Chapman, *History of Spain*, p. 60.—See also CHILE: 1540-1778; COLONIZATION: Modern: Spanish; EMINENT DOMAIN: Meaning of "public use"; REPARTIMIENTOS; SLAVERY: 1493-1542.

ENCRATITES, name given to the first ascetics in the early Christian church. They arose in Rome at the end of the second century and spread throughout Asia Minor. They seemed to have disappeared by the end of the fourth century. "The characteristic of the Encratites was their insistence upon asceticism as essential to Christian living. They were therefore associated, and with abundant historical justification, with Gnosticism. . . . Many offshoots of numerous heresies have already been formed from those heresies which we have described. . . . By way of example, let us say there are those springing from Saturninus and Marcion, who are called Encratites [i. e. self controlled], who preached the unmarried state, thus setting aside the original creation of God, and indirectly condemning Him who made male and female for the propagation of the human race. Some of those reckoned as belonging to them have also introduced abstinence from animal food, being ungrateful to God who created all things. They deny, also, the salvation of him who was first created. It is but recently that this opinion has been discovered among them, since a certain man named Tatian first introduced the blasphemy. He had been a hearer of Justin's and as long as he continued with him he expressed no such views; but after his martyrdom [circa 165] he separated from the Church, and having become excited and puffed up by the thought of being a teacher, as if he were superior to others, he composed his own peculiar type of doctrine. He invented a system of certain invisible Eons, like the followers of Valentinus; and like Marcion and Saturninus, he declared that marriage was nothing else than corruption and fornication. But this denial of Adam's salvation was an opinion due

entirely to himself.' (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, I, 28)."
—J. C. Ayer, *Source book for ancient church history*, p. 106.

ALSO IN: A. Neander, *Christian church*, v. 1, 456-458, 505.—G. Krüger, in *New Schaff-Herzog religious encyclopedia*, v. 4, pp. 124-125.

ENCUMBERED ESTATES ACT. See IRELAND: 1843-1848; 1845-1847.

ENCYCLICAL EDUCATION: Ancient Greece. See EDUCATION: Ancient: B. C. 7th-A. D. 3rd centuries: Greece.

ENCYCLICALS, circulars in the Roman church, usually issued by the pope.

Benedict XV, encouraging neutrality in World War. See PAPACY: 1014.

Leo XIII, on Manitoba school question; condemning Americanism; on Christian democracy. See CANADA: 1898 (January); PAPACY: 1899 (January); 1901.

Pius IX, concerning the errors of our time, and in the church. See PAPACY: 1864.

Pius X, on modernism; opposing syndicalists; and the "Vebementer Nos." See PAPACY: 1906 (February); 1907 (September); 1911-1914.

ENCYCLOPEDIISTS, group of brilliant French writers and thinkers of the eighteenth century who received their name from their work on the encyclopedia. "French literature had never been so brilliant as in the second half of the 18th century. Buffon, Diderot, D'Alembert, Rousseau, Duclos, Condillac, Helvetius, Holbach, Raynal, Condorcet, Mably, and many others adorned it, and the 'Encyclopædia,' which was begun in 1751 under the direction of Diderot, became the focus of an intellectual influence which has rarely been equalled. The name and idea were taken from a work published by Ephraim Chambers in Dublin, in 1728. A noble preliminary discourse was written by D'Alembert; and all the best pens in France were enlisted in the enterprise, which was constantly encouraged and largely assisted by Voltaire. Twice it was suppressed by authority, but the interdiction was again raised. Popular favour now ran with an irresistible force in favour of the philosophers, and the work was brought to its conclusion in 1771."—W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the 18th century*, v. 5, ch. 20.—See also ATHEISM; BIOLOGY: History; FRANCE: 1789; Survey of France on the eve of revolution: Literary forerunners; FRENCH LITERATURE: 1750-1785.

ALSO IN: J. Morley, *Diderot and the encyclopedists*, v. 1, ch. 5.—E. J. Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*, ch. 16.

ENDERBY LAND, region of lat. 66° 25' S. and long. 49° 18' E. in the Antarctic circle dis-

covered by John Biscoe in 1831, and named for the Enderby Brothers, who financed the expedition. See ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1819-1839.

ENDICOTT, John (1588-1665), governor of Massachusetts colony. See MASSACHUSETTS: 1623-1629; Dorchester Company, and after; U. S. A.: 1607-1752.

ENDICOTT, William Crowninshield (1826-1900), American cabinet officer and jurist. Justice of Massachusetts supreme court, 1873-1882; secretary of war under President Cleveland, 1885-1889.

ENDIDJAN, Battle of (1876). See RUSSIA: 1859-1881.

ENDLESS PEACE (532). See PERSIA: 226-627.

ENDOCRINOLOGY, study of the glands of internal secretion. See MEDICAL SCIENCE: Modern: 19th century: Endocrinology.

ENDOWMENTS. See CHARITIES; FOUNDATIONS; GIFTS AND BEQUESTS; also under specific name, e.g. RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION; SLATER FUND, etc.

ENDURANCE, vessel in polar exploration. See ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1914-1916.

ENEMY ALIENS. See ALIEN ENEMIES.

ENERGISM, name given to the view that the end of human life is not pleasure, but the normal exercise by every living creature of the vital functions of its nature. See ETHICS: Greece: Ancient: B. C. 4th century; 18th-19th centuries.

ENGADINE, name of the upper valley of the Inn, which forms part of the Swiss canton of the Grisons. See SWITZERLAND: 1396-1409.

ENGADINE, British converted cruiser, formerly the Cunarder *Campania*, in the Battle of Jutland, May 31, 1916. See WORLD WAR: 1916: IX. Naval operations: a; a, 5; a, 7.

ENGELS, Friedrich (1820-1895), socialist, associated with Karl Marx in his ideas and plans. See INTERNATIONAL: Its forerunners; SOCIALISM: 1843-1883.

ENGEN, Battle of (1800). See FRANCE: 1800-1801 (May-February).

ENGERN, Duchy of. See SAXONY.

ENGHEIN, Duc d'. See CONDÉ.

ENGINEER DEPARTMENT, United States army. See WORLD WAR: 1917: VIII. United States and the War: i, 10.

ENGINEERING. See AQUEDUCTS; CANALS; PANAMA CANAL: 1904-1905; WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: V. Moving men and material: c, 1; XI. Devastation: a.

ENGINEERS: Organizations and strikes. See ENGLAND: 1917-1918; LABOR ORGANIZATION: 1834-1894; LABOR STRIKES AND BOYCOTTS: 1915.

ENGLAND

Area.—Climate.—Effect of geographical position on history.—Population.—Industrial geography.—Mining resources.—Occupations.—The area of England alone, that is the southern part of the island of Great Britain, not including the principality of Wales, except the county of Monmouth, is 50,874 square miles, or about the area of the Dominion of Newfoundland. Of this area something less than one-fourth is rated as arable land, and a somewhat larger area as permanent pasture. Including Wales, the area is 58,340 square miles. "The history of the British islands has been affected to an exceptional extent by geography—1, (chief in importance) by their position on the globe—2, by their physical struc-

ture—3, (in modern times only) by their mineral products. Foremost among their geographical advantages is the benefit derived from the Gulf Stream. Thanks to it, the British Islands enjoy a climate far milder and more equable than most countries in the same latitude. London is in the same isothermal line with New York, which is 10° further south, and with Peking, which is 12° further. Liverpool is almost in the same latitude with Danzig, and Glasgow with Riga. Where would be the trade of a country destined by position to be maritime, if the surrounding seas were icebound during half the year? England lies at the north-western corner of Europe, its south-eastern angle within a few miles of the Continent,

the distance widening along the south coast, and still more along the east coast, and the broad Atlantic lying outside the islands to the north and west. The straits of Dover were formed late in geological time; and there is evidence that Britain was inhabited by men while it was still joined to the Continent. . . . At the time of Caesar's first invasion the island was already fairly well peopled by tribes mainly, if not entirely, Celtic, though not all of the same branch of that race—that is to say akin to their nearest neighbours on the continent of Europe, and carrying on some little intercourse with them. No sort of national unity existed: the coalitions of tribes to resist Roman conquest were but partial and temporary. . . . During several centuries after the withdrawal of the Romans, Britain was almost as much exposed to invasions and raids as if there had been no protecting sea. The Angles and Saxons met with little effectual resistance. The Northmen, who ravaged all coasts alike, insular and continental, made a permanent settlement on the east side of the island. The Norman invasion succeeded, partly at least because England was not really united, in spite of having been long under a single king. . . . The physical structure of Britain is of most importance in the second stage of its history, the period of the Anglo-Saxon conquest. If a line be drawn from the mouth of the Tees to the mouth of the Severn, and thence continued to the south coast, it will be found that it roughly divides the island into plain and hill regions. The country to the south and east of such a line is fairly level and almost everywhere fertile, exception being made for the fens and forests, which remained in primitive wildness till long after the Saxon conquest had been completed. On the other side of the line the country is mainly hilly, with a large proportion of land unfit for cultivation, at any rate until the growth of population rendered it worth while to utilize comparatively poor soil. Moreover, the greater the distance from the straits of Dover, the more uniformly hilly does the country become. Hence when the Angles and Saxons effected a lodgement in Britain, they gradually expelled the Celts from all the south and east; but the hill regions of the west and north formed a refuge for the Celts, all the more effective because it was less attractive to the invaders, as well as more difficult to penetrate in face of resistance. Unless the testimony of language is to be ignored, the same thing must have happened before, at the time of the Celtic immigration. If, as is at least possible, the islands were previously peopled by the Iberian race, they must have been driven by the Celts into the western regions, for it is there only that traces of them are believed to be recognizable. Moreover, the same process is more clearly discernible as between different sections of the Celts. . . . The Teutonic immigration was in itself largely governed by the geographical conditions. The first lodgement was made by the Jutes in Kent, the portion of the island nearest to the Continent. Successive swarms followed, of Saxons along the south coast, of Angles on the east coast northwards from the Thames; and geographical conditions may almost be said to have determined the fate of them all.”—H. G. George, *Relations of geography and history*, pp. 132, 133, 134, 137, 138.—Ethnologically the main part of the population is descended from a mixture of Teuton, Celtic, Scandinavian and Norman French. “Islanders are always coast dwellers with a limited hinterland. Hence their stock may be differentiated from the mainland race in part for the same reason that all coasted folk in regions of maritime develop-

ment are differentiated from the people of the back country, namely because contact with the sea allows an intermittent influx of various foreign strains, which are gradually assimilated. The English today represent a mixture of Celts, with various distinct Teutonic elements, which had already diverged from one another in their separate habitats, Jutes, Angles, Saxons, Danes, Norse and Norman French. . . . England received the numerically dominant element of its population from across . . . the North Sea, from the bare but seaman-breeding coasts of Germany, Denmark, Norway rather than from the nearer shores of Gaul. . . . The subsequent detachment of these immigrant stocks . . . by the English Channel and the North Sea from their home people, and their arrival in necessarily small bands, enabled them to be readily assimilated. . . . The uniformity in cranial type prevailing all over the British Isles is amazing. The dominant Anglo-Saxon population . . . was a solvent for the Norman French. The whole southern and eastern coast population of England, from Cornwall to The Wash received during Elizabeth's reign valuable accessions of industrious Flemings and Huguenots.”—E. C. Semple, *Influences of geographic environment*, pp. 184, 421, 422.—The population of Wales is almost purely Celtic, and has kept its native tongue for home use.

“In relief England, west and north-west of a line from Exeter via Nottingham to Newcastle, resembles generally the Scottish highlands, though the relief is rather gentler and the climate rather more favourable; but in resources it is more like the Scottish lowlands, being very rich in minerals, especially coal, in Cumberland, Lancashire, Glamorganshire, &c. It contains (1) the home of the cotton industry on the ring of rain-washed hills that overlook the Wigan coal-field, circle round Manchester, and have access to the sea at Liverpool; (2) the great iron and steel industry that rose on the coal and coke of Northumberland and Durham, and that has access to the sea by Tyne and Tees and Wear; (3) the great iron and steel industry that rose on the coal-fields of the Black Country—round Birmingham; and (4) the woollen industry of West Yorkshire. Of course there are numerous other developments, including the chemical industry of the Cheshire salt-field and the tweed industry of the Bristol coal-field. The south-eastern region is lower in relief, more extreme in climate, and richer in soil, and is naturally a farming country, sheep farming as well on the chalk and limestone ‘downs’ that cross it as wheat farms on the rich, stiff soils of the Ouse, Thames, and Hampshire basins.”—A. R. H. Moncrieff, *New world of today*, v. 1, p. 250.—The earliest known mines of England were the tin mines of Cornwall, the product of which was exploited by the Phoenicians, and probably influenced Julius Cæsar in his determination to invade the country. Cornwall still produces tin, and also copper ores and galena (lead ores). Lead is also found in Derbyshire, lead and zinc in the northern countries, especially Yorkshire. Manganese, copper, zinc, galena and also carbonate of lead occur in the Welsh mountains. Iron and coal, however, have had a greater influence in the history of England than any other mineral.—See also INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: England: Mining inventions.

The population of England in 1921 was 35,678,530; of Wales 2,206,712, or a total of 37,885,242. “The classification of the population according to occupation shows that fully a quarter are engaged in various industries, this word in the census being used to exclude agriculture and fishing, but to

include all other 'industries'; and the numbers engaged in agriculture and fishing—about two and a quarter millions—is less, by nearly a quarter of a million, than the numbers engaged in commerce. Industrial and commercial occupations, therefore, engage . . . nearly one-third of . . . the total population. . . . The textile trade is much the most important part of it. The expansion of it has been most remarkable. A century ago the total value of our textile products was not much over £20,000,000, and in those days the wool industry was far the most important—with an annual output valued at about £17,000,000. To-day . . . cotton accounts for £120,000,000, wool coming second with £55,000,000. . . . About one-third of our total exports (in value) consists of textiles."—A. R. H. Moncrieff, *New world of to-day*, v. 1, p. 252.—See also CANALS: Principal European canals; British Isles.

ALSO IN: J. Brunkes, *Human geography*.—J. Beddoe, *Races of Britain*.

Colonial empire.—The history of the dominions, colonies and dependencies will be found under their specific names, i.e., INDIA; CANADA; SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF; AUSTRALIA, etc. For a detailed outline of British expansion see BRITISH EMPIRE: Expansion.

Before Teutonic Conquest.—Celtic and Roman periods. See BRITAIN.

A. D. 449-547.—**First invasion.**—**Saxons, Angles and Jutes.**—**Naming of the country.**—"It was by . . . three tribes [from Northwestern Germany], the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes, that southern Britain was conquered and colonized in the fifth and sixth centuries, according to the most ancient testimony. . . . Of the three, the Angli almost if not altogether pass away into the migration: the Jutes and the Saxons, although migrating in great numbers, had yet a great part to play in their own homes and in other regions besides Britain; the former at a later period in the train and under the name of the Danes; the latter in German history from the eighth century to the present day."—W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, v. 1, ch. 3.—"Among the Teutonic settlers in Britain some tribes stand out conspicuously; Angles, Saxons, and Jutes stand out conspicuously above all. The Jutes led the way; from the Angles the land and the united nation took their name; the Saxons gave us the name by which our Celtic neighbours have ever known us. But there is no reason to confine the area from which our forefathers came to the space which we should mark on the map as the land of the continental Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. So great a migration is always likely to be swollen by some who are quite alien to the leading tribe; it is always certain to be swollen by many who are of stocks akin to the leading tribe, but who do not actually belong to it. As we in Britain are those who stayed behind at the time of the second great migration of our people [to America], so I venture to look on all our Low-Dutch kinsfolk on the continent of Europe as those who stayed behind at the time of the first great migration of our people. Our special hearth and cradle is doubtless to be found in the immediate marchland of Germany and Denmark, but the great common home of our people is to be looked on as stretching along the whole of that long coast where various dialects of the Low-Dutch tongue are spoken. If Angles and Saxons came, we know that Frisians came also, and with Frisians as an element among us, it is hardly too bold to claim the whole Netherlands as in the widest sense Old England, as the land of one part

of the kinsfolk who stayed behind. Through that whole region, from the special Anglian corner far into what is now northern France, the true tongue of the people, sometimes overshadowed by other tongues, is some dialect or other of that branch of the great Teutonic family which is essentially the same as our own speech. From Flanders to Sleswick the natural tongue is one which differs from English only as the historical events of fourteen hundred years of separation have inevitably made the two tongues—two dialects, I should rather say, of the same tongue—to differ. From these lands we came as a people. That was our first historical migration. Our remote forefathers must have made endless earlier migrations as parts of the great Aryan body, as parts of the smaller Teutonic body. But our voyage from the Low-Dutch mainland to the isle of Britain was our first migration as a people. . . . Among the Teutonic tribes which settled in Britain, two, the Angles and the Saxons, stood out foremost. These two between them occupied by far the greater part of the land that was occupied at all. Each of these two gave its name to the united nation, but each gave it on different lips. The Saxons were the earlier invaders; they had more to do with the Celtic remnant which abode in the land. On the lips then of the Celtic inhabitants of Britain, the whole of the Teutonic inhabitants of Britain were known from the beginning, and are known still, as Saxons. But, as the various Teutonic settlements drew together, as they began to have common national feelings and to feel the need of a common national name, the name which they chose was not the same as that by which their Celtic neighbours called them. They did not call themselves Saxons and their land Saxony; they called themselves English and their land England. I used the word Saxony in all seriousness; it is a real name for the Teutonic part of Britain, and it is an older name than the name England. But it is a name used only from the outside by Celtic neighbours and enemies; it was not used from the inside by the Teutonic people themselves. In their mouths, as soon as they took to themselves a common name, that name was English; as soon as they gave their land a common name, that name was England. . . . And this is the more remarkable, because the age when English was fully established as the name of the people, and England as the name of the land, was an age of Saxon supremacy, an age when a Saxon state held the headship of England and of Britain, when Saxon kings grew step by step to be kings of the English and lords of the whole British island. In common use then, the men of the tenth and eleventh centuries knew themselves by no name but English."—E. A. Freeman, *English people in its three homes (Lectures to American Audiences, pp. 30-31, 45-47)*.—See also ANGLES; BARBARIAN INVASIONS: 5th-6th centuries; SAXONS.

449-473.—**Landing of Jutes at Ebbsfleet.**—**Conquest of Kent by the Jutes.**—"In or about 449 a band of Jutish sea-rovers landed at Ebbsfleet, in the Isle of Thanet. According to tradition their leaders were Hengist and Horsa, names signifying the horse and the mare, which were not very likely to have been borne by real warriors. Whatever may have been the names of the chiefs, Vortigern took them into his service against the Picts, giving them the Isle of Thanet as a dwelling-place for themselves. With their help he defeated the Picts, but afterwards found himself unable to defend himself against his fierce auxiliaries. Thanet, was still cut off from the mainland by an arm of the sea, and the Jutes were strong enough to hold

it against all assailants. Their numbers rapidly increased as shiploads of their fellows landed, and they crossed the strait to win fresh lands from the Britons on the mainland of Kent. In several battles Vortigern was overpowered. His rival and successor, Ambrosius Aurelianus, whose name makes it probable that he was an upholder of the old Roman discipline, drove back the Jutes in turn. He did not long keep the upper hand, and in 465 he was routed utterly. The defeat of the British army was followed by an attack upon the great fortresses which had been erected along the Saxon Shore in the Roman times. The Jutes had no means of carrying them by assault, but they starved them out one by one, and some twenty-three years after their first landing, the whole of the coast of Kent was in their hands."—S. R. Gardiner, *Student's history of England*, p. 27.—"A final victory of the Jutes in 473 may mark the moment when they reached the rich pastures which the Roman engineers had reclaimed from Romney Marsh. . . . With this advance to the mouth of the Weald the work of Hengest's men came to an end; nor did the Jutes from this time play any important part in the attack on the island, for their after-gains were limited to the Isle of Wight and a few districts on the Southampton Water."—J. R. Green, *Making of England*, ch. 1.—See also BARBARIAN INVASIONS: 5th-6th centuries.

ALSO IN: J. M. Lappenberg, *History of England under the Anglo-Saxon kings*, v. 1, pp. 67-101.

477-527.—Conquests of the Saxons.—Founding of the kingdoms of Sussex, Wessex and Essex.—"Whilst the Jutes were conquering Kent, their kindred took part in the war. Ship after ship sailed from the North Sea, filled with eager warriors. The Saxons now arrived—Ella and his three sons landed in the ancient territory of the Regni (A. D. 477-491). The Britons were defeated with great slaughter, and driven into the forest of Andreade, whose extent is faintly indicated by the wastes and commons of the Weald. A general confederacy of the Kings and 'Tyrants' of the Britons was formed against the invaders. . . . From this period the kingdom of the South Saxons was established in the person of Ella; and though ruling only over the narrow boundary of modern Sussex, he was accepted as the first of the Saxon Bretwaldas, or Emperors of the Isle of Britain. Encouraged, perhaps, by the good tidings received from Ella, another band of Saxons, commanded by Cerdic and his son Cynric, landed on the neighbouring shore, in the modern Hampshire (A. D. 404). . . . Under Cynric and his son Ceaulin, the Saxons slowly, yet steadily, gained ground. The utmost extent of their dominions toward the North cannot be ascertained; but they had conquered the town of Bedford: and it was probably in consequence of their geographical position (571) with respect to the countries of the Middle and East Saxons, that the name of the West Saxons was given to this colony."—J. R. Green, *Making of England*, ch. 3.—"Whilst the coast line from the inlet of the sea now filled by Romney Marsh to the western edge of Hampshire had thus been mastered by Saxons, others of the same stock, known as East Saxons, seized upon the low coast to the north of the Thames. From them the land was called Essex. Neither Saxons nor Jutes, however, were as yet able to penetrate far up the valley of the Thames, as the Roman settlement of London, surrounded by marshes, still blocked the way."—S. R. Gardiner, *Student's history of England*, v. 1, p. 28.—"The greatness of Sussex did not last beyond the days of its founder

Ælle, the first Bretwalda. Whatever importance Essex, or its offshoot, Middlesex, could claim as containing the great city of London was of no long duration. We soon find London fluctuating between the condition of an independent commonwealth, and that of a dependency of the Mercian Kings. Very different was the destiny of the third Saxon Kingdom. Wessex has grown into England, England into Great Britain, Great Britain into the United Kingdom, the United Kingdom into the British Empire. Every prince who has ruled England before and since the eleventh century [the interval of the Danish kings, Harold, son of Godwine, and William the Conqueror, who were not of the West Saxon house] has had the blood of Cerdic the West Saxon in his veins. At the close of the sixth century Wessex had risen to high importance among the English Kingdoms, though the days of its permanent supremacy were still far distant."—E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman conquest of England*, ch. 2, sect. 1.—See also BARBARIAN INVASIONS: 5th-6th centuries.

547-633.—Conquests of the Angles.—Founding of their kingdoms.—"Northwards of the East Saxons was established the kingdom of the East Angles, in which a northern and a southern people (Northfole and Suthfole) were distinguished. It is probable that, even during the last period of the Roman sway, Germans were settled in this part of Britain; a supposition that gains probability from several old Saxon sagas, which have reference to East Anglia at a period anterior to the coming of Hengest and Horsa. The land of the Gyrwas, containing 1,200 hides . . . comprised the neighbouring marsh districts of Ely and Huntingdonshire, almost as far as Lincoln. . . . The neighbouring states of Mercia originated in the marsh districts of the Lindisware, or inhabitants of Lindsey (Lindesig), the northern part of Lincolnshire. With these were united the Middle Angles. This kingdom, divided by the Trent into a northern and a southern portion, gradually extended itself to the borders of Wales. Among the states which it comprised was the little kingdom of the Hwiccas, conterminous with the later diocese of Worcester, or the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and a part of Warwick. This state [Hwicce], together with that of the Hecanas, bore the common Germanic appellation of the land of the Magesætas. . . . The country to the north of the Humber had suffered the most severely from the inroads of the Picts and Scots. It became at an early period separated into two British states, the names of which were retained for some centuries, viz.: Deifyr (Deora rice), afterwards Latinized into Deira, extending from the Humber to the Tyne, and Berneich (Beorna rice), afterwards Bernicia, from the Tyne to the Clyde. Here also the settlements of the German races appear anterior to the date given in the common accounts of the first Anglian kings of those territories, in the middle of the sixth century."—J. M. Lappenberg, *History of England under the Anglo-Saxon kings*, v. 1, pp. 112-117.—The three Anglian kingdoms of Northumberland, Mercia and East Anglia, "are altogether much larger than the Saxon and Jutish Kingdoms, so you see very well why the land was called 'England' and not 'Saxony.' . . . 'Saxonia' does occur now and then, and it was really an older name than 'Anglia,' but it soon went quite out of use. . . . You must fully understand that in the old times Northumberland meant the whole land north of the Humber, reaching as far as the Firth of Forth. It thus takes in part of what is now Scotland, including the city of Edinburgh, that is Eadwinesburh, the

town of the great Northumbrian King Eadwine, or Edwin [Edwin of Deira, 617-633]. . . . You must not forget that Lothian and all that part of Scotland was part of Northumberland, and that the people there are really English, and still speak a tongue which has changed less from the Old-English than the tongue of any other part of England. And the real Scots, the Gael in the Highlands, call the Lowland Scots 'Saxons,' just as much as they do the people of England itself. This Northumbrian Kingdom was one of the greatest Kingdoms in England, but it was often divided into two, Beornicia [or Bernicia] and Deira, the latter of which answered pretty nearly to Yorkshire. The chief city was the old Roman town of Eboracum, which in Old-English is Eborwic, and which we cut short into York. York was for a long time the greatest town in the North of England. . . . The great Anglian Kingdom of the Mercians, that is the Marchmen, the people on the march or frontier, seems to have been the youngest of all, and to have grown up gradually by joining together several small states, including all the land which the West Saxons had held north of the Thames. Such little tribes or states were the Lindesfaras and the Gainas in Lincolnshire, the Magesetas in Herefordshire, the Hwiccas in Gloucester, Worcester, and part of Warwick, and several others. . . . When Mercia was fully joined under one King, it made one of the greatest states in England, and some of the Mercian Kings were very powerful princes. It was chiefly an Anglian Kingdom, and the Kings were of an Anglian stock, but among the Hwiccas and in some of the other shires in southern and western Mercia, most of the people must really have been Saxons."—E. A. Freeman, *Old English history for children*, ch. 5.—See also BARBARIAN INVASIONS: 5th-6th centuries.

560.—Ethelbert becomes king of Kent.

593.—Ethelfrith becomes king of Northumbria.

597-685.—Conversion of the English.—"It happened that certain Saxon children were to be sold for slaves at the market-place at Rome; when Divine Providence, the great clock-keeper of time, ordering not only hours, but even instants (Luke ii. 38), to his own honour, so disposed it, that Gregory, afterwards first bishop of Rome of that name, was present to behold them. It grieved the good man to see the disproportion betwixt the faces and fortunes, the complexions and conditions, of these children, condemned to a servile estate, though carrying liberal looks, so legible was ingenuity in their faces. It added more to his sorrow, when he conceived that those youths were twice vassals, bought by their masters, and 'sold under sin' (Rom. vii. 14), servants in their bodies, and slaves in their souls to Satan."—T. Fuller, *Church history of Britain*, bk. 2, sect. 1.—"In 500 the good Gregory became Bishop of Rome, or Pope, and six years later, still retaining the interest awakened in him by the captive English youth, he dispatched a band of missionary monks to Britain, with their prior, Augustine, at their head. Once they turned back, affrighted by what they heard of the ferocity of the new heathen possessors of the once-Christian island of Britain; but Gregory laid his commands upon them again, and in the spring of 507 they crossed the channel from Gaul, landing at Ebbsfleet, in the Isle of Thanet, where the Jutish invaders had made their first landing, a century and a half before. They found Ethelbert of Kent, the most powerful of the English kings at that time, already prepared to receive them with tolerance, if not with favor,

through the influence of a Christian wife—queen Bertha, of the royal family of the Franks. The conversion and baptism of the Kentish king and court, and the acceptance of the new faith by great numbers of the people followed quickly. In November of the same year, 597, Augustine returned to Gaul to receive his consecration as 'Archbishop of the English,' establishing the See of Canterbury, with the primacy which has remained in it to the present day. The East Saxons were the next to bow to the cross and in 604 a bishop, Mellitus, was sent to London. This ended Augustine's work—and Gregory's—for both died that year. Then followed an interval of little progress in the work of the mission, and, afterwards, a reaction towards idolatry which threatened to destroy it altogether. But just at this time of discouragement in the south, a great triumph of Christianity was brought about in Northumberland, and due, there, as in Kent, to the influence of a Christian queen. Edwin, the king, with many of his nobles and his people, were baptised on Easter Eve, A. D. 627, and a new center of missionary work was established at York. There, too, an appalling reverse occurred, when Northumberland was overrun, in 633, by Penda, the heathen king of Mercia; but the kingdom rallied, and the Christian Church was reestablished, not wholly, as before, under the patronage and rule of Rome, but partly by a mission from the ancient Celtic Church, which did not acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. In the end, however, the Roman forms of Christianity prevailed, throughout Britain, as elsewhere in western Europe. Before the end of the 7th century the religion of the Cross was established firmly in all parts of the island, the South Saxons being the latest to receive it. In the 8th century English missionaries were laboring zealously for the conversion of their Saxon and Frisian brethren on the continent."—G. F. Maclear, *Conversion of the West: The English*.

"The Roman tongue became again one of the tongues of Britain, the language of its worship, its correspondence, its literature. But more than the tongue of Rome returned with Augustine. Practically his landing renewed the union with the western world which the landing of Hengest had all but destroyed. The new England was admitted into the older commonwealth of nations. The civilization, arts, letters, which had fled before the sword of the English conquest, returned with the Christian faith. The fabric of the Roman law indeed never took root in England, but it is impossible not to recognize the result of the influence of the Roman missionaries in the fact that the codes of customary English law began to be put into writing soon after their arrival."—J. R. Green, *Short history of the English people*, p. 19.—See also CHRISTIANITY: 507-800; and Map.

ALSO IN: The Venerable Bede, *Ecclesiastical history*.—H. Soames, *Anglo Saxon church*.—R. C. Jenkins, *Canterbury*, ch. 2.

End of the 6th century.—Extent, limits and character of the Teutonic conquest.—"Before the end of the 6th century the Teutonic dominion stretched from the German ocean to the Severn, and from the English Channel to the Firth of Forth. The northern part of the island was still held by Picts and Scots, Celtic tribes, whose exact ethnical relation to each other hardly concerns us. And the whole west side of the island, including not only modern Wales, but the great Kingdom of Strathclyde, stretching from Dumbarton to Chester, and the great peninsula containing Cornwall, Devon and part of Somerset, was still in the hands of independent Britons. The struggle had

been a long and severe one, and the natives often retained possession of a defensible district long after the surrounding country had been occupied by the invaders. . . . But by the end of the 6th century even these exceptions must have been few. The work of the Conquest, as a whole, was accomplished. The Teutonic settlers had occupied by far the greater part of the territory which they ever were, in the strictest sense, to occupy. The complete supremacy of the island was yet to be won; but that was to be won, when it was won, by quite another process. The English Conquest of Britain differed in several important respects from even other settlement of a Teutonic people within the limits of the Roman Empire. . . . Though the literal extirpation of a nation is an impossibility, there is every reason to believe that the Celtic inhabitants of those parts of Britain which had become English at the 6th century had been as nearly extirpated as a nation can be. The women would doubtless be largely spared, but as far as the male sex is concerned, we may feel sure that death, emigration or personal slavery were the only alternatives which the vanquished found at the hands of our fathers. The nature of the small Celtic element in our language would of itself prove the fact. Nearly every Welsh word which has found its way into English expresses some small domestic matter, such as women and slaves would be concerned with."—E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman conquest of England*, ch. 2, sect. 1.—"A glance at the map shows that the mass of the local nomenclature of England begins with the Teutonic conquest, while the mass of the local nomenclature of France is older than the Teutonic conquest. And, if we turn from the names on the map to the living speech of men, there is the most obvious, but the most important, of all facts, the fact that Englishmen speak English and that Frenchmen speak French. . . . The obvious inference is that, while in Gaul the Teutonic conquest led to no general displacement of the inhabitants, in England it did lead to such a general displacement. In Gaul the Franks simply settled among a subject people, among whom they themselves were gradually merged; in Britain the Angles and Saxons slew or drove out the people whom they found in the land, and settled it again as a new people."—E. A. Freeman, *English people in its three homes (Lectures to American Audiences, pp. 114-115)*.—"When the new-comers planted themselves on British soil, each group of families united by kinship fixed its home in a separate village or township, to which was given the name of the kindred followed by 'ham' or 'tun,' the first word meaning the home or dwelling, the second the earthen mound which formed the defence of the community. Thus Wokingham is the home of the Wokings, and Wellington the 'tun' of the Weltings. Each man had a homestead of his own, with a strip or strips of arable land in an open field. Beyond the arable land was pasture and wood, common to the whole township, every villager being entitled to drive his cattle or pigs into them according to rules laid down by the whole township. The population was divided into Eorls and Ceorls. The Eorl was hereditarily distinguished by birth, and the Ceorl was a simple freeman without any such distinction. . . . Below the Ceorls were slaves taken in war or condemned to slavery as criminals. There were also men known as Gesiths, a word which means 'followers,' who were the followers of the chiefs or Ealdormen who led the conquerors. The Gesiths formed the war-band of the chief. . . . This war-

band of Gesiths was composed of young men who attached themselves to the chief by a tie of personal devotion. It was the highest glory of the Gesith to die to save his chief's life. [See also *COMITATUS*.] . . . The bulk of the population on the eastern and southern coasts was undoubtedly English. English institutions and English language took firm root. The conquerors looked on the Britons with the utmost contempt, naming them Welsh, a name which no Briton thought of giving to himself, but which Germans had been in the habit of applying somewhat contemptuously to the Celts on the Continent. So far as British words have entered into the English language at all, they have been words such as gown or curd, which are likely to have been used by women, or words such as cart or pony, which are likely to have been used by agricultural labourers and the evidence of language may therefore be adduced in favour of the view that many women and many agricultural labourers were spared by the conquerors. The smallest political community of the new settlers was the village, or, as it is commonly called, the township (q. v.), which is still represented by the parish, the parish being merely a township in which ecclesiastical institutions have been maintained whilst political institutions have ceased to exist. The freemen of the township met to settle small questions between themselves, under the presidency of their reeve or headman. More important cases were brought before the hundred-moot, or meeting of the hundred, a district which had been inhabited, or was supposed to have been inhabited, either by a hundred kindred groups of the original settlers or by the families of a hundred warriors. This hundred-moot was held once a month, and was attended by four men and the reeve from every township, and also by the Eorls and Thegns living in the hundred. It not only settled disputes about property, but gave judgment in criminal cases as well."—S. R. Gardiner, *Student's history of England*, v. 1, pp. 29-32.

7th century.—The so-called "Heptarchy."—"The old notion of an Heptarchy, of a regular system of seven Kingdoms, united under the regular supremacy of a single over-lord, is a dream which has passed away before the light of historic criticism. The English Kingdoms in Britain were ever fluctuating, alike in their number and in their relations to one another. The number of perfectly independent states was sometimes greater and sometimes less than the mystical seven, and, till the beginning of the ninth century, the whole nation did not admit the regular supremacy of any fixed and permanent over-lord. Yet it is no less certain that, among the mass of smaller and more obscure principalities, seven Kingdoms do stand out in a marked way, seven Kingdoms of which it is possible to recover something like a continuous history, seven Kingdoms which alone supplied candidates for the dominion of the whole island." These seven kingdoms were Kent, Sussex, Essex, Wessex, East Anglia, Northumberland and Mercia.—E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman conquest of England*, ch. 2.—"After the territorial boundaries had become more settled, there appeared at the commencement of the seventh century seven or eight greater and smaller kingdoms. . . . Historians have described this condition of things as the Heptarchy, disregarding the early disappearance of Sussex, and the existence of still smaller kingdoms. But this grouping was neither based upon equality, nor destined to last for any length of time. It was the common interest of these smaller states to withstand the sudden and often dangerous invasions of their western and

northern neighbours; and, accordingly, whichever king was capable of successfully combating the common foe, acquired for the time a certain superior rank, which some historians denote by the title of Bretwalda. By this name can only be understood an actual and recognized temporary superiority; first ascribed to Ælla of Sussex, and later passing to Northumbria, until Wessex finally attains a real and lasting supremacy. It was geographical position which determined these relations of superiority. The small kingdoms in the west were shielded by the greater ones of Northumberland, Mercia and Wessex, as though by crescent-shaped forelands—which in their struggles with the Welsh kingdoms, with Strathclyde and Cumbria, with Picts and Scots, were continually in a state of martial activity. And so the smaller western kingdoms followed the three warlike ones; and round these Anglo-Saxon history revolves for two whole centuries, until in Wessex we find a combination of most of the conditions which are necessary to the existence of a great State.”—R. Gneist, *History of the English constitution*, ch. 3.

617.—Edwin becomes king of Northumbria.

634.—Oswald becomes king of Northumbria.

655.—Oswi becomes king of Northumbria.

670.—Egfrith becomes king of Northumbria.

688.—Ini becomes king of the West Saxons.

716.—Ethelbald becomes king of Mercia.

758.—Offa becomes king of Mercia.

794.—Cenwulf becomes king of Mercia.

802-839.—Supremacy of Wessex.—Reign of Egbert.—“In 802, the young Egbert, of the royal house of Wessex, returned from the court of Charles the Great, whither he had been driven by the persecutions of Offa. Thirteen years he spent in rallying the shattered forces of his kingdom. Then he began a series of operations which culminated in 825 in the overthrow of the Mercians at Ellandun. When, in 829, he made a royal progress through Mercia, it was virtually his, as much as Wessex. . . . By the end of 830, with the exception of Celtic Strathclyde, all the lands south of the line of the Forth and the Clyde had submitted to Egbert. Through all this magnificent region, the princes, whether Celt or Teuton, acknowledged the overlordship of the southern king. The vague recognition of this overlordship, however, did not constitute these vassal states into a kingdom or an empire, still less into a national state. Egbert had, after all, only brought together such another confederacy as that which once obeyed Penda or Offa; only larger in extent, and, for the moment, confronted by no possible rival north or south.”—B. S. Terry, *History of England*, pp. 16-17.—See also SCANDINAVIAN STATES: 8th-9th centuries.

836.—Accession of the West Saxon king Ethelwulf.

855-880.—Conquests and settlements of the Danes.—Heroic struggle of Alfred the Great.—“Peace of Wedmore” and the “Danelaw.”—King Alfred’s character and reign.—“The Danish invasions of England . . . fall naturally into three periods, each of which finds its parallel in the course of the English Conquest of Britain. . . . We first find a period in which the object of the invaders seems to be simple plunder. They land, they harry the country, they fight, if need be, to secure their booty, but whether defeated or victorious, they equally return to their ships, and sail away with what they have gathered. This period includes the time from the first recorded invasion [787] till the latter half of the ninth century. Next comes a time in which the object of the Northmen is clearly no longer mere plunder, but

settlement. . . . In the reign of Æthelwulf the son of Egberht [Egbert] it is recorded that the heathen men wintered for the first time in the Isle of Sheppey [855]. This marks the transition from the first to the second period of their invasions. . . . It was not however till about eleven years from this time that the settlement actually began. Meanwhile the sceptre of the West-Saxons passed from one hand to another. . . . Four sons of Æthelwulf reigned in succession, and the reigns of the first three among them [Ethelbald, 858, Ethelberht, 860, Ethelred, 866-871] make up together only thirteen years. In the reign of the third of these princes, Æthelred I, the second period of the invasions fairly begins. Five years were spent by the Northmen in ravaging and conquering the tributary Kingdoms. Northumberland, still disputed between rival Kings, fell an easy prey [867-869], and one or two puppet princes did not scruple to receive a tributary crown at the hands of the heathen invaders. They next entered Mercia [868], they seized Nottingham, and the West-Saxon King hastening to the relief of his vassals, was unable to dislodge them from that stronghold. East Anglia was completely conquered [866-870] and its King Eadmund died a martyr. At last the full storm of invasion burst upon Wessex itself [871]. King Æthelred, the first of a long line of West-Saxon hero-Kings, supported by his greater brother Ælfred [Alfred the Great] met the invaders in battle after battle with varied success. He died and Ælfred succeeded, in the thick of the struggle. In this year [871], the last of Æthelred and the first of Ælfred, nine pitched battles, besides smaller engagements, were fought with the heathens on West-Saxon ground. At last peace was made; the Northmen retreated to London, within the Mercian frontier; Wessex was for the moment delivered, but the supremacy won by Egberht was lost. For a few years Wessex was subjected to nothing more than temporary incursions, but Northumberland and part of Mercia were systematically occupied by the Northmen, and the land was divided among them. . . . At last the Northmen, now settled in a large part of the island, made a second attempt to add Wessex itself to their possessions [878]. For a moment the land seemed conquered; Ælfred himself lay hid in the marshes of Somersetshire; men might well deem that the Empire of Egberht and the Kingdom of Cerdic itself, had vanished for ever. But the strong heart of the most renowned of Englishmen, the saint, the scholar, the hero, and the lawgiver, carried his people safely through this most terrible of dangers. Within the same year the Dragon of Wessex was again victorious [at the battle of Ethandun, or Edington], and the Northmen were driven to conclude a peace which Englishmen, fifty years sooner, would have deemed the lowest depth of degradation, but which might now be fairly looked upon as honourable and even as triumphant. [See NORMANS: 787-880; SCANDINAVIAN STATES: 8th-9th centuries.] By the terms of the Peace of Wedmore the Northmen were to evacuate Wessex and the part of Mercia south-west of Watling-Street; they, or at least their chiefs, were to submit to baptism, and they were to receive the whole land beyond Watling-Street as vassals of the West-Saxon King. . . . See ‘Ælfred and Guthrum’s Peace,’ Thorpe’s ‘Laws and Institutes,’ i. 152. This frontier gives London to the English; but it seems that Ælfred did not obtain full possession of London till 886.” The territory thus conceded to the Danes, which included all northeastern England from the Thames to the Tyne, was thence-

forth known by the name of the Danelagh or Danelaw, signifying the country subject to the law of the Danes. The Peace of Wedmore ended the second period of the Danish invasions. The third period, which was not opened until a full century later, embraced the actual conquest of the whole of England by a Danish king and its temporary annexation to the dominions of the Danish crown.—E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman conquest of England*, ch. 2, with foot-note.—“Now that peace was restored, and the Danes driven out of his domains, it remained to be seen whether Alfred was as good a ruler as he was a soldier. . . . What did he see? The towns, even London itself, pillaged, ruined, or burnt down; the monasteries destroyed; the people wild and lawless; ignorance, roughness, insecurity everywhere. It is almost incredible with what a brave heart he set himself to repair all this; how his great and noble aims were still before him; how hard he strove, and how much he achieved. First of all he seems to have sought for helpers. Like most clever men, he was good at reading characters. He soon saw who would be true, brave, wise friends, and he collected these around him. Some of them he fetched from over the sea, from France and Germany; our friend Asser from Wales, or, as he calls his country, ‘Western Britain,’ while England, he calls ‘Saxony.’ He says he first saw Alfred ‘in a royal vill, which is called Dene’ in Sussex. ‘He received me with kindness, and asked me eagerly to devote myself to his service, and become his friend; to leave everything which I possessed on the left or western bank of the Severn, and promised that he would give more than an equivalent for it in his own dominions. I replied that I could not rashly and incautiously promise such things; for it seemed to be unjust that I should leave those sacred places in which I had been bred, educated, crowned, and ordained for the sake of any earthly honour and power, unless upon compulsion. Upon this he said, “If you cannot accede to this, at least let me have your service in part; spend six months of the year with me here, and the other six months in Britain.”’ And to this after a time Asser consented. What were the principal things he turned his mind to after providing for the defence of his kingdom, and collecting his friends and counsellors about him? Law—justice—religion—education. He collected and studied the old laws of his nation; what he thought good he kept, what he disapproved he left out. He added others, especially the ten commandments and some other parts of the law of Moses. Then he laid them all before his Witan, or wise men, and with their approval published them. . . . The state of justice in England was dreadful at this time. . . . Alfred’s way of curing this was by inquiring into all cases, as far as he possibly could, himself; and Asser says he did this ‘especially for the sake of the poor, to whose interest, day and night, he ever was wonderfully attentive; for in the whole kingdom the poor, besides him, had few or no protectors.’ . . . When he found that the judges had made mistakes through ignorance, he rebuked them, and told them they must either grow wiser or give up their posts; and soon the old earls and other judges, who had been unlearned from their cradles, began to study diligently. . . . For reviving and spreading religion among his people he used the best means that he knew of; that is, he founded new monasteries and restored old ones, and did his utmost to get good bishops and clergymen. For his own part, he strove to practise in all ways what he taught to others. . . . Education was in

a still worse condition than everything else. . . . All the schools had been broken up. Alfred says that when he began to reign there were very few clergymen south of the Humber who could even understand the Prayer-book. (That was still in Latin, as the Roman missionaries had brought it.) And south of the Thames he could not remember one. His first care was to get better-educated clergy and bishops. And next to get the laymen taught also.”—T. Hughes, *Alfred the Great*, ch. 24.

“Alfred grasped the importance of national history as an instrument of education, and sought to leave to the people, in a language which the simplest of them could understand, a record of their kings and of their own achievements. This record, compiled under Alfred’s direction, partly from current traditions and partly from the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, was the beginning of the famous Chronicle, which was destined to be continued for three hundred years, forming a sort of semi-official national diary of the greatest



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value in recovering the later history of Old English kings. For the benefit of his unlearned countrymen also Alfred caused to be put in an English dress such works, standard in his day, as Bede’s history and the general history of the world of Orosius. The king’s interest in literature, however, was by no means confined to history. He caused translations to be made of standard philosophical and theological works as well, of which the most important were the Consolations of Philosophy of the unfortunate Boetius [which Alfred himself translated from Latin into Anglo-Saxon], and the Pastoral Care of Pope Gregory I. He also made a collection of the ancient epic songs of the English. But of these, with the exception of the epic of Beowulf, only a few fragments have survived. In Beowulf, however, we have a priceless treasure. It is not only the earliest of English poems, antedating the era of migration; it is also a striking picture of life and manners, far more than the dry annals of the Chronicle, revealing the temper of the ancient English folk. . . . Like Charles the Great, he ransacked his dominions for men who were apt to teach. . . . Even foreign countries also were invited to contribute of their

wealth to enrich his schools. . . . Under the inspiration of such men, there began a genuine renaissance. The long struggle with the Danes had dealt severely with the English kingdoms; the old schools had been destroyed, their teachers and pupils scattered, and the people had lapsed into barbaric ignorance. When Alfred began his reign it was said that there was not a man in Wessex who could read understandingly. When Alfred closed his reign, English prose had been born, and the English mind had received an inspiration which it was not to lose, until it emerged into the full day of the modern era. The same order which Alfred introduced into the administration of his kingdom, he introduced also into his own private life. He had no clock to warn him of the flight of the hours; but, by burning a series of tapers, he contrived to divide his day with some accuracy. When he noticed that the draughts caused his candles to burn unevenly at times, he protected them with a lantern made with sides of horn. The well-ordered household, the value put upon education, the sobriety and patient industry of the king, and the quiet seriousness with which he took the duties of his high office, created an influence which affected all who came in contact with him, and from the court extended outward and downward to the people."—B. S. Terry, *History of England*, pp. 813-814.—See also EDUCATION: Medieval: 871-900; IRELAND: 7th-8th centuries.

ALSO IN: R. Pauli, *Life of Alfred the Great*.—Asser, *Life of Alfred*.

901.—Accession of the West Saxon king Edward, called The Elder.

925.—Accession of the West Saxon king Ethelstan.

938.—Battle of Brunnburgh.—Alfred the Great, dying in 901, was succeeded by his son, Edward, and Edward, in turn, was followed, 925, by his son Athelstane, or Æthelstan. In the reign of Athelstane a great league was formed against him by the Northumbrian Danes with the Scots, with the Danes of Dublin and with the Britons of Strathclyde and Cumbria. Athelstane defeated the confederates in a mighty battle, celebrated in one of the finest of Old-English war-songs and also in one of the Sagas of the Norse tongue, as the Battle of Brunnburgh or Brunanburh, but the site of which is unknown. "The victory was so decisive that, during the remainder of the reign of Athelstane, no enemy dared to rise up against him; his supremacy was acknowledged without contest, and his glory extended to distant realms."—F. Palgrave, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, ch. 10.—It would seem that the battle of Brunnburgh was fought at Aldborough, near York.—W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, v. 1, p. 357.

940.—Accession of the West Saxon king, Edmund.

946.—Accession of the West Saxon king, Edred.

955.—Accession of the West Saxon king, Edwig.

958.—Accession of the West Saxon king, Edgar.

958.—Completed union of the realm.—Increase of kingly authority.—Approach towards feudalism.—Rise of the Witenagemot.—Decline of the Freemen.—"Before Alfred's son Edward died, the whole of Mercia was incorporated with his immediate dominions. The way in which the thing was done was more remarkable than the thing itself. Like the Romans, he made the fortified towns the means of upholding his power. But unlike the Romans, he did not garrison them with colonists from amongst his own immediate de-

pendents. He filled them, as Henry the Fowler did afterwards in Saxony, with free townsmen, whose hearts were at one with their fellow countrymen around. Before he died in 924, the Danish chiefs in the land beyond the Humber had acknowledged his overlordship, and even the Celts of Wales and Scotland had given in their submission in some form from which they were not likely to interpret too strictly. His son and his two grandsons, Athelstan, Edmund, and Edred completed the work, and when after the short and troubled interval of Edwy's rule in Wessex, Edgar united the undivided realm under his sway in 958, he had no internal enemies to suppress. He allowed the Celtic Scottish King who had succeeded to the inheritance of the Pictish race to possess the old Northumbrian land north of the Tweed, where they and their descendants learned the habits and speech of Englishmen. But he treated him and the other Celtic kings distinctly as his inferiors, though it was perhaps well for him that he did not attempt to impose upon any very tangible tokens of his supremacy."—S. R. Gardiner, *Student's history of England*, v. 1, p. 30.—See also FEUDALISM: Organization.

959-975.—Edgar and Dunstan.—Changes in English institutions.—Growth of the king's power.—Conversion of freemen into serfs.—The Towns.—Shire-moot.—Ealdormen and the Witenagemot.—"Eadgar was known as the Peaceful King. He had the advantage, which Eadwig had not, of having the Church on his side. He maintained order, with the help of Dunstan as his principal adviser. Not long after his accession Dunstan became Archbishop of Canterbury. His policy was that of a man who knows that he cannot do everything and is content to do what he can. The Danes were to keep their own laws, and not to have English laws forced upon them. The great ealdormen were to be conciliated, not to be repressed. Everything was to be done to raise the standard of morality and knowledge. Foreign teachers were brought in to set up schools. . . . His title of Peaceful shows that at least he lived on good terms with his neighbours. . . . It is of more importance that a Celtic king ruled thenceforward over an English people as well as over his own Celtic Scots, and that ultimately his descendants became more English than Celtic in character, through the attraction exercised upon them by their English subjects. The long struggle with the Danes could not fail to leave its mark upon English society. The history of the changes which took place is difficult to trace; in the first place because our information is scanty, in the second because things happened in one part of the country which did not happen in another. Yet there were two changes which were widely felt: the growth of the king's authority, and the acceleration of the process which was reducing to bondage the ceorl, or simple freeman. In the early days of the English conquest the kings and other great men had around them their war-bands, composed of gesiths or thegns, personally attached to themselves, and ready, if need were, to die on their lord's behalf. Very early these thegns were rewarded by grants of land on condition of continuing military service. Every extension of the king's power over fresh territory made their services more important. . . . The kings therefore had to rely more and more upon their thegns, who in turn had thegns of their own whom they could bring with them; and thus was formed an army ready for military service in any part of the kingdom. A king who could command such an army was even more powerful than one who could

command the whole of the forces of a smaller territory. It is impossible to give a certain account of the changes which passed over the English freemen, but there can be little doubt that a process had been for some time going on which converted them into bondmen, and that this process was greatly accelerated by the Danish wars. When a district was being plundered the peasant holders of the strips of village land suffered most, and needed the protection of the neighbouring thegn, who was better skilled in war than themselves, and this protection they could only obtain on condition of becoming bondmen themselves—that is to say, of giving certain days in the week to work on the special estate of the lord. A bondman differed both from a slave and from a modern farmer. Though he was bound to the soil and could not go away if he wished to do so, yet he could not be sold as though he were a slave; nor, on the other hand, could he, like a farmer, be turned out of his holding so long as he fulfilled his obligation of cultivating his lord's demesne. The lord was almost invariably a thegn, either of the king or of some superior thegn, and there thus arose in England, as there arose about the same time on the Continent, a chain of personal relationships. The king was no longer merely the head of the whole people. He was the personal lord of his own thegns, and they again were the lords of other thegns. The serfs cultivated their lands, and thereby set them free to fight for the king on behalf of the whole nation. It seems at first sight as if the English people had fallen into a worse condition. An organisation, partly military and partly servile, was substituted for an organisation of free men. Yet only in this way could the whole of England be amalgamated. [See also SERFDOM: 11th-17th centuries.] The nation gained in unity what it lost in freedom. The towns had grown up in various ways. . . . The inhabitants met to consult about their own affairs, sometimes in dependence on a lord. Where there was no lord they held a court which was composed in the same way as the hundred-moots outside. The townsmen had the right of holding a market. Every sale had to take place in the presence of witnesses who could prove, if called upon to do so, that the sale had really taken place, and markets were therefore usually to be found in towns, because it was there that witnesses could most easily be found. . . . Whilst the hundred-moot decayed, the folk-moot continued to flourish under a new name, as the shire-moot. This moot was still attended by the freemen of the shire though the thegns were more numerous and the simple freemen less numerous than they had once been. Still the continued existence of the shire-moot kept up the custom of self-government more than anything else in England. The ordeals were witnessed, the were-gild [or wer-gild, compensation by the murderer or his family to the relatives of a murdered man] inflicted, and rights to land adjudged, not by an officer of the king, but by the landowners of the shire assembled for the purpose. These meetings were ordinarily presided over by the ealdorman, who appeared as the military commander and the official head of the shire, and by the bishop, who represented the Church. Another most important personage was the sheriff, or shire-reeve, whose business it was to see that the king had all his rights, to preside over the shire-moot when it sat as a judicial court, and to take care that its sentences were put in execution. During the long fight with the Danes commanders were needed who could lead the forces of more than a single

shire. Before the end of Eadred's reign there were ealdormen who ruled over many shires. One of them for instance, Aethelstan, Ealdorman of East Anglia, and of the shires immediately to the west of East Anglia, was so powerful that he was popularly known as the flaf-King. Such ealdormen had great influence in their own districts, and they also were very powerful about the king. The king could not perform any important act without the consent of the Witenagemot, which was made up of three classes—the Ealdormen, the Bishops, and the greater Thegns. When a king died the Witenagemot chose his successor out of the kingly family; its members appeared as witnesses whenever the king 'booked' land to any one; and it even, on rare occasions, deposed a king who was unfit for his post. In the days of a great warrior king like Eadward or Eadmund, members of the Witenagemot were but instruments in his hands, but if a weak king came upon the throne, each member usually took his own way and pursued his own interest rather than that of the king and kingdom."—S. R. Gardiner, *Student's history of England*, v. 1, pp. 67-75.—See also COMITATUS.

975.—Accession of the West Saxon king, Edward, called The Martyr.

979.—Accession of the West Saxon king, Ethelred, called The Unready.

10th-11th centuries.—Early differentiation and relation to Scotland. See SCOTLAND: 10th-11th centuries.

979-1016.—Danish conquest.—"Then [A. D. 979] commenced one of the longest and most disastrous reigns of the Saxon kings, with the accession of Ethelred II., justly styled Ethelred the Unready. The Northmen now renewed their plundering and conquering expeditions against England; while England had a worthless waverer for her ruler, and many of her chief men turned traitors to their king and country. Always a laggart in open war, Ethelred tried in root the cowardly and foolish policy of buying off the enemies whom he dared not encounter. The tax called Dane-geld was then levied to provide 'a tribute for the Danish men on account of the great terror which they caused.' To pay money thus was in effect to hire the enemy to renew the war. In 1002 Ethelred tried the still more weak and wicked measure of ridding himself of his enemies by treacherous massacre. Great numbers of Danes were now living in England, intermixed with the Anglo-Saxon population. Ethelred resolved to relieve himself from all real or supposed danger of these Scandinavian settlers taking part with their invading kinsmen, by sending secret orders throughout his dominions for the putting to death of every Dane, man, woman, and child, on St. Brice's Day, Nov. 13. . . . The news of the massacre of St. Brice soon spread over the Continent, exciting the deepest indignation against the English and their king. Sweyn [the Danish king] collected in Denmark a larger fleet and army than the north had ever before sent forth, and solemnly vowed to conquer England or perish in the attempt. He landed on the south coast of Devon, obtained possession of Exeter by the treachery of its governor, and then marched through western and southern England, marking every shire with fire, famine and slaughter; but he was unable to take London, which was defended against the repeated attacks of the Danes with strong courage and patriotism, such as seemed to have died out in the rest of Saxon England. In 1013, the wretched king Ethelred fled the realm and sought shelter in Normandy. Sweyn was

acknowledged king in all the northern and western shires, but he died in 1014, while his vow of conquest was only partly accomplished. The English now sent for Ethelred back from Normandy, promising loyalty to him as their lawful king, 'provided he would rule over them more justly than he had done before.' Ethelred willingly promised amendment, and returned to reign amidst strife and misery for two years more. His implacable enemy, Sweyn, was indeed dead; but the Danish host which Sweyn had led thither was still in England, under the command of Sweyn's son, Canute [or Cnut], a prince equal in military prowess to his father, and far superior to him and to all other princes of the time in statesmanship and general ability. Ethelred died in 1016, while the war with Canute was yet raging. Ethelred's son, Edmund, surnamed Ironside, was chosen king by the great council then assembled in London, but great numbers of the Saxons made this submission to Canute. The remarkable personal valour of Edmund, strongly aided by the bravery of his faithful Londoners, maintained the war for



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nearly a year, when Canute agreed to a compromise, by which he and Edmund divided the land between them. But within a few months after this, the royal Ironside died by the hand of an assassin, and Canute obtained the whole realm of the English race. A Danish dynasty was now [1016] established in England for three reigns."—E. S. Creasy, *History of England*, v. 1, ch. 5.—See also BARBARIAN INVASIONS: 5th-10th centuries; MALDEN AND ASSANDUN, BATTLES OF.

ALSO IN: J. M. Lappenberg, *England under the Anglo-Saxon kings*, v. 2, pp. 151-233.

1016.—Accession and death of King Edmund Ironside.

1016-1042.—The reign of the Danish kings.—"Canut's rule was not as terrible as might have been feared. He was perfectly unscrupulous in striking down the treacherous and mischievous chieftains who had made a trade of Ethelred's weakness and the country's divisions. But he was wise and strong enough to rule, not by increasing but by allaying those divisions. . . . To bring England itself into unity was beyond his power. The device which he hit upon was operative only in hands as strong as his own. There were to be four great earls, deriving their name from the

Danish word jarl, centralizing the forces of government in Wessex, in Mercia, in East Anglia, and in Northumberland. With Cnut the four were officials of the highest class. They were there because he placed them there. They would cease to be there if he so willed it. But it could hardly be that it would always be so. Some day or another, unless a great catastrophe swept away Cnut and his creation, the earldoms would pass into territorial sovereignties and the divisions of England would be made evident openly."—S. R. Gardiner and J. B. Mullinger, *Introduction to the study of English history*, ch. 2, sect. 25.—"He [Canute] ruled nominally at least, a larger European dominion than any English sovereign has ever done; and perhaps also a more homogeneous one. No potentate of the time came near him except the king of Germany, the emperor, with whom he was allied as an equal. The king of the Norwegians, the Danes, and a great part of the Swedes, was in a position to found a Scandinavian empire with Britain annexed. Canute's division of his dominions on his death-bed, showed that he saw this to be impossible; Norway, for a century and a half after his strong hand was removed, was broken up amongst an anarchical crew of piratic and blood-thirsty princes, nor could Denmark be regarded as likely to continue united with England. The English nation was too much divided and demoralised to retain hold on Scandinavia, even if the condition of the latter had allowed it. Hence Canute determined that during his life, as after his death, the nations should be governed on their own principles. . . . The four nations of the English, Northumbrians, East Angles, Mercians and West Saxons, might, each under their own national leader, obey a sovereign who was strong enough to enforce peace amongst them. The great earldoms of Canute's reign were perhaps a nearer approach to a feudal division of England than anything which followed the Norman Conquest. . . . And the extent to which this creation of the four earldoms affected the history of the next half-century cannot be exaggerated. The certain tendency of such an arrangement to become hereditary, and the certain tendency of the hereditary occupation of great fiefs ultimately to overwhelm the royal power, are well exemplified. . . . The Norman Conquest restored national unity at a tremendous temporary sacrifice, just as the Danish Conquest in other ways, and by a reverse process, had helped to create it."—W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 7, sect. 77.—Canute died in 1035. He was succeeded by his two sons, Harold Harefoot (1035-1040) and Harthacnut or Hardicanute (1040-1042), after which the Saxon line of kings was momentarily restored.—E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman conquest of England*, ch. 6.—See also BARBARIAN INVASIONS: 5th-10th centuries.

1035.—Accession of Harold, son of Cnut.

1040.—Accession of Harthacnut, or Hardicanute.

1042.—Accession of Edward the Confessor.

1042-1066.—Last of the Saxon kings.—"The love which Canute had inspired by his wise and conciliatory rule was dissipated by the bad government of his sons, Harold and Harthacnut, who ruled in turn. After seven years of misgovernment, or rather anarchy, England, freed from the hated rule of Harthacnut by his death, returned to its old line of kings, and 'all folk chose Edward [surnamed The Confessor, son of Ethelred the Unready] to king,' as was his right by birth. . . . Brought up under Norman influence, Edward had contracted the ideas and sympathies of his adopted

home. On his election to the English throne the French tongue became the language of the court, Norman favourites followed in his train, to be foisted into important offices of State and Church, and thus inaugurate that Normanizing policy which was to draw on the Norman Conquest. Had it not been for this, William would never have had any claim on England." The Normanizing policy of king Edward roused the opposition of a strong English party, headed by the great West-Saxon Earl Godwine, who had been lifted from an obscure origin to vast power in England by the favor of Canute, and whose son Harold held the earldom of East Anglia. "Edward, raised to the throne chiefly through the influence of Godwine, shortly married his daughter, and at first ruled England leaning on the assistance, and almost overshadowed by the power, of the great earl." But Edward was Norman at heart and Godwine was thoroughly English; whence quarrels were not long in arising. They came to the crisis in 1051, by reason of a bloody tumult at Dover, provoked by insolent conduct on the part of a train of French visitors returning home from Edward's Court. Godwine was commanded to punish the townsmen of Dover and refused, whereupon the king obtained a sentence of outlawry, not only against the earl, but against his sons. "Godwine, obliged to bow before the united power of his enemies, was forced to fly the land. He went to Flanders with his son Swegen, while Harold and Leofwine went to Ireland, to be well received by Dermot king of Leinster. Many Englishmen seem to have followed him in his exile: for a year the foreign party was triumphant, and the first stage of the Norman Conquest complete. It was at this important crisis that William [Duke of Normandy], secure at home, visited his cousin Edward. . . . Friendly relations we may be sure had existed between the two cousins, and if, as is not improbable, William had begun to hope that he might some day succeed to the English throne, what more favourable opportunity for a visit could have been found? Edward had lost all hopes of ever having any children. . . . William came, and it would seem, gained all that he desired. For this most probably was the date of some promise on Edward's part that William should succeed him on his death. The whole question is beset with difficulties. The Norman chroniclers alone mention it, and give no dates. Edward had no right to will away his crown, the disposition of which lay with King and Witenagemot (or assembly of Wise Men, the grandees of the country), and his last act was to reverse the promise, if ever given, in favour of Harold, Godwine's son. But were it not for some such promise, it is hard to see how William could have subsequently made the Normans and the world believe in the sacredness of his claim. . . . William returned to Normandy; but next year Edward was forced to change his policy." Godwine and his sons returned to England, with a fleet at their backs; London declared for them, and the king submitted himself to a reconciliation. "The party of Godwine once more ruled supreme, and no mention was made of the gift of the crown to William. Godwine, indeed, did not long survive his restoration, but dying the year after, 1053, left his son Harold Earl of the West-Saxons and the most important man in England." King Edward the Confessor lived yet thirteen years after this time, during which period Earl Harold grew continually in influence and conspicuous headship of the English party. In 1062 it was Harold's misfortune to be shipwrecked on the coast of

France, and he was made captive. Duke William of Normandy intervened in his behalf and obtained his release; and "then, as the price of his assistance, extorted an oath from Harold, soon to be used against him. Harold, it is said, became his man, promised to marry William's daughter Adela, to place Dover at once in William's hands, and support his claim to the English throne on Edward's death. By a stratagem of William's the oath was unwittingly taken on holy relics, hidden by the duke under the table on which Harold laid hands to swear, whereby, according to the notions of those days, the oath was rendered more binding." But two years later, when Edward the Confessor died, the English Witenagemot chose Harold to be king, disregarding Edward's promise and Harold's oath to the Duke of Normandy.—A. H. Johnson, *Normans in Europe*, ch. 10 and 12.—See also ENGLISH LITERATURE: 11th-14th centuries.

ALSO IN: E. A. Freeman, *History of the Nor-*



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man conquest of England, ch. 7-10.—J. R. Green, *Conquest of England*, ch. 10.

1066.—Election and coronation of Harold.

1066 (Spring and Summer).—Preparations of Duke William to enforce his claim to the English crown.—On receiving news of Edward's death and of Harold's acceptance of the crown, Duke William of Normandy lost no time in demanding from Harold the performance of the engagements to which he had pledged himself by his oath. Harold answered that the oath had no binding effect, by reason of the compulsion under which it was given; that the crown of England was not his to bestow, and that, being the chosen king, he could not marry without consent of the Witenagemot. When the Duke had this reply he proceeded with vigor to secure from his own knights and barons the support he would need for the enforcing of his rights, as he deemed them, to the sovereignty of the English realm. A great parliament of the Norman barons was held at Lillebonne, for the consideration of the matter. . . . William did not confine himself to his own subjects. All the adventurers and adventurous spirits

of the neighbouring states were invited to join his standard. . . . To all, such promises were made as should best incite them to the enterprise—lands,—liveries,—money,—according to their rank and degree; and the port of St. Pierre-sur-Dive was appointed as the place where all the forces should assemble. William had discovered four most valid reasons for the prosecution of his offensive warfare against a neighbouring people:—the bequest made by his cousin;—the perjury of Harold;—the expulsion of the Normans, at the instigation, as he alleged, of Godwin;—and, lastly, the massacre of the Danes by Ethelred on St. Brice's Day. The alleged perjury of Harold enabled William to obtain the sanction of the Papal See. Alexander, the Roman Pontiff, allowed, nay, even urged him to punish the crime, provided England, when conquered, should be held as the fief of St. Peter.—F. Palgrave, *History of Normandy and England*, v. 3, pp. 300-303.—“William convinced, or seemed to convince, all men out of England and Scandinavia that his claim to the English crown was just and holy, and that it was a good work to help him to assert it in arms. . . . William himself doubtless thought his own claim the better; he deluded himself as he deluded others. But we are more concerned with William as a statesman; and if it be statesmanship to adapt means to ends, whatever the ends may be, if it be statesmanship to make men believe the worse cause is the better, then no man ever showed higher statesmanship than William showed in his great pleading before all Western Christendom. . . . Others had claimed crowns; none had taken such pains to convince all mankind that the claim was a good one. . . . Such an appeal to public opinion marks on one side a great advance.”—E. A. Freeman, *William the Conqueror*, ch. 6.

1066.—Norman invasion.—Defeat at Stamford Bridge (September).—Battle of Hastings (October).—“All through the summer Harold was watching for his rival's coming. . . . Harold had his house-earls, the constant guard of picked troops which had been instituted by Cnut, and his thegns, who, like the Norman barons, were bound to serve their lord in war. The greater part of his force, however, was composed of the peasants of the fyrd [national militia], and when September came they must needs be sent home to attend to their harvest, which seems to have been late this year. Scarcely were they gone when Harold received news that his brother Tostig, angry with him for having consented to his deposition from the Northumbrian earldom, had allied himself to Harold Hardrada, the fierce sea-rover, who was king of Norway, and that the two, with a mighty host, after wasting the Yorkshire coast, had sailed up the Humber. The two Northern Earls, Eadwine and Morkere, were hard pressed. Harold had not long before married their sister, and, whatever might be the risk, he was bound as the king of all England to aid them. Marching swiftly northwards with his house-earls, and the thegns who joined him on the way, he hastened to their succour. On the way worse tidings reached him. The Earls had been defeated and York had agreed to submit to the Norsemen. Harold hurried on the faster, and came upon the invaders unawares as they lay heedlessly on both sides of the Derwent at Stamford Bridge [in Yorkshire]. Those on the western side, unprepared as they were, were soon overpowered. One brave Norseman, like Horatius and his comrades in the Roman legend, kept the narrow bridge against the army, till an Englishman crept under it and stabbed him from below through a gap in the woodwork. The battle

rolled across the Derwent, and when evening came Harold Hardrada, and Tostig himself, with the bulk of the invaders, had been slain. For the last time an English king overthrew a foreign host in battle on English soil. As Harold was feasting at York in celebration of his victory, a messenger told him of the landing of the Norman host at Pevensey. . . . He had to hurry back to defend Sussex without a single man from the north or the Midlands, except those whom he collected on his line of march. . . . England was a kingdom divided against itself. Harold, as soon as he reached the point of danger, drew up his army on the long hill of Senlac on which Battle Abbey now stands. On October 14 William marched forth to attack him. . . . The English were brave enough, but William was a more intelligent leader than Harold, and his men were better under control. Twice after the battle had begun the Norman horsemen charged up the hill only to be driven back. . . . Slowly and steadily the Normans pressed on, till they reached the spot where Harold, surrounded by his house-earls, fought beneath his standard. There all their attacks were in vain, till William, calling for his bowmen, bade them shoot their arrows into the air. Down came the arrows in showers upon the heads of the English warriors, and one of them pierced Harold's eye, stretching him lifeless on the ground.”—S. R. Gardiner, *Student's history of England*, v. 1, pp. 93-98.

ALSO IN: E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman conquest of England*, ch. 15, sect. 4.—E. S. Creasy, *Fifteen decisive battles of the world*, ch. 8.—Wace, *Roman de Rou et des ducs de Normandie*, (tr. by A. Malet).

1066-1071.—Completion of the Norman Conquest.—Consolidation of Norman rule.—“It must be well understood that this great victory [of Hastings, or Senlac] did not make Duke William King nor put him in possession of the whole land. He still held only part of Sussex, and the people of the rest of the kingdom showed as yet no mind to submit to him. . . . William did not call himself King till he was regularly crowned more than two months later, and even then he had real possession only of about a third of the kingdom. It was more than three years before he had full possession of all. Still the great fight on Senlac none the less settled the fate of England. For after that fight William never met with any general resistance. . . . During the year 1067 William made no further conquests; all western and northern England remained unsubdued; but, except in Kent and Herefordshire, there was no fighting in any part of the land which had really submitted. The next two years were the time in which all England was really conquered. The former part of 1068 gave him the West. The latter part of that year gave him central and northern England as far as Yorkshire, the extreme north and northwest being still unsubdued. The attempt to win Durham in the beginning of 1069 led to two revolts at York. Later in the year all the north and west was again in arms, and the Danish fleet [of King Swegen, in league with the English patriots] came. But the revolts were put down one by one, and the great winter campaign of 1069-1070 conquered the still unsubdued parts, ending with the taking of Chester. Early in 1070 the whole land was for the first time in William's possession; there was no more fighting, and he was able to give his mind to the more peaceful part of his schemes, what we may call the conquest of the native Church by the appointment of foreign bishops. But in the summer of 1070 be-

gan the revolt of the Fenland, and the defence of Ely, which lasted till the autumn of 1071. After that William was full King everywhere without dispute. There was no more national resistance; there was no revolt of any large part of the country. . . . The conquest of the land, as far as fighting goes, was now finished."—E. A. Freeman, *Short history of the Norman conquest of England*, ch. 8, sect. 9; ch. 10, sect. 16.—"William had the instinct of government. . . . The Duke 'could never love a robber,' be he baron or knave. The sternness of his temper stamped itself throughout upon his rule. 'Stark he was to men that withstood him,' says the Chronicler of his English system of government; 'so harsh and cruel was he that none dared withstand his will. . . . If a man would live and hold his lands, need it were he followed the King's will.' Stern as such a rule was, its sternness gave rest to the land. Even amidst the sufferings which necessarily sprang from the circumstances of the Conquest itself . . . Englishmen were unable to forget 'the good peace he made in the land, so that a man might fare over his realm with a bosom full of gold.' . . . One of the strongest traits in his character was an aversion to shed blood by process of law; he formally abolished the punishment of death, and only a single execution stains the annals of his reign. An edict yet more honourable to his humanity put an end to the slave-trade which had till then been carried on at the port of Bristol. . . . But the greatness of the Conqueror was seen in more than the order and peace which he imposed upon the land. Fortune had given him one of the greatest opportunities ever offered to a king of stamping his own genius on the destinies of a people; and it is the way in which he seized on this opportunity which has set William among the foremost statesmen of the world. The struggle which ended in the fens of Ely had wholly changed his position. He no longer held the land merely as its national and elected King. To his elective right he added the right of conquest. It is the way in which William grasped and employed this double power that marks the originality of his political genius, for the system of government which he devised was in fact the result of this double origin of his rule. It represented neither the purely feudal system of the Continent nor the system of the older English royalty: more truly perhaps it may be said to have represented both. . . . The meanest Norman rose to wealth and power in this new dominion of his lord. Great or small, each manor thus granted was granted on condition of its holder's service at the King's call; a whole army was by this means encamped upon the soil; and William's summons could at any hour gather an overwhelming force around his standard. Such a force however, effective as it was against the conquered English, was hardly less formidable to the Crown itself. When once it was established, William found himself fronted in his new realm by a feudal baronage. . . . The political genius of the Conqueror was shown in his appreciation of this danger and in the skill with which he met it. Large as the estates he granted were, they were scattered over the country in such a way as to render union between the great landowners or the hereditary attachment of great areas of population to any one separate lord equally impossible. A yet wiser measure struck at the very root of feudalism. When the larger holdings were divided by their owners into smaller subtenancies, the under-tenants were bound by the same conditions of service to their lord as he to the Crown. 'Hear, my lord,' swore the vassal,

. . . 'I become liege man of yours' for life and limb and earthly regard; and I will keep faith and loyalty to you for life and death, God help me!' Then the kiss of his lord invested him with land as a 'fief' to descend to him and his heirs for ever. In other countries such a vassal owed fealty to his lord against all foes, be they king or no. By the usage however which William enacted in England each sub-tenant, in addition to his oath of fealty to his lord, swore fealty directly to the Crown, and loyalty to the King was thus established as the supreme and universal duty of all Englishmen. But the Conqueror's skill was shown not so much in these inner checks upon feudalism as in the counterbalancing forces which he provided without it. He was not only the head of the great garrison that held England down, he was legal and elected King of the English people. If as Conqueror he covered the country with a new military organization, as the successor of Eadward he maintained the judicial and administrative organization of the old English realm. At the danger of a severance of the land between the greater nobles he struck a final blow by the abolition of the four great earldoms. The shire became the largest unit of local government, and in each shire the royal nomination of sheriffs for its administration concentrated the whole executive power in the King's hands. The old legal constitution of the country gave him the whole judicial power, and William was jealous to retain and heighten this. While he preserved the local courts of the hundred and the shire he strengthened the jurisdiction of the King's Court, which seems even in the Confessor's day to have become more and more a court of highest appeal with a right to call up all cases from any lower jurisdiction to its bar. The control over the national revenue which had rested even in the most troubled times in the hands of the King was turned into a great financial power by the Conqueror's system. Over the whole face of the land a large part of the manors were burthened with special dues to the Crown; and it was for the purpose of ascertaining and recording these that William sent into each country the commissioners whose enquiries are recorded in his Domesday Book."—J. R. Green, *History of the English people*, v. 1, pp. 126-131.—See also BAYEUX TAPESTRY; ENGLISH LITERATURE: 11th-14th centuries; ARCHITECTURE: Medieval; French and Norman.

1085-1086.—Domesday Book.—Salisbury Oath.—Results of Norman conquest.—"If William gave his people good laws, he was determined they should pay for them; one of the most frequently reiterated complaints of the reign is that of heavy taxation. An important item of revenue was the Danegeld of two shillings a hide [about thirty acres of land], which was revived in 1084. In order to estimate the resources of the country for purposes of taxation we find him having 'much thought and deep speech' with his Witan at Gloucester in 1085, over the state of the country and its population. In consequence, he determined on a great survey or official inquiry, the results of which were embodied in a report known as the Domesday Book. Many guesses have been made as to the meaning of the name, the most generally accepted being that it arose from the belief that, like the great Day of Judgment, the survey would spare none. The Chronicle records in 1085 that the King: 'Sent his men over all England, into every shire, and caused them to ascertain how many hundred hides of land it contained, and what lands the King possessed therein, what cattle there were in the several counties, and how much

revenue he ought to receive from each. He also caused them to write down how much land belonged to his archbishops, to his bishops, his abbots, and his earls, and, that I may be brief, what property every inhabitant of all England possessed in land or in cattle, and how much money this was worth. So very narrowly did he cause the survey to be made, that there was not a single hide nor a rood of land, nor—it is shameful to relate that which he thought no shame to do—was there an ox, or a cow, or a pig passed by.' The methods employed by the royal commissioners were to visit not only the shires, but every hundred in the shire and to take testimony on oath from those best qualified to give it, the landowners, the priests, the bailiffs and six villeins from each township or manor. The four counties of Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland were not included. Besides getting the information he sought, the Conqueror has left to posterity, in the Domesday Book, 'a great rate book or tax roll, a land register, a military register, a census of population, and topographical dictionary.' But it must be said that, suggestive as it is for the economic and political conditions of the time, it raises fully as many questions as it answers. [See also CENSUS: Medieval; SERFDOM: 11th-17th centuries.] The importance of the great gemot [meeting, assembly] which William held on Salisbury Plain in the following year [1086] has doubtless been much exaggerated. We are told that 'there came to him his Witan and all the landsittende (land owning), men of substance that were all over England, whosoever men they were and all bowed down to him, and became his men, and swore oaths of fealty to him that they would be faithful to him against all men.' This has often been cited as one of the sources of strength of the Norman kings: that in this assembly the landowners were all bound by a direct oath to William. But no innovation was introduced, for, doubtless, such oaths had been exacted all through the reign; moreover, it is quite unlikely that all the landowners in England could be brought together at this single assembly. The Norman Conquest was deep and far-reaching in its results. In the first place, it brought in a new line of foreign kings who were, for three successive reigns, men of vigor and energy, and who were supported by an armed force bound to them by close and special ties. Thus fortified, they not only crushed out the local differences which had marked the earlier period; but, preserving whatever was best in the old system, they paved the way for the combination of central unity and local independence which survives to-day as the most characteristic feature of the English government. Although their aim was primarily to strengthen their own position, the peace and order which they preserved made for progress. Moreover, the infusion of a new racial element, combining the vigor of the primitive Northmen and the alertness of the latinized Frenchmen, tended to vivify and broaden the sluggish and narrow national character. Finally, by bringing remote England into closer connection with the Continent it opened the way for the intellectual and cultivating influences of the centers of older and higher civilization."—A. L. Cross, *History of England and Great Britain*, pp. 81, 82, 84.

ALSO IN: E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman conquest of England*, ch. 21-22 and app. A in v. 5.—W. de Gray Birch, *Domesday book*.—F. W. Maitland, *Domesday book and beyond*.—A. Ballard, *Domesday inquest*.

1087-1135.—Sons of the Conqueror and their reigns.—William the Conqueror, when he died, left his Normandy and Maine [of French provinces] to his elder son Robert, the English crown to his stronger son, William, called Rufus, or the Red, and only a legacy of £5,000 to his third son, Henry, called Beauclerc, or the Scholar. The Conqueror's half-brother, Odo, soon began to persuade the Norman barons in England to displace William Rufus and plant Robert on the English throne. "The claim of Robert to succeed his father in England, was supported by the respected rights of primogeniture. But the Anglo-Saxon crown had always been elective. . . . Primogeniture . . . gave at that time no right to the crown of England, independent of the election of its parliamentary assembly. Having secured this title, the power of Rufus rested on the foundation most congenial with the feelings and institutions of the nation, and from their partiality received a popular support, which was soon experienced to be impregnable. The danger compelled the king to court his people by promises to diminish their grievances; which drew 30,000 knights spontaneously to his banners, happy to have got a sovereign distinct from hated Normandy. The invasion of Robert, thus resisted by the English people, effected nothing but some temporary devastations. . . . The state of Normandy, under Robert's administration, for some time furnished an ample field for his ambitious uncle's activity. It continued to exhibit a negligent government in its most vicious form. . . . Odo's politics only facilitated the reannexation of Normandy to England. But this event was not completed in William's reign. When he retorted to the attempt of Robert, by an invasion of Normandy, the great barons of both countries found themselves endangered by the conflict, and combined their interest to persuade their respective sovereigns to a fraternal pacification. The most important article of their reconciliation provided, that if either should die without issue, the survivor should inherit his dominions. Hostilities were then abandoned; mutual courtesies ensued; and Robert visited England as his brother's guest. The mind of William the Red King, was cast in no common mould. It had all the greatness and the defects of the chivalric character, in its strong but rudest state. Impetuous, daring, original, magnanimous, and munificent; it was also harsh, tyrannical, and selfish; conceited of its own powers, loose in its moral principles, and disdainful consequences. . . . While Lanfranc [archbishop of Canterbury] lived, William had a counsellor whom he respected, and whose good opinion he was careful to preserve. . . . The death of Lanfranc removed the only man whose wisdom and influence could have meliorated the king's ardent, but undisciplined temper. It was his misfortune, on this event, to choose for his favourite minister, an able, but an unprincipled man. . . . The minister advised the king, on the death of every prelate, to seize all his temporal possessions. . . . The great revenues obtained from this violent innovation, tempted both the king and his minister to increase its productiveness, by deferring the nomination of every new prelate for an indefinite period. Thus he kept many bishoprics, and among them the see of Canterbury, vacant for some years; till a severe illness alarming his conscience, he suddenly appointed Anselm to the dignity. . . . His disagreement with Anselm soon began. The prelate injudiciously began the battle by asking the king to restore, not only the possessions of his see, which were enjoyed by Lanfranc—a fair request—but



HAROLD'S LAST STAND AGAINST WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AT THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS

(From a painting by R. Caton Woodville)

also the lands which had before that time belonged to it; a demand that, after so many years' alteration of property, could not be complied with without great disturbance of other persons. . . . Anselm, seeing the churches and abbeys oppressed in their property, by the royal orders, resolved to visit Rome, and to concert with the pope the measures most adapted to overawe the king. . . . William threatened, that if he did go to Rome, he would seize all the possessions of the archbishopric. . . . The king immediately executed his threat, and sequestered all his lands and property. This was about three years before the end of the reign. . . . Anselm continued in Italy till William's death. The possession of Normandy was a leading object of William's ambition, and he gradually attained a preponderance in it. His first invasion compelled Robert to make some cessions; these were increased on his next attack; and when Robert determined to join the Crusaders, he mortgaged the whole of Normandy to William for three years, for 10,000 marks. He obtained the usual success of a powerful invasion in Wales. . . . The government of William appears to have been beneficial, both to England and Normandy. To the church it was oppressive. . . . He had scarcely reigned twelve years, when he fell by a violent death. [He was hunting with a few attendants in the New Forest.]

"It happened that, his friends dispersing in pursuit of game, he was left alone, as some authorities intimate, with Walter Tyrrel, a noble knight, who discharged an arrow [at a stag]. . . . At this precise juncture, a shaft struck the king, and buried itself in his breast. . . . He expired on the spot. It seems to be a questionable point, whether Walter Tyrrel actually shot the king. That opinion was certainly the most prevalent at the time, both here and in France. . . . None of the authorities intimate a belief of a purposed assassination; and, therefore, it would be unjust now to impute it to any one. . . . Henry [his younger brother] was hunting in a different part of the New Forest when [William] Rufus fell. . . . He left the body to the casual charity of the passing rustic, and rode precipitately to Winchester, to seize the royal treasure. . . . He obtained the treasure, and proceeding hastily to London, was on the following Sunday, the third day after William's death, elected king, and crowned. . . . He began his reign by removing the unpopular agents of his unfortunate brother. He recalled Anselm, and conciliated the clergy. He gratified the nation, by abolishing the oppressive exactions of the previous reign. He assured many benefits to the barons, and by a charter, signed on the day of his coronation, restored to the people their Anglo-Saxon laws and privileges, as amended by his father; a measure which ended the pecuniary oppressions of his brother, and which favoured the growing liberties of the nation. The Conqueror had noticed Henry's expanding intellect very early; had given him the best education which the age could supply. . . . He became the most learned monarch of his day, and acquired and deserved the surname of Beauclerc, or fine scholar. No wars, no cares of state, could afterwards deprive him of his love of literature. The nation soon felt the impulse and the benefit of their sovereign's intellectual taste. He acceded at the age of 32, and gratified the nation by marrying and crowning Mathilda, daughter of the sister of Edgar Etheling by Malcolm the king of Scotland, who had been waylaid and killed."—S. Turner, *History of England during the Middle Ages*, v. 1, ch. 5-6.—The Norman lords, hating the "English ways" of Henry, were

soon in rebellion, undertaking to put Robert of Normandy (who had returned from the Crusade) in his place. The quarrel went on till the battle of Tinchebray, 1106, in which Robert was defeated and taken prisoner. He was imprisoned for life. The duchy and the kingdom were again united. The war in Normandy led to a war with Louis, king of France, who had espoused Robert's cause. It was ended by the battle of Brémule, 1110, where the French suffered a bad defeat. In Henry's reign all south Wales was conquered; but the north Welsh princes held out. Another expedition against them was preparing, when, in 1135, Henry fell ill at the Castle of Lions in Normandy, and died.—E. A. Freeman, *Reign of William Rufus and accession of Henry I.*

ALSO IN: F. Palgrave, *History of Normandy and England*, v. 4.

11th-13th centuries.—Status of the Jews.—Massacres.—Banishment in 1290. See JEWS: England: 11th century; 1189; 1290.

11th-14th centuries.—Early attempts to regulate trade.—Economic conditions.—Price-fixing for staple commodities.—Agricultural system. See AGRICULTURE: Medieval: Manorial system.

11th-17th centuries.—Condition of serfdom. See SERFDOM: 11th-17th centuries.

1100-1135.—Reign of Henry I.—Rule of law.—Question of the succession of Matilda.—"The great merit of his English government was that he forsook his brother's evil ways of violence, and maintained peace by erecting a regular administrative system, which kept down the outrages of the barons."—S. R. Gardiner, *Student's history of England*, v. 1, p. 131.—Henry kept on good terms with the church by compromising with the pope and Anselm (archbishop of Canterbury) on the investiture question. The church conferred the ring and staff, while the king received homage for his land. Thus the king really retained control since he could block an appointment by holding back the land. He developed an orderly judicial and financial administrative machinery on whose foundations the greatest of his successors built. He appointed Roger (created Bishop of Salisbury) Chancellor, and later Justiciar. "The law-book, which bears . . . [the name of Henry I] and was in fact compiled by a clerk of his Curia Regis, seems to reflect the spirit of his government in the large concessions which it makes to feudalism. To judge from this book we should say that the Curia was inclined to tolerate all feudal rights, however indirectly dangerous to the prerogative, unless they had been expressly abolished by the royal authority. The author states, for example, that archbishops, bishops, earls and other officials have *la haute justice* over the lands pertaining to their dignity; and although the generalisation is too sweeping we know from Henry's charters to the sees of Bath and York that he did not hesitate to confer the widest powers of jurisdiction on some favoured vassals. . . . The King was satisfied with such restrictions as would make rebellion hopeless. He forbade the custom of private war; no castle might be built, no dwelling fortified, without his licence and he insisted that every under-tenant should regard the King as his chief lord. . . . The rule of law is the key-note to the inner history of the reign. Henry's Curia Regis was a different tribunal from that of Rufus, of which Eadmer said, with as much justice as severity, that all its judgments depended on the King's pleasure. In his law-courts, as in all other departments of the administration, Henry relied on men whom he had selected from the ranks of the inferior baronage. . . . But the King asked of

his judges no more than strict adherence to law and precedent. It was their boast that in their keeping the law remained unalterable *semper et ubique*; and the boast was true so far as it signified that the law was declared without respect of persons. The law of the King's court was a strange medley of scraps from the code of Saxon Kings, of feudal custom borrowed from the practice of the Norman courts, of maxims from the civil law and the decretals. But it gained steadily in bulk and consistency through the accumulation of new precedents. The judgments of the court were carefully enrolled, and from the law as laid down in that record there was no appeal. . . . There was no class too humble to be protected by the Curia Regis. The *Leges Henrici* deny, for instance, that the lord may do what he pleases with his vassal. 'If a lord slay his vassal blameless let him pay the were to the kindred; for the man was a serf to serve and not to be slain.' Wergilds, compurgation, the ordeal, and many such relics of archaic procedure were perforce tolerated by the Curia Regis. But the inclination of the judges was towards more enlightened forms of proof and more drastic penalties. . . . In 1120 an unforeseen catastrophe wrecked the king's plan, and left the future of his dominions in uncertainty. On November 25th . . . [his son William, called the Atheling, was] wrecked and drowned through the folly of a drunken pilot, [and] Henry . . . was left without a son to succeed him. His only daughter, Matilda, had been married to the Emperor Henry V. in the year 1114, and it was out of the question that her husband should be allowed to inherit England in her right. . . . But the death of the Emperor Henry V. (May 23, 1125) made it possible to designate Matilda as her father's successor. The Great Council of England did homage to her on Christmas Day, 1126, in the presence of Henry and her uncle David of Scotland. The latter took the oath in the character of an English earl; and the next to swear was Stephen, Count of Mortain and Boulogne, the Conqueror's grandson [son of his daughter Adele], himself a possible claimant to the Anglo-Norman heritage. There were many, no doubt, who preferred Stephen to Matilda; for no woman had yet ruled in Normandy or England. But the Council were overawed and accepted Henry's scheme without discussion. . . . [In 1120 Henry married his daughter to Geoffrey, son of the Count of Anjou] and in 1133 the birth of [her son] the future Henry II. appeared to place the succession beyond all dispute. . . . On the death of Henry I. there was hardly a man in his dominions who desired the accession of the Empress. Her sex, the arrogance of her temper, above all her Angevin marriage, were objections which in most minds overrode all scruples as to oaths and pledges. Henry, her eldest son, might have been more favourably regarded if his youth had not made it certain that the regency would remain for many years to come in the hands of his mother. But Henry's hereditary claim was hardly stronger than that of Theobald of Blois and Stephen of Boulogne, the grandsons of the Conqueror in the female line; the minds of Englishmen and Normans instinctively turned towards these brothers. . . . [Theobald, however, released his pretensions in favor of his brother], negotiated a six months' truce with the Count of Anjou, and offered his influence at Rome to procure the recognition of Stephen's title from the Pope. This recognition was speedily obtained, in spite of energetic protests from the envoys of the Empress."—H. W. C. Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins*,

1066-1272 (*History of England*, v. 2, pp. 134, 137, 149, 151, 152, 154, 155).

1135-1154.—Miserable reign of Stephen.—Civil war, anarchy and wretchedness in England.—Transition to hereditary monarchy.—As soon as Henry's death was known, Stephen secured the royal treasure and persuaded a council of peers to elect him king. A most grievous civil war ensued, which lasted for nineteen terrible years, during which long period there was anarchy and great wretchedness in England. "Fortune favoured the Angevin cause. The energy and valour of Stephen availed him little; he had neither the foresight nor the decision of character which might have turned these qualities to good account. Nervously alive to the difficulties of his position he stood on the defensive, and even for purposes of defence rarely ventured far afield; when the princes of South Wales, according to their usual practice, inaugurated the new reign with fire and sword, he scarcely attempted to assist his English subjects and allowed the marches of the Wye to relapse into a state of anarchy. Yet with all his caution he rarely detected a conspiracy until it culminated in rebellion. The treacherous matured their preparations undisturbed, and chose their own time to defy him. When it came to open war he carried himself in knightly fashion. But his knightliness was that of the reckless jousting. He attacked the nearest enemy as though it were a point of honour to answer the first challenge; he never paused to reflect in what quarter he should strike to inflict a paralyzing blow."—H. W. C. Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins*, 1066-1272 (*History of England*, v. 2, p. 157).—"The land was filled with castles, and the castles with armed banditti, who seem to have carried on their extortions under colour of the military commands bestowed by Stephen on every petty castellan. Often the very bellies of churches were fortified. On the poor lay the burden of building these strongholds; the rich suffered in their donjons. Many were starved to death, and these were the happiest. Others were flung into cellars filled with reptiles, or hung up by the thumbs till they told where their treasures were concealed, or crippled in frames which did not suffer them to move, or held just resting on the ground by sharp iron collars round the neck. The Earl of Essex used to send out spies who begged from door to door, and then reported in what houses wealth was still left; the alms-givers were presently seized and imprisoned. The towns that could no longer pay the blackmail demanded from them were burned. . . . Sometimes the peasants, maddened by misery, crowded to the roads that led from a field of battle, and smote down the fugitives without any distinction of sides. The bishops cursed vainly, when the very churches were burned and monks robbed. 'To till the ground was to plough the sea; the earth bare no corn, for the land was all laid waste by such deeds, and men said openly that Christ slept, and his saints. Such things, and more than we can say, suffered we nineteen winters for our sins' (A. S. Chronicle). . . . Many soldiers, sickened with the unnatural war, put on the white cross and sailed for a nobler battle-field in the East." As Matilda's son Henry—afterwards Henry II—grew to manhood, the feeling in his favor gained strength and his party made head against the weak and incompetent Stephen. Finally in 1153 (after the death of Stephen's son Eustace) peace was brought about under an agreement "that Stephen should wear the crown till his death, and Henry receive the homage of the lords and towns of the realm

as heir apparent [Treaty of Wallingford]." Stephen died the next year and Henry came to the throne with little further dispute.—C. H. Pearson, *History of England during the Early and Middle Ages*, ch. 28.—"Stephen, as a king, was an admitted failure. . . . His weakness throughout his reign . . . was due to two causes, each supplementing the other. These were—(1) the essentially unsatisfactory character of his position, as resting, virtually, on a compact that he should be king so long only as he gave satisfaction to those who had placed him on the throne; (2) the existence of a rival claim, hanging over him from the first, like the sword of Damocles, and affording a lever by which the malcontents could compel him to adhere to the original understanding, or even to submit to further demands. . . . Passing . . . the existence of a rival claim, we approach a subject of great interest, the theory of the succession to the English Crown at what may be termed the crisis of transition from the principle of election (within the royal house) to that of hereditary right according to feudal rules. For the right view on this subject, we turn, as ever, to Dr. Stubbs, who, with his usual sound judgment, writes thus of the Norman period:—"The crown then continued to be elective. . . . But whilst the elective principle was maintained in its fulness where it was necessary or possible to maintain it, it is quite certain that the right of inheritance, and inheritance as primogeniture, was recognized as co-ordinate. . . . The measures taken by Henry I. for securing the crown to his own children, whilst they prove the acceptance of the hereditary principle, prove also the importance of strengthening it by the recognition of the elective theory." Mr. Freeman, though writing with a strong bias in favour of the elective theory, is fully justified in his main argument, namely, that Stephen 'was no usurper in the sense in which the word is vulgarly used.' He urges, apparently with perfect truth, that Stephen's offence, in the eyes of his contemporaries, lay in his breaking his solemn oath, and not in his supplanting a rightful heir. And he aptly suggests that the wretchedness of his reign may have hastened the growth of that new belief in the divine right of the heir to the throne, which first appears under Henry II., and in the pages of William of Newburgh. . . . Broadly speaking, to sum up the evidence here collected, it tends to the belief that the obsolescence of the right of election to the English crown presents considerable analogy to that of canonical election in the case of English bishoprics. In both cases a free election degenerated into a mere assent to a choice already made. We see the process of change already in full operation when Henry I. endeavours to extort beforehand from the magnates their assent to his daughter's succession, and when they subsequently complain of this attempt to dictate to them on the subject. We catch sight of it again when his daughter bases her claim to the crown, not on any free election, but on her rights as her father's heir, confirmed by the above assent. We see it, lastly, when Stephen, though owing his crown to election, claims to rule by Divine right ('*Dei gratia*'), and attempts to reduce that election to nothing more than a national 'assent' to his succession. Obviously, the whole question turned on whether the election was to be held first, or was to be a mere ratification of a choice already made. . . . In comparing Stephen with his successor the difference between their circumstances has been insufficiently allowed for. At Stephen's accession, thirty years of legal and financial oppression had rendered unpopular the

power of the Crown, and had led to an impatience of official restraint which opened the path to a feudal reaction: at the accession of Henry, on the contrary, the evils of an enfeebled administration and of feudalism run mad had made all men eager for the advent of a strong king, and had prepared them to welcome the introduction of his centralizing administrative reforms. He anticipated the position of the house of Tudor at the close of the Wars of the Roses, and combined with it the advantages which Charles II. derived from the Puritan tyranny. Again, Stephen was hampered from the first by his weak position as a king on sufferance, whereas Henry came to his work unhampered by compact or concession. Lastly, Stephen was confronted throughout by a rival claimant, who formed a splendid rallying-point for all the discontent in his realm. But Henry reigned for as long as Stephen without a rival to trouble him; and when he found at length a rival in his own son, a claim far weaker than that which had threatened his predecessor seemed likely for a time to break his power as effectually as the followers of the Empress had broken that of Stephen. He may only, indeed, have owed his escape to that efficient administration which years of strength and safety had given him the time to construct. It in no way follows from these considerations that Henry was not superior to Stephen; but it does, surely, suggest itself that Stephen's disadvantages were great, and that had he enjoyed better fortune, we might have heard less of his defects."—J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, ch. 1.

ALSO IN: Mts. J. R. Green, *Henry the Second*, ch. 1.

1138.—Battle of the Standard. See STANDARD, BATTLE OF THE.

1154-1189.—Henry II., first of the Angevin kings (Plantagenets), and his possessions.—Henry II., who came to the English throne on Stephen's death, was already, by the death of his father, Geoffrey, count of Anjou, the head of the great house of Anjou, in France. From his father he inherited Anjou, Touraine and Maine; through his mother, Matilda, daughter of Henry I., he received the dukedom of Normandy as well as the kingdom of England; by marriage with Eleanor, of Aquitaine, or Guienne, he added to his possessions the princely domain which included Gascony, Poitou, Saintonge, Perigord, Limousin, Angoumois, with claims of suzerainty over Auvergne and Toulouse. "Henry found himself at twenty-one ruler of dominions such as no king before him had ever dreamed of uniting. He was master of both sides of the English Channel, and by his alliance with his uncle, the Count of Flanders, he had command of the French coast from the Scheldt to the Pyrenees, while his claims on Toulouse would carry him to the shores of the Mediterranean. His subjects told with pride how 'his empire reached from the Arctic Ocean to the Pyrenees'; there was no monarch save the [Holy Roman] Emperor himself who ruled over such vast domains. . . . His aim [a few years later] seems to have been to rival in some sort the Empire of the West [Holy Roman empire], and to reign as an over-king, with sub-kings of his various provinces, and England as one of them, around him. He was connected with all the great ruling houses. . . . England was forced out of her old isolation; her interest in the world without was suddenly awakened. English scholars thronged the foreign universities; English chroniclers questioned travellers, scholars, ambassadors, as to what was passing abroad. The influence of English learn-

ing and English statecraft made itself felt all over Europe. Never, perhaps, in all the history of England was there a time when Englishmen played so great a part abroad." The king who gathered this wide, incongruous domain under his sceptre, by mere circumstances of birth and marriage, proved strangely equal, in many respects, to its greatness. "He was a foreign king who never spoke the English tongue, who lived and moved for the most part in a foreign camp, surrounded with a motley host of Brabançons and hirelings. . . . It was under the rule of a foreigner such as this, however, that the races of conquerors and conquered in England first learnt to feel that they were one. It was by his power that England, Scotland and Ireland were brought to some vague acknowledgement of a common suzerain lord, and the foundations laid of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. [See AQUITAINE: 1137-1152; IRELAND: 1169-1200; SCOTLAND: 1174-1189;



HENRY II

ULSTER: 1171-1186; and DUBLIN: 12th-14th centuries.] It was he who abolished feudalism as a system of government, and left it little more than a system of land tenure. It was he who defined the relations established between Church and State, and decreed that in England churchman as well as baron was to be held under the Common Law. . . . It was by his genius for government that the servants of the royal household became transformed into Ministers of State. It was he who gave England a foreign policy which decided our continental relations for seven hundred years. The impress which the personality of Henry II. left upon his time meets us wherever we turn."—Mrs. J. R. Green, *Henry the Second*, ch. 1-2.—Henry II and his two sons, Richard I (Cœur de Lion), and John, are distinguished, sometimes, as the Angevin kings, or kings of the house of Anjou, and sometimes as the Plantagenets (this line of kings continued in unbroken succession for 245 years), the latter name being derived from a boyish habit ascribed to Henry's father, Count Geoffrey, of "adorning his cap with a sprig of 'plantagenista,' the broom which in early summer

makes the open country of Anjou and Maine a blaze of living gold." Richard retained and ruled the great realm of his father; but John lost most of his foreign inheritance, including Normandy, and became the unwilling benefactor of England by stripping her kings of alien interests and alien powers and bending their necks to Magna Charta.—K. Norgate, *England under the Angevin kings*.

ALSO IN: W. Stubbs, *Early Plantagenets*.

1162-1170.—Conflict of king and church.—Constitutions of Clarendon.—Murder of Archbishop Becket.—"Archbishop Theobald was at first the King's [Henry II] chief favourite and adviser, but his health and his influence declining, Becket [the archdeacon of Canterbury] was found apt for business as well as amusement, and gradually became intrusted with the exercise of all the powers of the crown. . . . Becket continued Chancellor till the year 1162, without any abatement in his favour with the King, or in the power which he possessed, or in the energy he displayed, or in the splendour of his career. . . . In April, 1161, Archbishop Theobald died. Henry declared that Becket should succeed,—no doubt counting upon his co-operation in carrying on the policy hitherto pursued in checking the encroachments of the clergy and of the see of Rome. . . . The universal expectation was, that Becket would now attempt the part so successfully played by Cardinal Wolsey in a succeeding age; that, Chancellor and Archbishop, he would continue the minister and personal friend of the King; that he would study to support and extend all the prerogatives of the Crown, which he himself was to exercise; and that in the palaces of which he was now master he would live with increased magnificence and luxury. . . . Never was there so wonderful a transformation. Whether from a predetermined purpose, or from a sudden change of inclination, he immediately became in every respect an altered man. Instead of the stately and fastidious courtier, was seen the humble and squalid penitent. Next his skin he wore hair-cloth, populous with vermin; he lived upon roots, and his drink was water, rendered nauseous by an infusion of fennel. By way of further penance and mortification, he frequently inflicted stripes on his naked back. . . . He sent the Great Seal to Henry, in Normandy, with this short message, 'I desire that you will provide yourself with another Chancellor, as I find myself hardly sufficient for the duties of one office, and much less of two.' The fond patron, who had been so eager for his elevation, was now grievously disappointed and alarmed. . . . He at once saw that he had been deceived in his choice. . . . The grand struggle which the Church was then making was, that all churchmen should be entirely exempted from the jurisdiction of the secular courts, whatever crime they might have committed. . . . Henry, thinking that he had a favourable opportunity for bringing the dispute to a crisis, summoned an assembly of all the prelates at Westminster, and himself put to them this plain question: 'Whether they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom?' Their reply, framed by Becket, was: 'We are willing, saving our own order.' . . . The King, seeing what was comprehended in the reservation, retired with evident marks of displeasure, deprived Becket of the government of Eye and Berkhamstead, and all the appointments which he held at the pleasure of the Crown, and uttered threats as to seizing the temporalities of all the bishops, since they would not acknowledge their allegiance to him as the head of the state. The legate of Pope Alexander, dreading a breach with so powerful a prince as so

unseasonable a juncture, advised Becket to submit for the moment; and he with his brethren, retracting the saving clause, absolutely promised 'to observe the laws and customs of the kingdom.' To avoid all future dispute, Henry resolved to follow up his victory by having these laws and customs, as far as the Church was concerned, reduced into a code, to be sanctioned by the legislature, and to be specifically acknowledged by all the bishops. This was the origin of the famous 'Constitutions of Clarendon.' [They not only provided that criminous clergy must be tried in the king's courts, but that many cases involving church property and large court fees must come before royal tribunals.] Becket [repudiated the Constitutions and] left the kingdom (1164). Several years later he made peace with Henry and returned to Canterbury; but soon he again displeased the King, who cried in a rage, 'Who will rid me of this turbulent priest?' Four knights who were present immediately went to Canterbury, where they slew the Archbishop in the cathedral (December 29, 1170). The government tried to justify or palliate the murder. The Archbishop of York likened Thomas à Becket to Pharaoh, who died by the Divine vengeance, as a punishment for his hardness of heart; and a proclamation was issued, forbidding any one to speak of Thomas of Canterbury as a martyr: but the feelings of men were too strong to be checked by authority; pieces of linen which had been dipped in his blood were preserved as relics; from the time of his death it was believed that miracles were worked at his tomb; thither flocked hundreds of thousands, in spite of the most violent threats of punishment; at the end of two years he was canonised at Rome; and, till the breaking out of the Reformation, St. Thomas of Canterbury, for pilgrimages and prayers, was the most distinguished Saint in England."—Lord Campbell, *Lives of the lord chancellors*, ch. 3.—"Public opinion held Henry accountable for the base deed for which he was only indirectly responsible, so that he was obliged to seek reconciliation with the Pope at the expense of humiliating concessions. . . . Henry crossed to Normandy, and at Avranches came to terms with the papal legates and received absolution. He swore that he had not instigated the murder of Becket, that he would support Alexander III, and, without mentioning the Constitutions of Clarendon, agreed to do away with any customs introduced against the Church in his time. As a matter of fact, his courts continued to claim control over most of the property cases in which the Church was involved, though clergymen accused of criminal offenses claimed exemption from the lay courts—'benefit of clergy' (q.v.) it was called—for centuries."—A. L. Cross, *Shorter history of England and Greater Britain*, pp. 74-75.—The Assize of Clarendon, sometimes confused with the Constitutions of Clarendon, was an important decree approved two years later. It laid down the principles on which the administration of justice was to be carried out, in twenty-two articles drawn up for the use of the judges.—Mrs. J. R. Green, *Henry the Second*, ch. 5-6.—"It may not be without instruction to remember that the Constitutions of Clarendon, which Becket spent his life in opposing, and of which his death procured the suspension, are now incorporated in the English law, and are regarded, without a dissentient voice, as among the wisest and most necessary of English institutions."—A. P. Stanley, *Historical memorials of Canterbury*, p. 124.—See also BENEFIT OF THE CLERGY; CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON; JURY, TRIAL BY.

1169-1200.—Conquest of Ireland. See IRELAND: 1169-1200; ULSTER: 1171-1186; DUBLIN: 12th-14th centuries.

1170-1189.—Constitutional and legal reforms.—Origin of the jury.—"It is a relief to turn to a survey of those aspects of Henry's work which have given him deservedly a place among England's greater Kings. In the field of domestic legislation and preëminently in legal reform he marked an epoch in progress. . . . Henry II did not originate this work, but he contributed so much toward the process of development that his reign was truly 'a critical period in the history of English law.' The legal and constitutional edifice begun by William I and Henry I was demolished during the anarchy of Stephen's reign, and Henry II had to rebuild practically from the foundation. . . . His foremost aim was political, to strengthen the royal powers at the expense of the Church and the barons. . . . As a result, before the close of his reign the King's courts and judges, instead of being exceptional resorts for great men and great causes, had come to exercise, as a matter of course, a vast and steadily increasing jurisdiction. When Henry and his judges began their work, law and procedure were as yet confused, conflicting, and disorganized. Anglo-Saxon law was still administered in the hundred and county courts; aside from private and inadequate compilations, the law was practically unwritten; the Anglo-Norman officials who administered it, even though they might be willing to respect local customs, understood them imperfectly at best. [See also COMMON LAW: 440-1066 to 1154-1189.] . . . In the thirteenth century the Roman civil law secured a permanent foothold in France; . . . it never obtained any considerable hold in England. It is due to the work of Henry II that it did not, for, while in other countries no single system existed able to dispute the superior claims of the intrusive guest, Henry II so simplified and unified divergent practices that by the time the Roman law was in a position to make itself felt in the Island, the common law was too widespread and too firmly founded to be supplanted by an alien rival. . . . He brought into general use juries for accusing criminals and for deciding disputed points at law—the parents of our modern grand and petty juries. . . . At first allowed for privileged subjects as an exceptional favor, Henry extended it to all. By the presentment jury, consisting usually of twelve men from each hundred, criminals were brought to account by men sworn to voice the common report of their vicinage. Inquisition or recognition juries, or assizes (the word 'assize' has many meanings: a royal enactment, a form of trial, an early form of jury, a judicial session), enabled men to determine their rights of possession against an intruder by forms of procedure juster and more summary than they had ever before dreamed of. . . . Aside from the introduction of the jury into general use there were many other instances of Henry's legal and administrative activity. He restored the Curia Regis (q.v.) and Exchequer (q.v.) founded by Henry I. In 1178, he selected from the former body two clerks and three laymen to hear certain important cases, thus creating the parent of the latter courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas. Then he marked England anew into circuits and sent out itinerant justices to represent him in the courts of the hundred and shire. [See also COURTS: Early Teutonic.] In 1181, by his famous Assize of Arms, he took steps to reorganize the military forces in a more serviceable way by providing that every free subject of the realm should arm himself

according to his property, and it is interesting to notice that, in determining each man's liability, he made use of the sworn testimony of neighbors."—A. L. Cross, *Shorter history of England and Greater Britain*, pp. 74-78.—See also COMMON LAW: 1154-1189, to 1164-1176; CRIMINAL LAW: 1066-1272.

ALSO IN: W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 12, sect. 139-141.—Idem, *Select charters*, pt. 4.—J. C. Robertson, *Becket*.—J. A. Giles, *Life and letters of Thomas à Becket*.—R. H. Froude, *History of the contest between Archbishop Thomas à Becket and Henry II* (*Remains*, pt. 2, v. 2).—J. A. Froude, *Life and times of Thomas Becket*.—C. H. Pearson, *History of England during the Early and Middle Ages*, v. 1, ch. 29.

1189-1199.—Reign of Richard I (called Cœur de Lion).—Crusades and campaigns in France.—Richard I acceded to the throne in 1189, but, except for a few months in 1189 and 1194, he was out of England during the entire ten years of his reign. "Henry II's son and successor, Richard I. (1189-1199), was, like all his family, an able man. He was a poet and a musician. But he had none of his father's statesmanship. He was, first and foremost, a superb fighting man, the strongest and most daring knight-errant of his age, and an excellent leader in war. His supreme delight was in battle; and this carried him away to Palestine, to do wonderful deeds of valour in the struggle with the Saracens for the Holy Sepulchre, which is known as the Third Crusade. To pay the expenses of this expedition, he used the vast power which he had inherited from his father to bleed England of money; and one important result of this was, that he sold to the King of Scotland the right of exemption from the feudal supremacy which Henry II. had imposed upon him. On his way home Richard was taken captive and held a prisoner by the Emperor Henry VI. of Germany, and in order to release their very expensive king the English had to be bled once more for a vast ransom. When he did at length return, it was only to spend his last years in hard and skilful warfare against the French king. Picturesque as they were, Richard's romantic adventures form no part of the history of the English people. But there were three ways in which Richard's short and costly reign was useful in the development of the English people. In the first place, their king's crusade, even though few of them took part in it, gave them some knowledge of remote countries, with which in the distant future they were to have more intimate contact. In the second place, the prolonged absences of the king showed how solidly and well the work of Henry II. had been done, for the government went on quite well, and there were even some improvements made; rebellions, even though led by the king's brother, John, were easily put down; and the huge sums required for the king's ransom were raised with surprising ease. Nothing could show more clearly how completely the government now controlled the country. Finally, during the king's absence, and because of it, the Great Council of barons took a larger share in discussing and criticising the government. Their share did not as yet amount to very much. But at least it was something that an organised and recognised body of leading men was asserting the right to criticise the powerful system of government which Henry II. had set up. And this was to have greater importance in the next reign."—R. Muir, *Short history of the British commonwealth*, v. 1, pp. 61-62.—Richard left England in 1194 to revenge himself on Philip II of France. He was killed in 1199 in one of his

many wars in France. During his absence his ministers carried on the government and continued the policy of Henry II. The most noted of these was Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury and justiciar, and later chancellor. "The Third Crusade [see CRUSADES: 1188-1192], undertaken for the deliverance of Palestine from the disasters brought upon the Crusaders' Kingdom by Saladin, was the first to be popular in England. . . . Richard joined the Crusade in the very first year of his reign, and every portion of his subsequent career was concerned with its consequences. Neither in the time of William Rufus nor of Stephen had the First or Second Crusades found England sufficiently settled for such expeditions. . . . But the patronage of the Crusades was a hereditary distinction in the Angevin family now reigning in England: they had founded the kingdom of Palestine; Henry II. himself had often prepared to set out; and Richard was confidently expected by the great body of his subjects to redeem the family pledge. [See also JEWS: England: 1189.] . . . Wholly inferior in statesmanlike qualities to his father as he was, the generosity, munificence, and easy confidence of his character made him an almost perfect representative of the chivalry of that age. He was scarcely at all in England, but his fine exploits both by land and sea have made him deservedly a favourite. . . . A King who leaves behind him such an example of apparently reckless, but really prudent valour, of patience under jealous ill-treatment, and perseverance in the face of extreme difficulties, . . . leaves a heritage of example as well as glory, and incites posterity to noble deeds."—M. Burrows, *Commentaries on the history of England*, bk. 1, ch. 18.—Richard "was a bad king; his great exploits, his military skill, his splendour and extravagance, his poetical tastes, his adventurous spirit, do not serve to cloak his entire want of sympathy, or even consideration for his people. He was no Englishman. . . . His ambition was that of a mere warrior."—W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, v. 1, sect. 150.—See also CYPRUS: 1191.

ALSO IN: K. Norgate, *England under the Angevin kings*, v. 2, ch. 7-8.—J. H. Ramsey, *Angevin empire*.

1199.—Accession of King John.

1199-1202.—Beginning of King John's reign.—Marriage with Isabella of Angoulême.—"The death of Richard on 6th April, 1199 [and the accession of John, his youngest brother, to the exclusion of his nephew, Arthur, duke of Brittany, the son of Geoffrey, fourth son of Henry II] brought with it at least one important change; England was no longer to be governed by an absentee. John, as impatient of control as he was incompetent, endeavoured to shake himself free from the restraints of powerful ministers, and determined to conduct the work of government in his own way. The result was an abrupt end to the progress made in the previous reign towards ministerial responsibility. The odium formerly exhausting itself on the justiciars of Richard was now expended on John. While, previously, men had sought redress in a change of minister, such vain expectations could no longer deceive. A new element of bitterness was added to injuries long resented, and the nobles who felt the pinch of heavy taxation were compelled to seek redress in an entirely new direction. All the forces of discontent played openly around the throne. As is usual at the opening of a new reign, the discontented hoped that a change of sovereign would bring some relief. The excessive taxation of the late reign had been the result of exceptional circumstances. It

was expected that the new King would revert to the less burdensome scale of his father's financial measures. Such hopes were quickly disappointed. John's needs proved as great as Richard's and the money he obtained was used for purposes that appealed to no one but himself. The excessive exactions demanded both in money and in service, coupled with the unpopular uses to which these were put, form the keynote of the whole reign. They form also the background of Magna Carta."—W. S. McKechnie, *Magna Carta*, pp. 26, 27.—The first serious trouble of his reign, however, arose outside of England, although it was caused by his second marriage, made with Isabella of Angoulême, who had already been betrothed to Hugh de Lusignan, a member of a powerful noble family of Poitou. The whole Lusignan family were much incensed at the marriage, and in order to prevent possible action on their part, John seized some of their strongholds and accused their adherents of treason. This marriage had an important influence on the political history of England, as it led to the loss of a large part of the king's French dominions.

1199-1260.—Continued resistance of Ulster against Normans.—Norman victory in battle at Downpatrick. See ULSTER: 1199-1260.

1205.—Loss of Normandy, Anjou, Touraine and Poitou.—Effects.—In 1202 Philip Augustus, king of France, summoned John of England, as duke of Normandy (therefore the feudal vassal of the French crown) to appear for trial on certain grave charges before the august court of the peers of France. John refused to obey the summons; his French fiefs were declared forfeited, and the armies of the French king took possession of them. This proved to be a lasting separation of Normandy from England,—except as it was recovered momentarily long afterwards in the conquests of Henry V. John "neither came [at the summons of Philip] nor properly excused himself, though he tried to avoid the difficulty. . . . He said that the king of England could not submit to such a trial, and was answered that the king of France could not lose his rights over a vassal because he happened to have acquired another dignity. Finally, John's legal rights of delay and excuse being exhausted, the court decreed that he should be deprived of all the fiefs which he held of France on the ground of failure of service. All the steps of this action from its beginning to its ending seem to have been perfectly regular, John being tried, of course, not on the appeal of the barons of Poitou which had led to the king's action, but for his refusal to obey the summons, and the severe sentence with which it closed was that which the law provided, though it was not often enforced in its extreme form, and probably would not have been in this case if John had been willing to submit. The sentence of his court Philip gladly accepted, and invaded Normandy about June 1, capturing place after place with almost no opposition from John. . . . [John, however, captured his nephew Arthur, who had taken the field in Poitou, and had him murdered to remove him from his path. Some say he murdered him with his own hand.] The listless conduct of John during the loss of Normandy is not easy to explain. The only suggestion of explanation in the contemporary historians is that of the general prevalence of treason in the duchy, which made it impossible for the king to know whom to trust and difficult to organize a sufficient defence to the advance of Philip, and undoubtedly this factor in the case should receive more emphasis than it has usually been given. . . . By the end of August Philip was

ready for the siege of the Château-Gaillard, Richard's great fortress, the key to Rouen and so to the duchy. . . . John, seeing the hopelessness of defending Normandy with the resources left him there, and even, it is said, fearing treasonable designs against his person, had quitted the duchy in what proved to be a final abandonment and crossed to England on December 5. . . . With the loss of Normandy nothing remained to John but his mother's inheritance, and against this Philip next turned. Queen Eleanor, eighty-two years of age, had closed her marvellous career on April 1, and no question of her rights stood in the way of the absorption of all Aquitaine in France. The conquest of Touraine and Poitou was almost as easy as that of Normandy, except the castles of Chinon and Loches which held out for a year, and the cities of Niort, Thouars, and La Rochelle. But beyond the bounds of the county of Poitou Philip made no progress. . . . The great duchy founded three hundred years before on the colonization of the Northmen, always one of the mightiest of the feudal states of France, all the dominions which the counts of Anjou had struggled to bring together through so many generations, the disputed claims on Maine [including Anjou] and Brittany recognized now for a long time as going with Normandy, a part even of the splendid possessions of the dukes of Aquitaine;—all these in little more than two years Philip had transferred from the possession of the king of England to his own, and all except Brittany to the royal domain."—G. B. Adams, *Political history of England*, 1066-1216, v. 2, pp. 390, 400, 402-406.—"Almost immediately Normandy settles down into a quiet province of France. . . . For England the result of the separation was more important still. Even within the reign of John it became clear that the release of the barons from their connexion with the continent was all that was wanted to make them Englishmen. With the last vestiges of the Norman inheritances vanished the last idea of making England a feudal kingdom. The Great Charter was won by men who were maintaining, not the cause of a class, as had been the case in every civil war since 1070, but the cause of a nation. From the year 1203 the king stood before the English people face to face."—W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 12, sect. 152.—See also FRANCE: 1180-1224.

ALSO IN: F. M. Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*.
1205-1213.—King John's quarrel with the pope and the church.—On the death, in 1205, of Archbishop Hubert, of Canterbury, who had long been chief minister of the crown, a complicated quarrel over the appointment to the vacant see arose between the monks of the cathedral, the suffragan bishops of the province, King John, and the powerful pope Innocent III. Pope Innocent put forward as his candidate the afterwards famous Stephen Langton, secured his election in a somewhat irregular way (1207), and consecrated him with his own hands. King John, bent on filling the primacy with a creature of his own, resisted the papal action with more fury than discretion, and proceeded to open war with the whole church. "The death of Archbishop Hubert Walter . . . deprived King John of the services of the most experienced statesman in England. It did more, for it marked the termination of the long friendship between the English Crown and the National Church. Its immediate effect was to create a vacancy, the filling of which led to a bitter quarrel with Rome. John failed, as usual, to recognize the merits of abler men, and saw in the death of his great Justiciar and Archbishop

only the removal of an unwelcome restraint, and the opening to the Crown of a desirable piece of patronage. He prepared to strain to the utmost his rights in the election of a successor to the See of Canterbury, in favour of one of his own creatures, a certain John de Grey, already by royal influence Bishop of Norwich. Unexpected opposition to his will was offered by the canons of the Cathedral Church, who determined on a bold policy, namely, to turn their nominal right of canonical election into a reality, and to appoint their own nominee, without waiting either for the King's approval or the co-operation of the suffragan bishops of the Province, who, during the last three vacancies, had put forth a claim to participate in the election, and had invariably used their influence on behalf of the King's nominee. Reginald, the sub-prior, was secretly elected by the monks, and hurried abroad to obtain confirmation at Rome before the appointment was made public. Reginald's vanity prevented his keeping his pledge of secrecy, and a rumour reached the ear of John, who brought pressure to bear on the monks, now frightened at their own temerity, and secured de Grey's appointment in a second election. The bishop of Norwich was actually enthroned at Canterbury, and invested by the King with the temporalities of the See. All parties now sent representatives to Rome. This somewhat petty squabble benefited none of the original disputants; for the astute Innocent III. was quick to see an opportunity for papal aggrandisement. Both elections were set aside by decree of the Papal Curia, and the emissaries of the various parties were coerced or persuaded to appoint there and then in the Pope's presence the Pope's own nominee, a certain Cardinal, English-born, but hitherto little known in England, Stephen Langton by name, destined to play an important part in the future history of the land of his birth. John refused to view this triumph of papal arrogance in the light of a compromise—the view diplomatically suggested by Innocent. The King, with the hot blood common to his race, and the bad judgment peculiar to himself, rushed headlong into a quarrel with Rome which he was incapable of carrying to a successful issue.—W. S. McKeechie, *Magna Carta*, pp. 27-28.—He refused to admit the pope's appointee, who in punishment for this obduracy placed the kingdom under an interdict and excommunicated the king.—“The monks of Canterbury were driven from their monastery, [1207] and when, in the following year, an interdict which the Pope had intrusted to the Bishops of London, Ely and Worcester, was published, his hostility to the Church became so extreme that almost all the bishops fled; the Bishops of Winchester, Durham, and Norwich, two of whom belonged to the ministerial body, being the only prelates left in England. The interdict was of the severest form; all services of the Church, with the exception of baptism and extreme unction, being forbidden, while the burial of the dead was allowed only in unconsecrated ground; its effect was however weakened by the conduct of some of the monastic orders, who claimed exemption from its operation, and continued their services. The king's anger knew no bounds. The clergy were put beyond the protection of the law; orders were issued to drive them from their benefices, and lawless acts committed at their expense met with no punishment. . . . Though acting thus violently, John showed the weakness of his character by continued communication with the Pope, and occasional fitful acts of favour to the Church; so much so, that, in the

following year, Langton prepared to come over to England, and, upon the continued obstinacy of the king, Innocent, feeling sure of his final victory, did not shrink from issuing his threatened excommunication. John had hoped to be able to exclude the knowledge of this step from the island; . . . but the rumour of it soon got abroad, and its effect was great. . . . In a state of nervous excitement, and mistrusting his nobles, the king himself perpetually moved to and fro in his kingdom, seldom staying more than a few days in one place. None the less did he continue his old line of policy. . . . In 1211 a league of excommunicated leaders was formed, including all the princes of the North of Europe; Ferrand of Flanders, the Duke of Brabant, John, and Otho [John's Guelphic Saxon nephew, who was one of two contestants for the imperial crown in Germany], were all members of it, and it was chiefly organized by the activity of Reinald of Dammartin, Count of Boulogne. The chief enemy of these confederates was Philip of France; and John thought he saw in this league the means of revenge against his old enemy. To complete the line of demarcation between the two parties, Innocent, who was greatly moved by the description of the disorders and persecutions in England, declared John's crown forfeited, and intrusted the carrying out of the sentence to Philip. In 1213 armies were collected on both sides. Philip was already on the Channel, and John had assembled a large army on Barhamdown, not far from Canterbury.” But, at the last moment, when the French king was on the eve of embarking his forces for the invasion of England, John submitted himself abjectly to Pandulf, the legate of the pope. He not only surrendered too all that he had contended against, but went further, to the most shameful extreme. “On the 15th of May, at Dover, he formally resigned the crowns of England and Ireland into the hands of Pandulf, and received them again as the Pope's feudatory.”—J. F. Bright, *History of England*, v. 1, pp. 130-134.

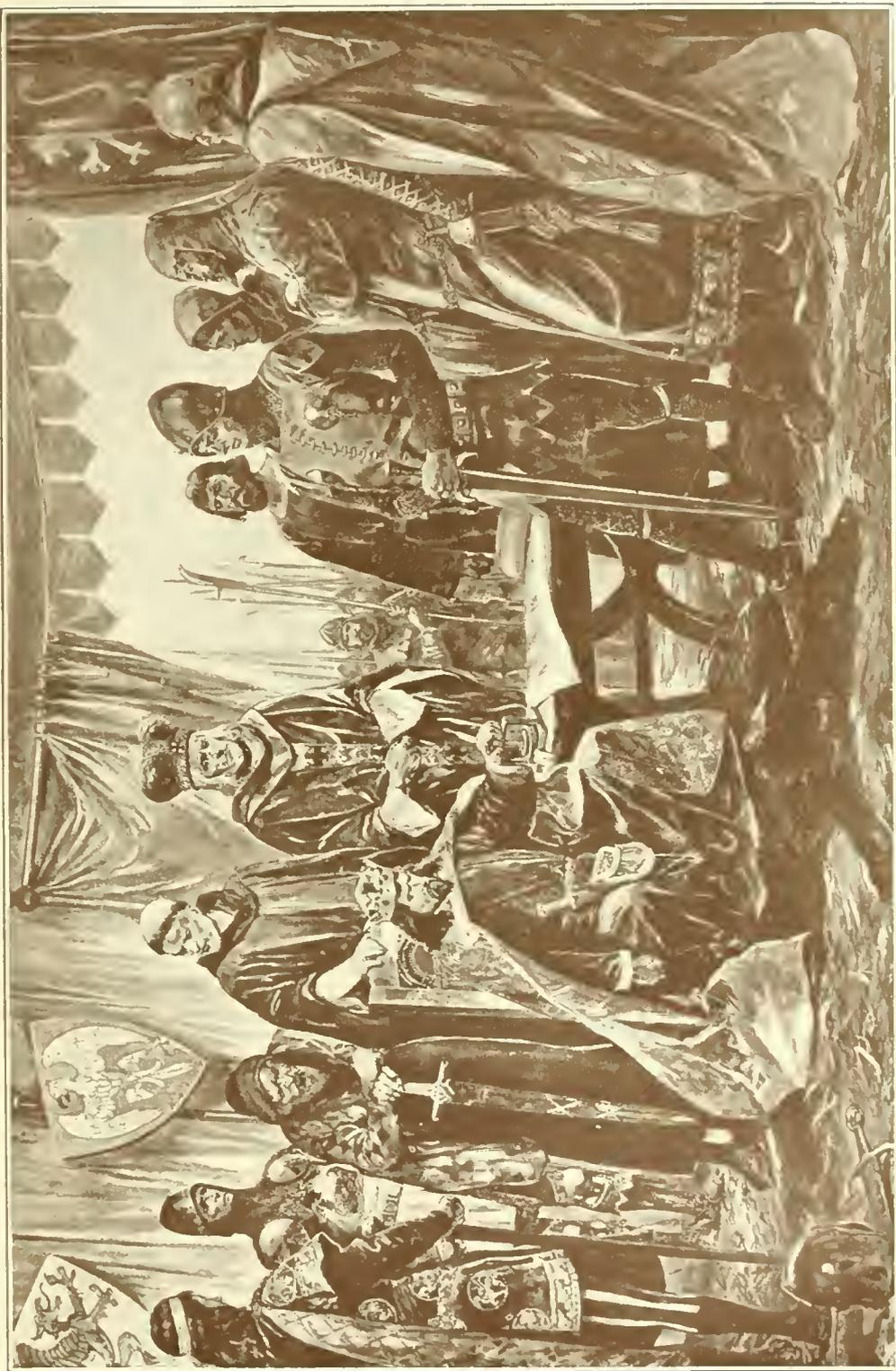
ALSO IN: C. H. Pearson, *History of England during the Early and Middle Ages*, v. 2, ch. 2.—E. F. Henderson, *Select historical documents of the Middle Ages*, bk. 4, no. 5.

1206-1230.—Attempts of John and Henry III to recover Anjou and Maine. See ANJOU: 1206-1442.

1210.—King John's invasion of Ireland to conquer the rebel lords. See IRELAND: 13th-14th centuries.

1214.—Battle of Bouvines. See BOUVINES, BATTLE OF; FRANCE: 1214.

1215.—Magna Carta.—“It is to the victory of Bouvines [1214] that England owes her Great Charter. . . . John sailed for Poitou with the dream of a great victory which should lay Philip [of France] and the barons alike at his feet. He returned from his defeat to find the nobles no longer banded together in secret conspiracies, but openly united in a definite claim of liberty and law. The author of this great change was the new Archbishop [Langton] whom Innocent had set on the throne of Canterbury. . . . In a private meeting of the barons at St. Paul's, he produced the Charter of Henry I [see above: 1087-1135], and the enthusiasm with which it was welcomed showed the sagacity with which the Primate had chosen his ground for the coming struggle. All hope, however, hung on the fortunes of the French campaign; it was the victory at Bouvines that broke the spell of terror and within a few days of the king's landing the barons again met at St. Ed-



KING JOHN PLACING HIS SEAL ON THE MAGNA CARTA

To the left of the king stands Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury

(From a painting by R. Caton Woodville)

mundsby. . . . At Christmas they presented themselves in arms before the king and preferred their claim. The few months that followed showed John that he stood alone in the land. . . . At Easter the barons again gathered in arms at Brackley and renewed their claim. 'Why do they not ask for my kingdom?' cried John in a burst of passion; but the whole country rose as one man at his refusal. London threw open her gates to the army of the barons, now organized under Robert Fitz-Walter, 'the marshal of the army of God and the holy Church.' The example of the capital was at once followed by Exeter and Lincoln; promises of aid came from Scotland and Wales; the northern nobles marched hastily to join their comrades in London. With seven horsemen in his train John found himself face to face with a nation in arms. . . . Nursing wrath in his heart the tyrant bowed to necessity, and summoned the barons to a conference at Runnymede. An island in the Thames between Staines and Windsor had been chosen as the place of conference: the king encamped on one bank, while the barons covered the marshy flat, still known by the name of Runnymede, on the other. Their delegates met in the island between them. . . . The Great Charter was discussed, agreed to, and signed in a single day [June 15, 1215]. One copy of it still remains in the British Museum, injured by age and fire, but with the royal seal still hanging from the brown, shriveled parchment."—J. R. Green, *Short history of the English people*, ch. 3, sect. 2-3.—For text, see MAGNA CARTA.

"As this was the first effort towards a legal government, so is it beyond comparison the most important event in our history, except that Revolution without which its benefits would have been rapidly annihilated. The constitution of England has indeed no single date from which its duration is to be reckoned. The institutions of positive law, the far more important changes which time has wrought in the order of society, during six hundred years subsequent to the Great Charter, have undoubtedly lessened its direct application to our present circumstances. But it is still the key-stone of English liberty. All that has since been obtained is little more than as confirmation or commentary. . . . The essential clauses of Magna Charta are those which protect the personal liberty and property of all freemen, by giving security from arbitrary imprisonment and arbitrary spoliation. 'No freeman (says the 29th chapter of Henry III.'s charter, which, as the existing law, I quote in preference to that of John, the variations not being very material) shall be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold, or liberties, or free customs, or be outlawed, or exiled, or any otherwise destroyed; nor will we pass upon him, nor send upon, but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. We will sell to no man, we will not deny or delay to any man, justice or right.' [See also LAND TITLES: 1215.] It is obvious that these words, interpreted by any honest court of law, convey an ample security for the two main rights of civil society."—H. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ch. 8, pt. 2.—"The Great Charter, although drawn up in the form of a royal grant, was really a treaty between the king and his subjects. . . . It is the collective people who really form the other high contracting party in the great capitulation,—the three estates of the realm, not, it is true, arranged in order according to their profession or rank, but not the less certainly combined in one national purpose, and securing by one bond the interests and rights of each other, severally and all

together. . . . The barons maintain and secure the right of the whole people as against themselves as well as against their master. Clause by clause the rights of the commons are provided for as well as the rights of the nobles. . . . The knight is protected against the compulsory exaction of his services, and the horse and cart of the freeman against the irregular requisition even of the sheriff. . . . The Great Charter is the first great public act of the nation, after it has realised its own identity. . . . The whole of the constitutional history of England is little more than a commentary on Magna Carta."—W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 12, sect. 155.—"The reforms demanded by the barons and granted by this Charter were just and moderate. The avoidance of all extremes tended towards a permanent settlement, since moderation both gains and keeps adherents. Its aims were practical as well as moderate; the language in which they were framed, clear and straightforward. A high authority has described the Charter as 'an intensely practical document.' . . . Closely connected with this feature is another—the essentially *legal* nature of the whole. As Magna Carta was rarely absent from the minds of subsequent opponents of despotism, a practical and legal direction was thus given to the efforts of Englishmen in many ages. . . . The Charter . . . made definite what had been vague before. Definition is a valuable protection for the weak against the strong; whereas vagueness increases the powers of the tyrant who can interpret while he enforces the law. Misty rights were now reduced to a tangible form, and could no longer be broken with so great impunity. Magna Carta contained no crude innovations, and confirmed many principles whose value was enhanced by their antiquity. . . . Further, the nature of the provisions bears witness to the broad basis on which the settlement was intended to be built. The Charter, notwithstanding the prominence given to redress of feudal grievances, redressed other grievances as well. In this, the influence of the Church and notably of its Primate, can be traced. Some little attention was given to the rights of the under-tenants also, and even to those of the merchants, while the villein and the alien were not left entirely unprotected. Thus the settlement contained in the Charter had a broad basis in the affection of all classes . . . [and] henceforward it was more difficult for the king to invade the rights of others. Where previously the vagueness of the law lent itself to evasion, its clear re-statement and ratification in 1215 pinned down the king to a definite issue. He could no longer plead that he sinned in ignorance; he must either keep the law, or openly defy it—no middle course was possible. . . . It is no disparagement to Magna Carta . . . to confess that part of its power has been read into it by later generations, and lies in the halo, almost of romance, which has gradually gathered round it in the course of centuries. It became a battle cry for future ages, a banner, a rallying point, a stimulus to the imagination. For a king, thereafter, openly to infringe the promises contained in the Great Charter, was to challenge the bitterness of public opinion—to put himself palpably in the wrong. . . . It has been often repeated, and with truth, that the Great Charter marks also a stage in the growth of national unity or nationality. Here, however, it is necessary to guard against exaggeration. It is really one movement in a process, rather than a final achievement. We must somewhat discount, while still agreeing in the main with, statements which declare the Charter to be 'the first documentary proof

of the existence of a united English nation'; or with the often-quoted words of Dr. Stubbs, that 'The Great Charter is the first great public act of the nation, after it has realised its own identity.' . . . Magna Carta undoubtedly marked one step, an important step, in the process by which England became a nation; but that step was neither the first nor yet the final one."—W. S. McKechnie, *Magna Carta*, pp. 144-147, 149, 150.

1216.—Strategic importance of Cambridge. See CAMBRIDGE: Early history.

1216-1272.—Character and reign of Henry III. —Barons' War.—Simon de Montfort and the evolution of the English Parliament.—King John died October 17, 1216. "His legitimate successor was a child of nine years of age. For the first time since the Conquest the personal government was in the hands of a minor. In that stormy time the great Earl of Pembroke undertook the government, as Protector. . . . At the Council of Bristol, with general approbation and even with that of the papal legate, Magna Charta was confirmed, though with the omission of certain articles. . . . After some degree of tranquillity had been restored, a second confirmation of the Great Charter took place in the autumn of 1217, with the omission of the clauses referring to the estates, but with the grant of a new charta de foresta, introducing a vigorous administration of the forest laws. In 9 Henry III [the ninth year of his reign] Magna Charta was again confirmed, and this is the form in which it afterwards took its place among the statutes of the realm."—R. Gneist, *History of the English constitution*, v. 1, pp. 313. —"The importance of the omissions is considerably minimized . . . by two considerations. . . . Many of the original provisions were merely declaratory, and their omission in 1216 by no means implied that they were then abolished. The common law remained what it had been previously, although it was not considered necessary to specify those particular parts of it in black and white. In particular, throughout the entire reign of Henry, the *Commune Concilium* frequently met, and was always, in practice, consulted before a levy was made of any scutage or aid. The issue of the new Charter was not immediately successful in bringing the civil war to an end; but a stream of waverers flowed from Louis to Henry, influenced partly by the success of the national faction in the field and partly by the moderate policy of the government typified by the re-issue of the Charter. On 19th May, 1217, the royalists gained a decisive victory at the battle known as the 'Fair of Lincoln'; and, on 24th August following, Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciar, destroyed the fleet on which Louis depended. The French prince was compelled to sue for peace. Although negotiations were somewhat protracted, the resulting Treaty of Lambeth bears date the 11th September, 1217, the day on which they opened. Several interviews took place at Lambeth between 11th and 13th September, and these were followed by a general conference at Merton, commencing on the 23rd, at which Gualo, Louis, the Regent, and many English nobles were present. Some difference of opinion exists as to the exact stages of these negotiations, and it seems best to treat as one whole the settlement ultimately arranged. 'The treaty of Lambeth is, in practical importance, scarcely inferior to the charter itself.' It marked the final acceptance by the advisers of the Crown of the substance of Magna Carta as the permanent basis of government for England in time of peace, not merely as a provisional expedient in time of war. Its terms were equally honourable to both parties:

to the Regent and his supporters, because of the moderation they displaced; and to Louis who, while renouncing all claim to the English Crown, did so only on condition of a full pardon to his allies, combined with the guarantee of their cause, so far at least as that was embodied in the Charter. Ten thousand marks were paid to Louis, nominally as indemnity for his expenses; but he had in return to restore the Exchequer Rolls, the charters of the Jews (that is the rolls on which copies of their starrs or mortgages had been registered), the Charters of Liberties granted by John at Runnymede, and all other national archives in his possession. . . . On 14th May, 1210, England lost a trusted ruler through the death of the aged Regent, whose loyalty, firmness, and moderation had contributed so much to repair the breaches made in the body politic by John's evil deeds, and the consequent civil war. After the good Earl of Pembroke's death, the Bishop of Winchester and Hubert de Burgh contended for the chief place in Henry de Burgh's councils, with alternating success. . . . A few years later, the young King seems to have grown impatient under the restraints of a minority, and the Roman Curia was ready to bid for his good will by humouring him. In 1223 Honorius III., by letter dated 13th April, declared Henry (then only in his sixteenth year) to be of full age as regarded most of the duties of a king."—W. S. McKechnie, *Magna Carta*, pp. 168, 170, 171, 180.—"Henry III. personally assumes the reins of government at the Parliament of Oxford (1227), and begins his rule without confirming the two charters. At first the tutorial government still continues, which had meanwhile, even after the death of the great Earl of Pembroke (1210), remained in a fairly orderly condition. The first epoch of sixteen years of this reign must therefore be regarded purely as a government by the nobility under the name of Henry III. The regency had succeeded in removing the dominant influence of the Roman Curia by the recall of the papal legate, Pandulf, to Rome (1221), and in getting rid of the dangerous foreign mercenary soldiery (1224). . . . With the disgraceful dismissal of the chief justiciary, Hubert de Burgh [who among other charges, with slight or no foundation, was accused of embezzlement], there begins a second epoch of a personal rule of Henry III. (1232-1252), which for twenty continuous years, presents the picture of a confused and undecided struggle between the king and his foreign favourites and personal adherents on the one side, and the great barons, and with them soon the prelates, on the other. . . . In 21 Henry III. [1225] the King finds himself, in consequence of pressing money embarrassments, again compelled to make a solemn confirmation of the charter, in which once more the clauses relating to the estates are omitted. Shortly afterwards, as had happened just one hundred years previously in France, the name 'parliamentum' occurs for the first time (Chron. Dunst., 1244; Matth. Paris, 1246), and curiously enough, Henry III. himself, in a writ addressed to the Sheriff of Northampton, designates with this term the assembly which originated the Magna Charta. . . . The name 'parliament,' now occurs more frequently, but does not supplant the more definite terms concilium, colloquium, etc. In the meanwhile the relations with the Continent became complicated, in consequence of the family connections of the mother [Isabella of Angoulême] and the wife [Eleanor of Provence] of the King, and the greed of the papal envoys. . . . From the year 1244 onwards, neither a chief justice nor a chancellor, nor even a

treasurer, is appointed, but the administration of the country is conducted at the Court by the clerks of the offices."—R. Gneist, *History of the English constitution*, v. 1, pp. 313-321.—"Nothing is so hard to realise as chaos; and nothing nearer to chaos can be conceived than the government of Henry III. Henry was, like all the Plantagenets, clever; like very few of them, he was devout; and if the power of conceiving a great policy would constitute a great King, he would certainly have been one. . . . He aimed at making the Crown virtually independent of the barons. . . . His connexion with Louis IX., whose brother-in-law he became, was certainly a misfortune to him. In France the royal power had during the last fifty years been steadily on the advance; in England it had as steadily receded; and Henry was ever hearing from the other side of the Channel maxims of government and ideas of royal authority which were utterly inapplicable to the actual state of his own kingdom. . . . Henry had imbibed from the events and the tutors of his early childhood two maxims of state, and two alone: to trust Rome, and to distrust the barons of England. . . . He filled the places of trust and power about himself with aliens, to whom the maintenance of Papal influence was like an instinct of self-preservation. Thus were definitely formed the two great parties out of whose antagonism the War of the Barons arose, under whose influence the relations between the crown and people of England were remodelled, and out of whose enduring conflict rose, indirectly, the political principles which contributed so largely to bring about the Reformation of the English Church. The few years which followed the fall of Hubert de Burgh were the heyday of Papal triumph. And no triumph could have been worse used. . . . Thus was the whole country lying a prey to the ecclesiastical aliens maintained by the Pope, and to the lay aliens maintained by the king, . . . when Simon de Montfort [earl of Leicester] became . . . inseparably intermixed with the course of our history. . . . In the year 1258 opened the first act of the great drama which has made the name of Simon de Montfort immortal. . . . The Barons of England, at Leicester's suggestion, had leagued for the defence of their rights. They appeared armed at the Great Council. . . . They required as the condition of their assistance that the general reformation of the realm should be entrusted to a Commission of twenty-four members, half to be chosen by the crown, and half by themselves. For the election of this body, primarily, and for a more explicit statement of grievances, the Great Council was to meet again at Oxford on the 11th of June, 1258. [This meeting of the Great Council is known as the "Mad Parliament." See PARLIAMENT, ENGLISH: 1258.] When the Barons came, they appeared at the head of their retainers. The invasion of the Welsh was the plea; but the real danger was nearer home. They seized on the Cinque Ports; the unrenewed truce with France was the excuse; they remembered too vividly King John and his foreign mercenaries. They then presented their petition. This was directed to the redress of various abuses. . . . To each and every clause the King gave his inevitable assent. One more remarkable encroachment was made upon the royal prerogative; the election in Parliament of a chief justiciar. . . . The chief justiciar was the first officer of the Crown. He was not a mere chief justice, after the fashion of the present day, but the representative of the Crown in its high character of the fountain of justice. . . . But the point upon which the barons laid the greatest

stress, from the beginning to the end of their struggle, was the question of the employment of aliens. That the strongest castles and the fairest lands of England should be in the hands of foreigners, was an insult to the national spirit which no free people could fail to resent. . . . England for the English, the great war cry of the barons, went home to the heart of the humblest. . . . The great question of the constitution of Parliament was not heard at Oxford; it emerged into importance when the struggle grew fiercer, and the barons found it necessary to gather allies round them. . . . One other measure completed the programme of the barons; namely, the appointment, already referred to, of a committee of twenty-four. . . . It amounted to placing the crown under the control of a temporary Council of Regency. [See OXFORD, PROVISIONS OF; and COMMON LAW: 1258] . . . Part of the barons' work was simple enough. The justiciar was named, and the committee of twenty-four. To expel the foreigners was less easy. Simon de Montfort, himself an alien by birth [Norman], resigned the two castles which he held, and called upon the rest to follow. They simply refused. . . . But the barons were in arms, and prepared to use them. The aliens, with their few English supporters, fled to Winchester, where the castle was in the hands of the foreign bishop Aymer. They were besieged, brought to terms, and exiled. The barons were now masters of the situation. . . . Among the prerogatives of the crown which passed to the Oxford Commission not the least valuable, for the hold which it gave on the general government of the country, was the right to nominate the sheriffs. In 1261 the King, who had procured a Papal bull to abrogate the Provisions of Oxford, and an army of mercenaries to give the bull effect, proceeded to expel the sheriffs who had been placed in office by the barons. The reply of the barons was most memorable; it was a direct appeal to the order below their own. They summoned three knights elected from each county in England to meet them at St. Albans to discuss the state of the realm. It was clear that the day of the House of Commons could not be far distant, when at such a crisis an appeal to the knights of the shire could be made, and evidently made with success. For a moment, in this great move, the whole strength of the barons was united; but differences soon returned, and against divided counsels the crown steadily prevailed. In June, 1262, we find peace restored. The more moderate of the barons had acquiesced in the terms offered by Henry; Montfort, who refused them, was abroad in voluntary exile. . . . Suddenly, in July, the Earl of Gloucester died, and the sole leadership of the barons passed into the hands of Montfort. With this critical event opens the last act in the career of the great Earl. In October he returns privately to England. The whole winter is passed in the patient reorganising of the party, and the preparation for a decisive struggle. Montfort, fervent, eloquent, and devoted, swayed with despotic influence the hearts of the younger nobles (and few in those days lived to be grey), and taught them to feel that the Provisions of Oxford were to them what the Great Charter had been to their fathers. They were drawn together with an unanimity unknown before. . . . They demanded the restoration of the Great Provisions. The King refused, and in May, 1263, the barons appealed to arms. . . . Henry, with a reluctant hand, subscribed once more to the Provisions of Oxford, with a saving clause, however, that they should be revised in the coming Parliament. On

the 9th of September, accordingly, Parliament was assembled. . . . The King and the barons agreed to submit their differences to the arbitration of Louis of France. . . . Louis IX. had done more than any one king of France to enlarge the royal prerogative; and Louis was the brother-in-law of Henry. His award, given at Amiens on the 23d of January, 1264, was, as we should have expected, absolutely in favour of the king. [This award was called the "Mise of Amiens" and the wars that followed are called by some historians, the "Barons' Wars." Others date the wars from 1258-1265.] The whole Provisions of Oxford were, in his view, an invasion of the royal power. . . . The barons were astounded. . . . They at once said that the question of the employment of aliens was never meant to be included. . . . The appeal was made once again to the sword. Success for a moment inclined to the royal side, but it was only for a moment; and on the memorable field of Lewes [May 14, 1264] the genius of Leicester prevailed. . . . With the two kings of England and of the Roman prisoners in his hands, Montfort dictated the terms of the so-called Mise of Lewes. [For election of Richard of Cornwall, Henry's brother, as king of the Romans, see GERMANY: 1250-1272.] . . . Subject to the approval of Parliament, all differences were to be submitted once more to French arbitration. . . . On the 23d of June the Parliament met. It was no longer a Great Council, after the fashion of previous assemblies; it included four knights, elected by each English county. This Parliament gave such sanction as it was able to the exceptional authority of Montfort, and ordered that until the proposed arbitration could be carried out, the King's council should consist of nine persons, to be named by the Bishop of Chichester, and the Earls of Gloucester and Leicester. The effect was to give Simon for the time despotic power. . . . It was at length agreed that all questions whatever, the employment of aliens alone excepted, should be referred to the Bishop of London, the justiciar Hugh le Despenser, Charles of Anjou, and the Abbot of Bec. If on any point they could not agree, the Archbishop of Rouen was to act as referee. . . . It was . . . not simply the expedient of a revolutionary chief in difficulties, but the expression of a settled and matured policy, when, in December, 1264, [Montfort] issued in the King's name the ever-memorable writs which summoned the first complete Parliament which ever met in England.—*Simon de Montfort* (*Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1866).—"The reappearance of Knights of the Shire—country gentlemen—in Parliament invites comment. Henry had called for them in 1254 in the hope of obtaining money. The Oxford Provisions of 1258, so far from extending the action of Parliament, had proposed to supersede its sittings by those of a standing committee. But in 1261 de Montfort had summoned country representatives to meet him at St. Albans. The change from the measures of 1258 to those of 1261 and 1264 indicates a rapid development of policy on his part."—J. H. Ramsay, *Dawn of the constitution*, A.D. 1216-1307, p. 228.—"Important as this assembly [the Parliament of 1265] is in the history of the constitution, it was not primarily and essentially a constitutional assembly. It was not a general convention of the tenants in chief or of the three estates, but a parliamentary assembly of the supporters of the existing government."—W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, v. 2, ch. 14, sect. 177.—"The earls, barons, and bishops received their summons as a matter of course; and with them the deans of cathedral churches, an unprecedented number

of abbots and priors, two knights from every shire, and two citizens or burgesses from every city or borough in England. Of their proceedings [they sat from January to March, 1265] we know but little; but they appear to have appointed Simon de Montfort to the office of Justiciar of England, and to have thus made him in rank, what he had before been in power, the first subject in the realm. . . . Montfort . . . had now gone so far, he had exercised such extraordinary powers, he had done so many things which could never really be pardoned, that perhaps his only chance of safety lay in the possession of some such office as this. It is certain, moreover, that something which passed in this Parliament, or almost exactly at the time of its meeting, did cause deep offense to a considerable section of the barons. . . . Difficulties were visibly gathering thicker around him, and he was evidently conscious that disaffection was spreading fast. [He was accused of violating the Mise of Lewes, of tyranny, and of aiming at the crown.] . . . Negotiations went forward, not very smoothly, for the release of Prince Edward. They were terminated in May [1265] by his escape. It was the signal for a royalist rising. Edward took the command of the Welsh border; before the middle of June he had made the border his own. On the 29th Gloucester opened its gates to him. He had many secret friends. He pushed fearlessly eastward, and surprised the garrison of Kenilworth, commanded by Simon, the Earl's second son. The Earl himself lay at Evesham, awaiting the troops which his son was to bring up from Kenilworth. . . . On the fatal field of Evesham [August 4, 1265], fighting side by side to the last, fell the Earl himself, his eldest son Henry, Despenser the late Justiciar, Lord Basset of Drayton, one of his firmest friends, and a host of minor names. With them, to all appearance, fell the cause for which they had fought."—*Simon de Montfort* (*Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1866).—See also PARLIAMENT, ENGLISH: Early stages of its evolution; SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: British empire: 500-1295.

ALSO IN: G. W. Prothero, *Life of Simon de Montfort*, ch. 11-12.—H. Blaauw, *Barons' War*.—C. H. Pearson, *England, Early and Middle Ages*, v. 2.

1266-1267.—Strategic importance of Cambridge. See CAMBRIDGE: Early history.

1271.—Crusade of Prince Edward. See CRUSADES: 1270-1271.

1272.—Accession of King Edward I.

1272.—Extent of rule in Ireland. See IRELAND: 13th-14th centuries.

1275-1295.—Development of parliamentary representation under Edward I.—His work as administrative organizer and lawgiver.—"Happily, Earl Simon [de Montfort] found a successor, and more than a successor, in the king's [Henry III's] son. . . . Edward I. stood on the vantage ground of the throne. . . . He could do that easily and without effort which Simon could only do laboriously, and with the certainty of rousing opposition. Especially was this the case with the encouragement given by the two men to the growing aspirations after parliamentary representation. Earl Simon's assemblies were instruments of warfare. Edward's assemblies were invitations to peace. . . . Barons and prelates, knights and townsmen, came together only to support a king who took the initiative so wisely, and who, knowing what was best for all, sought the good of his kingdom without thought of his own ease. Yet even so, Edward was too prudent at once to gather together such a body as that which

Earl Simon had planned. He summoned, indeed, all the constituent parts of Simon's parliament, but he seldom summoned them to meet in one place or at one time. Sometimes the barons and prelates met apart from the townsmen or the knights, sometimes one or the other class met entirely alone. . . . In this way, during the first twenty years of Edward's reign, the nation rapidly grew in that consciousness of national unity which would one day transfer the function of regulation from the crown to the representatives of the people."—S. R. Gardiner and J. B. Mullinger, *Introduction to the study of English history*, ch. 4, sect. 17.—"In 1264 Simon de Montfort had called up from both shires and boroughs representatives to aid him in the new work of government. That part of Earl Simon's work had not been lasting. The task was left for Edward I. to be advanced by gradual safe steps, but to be thoroughly completed, as a part of a definite and orderly arrangement, according to which the English parliament was to be the perfect representation of the Three Estates of the Realm, assembled for purposes of taxation, legislation and united political action. . . . Edward's first parliament, in 1275, enabled him to pass a great statute of legal reform, called the Statute of Westminster the First [passed to correct abuses practised by royal officials, to strengthen the king's power and prevent extortion], and to exact the new custom on wool; another assembly, the same year, granted him a fifteenth. [See also COMMON LAW: 1275.] . . . There is no evidence that the commons of either town or county were represented. . . . In 1282, when the expenses of the Welsh war were becoming heavy, Edward again tried the plan of obtaining money from the towns and counties by separate negotiation; but as that did not provide him with funds sufficient for his purpose, he called together, early in 1283, two great assemblies, one at York and another at Northampton, in which four knights from each shire and four members from each city and borough were ordered to attend; the cathedral and conventual clergy also of the two provinces were represented at the same places by their elected proctors. At these assemblies there was no attendance of the barons; they were with the king in Wales; but the commons made a grant of one-thirtieth on the understanding that the lords should do the same. Another assembly was held at Shrewsbury the same year, 1283, to witness the trial of David of Wales; to this the bishops and clergy were not called, but twenty towns and all the counties were ordered to send representatives. Another step was taken in 1290: knights of the shire were again summoned; but still much remained to be done before a perfect parliament was constituted. Counsel was wanted for legislation, consent was wanted for taxation. The lords were summoned in May, and did their work in June and July, granting a feudal aid and passing the statute 'Quia Emptores' [called the third statute of Westminster. It was passed to prevent too great a sub-infeudation of land whereby services due to the overlord became so complicated and divided that no track could be kept of them]; but the knights only came to vote or to promise a tax, after a law had been passed; and the towns were again taxed by special commissions. In 1294, . . . under the alarm of war with France, an alarm which led Edward into several breaches of constitutional law, he went still further, assembling the clergy by their representatives in August, and the shires by their representative knights in October. The next year, 1295, witnessed the first summons of a perfect and model parliament; the

clergy represented by their bishops, deans, archdeacons, and elected proctors; the barons summoned severally in person by the king's special writ, and the commons summoned by writs addressed to the sheriffs, directing them to send up two elected knights from each shire, two elected citizens from each city, and two elected burghers from each borough. The writ by which the prelates were called to this parliament contained a famous sentence taken from the Roman law, 'That which touches all should be approved by all,' a maxim which might serve as a motto for Edward's constitutional scheme, however slowly it grew upon him, now permanently and consistently completed."—W. Stubbs, *Early Plantagenets*, ch. 10.—Both the second statute of Westminster (see COMMON LAW: 1286; DE DONIS CONDITIONALIBUS) and the statute of Winchester were passed in 1285. The former provided for entailed estates (an estate that cannot be divided among heirs or in payment of debt) and the latter sought to reorganize institutions of national police and defense. "Comparing the history of the following ages



EDWARD I

with that of the past, we can scarcely doubt that Edward had a definite idea of government before his eyes, or that that idea was successful because it approved itself to the genius and grew out of the habits of the people. Edward saw, in fact, what the nation was capable of, and adapted his constitutional reforms to that capacity. But although we may not refuse him the credit of design, it may still be questioned whether the design was altogether voluntary, whether it was not forced upon him by circumstances and developed by a series of careful experiments. . . . The design, as interpreted by the result, was the creation of a national parliament, composed of the three estates. . . . This design was perfected in 1295. It was not the result of compulsion, but the consummation of a growing policy. . . . But the close union of 1295 [known as the Model Parliament] was followed by the compulsion of 1297: out of the organic completeness of the constitution sprang the power of resistance, and out of the resistance the victory of the principles, which Edward might guide, but which he failed to coerce."—Idem.

Constitutional history of England, ch. 15, sect. 244 and ch. 14, sect. 180-182.—*Idem, Select charters, pt. 7.*—See also SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: British empire: 1205-1832.

"The 13th century was above all things the age of the lawyer and the legislator. The revived study of Roman law had been one of the greatest results of the intellectual renaissance of the twelfth century. The enormous growth of the universities in the early part of the thirteenth century was in no small measure due to the zeal, ardour and success of their legal faculties. From Bologna there flowed all over Europe a great impulse towards the systematic and scientific study of the Civil Law of Rome. . . . The northern lawyers were inspired by their emulation of the civilians and canonists to look at the rude chaos of feudal custom with more critical eyes. They sought to give it more system and method, to elicit its leading principles, and to co-ordinate its clashing rules into a harmonious body of doctrine worthy to be put side by side with the more pretentious edifices of the Civil and Canon Law. In this spirit Henry de Bracton wrote the first systematic exposition of English law in the reign of Henry III. The judges and lawyers of the reign of Edward sought to put the principles of Bracton into practice. [See also COMMON LAW: 1216-1272.] Edward himself strove with no small success to carry on the same great work by new legislation. . . . His well-known title of the 'English Justinian' is not so absurd as it appears at first sight. He did not merely resemble Justinian in being a great legislator. Like the famous codifier of the Roman law, Edward stood at the end of a long period of legal development, and sought to arrange and systematise what had gone before him. Some of his great laws are almost in form attempts at the systematic codification of various branches of feudal custom. . . . Edward was greedy for power, and a constant object of his legislation was the exaltation of the royal prerogative. But he nearly always took a broad and comprehensive view of his authority, and thoroughly grasped the truth that the best interests of king and kingdom were identical. He wished to rule the state, but was willing to take his subjects into partnership with him, if they in return recognised his royal rights. . . . The same principles which influenced Edward as a lawgiver stand out clearly in his relations to every class of his subjects. . . . It was the greatest work of Edward's life to make a permanent and ordinary part of the machinery of English government, what in his father's time had been but the temporary expedient of a needy taxgatherer or the last despairing effort of a revolutionary partisan. Edward I. is—so much as one man can be—the creator of the historical English constitution. It is true that the materials were ready to his hand. But before he came to the throne the parts of the constitution, though already roughly worked out, were ill-defined and ill-understood. Before his death the national council was no longer regarded as complete unless it contained a systematic representation of the three estates. All over Europe the thirteenth century saw the establishment of a system of estates. The various classes of the community, which had a separate social status and a common political interest, became organised communities, and sent their representatives to swell the council of the nation. By Edward's time there had already grown up in England some rough anticipation of the three estates of later history. . . . It was with no intention of diminishing his power, but rather with the object of enlarging it, that Edward called the

nation into some sort of partnership with him. The special clue to this aspect of his policy is his constant financial embarrassment. He found that he could get larger and more cheerful subsidies if he laid his financial condition before the representatives of his people. . . . The really important thing was that Edward, like Montfort, brought shire and borough representatives together in a single estate, and so taught the country gentry, the lesser landowners, who, in a time when direct participation in politics was impossible for a lower class, were the real constituencies of the shire members, to look upon their interests as more in common with the traders of lower social status than with the greater landlords with whom in most continental countries the lesser gentry were forced to associate their lot. The result strengthened the union of classes, prevented the growth of the abnormally numerous privileged nobility of most foreign countries, and broadened and deepened the main current of the national life."—T. F. Tout, *Edward the First, ch. 7-8.*—"There was nothing in England which answered to the 'third estate' in France—a class, that is to say, both isolated and close, composed exclusively of townspeople, enjoying no commerce with the rural population (except such as consisted in the reception of fugitives), and at once detesting and dreading the nobility by whom it was surrounded. In England the contrary was the case. The townsfolk and the other classes in each county were thrown together upon numberless occasions; a long period of common activity created a cordial understanding between the burghers on the one hand and their neighbours the knights and landowners on the other, and finally prepared the way for the fusion of the two classes."—E. Boutmy, *English constitution, ch. 3.*

1279.—Statute of Mortmain.—"For many years past, the great danger to the balance of power appeared to come from the regular clergy, who, favoured by the success of the mendicant orders, were adding house to house and field to field. [They had acquired one third of the land of England.] Never dying out like families, and rarely losing by forfeitures, the monasteries might well nigh calculate the time, when all the soil of England should be their own. . . . Accordingly, one of the first acts of the barons under Henry III had been to enact, that no fees should be alienated to religious persons or corporations. Edward re-enacted and strengthened this by various provisions in the famous Statute of Mortmain. The fee illegally alienated was now to be forfeited to the chief lord under the King; and if, by collusion or neglect, the lord omitted to claim his right, the crown might enter upon it. Never was statute more unpopular with the class at whom it was aimed, more ceaselessly eluded, or more effectual."—C. H. Pearson, *History of England during the Early and Middle Ages, v. 2, ch. 9.*—Church holdings were exempt from most military obligations and from various taxes and fees connected with wardship, marriage and reliefs. Consequently it had become the custom for those who wished to evade these obligations to grant their lands to the church in return for part of the income.

1282-1284.—Subjugation of Wales. See WALES: 1282-1284.

1290.—Expulsion of the Jews.—Owing to the pressure of popular hatred the king issued a proclamation in 1290 ordering all Jews to leave the kingdom on pain of death. More than 16,000 are said to have left at this time. See JEWS: England: 1290.

1290-1305.—Conquest of Scotland by Edward I. See SCOTLAND: 1290-1305; BERWICK-UPON-TWEED: 1293-1333.

c. 1295.—Alliance with Flanders against France. See FLANDERS: 1299-1304.

1295-1832.—Gradual development of franchise. See SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: British empire: 1295-1832.

1297.—Confirmatio Cartarum of Edward I.—“It was long before the King would surrender the right of taking talliages [revival of the Danegeld; land tax extorted by Norman kings on towns and demesne lands] without a parliamentary grant. In order to carry on his extensive wars he was in constant need of large sums of money, which he raised by arbitrary exactions from all classes of his subjects, lay and clerical.” The disputes and the resistance to which these exactions gave rise grew violent in 1297, and Edward was at length persuaded to assent to what was called the “Confirmatio Chartarum”—confirmation of the Great Charter and the Charter of Forests. “The Confirmatio Chartarum, which, although a statute, is drawn up in the form of a charter, was passed on the 10th of October, 1297, in a Parliament at which knights of the shire attended as representatives of the Commons, as well as the lay and clerical baronage. . . . The Confirmatio Chartarum was not merely a re-issue of Magna Charta and the Charter of the Forest, . . . but the enactment of a series of new provisions. . . . By the 5th section of this statute the King expressly renounced as precedents the aids, tasks, and prises before taken. . . . The exclusive right of Parliament to impose taxation, though often infringed by the illegal exercise of prerogative, became from this time an axiom of the Constitution.”—T. P. Taswell-Langmead, *English constitutional history*, ch. 7.

13th-14th centuries.—Influence of Irish civilization upon English settlers. See IRELAND: 13th-14th centuries.

13th-16th centuries.—Development of capitalism and trade.—Growth of industry. See CAPITALISM: 13th-16th centuries.

1305-1314.—War in Scotland. See SCOTLAND: 1305-1307; 1306-1314.

1306-1393.—Resistance to the pope.—“For one hundred and fifty years succeeding the Conquest, the right of nominating the archbishops, bishops, and mitred abbots had been claimed and exercised by the king. This right had been specially confirmed by the Constitutions of Clarendon [q. v.], which also provided that the revenues of vacant sees should belong to the Crown. But John admitted all the Papal claims, surrendering even his kingdom to the Pope, and receiving it back as a fief of the Holy See. By the Great Charter the Church recovered its liberties; the right of free election being specially conceded to the cathedral chapters and the religious houses. Every election was, however, subject to the approval of the Pope, who also claimed a right of veto on institutions to the smaller church benefices. . . . Under Henry III. the power thus vested in the Pope and foreign superiors of the monastic orders was greatly abused, and soon degenerated into a mere channel for draining money into the Roman exchequer. Edward I. firmly withstood the exactions of the Pope, and reasserted the independence of both Church and Crown. . . . In the reign of the great Edward began a series of statutes passed to check the aggressions of the Pope and restore the independence of the national church. The first of the series was passed in 1306-7. . . . This statute was confirmed under Edward III. in the

4th, and again in the 5th year of his reign; and in the 25th of his reign [1351], roused ‘by the grievous complaints of all the commons of his realm,’ the King and Parliament passed the famous Statute of Provisors, aimed directly at the Pope, and emphatically forbidding his nominations to English benefices. [The English were especially opposed to the pope at this period because he seemed to favor the French with whom the English were at war.] . . . Three years afterwards it was found necessary to pass a statute forbidding citations to the court of Rome [Statute of Præmunire]. . . . In 1389, there was an expectation that the Pope was about to attempt to enforce his claims, by excommunicating those who rejected them. . . . The Parliament at once passed a highly penal statute. . . . Matters were shortly afterwards brought to a crisis by Boniface IX., who after declaring the statutes enacted by the English Parliament null and void, granted to an Italian cardinal a prebendal stall at Wells. . . . Cross suits were at once instituted by the two claimants in the Papal and English courts. A decision was given by the latter, in favour of the king’s nominee, and the bishops, having agreed to support the Crown, were forthwith excommunicated by the Pope. The Commons were now roused to the highest pitch of indignation,”—and the final great Statute of Præmunire was passed, 1393. “The firm and resolute attitude assumed by the country caused Boniface to yield; ‘and for the moment,’ observes Mr. Froude, ‘and indeed for ever under this especial form, the wave of papal encroachment was rolled back.’”—T. P. Taswell-Langmead, *English constitutional history*, ch. 11.—“The great Statute of Provisors, passed in 1351, was a very solemn expression of the National determination not to give way to the pope’s usurpation of patronage. . . . All persons procuring or accepting papal promotions were to be arrested. . . . In 1352 the purchasers of Provisions were declared outlaws; in 1365 another act repeated the prohibitions and penalties; and in 1390 the parliament of Richard II. rehearsed and confirmed the statute. By this act, forfeiture and banishment were decreed against future transgressors.” The Statute of Præmunire as enacted finally in 1393, provided that “all persons procuring in the court of Rome or elsewhere such translations, processes, sentences of excommunication, bulls, instruments or other things which touch the king, his crown, regality or realm, should suffer the penalties of præmunire”—which included imprisonment and forfeiture of goods. “The name præmunire which marks this form of legislation is taken from the opening word of the writ by which the sheriff is charged to summon the delinquent.”—W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 19, sect. 715-716.—See also PAPACY: 1204-1348.

1307.—Accession of King Edward II.

1310-1311.—Ordainers.—Edward of Carnarvon, though well trained by his father, Edward I, had no aptitude for statecraft and was the tool of his favorites. His extravagance and misgovernment brought matters to a crisis in 1310. “At the parliament which met in March, 1310 [reign of Edward II.] a new scheme of reform was promulgated, which was framed on the model of that of 1258 and the Provisions of Oxford. It was determined that the task of regulating the affairs of the realm and of the king’s household should be committed to an elected body of twenty-one members, or Ordainers, the chief of whom was Archbishop Winchelsey. . . . The Ordainers were empowered to remain in office until Michaelmas,

1311, and to make ordinances for the good of the realm, agreeable to the tenour of the king's coronation oath. The whole administration of the kingdom thus passed into their hands. . . . The Ordainers immediately on their appointment issued six articles directing the observance of the charters, the careful collection of the customs, and the arrest of the foreign merchants; but the great body of the ordinances was reserved for the parliament which met in August, 1311. The famous document or statute known as the Ordinances of 1311 contained forty-one clauses, all aimed at existing abuses."—W. Stubbs, *Early Plantagenets*, ch. 12.

1313.—Insurrection at Bristol. See BRISTOL: 1313.

1314.—Extent of possessions in France. See FRANCE: Maps of medieval period: 1154-1360.

1314-1328.—Bannockburn and the recovery of Scottish independence. See SCOTLAND: 1306-1314; 1314-1328.

1327.—Accession of King Edward III.—Parliament showed its power by forcing Edward II to abdicate in favor of his son, a boy of fourteen.

1327-1367.—Oppression of the Irish. See IRELAND: 1327-1367.

1328.—Peace of Northampton with Scotland. See SCOTLAND: 1328.

1328-1360.—Pretensions and wars of Edward III in France. See FRANCE: 1328-1330; 1337-1360; also FLANDERS: 1335-1337; BREST: 1341-1397.

1332-1370.—Wars of Edward III with Scotland. See SCOTLAND: 1332-1333; 1333-1370.

1333-1380.—Effects of the war with France.—"A period of great wars is generally favourable to the growth of a nobility. Men who equipped large bodies of troops for the Scotch or French wars, or who had served with distinction in them, naturally had a claim for reward at the hands of their sovereign. . . . The 13th century had broken up estates all over England and multiplied families of the upper class; the 14th century was consolidating properties again, and establishing a broad division between a few powerful nobles and the mass of the community. But if the gentry, as an order, lost a little in relative importance by the formation of a class of great nobles, more distinct than had existed before, the middle classes of England, its merchants and yeoman, gained very much in importance by the war. [See also YEOMEN.] Under the firm rule of the 'King of the Sea,' as his subjects lovingly called Edward III., our commerce expanded. Englishmen rose to an equality with the merchants of the Hanse Towns, the Genoese, or the Lombards, and England for a time overflowed with treasure. The first period of war, ending with the capture of Calais [see CALAIS: 1346-1347], secured our coasts; the second, terminated by the peace of Brétigny, [see BRÉTIGNY, TREATY OF (1360)] brought the plunder of half France into the English markets; and even when Edward's reign had closed on defeat and bankruptcy, and our own shores were ravaged by hostile fleets, it was still possible for private adventurers to retaliate invasion upon the enemy. . . . The romance of foreign conquest, of fortunes lightly gained and lightly lost, influenced English enterprise for many years to come. . . . The change to the lower orders during the reign arose rather from the frequent pestilences, which reduced the number of working men and made labour valuable, than from any immediate participation in the war. In fact, English serfs, as a rule, did not serve in Edward's armies. They

could not be men-at-arms or archers for want of training and equipment; and for the work of light-armed troops and foragers, the Irish and Welsh seem to have been preferred. The opportunity of the serfs came with the Black Death, while districts were depopulated, and everywhere there was a want of hands to till the fields and get in the crops. The immediate effect was unfortunate. . . . The indifference of late years, when men were careless if their villains stayed on the property or emigrated, was succeeded by a sharp inquisition after fugitive serfs, and constant legislation to bring them back to their masters. . . . The leading idea of the legislator was that the labourer, whose work had doubled or trebled in value, was to receive the same wages as in years past; and it was enacted that he might be paid in kind, and, at last, that in all cases of contumacy he should be imprisoned without the option of a fine. . . . The French war contributed in many ways to heighten the feeling of English nationality. Our trade, our language and our Church received a new and powerful influence. In the early years of Edward III.'s reign, Italian merchants were the great financiers of England, farming the taxes and advancing loans to the Crown. Gradually the instinct of race, the influence of the Pope, and geographical position, contributed, with the mistakes of Edward's policy, to make France the head, as it were, of a confederation of Latin nations. Genoese ships served in the French fleet, Genoese bowmen fought at Crécy [August 26, 1346], and English privateers retorted on Genoese commerce throughout the course of the reign. In 1376 the Commons petitioned that all Lombards might be expelled the kingdom, bringing amongst other charges against them that they were French spies. The Florentines do not seem to have been equally odious, but the failure of the great firm of the Bardi in 1345, chiefly through its English engagements, obliged Edward to seek assistance elsewhere; and he transferred the privilege of lending to the crown to the merchants of the rising Hanse Towns."—C. H. Pearson, *English history in the fourteenth century*, ch. 9.—"We may trace the destructive nature of the war with France in the notices of adjoining parishes thrown into one for want of sufficient inhabitants, 'of people impoverished by frequent taxation of our lord the king,' until they had fled, of churches allowed to fall into ruin because there were none to worship within their walls, and of religious houses extinguished because the monks and nuns had died, and none had been found to supply their places. . . . To the poverty of the country and the consequent inability of the nation to maintain the costly wars of Edward III., are attributed the enactments of sumptuary laws, which were passed because men who spent much on their table and dress were unable 'to help their liege lord' in the battle field."—W. Denton, *England in the 15th century*, introd., pt. 2.

1342.—Occupation of Brest. See BREST: 1342-1397.

1348-1349.—Black Death and its effects.—"The plague of 1349 . . . produced in every country some marked social changes. . . . In England the effects of the plague are historically prominent chiefly among the lower classes of society. The population was diminished to an extent to which it is impossible now even to approximate, but which bewildered and appalled the writers of the time; whole districts were thrown out of cultivation, whole parishes depopulated, the number of labourers was so much diminished that on the one hand the survivors demanded an extravagant rate



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of wages, and even combined to enforce it, whilst on the other hand the landowners had to resort to every antiquated claim of service to get their estates cultivated at all; the whole system of farming was changed in consequence, the great landlords and the monastic corporations ceased to manage their estates by farming stewards, and after a short interval, during which the lands with the stock on them were let to the cultivator on short leases, the modern system of letting was introduced, and the permanent distinction between the farmer and the labourer established."—W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 16, sect. 259.—See also AGRICULTURE: Medieval: 14th-17th centuries.—"On the first of August, 1348, the disease appeared in the seaport towns of Dorsetshire, and travelled slowly westwards and northwards, through Devonshire and Somersetshire to Bristol. In order, if possible, to arrest its progress, all intercourse with the citizens of Bristol was prohibited by the authorities of the county of Gloucester. These precautions were however taken in vain; the Plague continued to Oxford, and, travelling slowly in the same measured way, reached London by the first of November. It appeared in Norwich on the first of January, and thence spread northwards. . . . The mortality was enormous. Perhaps from one-third to one-half the population fell victims to the disease. Adam of Monmouth says that only a tenth of the population survived. Similar amplifications are found in all the chroniclers. We are told that 60,000 persons perished in Norwich between January and July, 1340. No doubt Norwich was at that time the second city in the kingdom, but the number is impossible. . . . It is stated that in England the weight of the calamity fell on the poor, and that the higher classes were less severely affected. But Edward's daughter Joan fell a victim to it and three archbishops of Canterbury perished in the same year. . . . All contemporary writers inform us that the immediate consequence of the Plague was a dearth of labour, and excessive enhancement of wages, and thereupon a serious loss to the landowners. To meet this scarcity the king issued a proclamation directed to the sheriffs of the several counties, which forbade the payment of higher than the customary wages, under the penalties of amercement. But the king's mandate was everywhere disobeyed. . . . Many of the labourers were thrown into prison; many to avoid punishment fled to the forests, but were occasionally captured and fined; and all were constrained to disavow under oath that they would take higher than customary wages for the future."—J. E. T. Rogers, *History of agriculture and prices in England*, v. 1, ch. 15.—See also BLACK DEATH.

ALSO IN: F. A. Gasquet, *Great pestilence*.—W. Longman, *Edward III*, v. 1, ch. 16.—A. Jessop, *Coming of the friars, &c.*, ch. 4-5.

1350-1400.—Chaucer and his relations to English language and literature.—"At the time when the conflict between church and state was most violent, and when Wyclif was beginning to draw upon himself the eyes of patriots, there was considerable talk at the English court about a young man named Geoffrey Chaucer, who belonged to the king's household, and who both by his personality and his connections enjoyed the favor of the royal family. . . . The young poet belonged to a well-to-do middle-class family who had many far-reaching connections, and even some influence with the court. . . . Even as a boy he may have heard his father, John Chaucer, the vintner of Thames Street, London, telling of the marvelous voyage he had made to Antwerp and Cologne in

the brilliant suite of Edward III in 1338. When a youth of sixteen or seventeen, Geoffrey served as a page or squire to Elizabeth, duchess of Ulster, first wife of Lionel, duke of Clarence, and daughter-in-law of the king. He bore arms when about nineteen years of age, and went to France in 1359, in the army commanded by Edward III. . . . This epoch formed a sort of 'Indian summer' to the age of chivalry, and its spirit found expression in great deeds of war as well as in the festivals and manners of the court. The ideal which men strove to realize did not quite correspond to the spirit of the former age. On the whole, people had become more worldly and practical, and were generally anxious to protect the real interests of life from the unwarranted interference of romantic aspirations. The spirit of chivalry no longer formed a fundamental element, but only an ornament of life—an ornament, indeed, which was made much of, and which was looked upon with a sentiment partaking of enthusiasm. . . . In the midst of this outside world of motley pomp and throbbing life Geoffrey could observe the doings of high and low in various situations. He was early initiated into court intrigues, and even into many political secrets, and found opportunities of studying the human type in numerous individuals and according to the varieties developed by rank in life, education, age, and sex. . . . Nothing has been preserved from his early writings. . . . The fact is very remarkable that from the first, or at least from a very early period, Chaucer wrote in the English language—however natural this may seem to succeeding ages in 'The Father of English Poetry.' The court of Edward III. favored the language as well as the literature of France; a considerable number of French poets and 'menestrels' were in the service and pay of the English king. Queen Philippa, in particular, showing herself in this a true daughter of her native Hainault, formed the centre of a society cultivating the French language and poetry. . . . But Chaucer did not let himself be led astray by examples such as these. It is possible that he would have found writing in French no easy task, even if he had attempted it. At any rate his bourgeois origin, and the seriousness of his vocation as poet, threw a determining weight into the scale and secured his fidelity to the English language with a commendable consistency."—B. Ten Brink, *History of English literature*, v. 2, pt. 1, bk. 4, ch. 4.—See also ENGLISH LITERATURE: 14th century.

1360.—Extent of possessions in France. See FRANCE: Maps of medieval period: 1154-1360.

1360-1414.—Lollards.—"The Lollards were the earliest 'Protestants' of England. They were the followers of John Wyclif, but before his time the nickname of Lollard had been known on the continent. A little brotherhood of pious people had sprung up in Holland, about the year 1300, who lived in a half-monastic fashion and devoted themselves to helping the poor in the burial of their dead; and, from the low chants they sang at the funerals—lollen being the old word for such singing—they were called Lollards. The priests and friars hated them and accused them of heresy, and a Walter Lollard, probably one of them, was burnt in 1322 at Cologne as a heretic, and gradually the name became a nickname for such people. So when Wyclif's 'simple priests' were preaching the new doctrines, the name already familiar in Holland and Germany, was given to them, and gradually became the name for that whole movement of religious reformation which grew up from the seed Wyclif sowed."—B. Herford, *Story of religion in England*, ch. 16.—"A turning point ar-

rived in the history of the reforming party at the accession of the house of Lancaster [1399]. King Henry the Fourth was not only a devoted son of the Church, but he owed his success in no slight measure to the assistance of the Churchmen, and above all to that of Archbishop Arundel. It was felt that the new dynasty and the hierarchy stood or fell together. A mixture of religious and political motives led to the passing of the well-known statute 'De hæretico comburendo' [q. v.] in 1401 and thenceforward Lollardy was a capital offence."—R. L. Poole, *Wycliffe and movements for reforms*, ch. 8.—"The abortive insurrection of the Lollards at the commencement of Henry V.'s reign [1413] under the leadership of Sir John Oldcastle, had the effect of adding to the penal laws already in existence against the sect." This gave to Lollardy a political character and made the Lollards enemies against the State, as is evident from the king's proclamation in which it was asserted "that the insurgents intended to 'destroy him, his brothers and several of the spiritual and temporal lords, to confiscate the possessions of the Church, to secularize the religious orders, to divide the realm into confederate districts, and to appoint Sir John Oldcastle president of the commonwealth.'"—T. P. Taswell-Langmead, *English constitutional history*, ch. 11.—"The early life of Wycliffe is obscure. . . . He emerges into distinct notice in 1360, ten years subsequent to the passing of the first Statute of Provisors, having then acquired a great Oxford reputation as a lecturer in divinity. . . . He was a man of most simple life; austere in appearance, with bare feet and russet mantle. As a soldier of Christ, he saw in his Great Master and his Apostles the patterns whom he was bound to imitate. By the contagion of example he gathered about him other men who thought as he did; and gradually, under his captaincy, these 'poor priests' as they were called—vowed to poverty because Christ was poor—vowed to accept no benefice' . . . spread out over the country as an army of missionaries, to preach the faith which they found in the Bible—to preach, not of relics and of indulgences, but of repentance and of the grace of God. They carried with them copies of the Bible which Wycliffe had translated, . . . and they refused to recognize the authority of the bishops, or their right to silence them. If this had been all, and perhaps if Edward III. had been succeeded by a prince less miserably incapable than his grandson Richard, Wycliffe might have made good his ground; the movement of the parliament against the pope might have united in a common stream with the spiritual move against the church at home, and the Reformation have been antedated by a century. He was summoned to answer for himself before the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1377. He appeared in court supported by the presence of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the eldest of Edward's surviving sons, and the authorities were unable to strike him behind so powerful a shield. But the 'poor priests' had other doctrines. . . . His [Wycliffe's] theory of property, and his study of the character of Christ, had led him to the near confines of Anabaptism." The rebellion of Wat Tyler, which occurred in 1381, cast odium upon all such opinions. "So long as Wycliffe lived [he died in 1384], his own lofty character was a guarantee for the conduct of his immediate disciples; and although his favour had far declined, a party in the state remained attached to him, with sufficient influence to prevent the adoption of extreme measures against the 'poor priests.' . . . They were left unmolested for the next twenty years. . . . On the settlement of the

country under Henry IV. they fell under the general ban which struck down all parties who had shared in the late disturbances."—J. A. Froude, *History of England*, ch. 6.—"Wycliffe's translation of the Bible itself created a new era, and gave birth to what may be said never to have existed till then—a popular theology. . . . It is difficult in our day to imagine the impression such a book must have produced in an age which had scarcely anything in the way of popular literature, and which had been accustomed to regard the Scriptures as the special property of the learned. It was welcomed with an enthusiasm which could not be restrained, and read with avidity both by priests and laymen. . . . The homely wisdom, blended with eternal truth, which has long since enriched our vernacular speech with a multitude of proverbs, could not thenceforth be restrained in its circulation by mere pious awe or time-honoured prejudice. Divinity was discussed in ale-houses. Popular preachers made war upon old prejudices, and did much to shock that sense of reverence which belonged to an earlier generation. A new school had arisen with a theology of its own, warning the people against the delusive preaching of the friars, and asserting loudly its own claims to be true and evangelical, on the ground that it possessed the gospel in the English tongue. Appealing to such an authority in their favour, the eloquence of the new teachers made a marvellous impression. Their followers increased with extraordinary rapidity. By the estimate of an opponent they soon numbered half the population and you could hardly see two persons in the street but one of them was a Wycliffite. . . . They were supported by the powerful influence of John of Gaunt, who shielded not only Wycliffe himself, but even the most violent of the fanatics. And, certainly, whatever might have been Wycliffe's own view, doctrines were promulgated by his reputed followers that were distinctly subversive of authority. John Ball fomented the insurrection of Wat Tyler, by preaching the natural equality of men. . . . But the popularity of Lollardy was short-lived. The extravagance to which it led soon alienated the sympathies of the people, and the sect fell off in numbers almost as rapidly as it had risen."—J. Gairdner, *Studies in English history*, 1-2.—"Wyclif . . . was not without numerous followers, and the Lollardism which sprang out of his teaching was a living force in England for some time to come. But it was weak through its connection with subversive social doctrines. He himself stood aloof from such doctrines, but he could not prevent his followers from mingling in the social fray. It was perhaps their merit that they did so. The established constitutional order was but another name for oppression and wrong to the lower classes. But as yet the lower classes were not sufficiently advanced in moral and political training to make it safe to entrust them with the task of righting their own wrongs as they would have attempted to right them if they had gained the mastery. It had nevertheless become impossible to leave the peasants to be once more goaded by suffering into rebellion. The attempt, if it had been made, to enforce absolute labour-rents was tacitly abandoned, and gradually during the next century the mass of the villeins passed into the position of freemen. For the moment, nobles and prelates, landowners and clergy, banded themselves together to form one great party of resistance. The church came to be but an outwork of the baronage."—S. R. Gardiner and J. B. Mullinger, *Introduction to the study of English history*, pt. 1, ch. 5, sect. 14-15.

—See also BEGUINES; BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LOT; CHURCH OF ENGLAND: 1066-1534; EDUCATION: Modern: 14th-16th centuries: England; Lollardism and the Renaissance; EUROPE: Renaissance and Reformation; Preliminary movements of Wycliffe, etc.; LOLLARDS.

ALSO IN: L. Sergeant, *John Wyclif*.—G. Lechler, *John Wiclif and his English precursors*.

1367-1369.—Invasion of Spain by the Black Prince. See SPAIN: 1366-1369.

1369-1380.—Reverses in France. See FRANCE: 1360-1380.

1376.—Good Parliament. See PARLIAMENT, ENGLISH: 1376.

1377.—Accession of King Richard II.

1377-1399.—Character and reign of Richard II. —"Richard II. was a far superior man to many of the weaker kings of England; but being self-willed and unwarlike, he was unfitted for the work which the times required. Yet, on a closer inspection than the traditional view of the reign has generally encouraged, we cannot but observe that the finer qualities which came out in certain crises of his reign appear to have frequently influenced his conduct: His brilliant behaviour in the insurrection of 1381 indicated much more than mere possession of the Plantagenet courage and presence of mind. He showed a real sympathy with the villeins who had undeniable grievances. . . . His instincts were undoubtedly for freedom and forgiveness, and there is no proof, nor even probability, that he intended to use the villeins against his enemies. His early and happy marriage with Anne of Bohemia ought, one might think, to have saved him from the vice of favouritism; but he was at least more fortunate than Edward II. in not being cast under the spell of a Gaveston. [Piers Gaveston, the favorite of Edward II who was tried and beheaded by the barons in 1312.] When we consider the effect of such a galling government as that of his uncle Gloucester, and his cousin Derby, afterwards Henry IV., who seems to have been pushing Gloucester on from the first, we can hardly be surprised that he should require some friend to lean upon. The reign is, in short, from one, and perhaps the truest, point of view, a long duel between the son of the Black Prince and the son of John of Gaunt. [The Black Prince and John of Gaunt were sons of Edward III, Richard II was the son of the Black Prince, and Henry IV of Lancaster the son of John of Gaunt.] One or other of them must inevitably perish. A handsome and cultivated youth, who showed himself at fifteen every inch a king, who was married at sixteen, and led his own army to Scotland at eighteen, required a different treatment from that which he received. He was a man, and should have been dealt with as such. His lavish and reprehensible grants to his favourites were made the excuse for Gloucester's violent interference in 1386, but there is good ground for believing that the movement was encouraged by the anti-Wycliffite party, which had taken alarm at the sympathy with the Reformers shown at this time by Richard and Anne."—M. Burrows, *Commentaries on the history of England*, bk. 2, ch. 5.

ALSO IN: J. R. Green, *History of the English people*, v. 1, bk. 4, ch. 4.—C. H. Pearson, *English history in the 14th century*, ch. 10-12.

1381.—Peasants' revolt.—"The peasants had other grievances besides the weight of taxation thrown on them by a Parliament in which they had no representatives. The landlords, finding it impossible to compel the acceptance of the low wages provided for by the Statute of Labourers,

had attempted to help themselves in another way. Before the Black Death the bodily service of villeins had been frequently commuted into a payment of money which had been its fair equivalent, but which, since the rise of wages consequent upon the Black Death, could not command anything like the amount of labour surrendered. The landlords in many places now declared the bargains to have been unfair, and compelled the villeins to render once more the old bodily service. The discontent which prevailed everywhere was fanned not merely by the attacks made by Wycliffe's poor priests upon the idle and inefficient clergy, but by itinerant preachers unconnected with Wycliffe, who denounced the propertied classes in general. One of these, John Ball, a notorious assailant of the gentry, had been thrown into prison. . . . From one end of England to another the revolt spread. The parks of the gentry were broken into, the deer killed, the fish-ponds emptied. The court-rolls which testified to the villeins' services were burnt, and lawyers and all others connected with the courts were put to death without mercy. From Kent and Essex 100,000 enraged peasants, headed by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, released John Ball from gaol and poured along the roads to London. They hoped to place the young Richard at their head against their enemies the gentry. . . . The peasants had sympathisers in London itself, who allowed them to break into the city. Lancaster's palace of the Savoy and the houses of lawyers and officials were sacked and burnt. All the lawyers who could be found were murdered, and others who were not lawyers shared their fate. The mob broke into the Tower, and beheaded Simon of Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had, as Chancellor, proposed the obnoxious taxes to Parliament. The boy-king met the mob at Mile-End, and promised to abolish villeinage in England. Charters of manumission were drawn out and sealed, and a great part of the insurgents returned contentedly home. About 30,000, however, remained behind. When Richard came amongst them at Smithfield, Wat Tyler threatened him, and Walworth, the Mayor of London, slew Wat Tyler with his dagger. A shout for vengeance was raised. With astonishing presence of mind Richard rode forward. 'I am your king,' he said; 'I will be your leader.' His boldness inspired the insurgents with confidence, and caused them to desist from their threats and to return to their homes. In the country the gentry, encouraged by the failure of the insurgents in London, recovered their courage. The insurrection was everywhere vigorously suppressed. Richard ordered the payment of all services due, and revoked the charters he had granted. The judges on their circuits hanged the ringleaders without mercy. When Parliament met it directed that the charters of manumission should be cancelled. Lords and Commons alike stood up for the rich against the poor, and the boy-king was powerless to resist them, and it is possible that he did not wish to do so. The villeinage into which the peasants had been thrust back could not, indeed, endure long, because service unwillingly rendered is too expensive to be maintained. Men were, however, no longer in a mood to listen to reformers. Great noblemen, whose right to the services of their villeins had been denied, now made common cause with the great churchmen. The propertied classes, lay and clerical, instinctively saw that they must hang together."—S. R. Gardiner, *Students' history of England*, pp. 268-260.

ALSO IN: G. Lechler, *John Wiclif*, ch. 9, sect. 3.

—C. Knight, *Popular history of England*, v. 2, ch. 1.

1383.—Bishop of Norwich's Crusade in Flanders. See FLANDERS: 1383.

1388.—Merciless or Wonderful Parliament. See PARLIAMENT, ENGLISH: 1388.

1399.—Accession of King Henry IV.

1399-1471.—House of Lancaster.—This name is given in English history to the family which became royal in the person of Henry of Bolingbroke, duke of Lancaster, who deposed his cousin, Richard II, or forced him to abdicate the throne, and who was crowned king (Henry IV), October 11, 1399, with what seemed to be the consent of the nation. He not only claimed to be the next in succession to Richard, but he put forward a claim of descent through his mother, more direct than Richard's had been, from Henry III. "In point of fact Henry was not the next in succession. His father, John of Gaunt [or John of Ghent, in which city he was born], was the fourth son of Edward III., and there were descendants of that king's third son, Lionel Duke of Clarence, living. . . . At one time Richard himself had designated as his successor the nobleman who really stood next to him in the line of descent. This was Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, the same who was killed by the rebels in Ireland. This Roger had left a son Edmund to inherit his title, but Edmund was a mere child, and the inconvenience of another minority could not have been endured."—J. Gairdner, *Houses of Lancaster and York*, ch. 2.—As for Henry's pretensions through his mother, they were founded upon what Mr. Gairdner calls an "idle story," that "the eldest son of Henry III, was not king Edward, but his brother Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, who was commonly reputed the second son; and that this Edmund had been purposely set aside on account of his personal deformity. The plain fact of the matter was that Edmund Crouchback was six years younger than his brother Edward I.; and that his surname Crouchback had not the smallest reference to personal deformity, but only implied that he wore the cross upon his back as a crusader." Mr. Wylie ("History of England under Henry IV," v. 1, ch. 1) represents that this latter claim was put forward under the advice of the leading jurists of the time, to give the appearance of a legitimate succession; whereas Henry took his real title from the will and assent of the nation. Nevertheless his position was insecure, and harassed by factions, he became cruel and calculating whereas by nature he was temperate and merciful, with statesmanlike qualities. Henry IV was succeeded by his vigorous son, Henry V and he in turn by a feeble son, Henry VI, during whose reign England was torn by intrigues and factions, ending in the lamentable civil wars known as the "Wars of the Roses," the deposition of Henry VI and the acquisition of the throne by the "House of York," in the persons of Edward IV and Richard III. It was a branch of the house of Lancaster that reappeared, after the death of Richard III, in the royal family better known as the Tudors.

14th century.—Growth of industry and trade.—Decline of manorial system. See COMMERCE: Medieval: 14th-16th centuries; CAPITALISM: 13th-16th centuries; SERFDOM: 11th-17th centuries; also AGRICULTURE: Medieval: 14th-17th centuries.

14th-16th centuries.—Child welfare legislation. See CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 14th-16th centuries.

15th century.—Interest in Iceland.—Trade relations. See ICELAND: 14th-18th centuries.

15th century.—Historiography during Middle Ages. See HISTORY: 19.

1400-1436.—Relations with Scotland. See SCOTLAND: 1400-1436.

1402-1413.—Owen Glendower's rebellion in Wales. See WALES: 1402-1413.

1404.—Unlearned Parliament. See PARLIAMENT, ENGLISH: 1404.

1409.—At the Council of Pisa. See PAPACY: 1377-1417.

1413.—Accession of King Henry V.

1413-1422.—Parliamentary gains under Henry V.—"What the sword had won the sword should keep, said Henry V. on his accession; but what was meant by the saying has its comment in the fact that, in the year which witnessed his victory at Agincourt [1415], he yielded to the House of Commons the most liberal measure of legislation which until then it had obtained. The dazzling splendour of his conquests in France had for the time cast into the shade every doubt or question of his title, but the very extent of those gains upon the French soil established more decisively the worse than uselessness of such acquisitions to the English throne. The distinction of Henry's reign in constitutional history will always be, that from it dates that power, indispensable to a free and limited monarchy, called Privilege of Parliament; the shield and buckler under which all the battles of liberty and good government were fought in the after time. Not only were its leading safeguards now obtained, but at once so firmly established, that against the shock of incessant resistance in later years they stood perfectly unmoved. Of the awful right of impeachment, too, the same is to be said. It was won in the same reign, and was never afterwards lost."—J. Forster, *Historical and biographical essays*, v. 1, p. 207.—Parliament made strides during the entire Lancastrian period. In Henry IV's reign "they forced the king to agree that he would do nothing without the consent of a continual Council of their own choosing. Had this scheme remained permanent the present cabinet system would have been anticipated by many centuries. . . . [and] they [parliament] secured recognition of the important principle that money grants should originate in the Commons."—A. L. Cross, *Shorter history of England and Greater Britain*, p. 163.

1415-1422.—Conquests of Henry V in France. See FRANCE: 1415; 1417-1422.

1422.—Accession of King Henry VI.

1422-1455.—Opening years of reign of Henry VI.—Henry VI was not a year old when his father died. Henry V had appointed his brother John (duke of Bedford) regent of France and his younger brother Humphrey (duke of Gloucester) regent of England, but Parliament, suspicious of Gloucester, who was of a quarrelsome disposition, set aside the king's will and made Bedford protector of the realm. Gloucester soon became embroiled with his uncle Cardinal Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and, in 1425, the dispute between them was prevented from becoming open warfare only by the restraint of Beaufort, whom Gloucester had accused of disloyalty, and by the conciliatory powers of Bedford, who hurried over from France to patch up the quarrel. Gloucester, however, could not be kept quiet, and in order to reduce his power of mischief the king was crowned in 1429 and the protectorate ended. But he still had great influence which he continued to use to thwart the plans of Beaufort, and later of Suffolk. From the first, therefore, the reign of Henry VI was disturbed, and the political events of his reign were largely composed of the struggles between

powerful families, who imposed their wills on Parliament and the Council. Bedford died in 1435, worn out by his efforts to win the war in France, and keep the domestic peace which was constantly being broken by the activities of Gloucester. After Bedford's death, Beaufort took the helm, and undertook the king's education in government. But he was an old man, and the direction of affairs fell into the hands of his nephew Edmund Beaufort whose military incapacity caused the loss of Guienne and Normandy, and of the duke of Suffolk, who arranged the marriage of the king with Margaret of Anjou, in 1445. The price of this marriage was the cession of Maine and Anjou and to add to the unpopularity which, for this reason, awaited her in England, the queen attached herself to the faction headed by Beaufort and Suffolk, and brought them into strong favor with the weak king.

1429-1431.—War in France.—Joan of Arc. See FRANCE: 1429-1431.

1431-1453.—Loss of English conquests and possessions in France. See FRANCE: 1431-1453; AQUITAINE: 1360-1453.

1450.—Cade's rebellion.—A formidable rebellion broke out in Kent, under the leadership of one Jack Cade, 1450. Overtaxation, the bad management of the council, the extortion of the subordinate officers, the injustice of the king's bench, the abuse of the right of purveyance (system of obtaining supplies for the king's household, at a valuation fixed by the purveyors), the "enquestes" and amerancements, and the illegitimate control of elections were the chief causes of the rising of 1450. "The rising was mainly political, only one complaint was economical, not a single one was religious. We find not a single demand for new legislation. . . . The movement was by no means of a distinctly plebeian or disorderly character, but was a general and organized rising of the people at large. It was a political upheaval. We find no trace of socialism or of democracy. . . . The commons in 1450 arose against Lancaster and in favor of York. Their rising was the first great struggle in the Wars of the Roses."—Kriehn, *Rising in 1450*, ch. 4, 7.—Cade and his rebels took possession of London; but they were beaten in a battle and forced to quit the city. Cade and some followers continued to be turbulent and soon afterwards he was killed.—J. Gairdner, *Houses of Lancaster and York*, ch. 7, sect. 6.

ALSO IN: C. M. Yonge, *Cameos from English history*, 3d series, ch. 7.

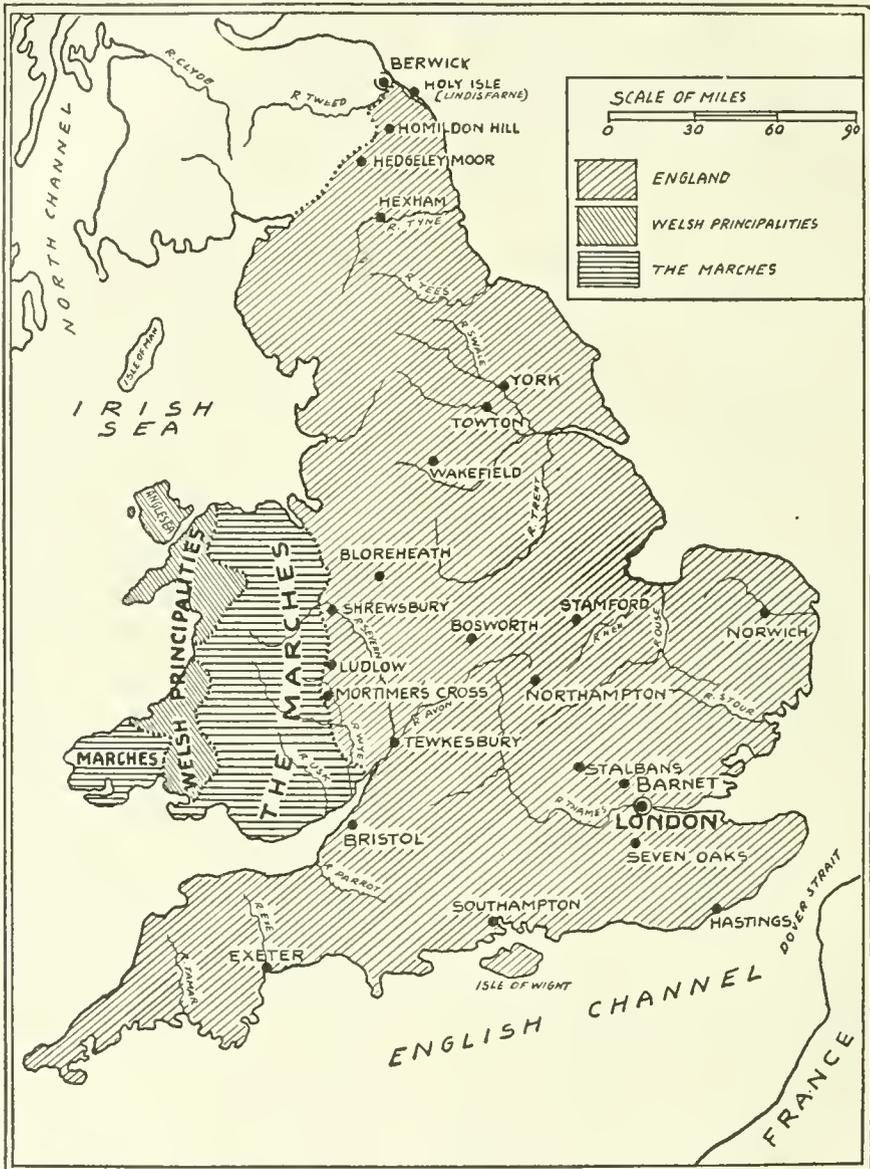
1454.—Loss of territory in Ireland. See IRELAND: 1413-1467.

1455.—Demoralized state of the nation.—Effects of the wars in France.—"The whole picture of the times is very depressing on the moral if not on the material side. There are few more pitiful episodes in history than the whole tale of the reign of Henry VI, the most unselfish and well-intentioned king that ever sat upon the English throne—a man of whom not even his enemies and oppressors could find an evil word to say; the troubles came, as they confessed, 'all because of his false lords, and never of him.' We feel that there must have been something wrong with the heart of a nation that could see unmoved the meek and holy king torn from wife and child, sent to wander in disguise up and down the kingdom for which he had done his poor best, and finally doomed to pine for five years a prisoner in the fortress where he had so long held his royal Court. Nor is our first impression concerning the demoralisation of England wrong. Every line that we read bears home to us mofe and more

the fact that the nation had fallen on evil times. First and foremost among the causes of its moral deterioration was the wretched French War, a war begun in the pure spirit of greed and ambition,—there was not even the poor excuse that had existed in the time of Edward III—carried on by the aid of hordes of debauched foreign mercenaries . . . and persisted in long after it had become hopeless, partly from misplaced national pride, partly because of the personal interests of the ruling classes. Thirty-five years of a war that was as unjust as it was unfortunate had both soured and demoralised the nation. . . . When the final catastrophe came and the fights of Formigny [or Fourmigny] and Chatillon [Castillon] ended the chapter of our disasters [1449-1453], the nation began to cast about for a scapegoat on whom to lay the burden of its failures. At first the unfortunate Suffolk and Somerset had the responsibility laid upon them [for the disasters at home and abroad]; a little later the outcry became more bold and fixed upon the Lancastrian dynasty itself as being to blame not only for disaster abroad, but for want of governance at home. If King Henry had understood the charge, and possessed the wit to answer it, he might fairly have replied that his subjects must fit the burden upon their own backs, not upon his. The war had been weakly conducted, it was true; but weakly because the men and money for it were grudged. . . . At home, the bulwarks of social order seemed crumbling away. Private wars, riot, open highway robbery, murder, abduction, armed resistance to the law, prevailed on a scale that had been unknown since the troublous times of Edward II.—we might almost say since the evil days of Stephen. But it was not the Crown alone that should have been blamed for the state of the realm. The nation had chosen to impose over-stringent constitutional checks on the kingly power before it was ripe for self-government, and the Lancastrian house sat on the throne because it had agreed to submit to those checks. If the result of the experiment was disastrous, both parties to the contract had to bear their share of the responsibility. But a nation seldom allows that it has been wrong; and Henry of Windsor had to serve as a scapegoat for all the misfortunes of the realm, because Henry of Bolingbroke [Henry IV] had committed his descendants to the unhappy compact. Want of a strong central government was undoubtedly the complaint under which England was labouring in the middle of the 15th century, and all the grievances against which outcry was made were but symptoms of one latent disease. . . . All these public troubles would have been of comparatively small importance if the heart of the nation had been sound. The phenomenon which makes the time so depressing is the terrible decay in private morals since the previous century. . . . There is no class or caste in England which comes well out of the scrutiny. The Church, which had served as the conscience of the nation in better times, had become dead to spiritual things. It no longer produced either men of saintly life or learned theologians or patriotic statesmen. . . . The baronage of England had often been unruly, but it had never before developed the two vices which distinguished it in the times of the Two Roses—a taste for indiscriminate bloodshed and a turn for political apostasy. . . . Twenty years spent in contact with French factions, and in command of the godless mercenaries who formed the bulk of the English armies, had taught our nobles lessons of cruelty and faithlessness such as they had not before imbibed. . . . The knights and squires showed on a

smaller scale all the vices of the nobility. Instead of holding together and maintaining a united loyalty to the Crown, they bound themselves by solemn sealed bonds and the reception of 'liveries' each to the baron whom he preferred. This fatal system, by which the smaller landholder agreed on behalf of himself and his tenants to follow his greater neighbour in peace and war, had ruined

turn, when they had ascertained that their own persons and property were not endangered by so doing. A town, it has been remarked, seldom or never stood a siege during the Wars of the Roses, for no town ever refused to open its gates to any commander with an adequate force who asked for entrance."—C. W. Oman, *Warwick the king-maker*, ch. 1.



ENGLAND AND WALES DURING THE WARS OF THE ROSES

the military system of England, and was quite as dangerous as the ancient feudalism. . . . If the gentry constituted themselves the voluntary followers of the baronage, and aided their employers to keep England unhappy, the class of citizens and burgesses took a very different line of conduct. If not actively mischievous, they were solidly inert. They refused to entangle themselves in politics at all. They submitted impassively to each ruler in

1455-1471.—Wars of the Roses.—“The close of the Hundred Years' War was followed in England by the Wars of the Roses, between the rival houses which were struggling for the crown. The badge of the house of Lancaster to which Henry VI belonged was a red rose, and that of the duke of York [on his mother's side Richard, duke of York, was more directly descended from Edward III than was Henry VI] who proposed to push him

off the throne, was a white one."—J. H. Robinson, *History of Western Europe*, p. 296.—"As early as the time of John of Ghent, the rose was used as an heraldic emblem, and when he married Blanche, the daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, he used the red rose for a device. Edmund of Langley, his brother, the fifth son of Edward III., adopted the white rose in opposition to him. . . . There is, however, no authentic account of the precise period when these badges were first adopted."—Mrs. Hookham, *Life and times of Margaret of Anjou*, v. 2, ch. 1.—"The name [Wars of the Roses] is not strictly correct, however, for while the white rose was the symbol of the Yorkists, the red rose was not a Lancastrian symbol. It was first used by Henry Tudor at Bosworth in 1485."—A. L. Cross, *Shorter history of England and Greater Britain*, p. 171.—"Each party was supported by a group of the wealthy and powerful nobles whose rivalries, conspiracies, treasons, murders, and executions fill the annals of England during the period which we have been discussing. Vast estates had come into the hands of the higher nobility by inheritance, and marriages with wealthy heiresses. Many of the dukes and earls were related to the royal family and consequently were inevitably drawn into the dynastic struggles. The nobles no longer owed their power to vassals who were bound to follow them to war. Like the king, they relied upon hired soldiers. It was easy to find plenty of restless fellows who were willing to become the retainers of a nobleman if he would agree to clothe them with his livery and keep open house, where they might eat and drink their fill. Their master was to help them when they got into trouble, and they on their part were expected to intimidate, misuse, and even murder at need those who opposed the interests of their chief. When the French war was over, the unruly elements of society poured back across the Channel and, as retainers of the rival lords, became the terror of the country. They bullied judges and juries, and helped the nobles to control the selection of those who were sent to Parliament."—J. H. Robinson, *History of Western Europe*, p. 296.—Beginning with a battle fought at St. Albans on May 23, 1455, England was kept in a pitiable state of civil war, with short intervals of troubled peace, during thirty years. The immediate cause of trouble was in the feebleness of King Henry VI, . . . whose mind, never strong, gave way under the trials of his position when he came to manhood. The control of the government, thus weakly commanded, became a subject of strife between successive factions. The final leaders in such contests were Queen Margaret of Anjou, the energetic consort of the helpless king (with the king himself sometimes in a condition of mind to cooperate with her), on one side, and, on the other side, the duke of York, . . . who had strong claims to the throne if Henry should leave no heir. The battle at St. Albans was a victory for the Yorkists and placed them in power for the next two years, the duke of York being named Protector. In 1456 the king recovered so far as to resume the reins of government, and in 1459 there was a new rupture between the factions. The queen's adherents were beaten in the battle of Bloreheath, September 23 of that year; but defections in the ranks of the Yorkists soon obliged the latter to disperse and their leaders, York, Warwick and Salisbury, fled to Ireland and to Calais. In June, 1460, the earls of Warwick, Salisbury and March (the latter being the eldest son of the duke of York) returned to England and gathered an army speedily, the city of London opening its gates to them. The

king's forces were defeated at Northampton (July 10) and the king taken prisoner. A Parliament was summoned and assembled in October. Then the duke of York came over from Ireland, took possession of the royal palace and laid before Parliament a solemn claim to the crown. After much discussion a compromise was agreed upon, under which Henry VI should reign undisturbed during his life and the duke of York should be his undisputed successor. This was embodied in an act of Parliament and received the assent of the king; but Queen Margaret who had retired into the north, refused to surrender the rights of her infant son, and a strong party sustained her. The duke of York attacked these Lancastrian forces rashly, at Wakefield, December 30, 1460 [see WAKEFIELD, BATTLE OF] and was slain on the field of a disastrous defeat. The queen's army, then, marching towards London, defeated the earl of Warwick at St. Albans, February 17, 1461 (the second battle of the war at that place), and recovered possession of the person of the king. But Edward, earl of March (now become duke of York, by the death of his father), who had just routed a Lancastrian force at Mortimer's Cross, in Wales, joined his forces with those of Warwick and succeeded in occupying London, which steadily favored his cause. Calling together a council of lords, Edward persuaded them to declare King Henry deposed, on the ground that he had broken the agreement made with the late duke of York. (Henry, and the two preceding Lancastrian kings were declared usurpers.) The next step was to elect Edward king, and he assumed the royal title and state at once. The new king lost no time in marching northwards against the army of the deposed sovereign, which lay near York. On March 27 the advanced division of the Lancastrians was defeated at Ferrybridge, and, two days later, their main body was almost destroyed in the fearful battle of Towton,—said to have been the bloodiest encounter that ever took place on English soil. (See TOWTON, BATTLE OF.) King Henry took refuge in Scotland and Queen Margaret repaired to France. In 1464 Henry reappeared in the north with a body of Scots and refugees and there were risings in his favor in Northumberland, which the Yorkists crushed in the successive battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham. The Yorkist king (Edward IV) now reigned without much disturbance until 1470, when he quarreled with the powerful earl of Warwick—"the king-maker," whose strong hand had placed him on the throne. Warwick then passed to the other side, offering his services to Queen Margaret and leading an expedition which sailed from Harfleur in September, convoyed by a French fleet. Edward found himself unprepared to resist the Yorkist risings which, deserting him, welcomed Warwick, and he fled to Holland, seeking aid from his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy. For nearly six months, the kingdom was in the hands of Warwick and the Lancastrians; the unfortunate Henry VI, released from captivity in the Tower, was once more seated on the throne. But on March 14, 1471, Edward reappeared in England, landing at Ravenspur, professing that he came only to recover his dukedom of York. As he moved southwards he gathered a large force of supporters and soon reassumed the royal title and pretensions. London opened its gates to him, and, on April 14—exactly one month after his landing—he defeated his opponents at Barnet, where Warwick, "the king-maker"—the last of the great feudal barons—was slain. (See BARNET, BATTLE OF.) Henry, again a captive, was sent back to the Tower. But Henry's dauntless

queen, who landed at Weymouth with a body of French allies on the very day of the disastrous Barnet fight, refused to submit. Cornwall and Devon were true to her cause and gave her an army with which she fought the last battle of the war at Tewksbury on May 4. (See TEWKSBURY, BATTLE OF.) Defeated and taken prisoner, her young son slain—whether in the battle or after it is unknown—the long contention of Margaret of Anjou ended on that bloody field. A few days later, when the triumphant Yorkist King Edward entered London, his poor, demented Lancastrian rival died suddenly and suspiciously in the Tower.—Based on Mrs. Hookham, *Life and times of Margaret of Anjou*, v. 2, ch. 1.

1461.—Accession of King Edward IV.

1461-1485.—House of York.—The house of York, which triumphed in the Wars of the Roses, attaining the throne in the person of Edward IV (1461), derived its claim to the crown through descent, in the female line, from Lionel, duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III (the second son who lived to manhood and left children); while the house of Lancaster traced its lineage to John of Gaunt, a younger son of the same king Edward III, but the line of Lancastrian succession was through males. "Had the crown followed the course of hereditary succession, it would have devolved on the posterity of Lionel. . . . By the decease of that prince without male issue, his possessions and pretensions fell to his daughter Philippa, who by a singular combination of circumstances had married Roger Mortimer, earl of March, the male representative of the powerful baron who was attainted and executed for the murder of Edward II., the grandfather of the duke of Clarence. The son of that potent delinquent had been restored to his honours and estates at an advanced period in the reign of Edward III. . . . Edmund, his grandson, had espoused Philippa of Clarence. Roger Mortimer, the fourth in descent from the regicide, was lord lieutenant of Ireland and was considered, or, according to some writers, declared to be heir of the crown in the early part of Richard's reign. Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, in whom the hereditary claim to the crown was vested at the deposition of Richard, was then only an infant of ten years of age. . . . Dying without issue, the pretensions to the crown, which he inherited through the duke of Clarence, devolved on his sister Anne Mortimer, who espoused Richard of York, earl of Cambridge, the grandson of Edward III, by his fourth [fifth] son Edmund of Langley, duke of York. [Edward IV was the grandson of this Anne Mortimer and Richard of York.]"—J. Mackintosh, *History of England*, v. 1, pp. 338-339.—The house of York occupied the throne but twenty-four years. On the death of Edward IV, in 1483, the crown was secured by his brother, Richard, duke of Gloucester, who caused Edward's two sons to be murdered in the Tower. The elder of these murdered princes is named in the list of English kings as Edward V; but he cannot be said to have reigned. Richard III was overthrown and slain on Bosworth field in 1485.

1471-1485.—New monarchy.—Rise of Absolutism and the decline of parliamentary government.—"If we use the name of the New Monarchy to express the character of the English sovereignty from the time of Edward IV. to the time of Elizabeth, it is because the character of the monarchy during this period was something wholly new in our history. There is no kind of similarity between the kinship of the Old English, of the Norman, the Angevin, or the Plantagenet sovereigns, and the kinship of the Tudors. . . .

What the Great Rebellion in its final result actually did was to wipe away every trace of the New Monarchy, and to take up again the thread of our political development just where it had been snapped by the Wars of the Roses. . . . The founder of the New Monarchy was Edward IV. . . . While jesting with aldermen, or dallying with his mistresses, or idling over the new pages from the printing press [Caxton's] at Westminster, Edward was silently laying the foundations of an absolute rule which Henry VII. did little more than develop and consolidate. The almost total discontinuance of Parliamentary life was in itself a revolution. Up to this moment the two Houses had played a part which became more and more prominent in the government of the realm. . . . Under Henry VI. an important step in constitutional progress had been made by abandoning the old form of presenting the requests of the Parliament in the form of petitions which were subsequently moulded into statutes by the Royal Councils; the statute itself, in its final form, was now presented for the royal assent, and the Crown was deprived of its former privilege of modifying it. Not only does this progress cease, but the legislative activity of Parliament itself comes abruptly to an end. . . . The necessity for summoning the two Houses had, in fact, been removed by the enormous tide of wealth which the confiscation of the civil war poured into the royal treasury. . . . It was said that nearly a fifth of the land had passed into the royal possession at one period or another of the civil war. Edward added to his resources by trading on a vast scale. . . . The enterprises he had planned against France . . . enabled Edward not only to increase his hoard, but to deal a deadly blow at liberty. Setting aside the usage of loans sanctioned by the authority of Parliament, Edward called before him the merchants of the city and requested from each a present or benevolence in proportion to the need. Their compliance with his prayer was probably aided by his popularity with the merchant class; but the system of benevolence was soon to be developed into the forced loans of Wolsey and the ship-money of Charles I."—J. R. Green, *Short history of the English people*, ch. 6, sect. 3.

ALSO IN: W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 18, sect. 696.

1474.—Treaty with the Hanseatic league. See HANSA TOWNS.

1476.—Introduction of printing by Caxton. See PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1476-1491.

1482.—Edward IV supports Alexander, duke of Albany in his claim to the Scottish throne. See SCOTLAND: 1482-1488.

1483-1485.—Murder of the young king, Edward V.—Accession of Richard III.—Battle of Bosworth and the fall of the House of York.—On the death of Edward IV, in 1483, his crafty and unscrupulous brother, Richard, duke of Gloucester, gathered quickly into his hands the reins of power, proceeding with consummate audacity and ruthlessness to sweep every strong rival out of his path. Contenting himself for a few weeks, only, with the title of Protector, he soon disputed the validity of his brother Edward's marriage. [Edward married Elizabeth, a widowed daughter of Richard Woodville, a family of Lancastrian connection] caused an obsequious Parliament to set aside the young sons whom the latter had left, declaring them to be illegitimate, and placed the crown on his own head. The little princes (King Edward V, and Richard, duke of York), immured in the Tower, were murdered presently at their uncle's command, and Richard

III appeared, for the time, to have triumphed in his ambitious villainy. But, popular as he made himself in many cunning ways, his deeds excited a horror which united Lancastrians with the party of York in a common detestation. Friends of Henry, earl of Richmond, then in exile, were not slow to take advantage of this feeling. Henry could claim descent from the same John of Gaunt, son of Edward III, to whom the house of Lancaster traced its lineage; but his family—the Beauforts—sprang from the mistress, not the wife, of the great duke of Lancaster, and had only been legitimated by act of Parliament. The Lancastrians, however, were satisfied with the royalty of his blood, and the Yorkists were made content by his promise to marry a daughter of Edward IV. On this understanding being arranged, Henry came over from Brittany to England, landing at Milford Haven on August 7 or 8, 1485, and advancing through Wales, being joined by great numbers as he moved. Richard, who had no lack of courage, marched quickly to meet him, and the two forces joined battle on Bosworth Field, in Leicestershire, on Sunday, August 21. At the outset of the fighting Richard was deserted by a large division of his army and saw that his fate was sealed. He plunged, with despairing rage, into the thickest of the struggle and was slain. His crowned helmet, which he had worn, was found by Sir Reginald Bray, battered and broken, under a hawthorn bush, and placed on the head of his rival, who soon attained a more solemn coronation, as Henry VII.—C. M. Yonge, *Cameos from English history, 3d Series, c. 19-20*.—"As king he [Richard III] seems really to have studied his country's welfare, passed good laws, endeavoured to put an end to extortion, declined the free gifts offered to him by several towns, and declared he would rather have the hearts of his subjects than their money. His munificence was especially shown in religious foundations. . . . His hypocrisy was not of the vulgar kind which seeks to screen habitual baseness of motive by habitual affection of virtue. His best and his worst deeds were alike too well known to be either concealed or magnified; at least, soon after he became king, all doubt upon the subject must have been removed. . . . His ingratiating manners, together with the liberality of his disposition, seem really to have mitigated to a considerable extent the alarms created by his fitful deeds of violence. The reader will not require to be reminded of Shakespeare's portrait of a murderer who could cajole the woman whom he had most exasperated and made a widow into marrying himself. That Richard's ingenuity was equal to this extraordinary feat we do not venture to assert; but that he had a wonderful power of reassuring those whom he had most intimidated and deceiving those who knew him best there can be very little doubt. . . . His taste in building was magnificent and princely. . . . With such a one did the long reign of the Plantagenets terminate. The fierce spirit and the valour of the race never showed more strongly than at the close. The Middle Ages, too, as far as England was concerned, may be said to have passed away with Richard III."—J. Gairdner, *History of the life and reign of Richard the Third, introd. and ch. 6*.

ALSO IN: J. Gairdner, *Houses of Lancaster and York*.—J. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*.—C. W. Oman, *Warwick, the king-maker, ch. 5-17*.

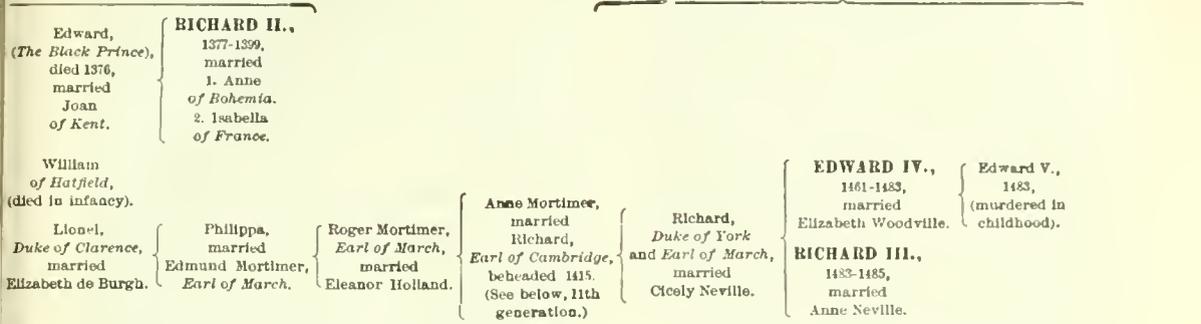
1485.—Effects of the Wars of the Roses.—"It is astonishing to observe the rapidity with which it [the English nation] had settled down to order in the reign of Henry VII. after so many years of civil dissension. It would lead us to infer that

those wars were the wars of a class, and not of the nation; and that the effects of them have been greatly exaggerated. With the single exception of Cade's rebellion, they had nothing in common with the revolutions of later or earlier times. They were not wars against classes, against forms of government, against the order or the institutions of the nation. It was the rivalry of two aristocratic factions struggling for superiority, neither of them hoping or desiring, whichever obtained the upper hand, to introduce momentous changes in the State or its administration. The main body of the people took little interest in the struggle; in the towns at least there was no intermission of employment. The war passed over the nation, ruffling the surface, toppling down high cliffs here and there, washing away ancient landmarks, attracting the imagination of the spectator by the mightiness of its waves, and the noise of its thunders; but the great body below the surface remained unmoved. No famines, no plagues, consequent on the intermittance of labour caused by civil war, are recorded; even the prices of land and provisions scarcely varied more than they have been known to do in times of profoundest peace. But the indirect and silent operation of these conflicts was much more remarkable. It reft into fragments the confederated ranks of a powerful territorial aristocracy which had hitherto bid defiance to the King, however popular, however energetic. Henceforth the position of the Sovereign in the time of the Tudors, in relation to all classes of the people, became very different from what it had been: the royal supremacy was no longer a theory, but a fact. Another class had sprung up on the decay of the ancient nobility. The great towns had enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity, and even flourished, under the storm that was scourging the aristocracy and the rural districts. Their population had increased by numbers whom fear or the horrors of war had induced to find shelter behind stone walls. The diminution of agricultural labourers converted into soldiers by the folly of their lords had turned corn-lands into pasture, requiring less skill, less capital, and less labour."—J. S. Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII, v. 1, ch. 2*.—"Those who would estimate the condition of England aright should remember that the War of the Roses was only a repetition on a large scale of those private wars which distracted almost every county, and, indeed, by taking away all sense of security, disturbed almost every manor and every class of society during the same century. . . . The lawless condition of English society in the 15th century resembled that of Ireland in as recent a date as the beginning of the 19th century. . . . In both countries women were . . . violated. . . . Children were seized and thrown into a dungeon until ransomed by their parents."—W. Denton, *England in the 15th century, ch. 3*.—"The Wars of the Roses which filled the second half of the 15th century furnished the barons with an arena in which their instincts of violence had freer play than ever; it was they who, under the pretext of dynastic interests which had ceased to exist, of their own free choice prolonged the struggle. Altogether unlike the Italian condottieri, the English barons showed no mercy to their own order; they massacred and exterminated each other freely, while they were careful to spare the commonalty. Whole families were extinguished or submerged in the nameless mass of the nation, and their estates by confiscation or escheat helped to swell the royal domain. When Henry VII. had stifled the last movements of rebellion and had punished, through the Star Chamber, those nobles who were still sus-

ENGLAND FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

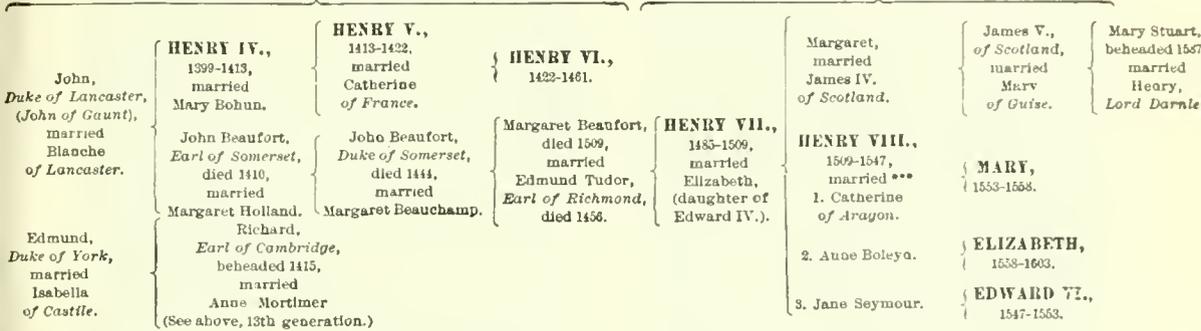
10TH. 11TH. 12TH. 13TH. 14TH. 15TH. 16TH. 17TH.

HOUSE OF YORK. (Edward IV. to Richard III.)



HOUSE OF LANCASTER. (Henry IV. to Henry VI.)

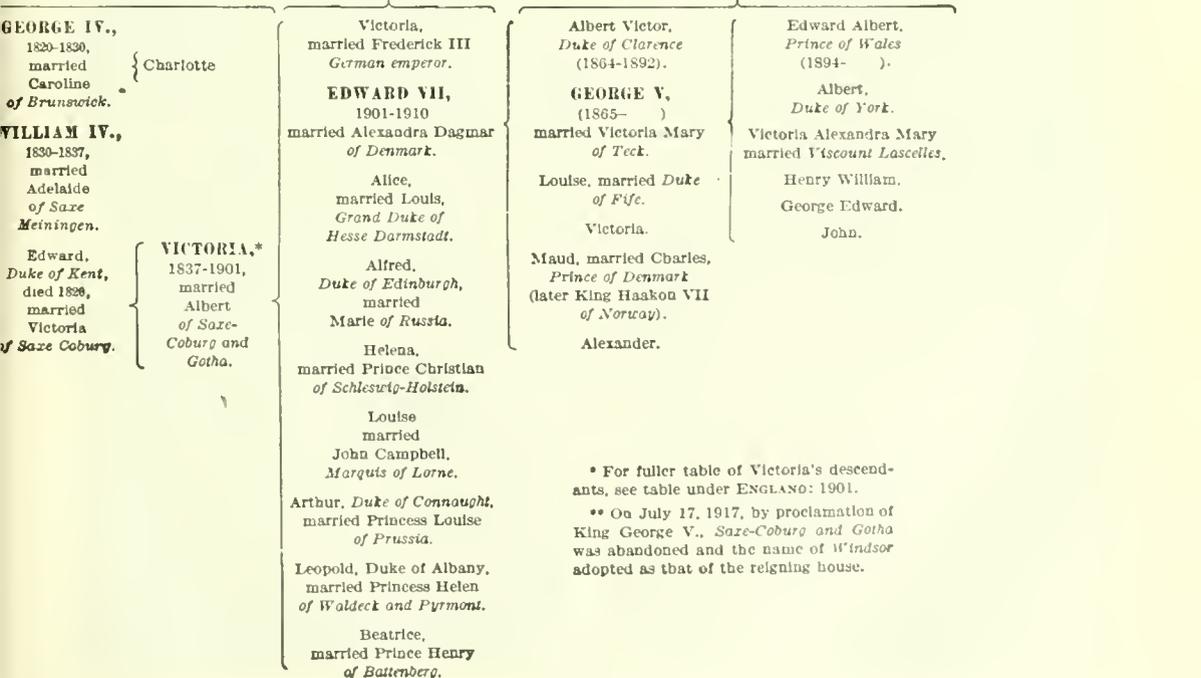
TUDOR FAMILY. Henry VII. to Elizabeth.



25TH. 26TH. 27TH. 28TH. 29TH.

HOUSE OF SAXE-COBURG AND GOTHA (or House of Wettin)

HOUSE OF WINDSOR**



* For fuller table of Victoria's descendants, see table under ENGLAND: 1901.
** On July 17, 1917, by proclamation of King George V., Saxe-Coburg and Gotha was abandoned and the name of Windsor adopted as that of the reigning house.

pected of maintaining armed bands, the baronage was reduced to a very low ebb; not more than twenty-nine lay peers were summoned by the king to his first Parliament. The old Norman feudal nobility existed no longer; the heroic barons of the great charter barely survived in the persons of a few doubtful descendants; their estates were split up or had been forfeited to the Crown. A new class came forward to fill the gap, that rural middle class which was formed . . . by the fusion of the knights with the free landowners. It had already taken the lead in the House of Commons, and it was from its ranks that Henry VII. chose nearly all the new peers. A peerage renewed almost throughout, ignorant of the habits and traditions of the earlier nobility, created in large batches, closely dependent on the monarch who had raised it from little or nothing and who had endowed it with his bounty—this is the phenomenon which confronts us at the end of the fifteenth century."

—E. Boutmy, *English constitution*, ch. 5.

1485.—Accession of King Henry VII.

1485-1509.—Character and reign of Henry VII.—Yorkist uprisings.—Star chamber.—Increase in the royal treasury.—Foreign alliances.—Tudor inheritance of the royal power made legal.—"Henry VII, first of the Tudor line, came to the throne well fitted for the task before him. His youth had been spent in prison or in exile, and discipline had taught him self-control and moderation. To stern resolution he united great patience and the tact that marked the greatest of his house. His tastes were literary and artistic, and the learned men of his time were his friends. Henry had little chance to indulge the gentler sides of his character, for his reign was one continuous struggle to make secure the throne which treachery had given him. On Bosworth Field Lord Stanley placed the crown of England on Henry's head, but it took twenty years of ceaseless effort to make good the title. . . . During the first fifteen years of Henry's reign, several attempts were made by the Yorkist party to overthrow him. Two of these plots were especially significant of the lawless and reckless conditions that had so long prevailed. In 1487 a youth presented himself in Ireland as Edward, Earl of Warwick. In reality, the fellow's name was Lambert Simnel. . . . With a force of Irish and German, Simnel invaded Lancashire, but the people did not rise, and he was easily defeated at the battle of Stoke. . . . Henry, with contemptuous moderation, spared his life, but made him turnspit in the royal kitchen. Five years later a similar attempt was made to usurp the throne. This time it was a roving trader of Tournay, Perkin Warbeck by name, who landed in Cork, and was believed by the discontented and impressionable Irish to be Richard, the younger of the two princes, popularly supposed to have been murdered in the Tower by Richard III. . . . James IV of Scotland recognized his claims, and Flanders and France gave him aid. But, as before, England refused to rise, and an attempt to invade Cornwall (1497) ended in Warbeck's capture and imprisonment.

"The easy suppression of the Yorkist risings was largely the result of Henry's wise policy. In many ways his reign may be looked upon as a continuation of that of Edward IV. The first Tudor, like the last York, strove to establish firm government, and to make himself independent of Parliament. To secure his realm from attack from abroad was the object that controlled his foreign relations. . . . In severe measures toward the nobility Henry was sure of popular support. . . . Henry began at once to reduce their power. . . . To remedy the

weakness of the ordinary courts in dealing with great offenders, Henry established in 1487 a new tribunal, that could neither be bribed nor bullied. The Court of the Star Chamber, as the new court was called, was made up of certain members of the Privy Council and two judges, and was the first of the great councils through which Henry and his successors governed the kingdom. Henry also diminished the political power of the nobles by placing the administration largely in the hands of churchmen or of men whom he himself had raised to eminence. While thus weakening the power of the barons, Henry strove to gain the support of the lower classes, by encouraging trade and commerce. He was quick to see the advantage to himself and to the country in the presence of powerful industrial interests, which would balance the influence of the noble class and would increase the national wealth. He therefore fostered the resources of the kingdom and strove to remedy any causes for decline. Henry realized that the weakness of the crown in the fifteenth century was due in great measure to the poverty of the treasury, and throughout his reign he strove to make good the lack. As representative of the united Lancastrian and Yorkist lines he inherited the possessions of both. He was careful, almost parsimonious, in his expenditures. The few wars in which he engaged were made to pay for themselves. . . . An important source of the royal revenue was the judicial fines which were imposed for infractions of the law. In the latter part of Henry's reign, two of his ministers, Empson and Dudley, made themselves detested by their extortions in such matters. Taxation, regular and irregular, steadily increased. Henry contrived to raise large sums of money in unusual ways, through feudal dues, loans, and benevolences. . . . As a result of careful management Henry was able to dispense with Parliament during the last years of his reign, and yet to leave behind him a treasure of nearly 1,800,000 pounds, probably equal to eighteen millions to-day. Henry's dealings with foreign powers were characteristic not merely of his preference for peaceful methods, but also of the tendency of the time to substitute diplomacy for war. He was active in continental affairs, constantly on the brink of war, and yet never seriously fighting. The truth was, he did not feel himself sufficiently secure on his throne to risk a war. To secure England against attack, and to strengthen his position abroad, Henry built up a system of alliances. He continued the traditional policy of friendly relations with Spain by marrying his son and heir, Arthur, to Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. To secure the northern border against the Scots, he married his eldest daughter, Margaret, to James IV of Scotland. With Burgundy he established closer commercial relations. By this threefold alliance, as the king himself boasted, England was surrounded with a wall of brass."—K. Coman and E. K. Kendall, *History of England*, pp. 214-220.—Henry further strengthened his position by obtaining an act from Parliament in 1485 securing the royal inheritance to himself and his heirs, which was recognized by the Pope in a bull the following year. In 1495 he forced Parliament to pass an act making it no treason to obey a "de facto" king. "As Henry VII united the dynastic claims of the two Houses so he combined their policies. Observing the forms of constitutional liberty accepted by the Lancastrians, he ruled with a strong hand like the Yorkists. What the country wanted most was peace and prosperity under rulers who could keep order. The line

of Henry VII gave them that. It erected a new absolutism, but an absolutism based on popularity. This new absolutism prevailed until the country had recovered from exhaustion, emancipated itself from the bonds of the Middle Ages, and was prepared to make use of the liberty which it had at an earlier time prematurely acquired. It has been said that the result of the struggle between Lancaster and York was to arrest the progress of English freedom for more than a century. At its beginning Parliament had established freedom from arbitrary taxation, legislation, and imprisonment, and the responsibility of even the highest servants of the Crown to itself and the law. From the time of Edward IV parliamentary life was checked, suspended, or turned into a mere form. The legislative powers were usurped by the royal Council, parliamentary taxation gave way to forced loans and benevolences, personal liberty was encroached on by a searching spy system and arbitrary imprisonment, justice was degraded by bills of attainder, by the extension of the powers of the Council, by the subservience of judges and the coercion of juries. It took a revolution in the seventeenth century to recover from the Crown what had been recognized and observed in the early part of the fifteenth."—A. L. Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain*, p. 276.

ALSO IN: Lord Bacon, *History of the reign of King Henry VII.*—S. R. Gardiner and J. B. Mullinger, *Introduction to the study of English history*, ch. 6.—C. E. Moberly, *Early Tudors*.

1485-1528.—Sweating sickness. See PLAGUE: 1485-1503; SWEATING SICKNESS.

1485-1603.—Tudors.—The Tudor family, which occupied the English throne from the accession of Henry VII, 1485, until the death of Elizabeth, 1603, took its name, but not its royal lineage, from Sir Owen Tudor, a handsome Welsh chieftain, who won the heart and the hand of the young widow of Henry V, Catherine of France. The eldest son of that marriage, made earl of Richmond, married in his turn Margaret Beaufort, great-granddaughter to John of Gaunt, or Ghent, who was one of the sons of Edward III. From this latter union came Henry of Richmond, as he was known, who disputed the crown with Richard III and made his claim good on Bosworth Field, where the hated Richard was killed. Henry of Richmond strengthened his hold upon the crown, though not his title to it, by marrying Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, thus joining the white rose to the red. He ascended the throne as Henry VII, 1485; was succeeded by his son, Henry VIII, in 1509, and the latter by his three children, in order as follows: Edward VI, 1547; Mary, 1553; Elizabeth, 1558. The Tudor family became extinct on the death of Queen Elizabeth, in 1603. "They [the Tudors] reigned in England, without a successful rising against them, for upwards of a hundred years; but not more by a studied avoidance of what might so provoke the country, than by the most resolute repression of every effort, on the part of what remained of the peerage and great families, to make head against the throne. They gave free indulgence to their tyranny only within the circle of the court, while they unceasingly watched and conciliated the temper of the people. The work they had to do, and which by more scrupulous means was not possible to be done, was one of paramount necessity; the dynasty uninterruptedly endured for only so long as was requisite to its thorough completion; and to each individual sovereign the particular task might seem to have been specially assigned."—J. Forster, *Historical and biographical essays*, pp. 221-222.

1494.—Poynings' Law. See IRELAND: 1485-1509.

1496.—Free trade with Netherlands.—Inter-cursus magnus. See TARIFF: 15th-17th centuries.

1497.—Cabot's discovery of the North American continent. See AMERICA: 1497; also Map showing voyages of discovery.

1498.—Voyage and discoveries of Sebastian Cabot.—Ground of English claims in the New World. See AMERICA: 1498.

15th century.—Dawn of the renaissance.—Period of transition in English literature. See ENGLISH LITERATURE: 15th century.

15th-16th centuries.—Renaissance.—Life in "Merry England."—Preludes to the Elizabethan Age of literature.—"Toward the close of the fifteenth century . . . commerce and the woollen trade made a sudden advance, and such an enormous one that corn-fields were changed into pasture-lands, 'whereby the inhabitants of the said town (Manchester) have gotten and come into riches and wealthy livings,' so that in 1553, 40,000 pieces of cloth were exported in English ships. It was already the England which we see to-day, a land of meadows, green, intersected by hedgerows, crowded with cattle, abounding in ships, a manufacturing, opulent land, with a people of beef-eating toilers, who enrich it while they enrich themselves. They improved agriculture to such an extent, that in half a century the produce of an acre was doubled. They grew so rich, that at the beginning of the reign of Charles I. the Commons represented three times the wealth of the Upper House. The ruin of Antwerp by the Duke of Parma sent to England 'the third part of the merchants and manufacturers, who made silk, damask, stockings, taffetas and serges.' The defeat of the Armada and the decadence of Spain opened the seas to their merchants. The toiling hive, who would dare, attempt, explore, act in unison, and always with profit, was about to reap its advantages and set out on its voyages, buzzing over the universe. At the base and on the summit of society, in all ranks of life, in all grades of human condition, this new welfare became visible. . . . It is not when all is good, but when all is better, that they see the bright side of life, and are tempted to make a holiday of it. This is why at this period they make a holiday of it, a splendid show, so like a picture that it fostered painting in Italy, so like a representation, that it produced the drama in England. Now that the battle-axe and sword of the civil wars had beaten down the independent nobility, and the abolition of the law of maintenance had destroyed the petty royalty of each great feudal baron, the lords quitted their sombre castles, battlemented fortresses, surrounded by stagnant water, pierced with narrow windows, a sort of stone breastplates of no use but to preserve the life of their masters. They flock into new palaces, with vaulted roofs and turrets, covered with fantastic and manifold ornaments, adorned with terraces and vast staircases, with gardens, fountains, statues, such as were the palaces of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, half Gothic and half Italian, whose convenience, grandeur, and beauty announced already habits of society and the taste for pleasure. They came to court and abandoned their old manners; the four meals which scarcely sufficed their former voracity were reduced to two; gentlemen soon became refined, placing their glory in the elegance and singularity of their amusements and their clothes. . . . To vent the feelings, to satisfy the heart and eyes, to set free boldly on all the roads of existence the pack of appetites and instincts, this was the craving which the manners of the time betrayed. It was 'merry England,' as

they called it then. It was not yet stern and constricted. It expanded widely, freely, and rejoiced to find itself so expanded. No longer at court only was the drama found, but in the village. Strolling companies betook themselves thither, and the country folk supplied any deficiencies when necessary. Shakspeare saw, before he depicted them, stupid fellows, carpenters, joiners, bellows-menders, play Pyramus and Thisbe, represent the lion roaring as gently as possible, and the wall, by stretching out their hands. Every holiday was a pageant, in which townspeople, workmen, and children bore their parts. . . . A few sectarians, chiefly in the towns and of the people, clung gloomily to the Bible. But the court and the men of the world sought their teachers and their heroes from pagan Greece and Rome. About 1490 they began to read the classics; one after the other they translated them; it was soon the fashion to read them in the original. Elizabeth, Jane Grey, the Duchess of Norfolk, the Countess of Arundel, many other ladies, were conversant with Plato, Xenophon, and Cicero in the original, and appreciated them. Gradually, by an insensible change, men were raised to the level of the great and healthy minds who had freely handled ideas of all kinds fifteen centuries ago. They comprehended not only their language, but their thought; they did not repeat lessons from, but held conversations with them; they were their equals, and found in them intellects as manly as their own. . . . Across the train of hooded schoolmen and sordid cavillers the two adult and thinking ages were united, and the moderns, silencing the infantine or snuffling voices of the middle-age, condescended only to converse with the noble ancients. They accepted their gods, at least they understand them, and keep them by their side. In poems, festivals, tapestries, almost all ceremonies they appear, not restored by pedantry merely, but kept alive by sympathy, and glorified by the arts of an age as flourishing and almost as profound as that of their earliest birth. After the terrible night of the middle-age, and the dolorous legends of spirits and the damned, it was a delight to see again Olympus shining upon us from Greece; its heroic and beautiful deities once more ravishing the heart of men, they raised and instructed this young world by speaking to it the language of passion and genius; and the age of strong deeds, free sensuality, bold invention, had only to follow its own bent, in order to discover in them the eternal promoters of liberty and beauty. Nearer still was another paganism, that of Italy; the more seductive because more modern, and because it circulates fresh sap in an ancient stock; the more attractive, because more sensuous and present, with its worship of force and genius, of pleasure and voluptuousness. . . . At that time Italy clearly led in everything, and civilisation was to be drawn thence as from its spring. What is this civilisation which is thus imposed on the whole of Europe, whence every science and every elegance comes, whose laws are obeyed in every court, in which Surrey, Sidney, Spenser, Shakspeare sought their models and their materials? It was pagan in its elements and its birth; in its language, which is but slightly different from Latin; in its Latin traditions and recollections, which no gap has come to interrupt; in its constitution, whose old municipal life first led and absorbed the feudal life; in the genius of its race, in which energy and enjoyment always abounded." —H. A. Taine, *History of English literature*, v. 1, bk. 2, ch. 1.—See also COMMERCE: Medieval: 14th-16th centuries; CAPITALISM: 15th-16th centuries; SERFDOM: 11th-17th centuries; AGRICULTURE: Me-

dieval: 14th-17th centuries; ENGLISH LITERATURE: 15th century.

15th-16th centuries.—Development of the navy. See WARSHIPS: 15th-16th centuries.

15th-19th centuries.—Balance of power. See BALANCE OF POWER: Modern application.

16th century.—Education.—Work of Ascham, Colet, etc.—First college of physicians. See EDUCATION: Modern: 1510-1570: Ascham and education; 16th century: Colet, etc., Schools in England; MEDICAL SCIENCE: Modern: 16th century: First English college of physicians.

1501-1531.—Position of women.—Enthusiasm for their education. See WOMAN'S RIGHTS: 1500-1600.

1502.—Marriage which brought the Stuarts to the English throne. See SCOTLAND: 1502.

1509.—Accession of King Henry VIII.

1511-1513.—Enlisted in the Holy League of Pope Julius II against France. See ITALY: 1510-1513.

1513.—Henry's invasion of France.—Victory at the battle of the Spurs. See FRANCE: 1513-1515.

1513.—War with Scotland.—Defeat of the Scots at battle of Flodden. See SCOTLAND: 1513.

1513-1529.—Ministry of Cardinal Wolsey.—From 1513 to 1529, Thomas Wolsey, who became archbishop of York in 1514, and cardinal in 1515, was the minister who guided the policy of Henry VIII, so far as that headstrong and absolute monarch could be guided at all. "England was going through a crisis politically, socially, and intellectually, when Wolsey undertook the management of affairs. . . . We must regret that he put foreign policy in the first place, and reserved his constructive measures for domestic affairs. . . . Yet even here we may doubt if the measures of the English Reformation would have been possible if Wolsey's mind had not inspired the king and the nation with a heightened consciousness of England's power and dignity. Wolsey's diplomacy at least tore away all illusions about Pope and Emperor, and the opinion of Europe, and taught Henry VIII, the measure of his own strength. It was impossible that Wolsey's powerful hand should not leave its impression upon everything which it touched. If Henry VIII. inherited a strong monarchy, Wolsey made the basis of monarchical power still stronger. . . . Wolsey saw in the royal power the only possible means of holding England together and guiding it through the dangers of impending change. . . . Wolsey was in no sense a constitutional minister, nor did he pay much heed to constitutional forms. Parliament was only summoned once during the time that he was in office, and then he tried to browbeat Parliament and set aside its privileges. In his view the only function of Parliament was to grant money for the king's needs. The king should say how much he needed, and Parliament ought only to advise how this sum might be most conveniently raised. . . . He was trawise in his attempt to force the king's will upon Parliament as an unchangeable law of its action. Henry VIII. looked and learned from Wolsey's failure, and when he took the management of Parliament into his own hands he showed himself a consummate master of that craft. . . . He was so skilful that Parliament at last gave him even the power over the purse, and Henry, without raising a murmur, imposed taxes which Wolsey would not have dared to suggest. . . . Where Wolsey would have made the Crown independent of Parliament, Henry VIII. reduced Parliament to be a willing instrument of the royal will. . . . Henry . . . clothed his despotism with the appear-

ance of paternal solicitude. He made the people think that he lived for them, and that their interests were his, whereas Wolsey endeavoured to convince the people that the king alone could guard their interests, and that their only course was to put entire confidence in him. Henry saw that men were easier to cajole than to convince. . . . In spite of the disadvantage of a royal education, Henry was a more thorough Englishman than Wolsey, though Wolsey sprang from the people. It was Wolsey's teaching, however, that prepared Henry for his task. The king who could use a minister like Wolsey and then throw him away when he was no longer useful, felt that there was no limitation to his self-sufficiency. . . . For politics in the largest sense, comprising all the relations of the nation at home and abroad, Wolsey had a capacity which amounted to genius, and it is doubtful if this can be said of any other Englishman. . . . Taking England as he found her, he aimed at developing all her latent possibilities, and leading Europe to follow in her train. . . . He made England for a time the centre of European politics, and gave her an influence far higher than she could claim on material grounds. . . . He was indeed a political artist, who worked with a free hand and a certain touch. . . . He was, though he knew it not, fitted to serve England, but not to serve the English king. He had the aims of a national statesman, not of a royal servant. Wolsey's misfortune was that his lot was cast on days when the career of a statesman was not distinct from that of a royal servant."—M. Creighton, *Cardinal Wolsey*, ch. 8 and 11.—"Henry had munificently rewarded Wolsey's services to the Crown. He had been promoted to the See of Lincoln and thence to the Archbishoprick of York. Henry procured his elevation to the rank of Cardinal, and raised him to the post of Chancellor. The revenues of two sees whose tenants were foreigners fell into his hands; he held the bishoprick of Winchester and the abbacy of St. Albans; he was in receipt of pensions from France and Spain, while his official emoluments were enormous. His pomp was almost royal. A train of prelates and nobles followed him wherever he moved; his household was composed of five hundred persons of noble birth, and its chief posts were held by knights and barons of the realm. He spent his vast wealth with princely ostentation. . . . Nor was this magnificence a mere show of power. The whole direction of home and foreign affairs rested with Wolsey alone; as Chancellor he stood at the head of public justice; his elevation to the office of Legate rendered him supreme in the Church. Enormous as was the mass of work which he undertook, it was thoroughly done; his administration of the royal treasury was economical; the number of his despatches is hardly less remarkable than the care bestowed upon each; even More, an avowed enemy, confesses that as Chancellor he surpassed all men's expectations. The court of Chancery, indeed, became so crowded through the character for expedition and justice which it gained under his rule that subordinate courts had to be created for its relief. It was this concentration of all secular and ecclesiastical power in a single hand which accustomed England to the personal government which began with Henry the Eighth; and it was, above all, Wolsey's long tenure of the whole Papal authority within the realm, and the consequent suspension of appeals to Rome, that led men to acquiesce at a later time in Henry's claim of religious supremacy. For proud as was Wolsey's bearing and high as were his natural powers he stood before England as the

mere creature of the King. Greatness, wealth, authority he held, and owned he held, simply at the royal will. In raising his low-born favourite to the head of Church and State Henry was gathering all religious as well as all civil authority into his personal grasp. The nation which trembled before Wolsey learned to tremble before the King who could destroy Wolsey by a breath. Through the twenty years of his reign Henry had known nothing of opposition to his will. His imperious temper had chafed at the weary negotiations, the subterfuges and perfidies of the Pope. His wrath fell at once on Wolsey, who had dissuaded him from acting at the first independently, from conducting the cause in his own courts and acting on the sentence of his own judges; who had counselled him to seek a divorce from Rome and promised him success in his suit. He was at once prosecuted [1529] for receiving bulls from Rome in violation of the Statute of Praemunire. A few days later he was deprived of the seals. Wolsey was prostrated by the blow. He offered to give up everything that he possessed if the King would



CARDINAL WOLSEY

but cease from his displeasure. 'His face,' wrote the French ambassador, 'is dwindled to half its natural size. In truth his misery is such that his enemies, Englishmen as they are, cannot help pitying him.' Pardon was granted him on surrender of his vast possessions to the Crown, and he was permitted to withdraw to his diocese of York, the one dignity he had been suffered to retain. But hardly a year had passed before the jealousy of his political rivals was roused by the King's regrets, and on the eve of his installation feast he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and conducted by the Lieutenant of the Tower towards London. Already broken by his enormous labours, by internal disease, and the sense of his fall, Wolsey accepted the arrest as a sentence of death. An attack of dysentery forced him to rest at the abbey of Leicester, and as he reached the gate he said feebly to the brethren who met him, 'I am come to lay my bones among you.'—J. R. Green, *Short history of the English people*, pp. 323, 330.—See also CHURCH OF ENGLAND: 1534-1563.

ALSO IN: J. S. Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII.*—J. A. Froude, *History of England from the fall of Wolsey*, ch. 1-2.—G. Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*. 1513-1764.—Explorations in the Pacific. See PACIFIC OCEAN: 1513-1764.

1514.—Marriage of the king's sister with Louis XII of France. See FRANCE: 1513-1515.

1516-1517.—Intrigues against France. See FRANCE: 1516-1517.

1519.—Candidacy of Henry VIII for the imperial crown. See GERMANY: 1510.

1520.—Meeting of Henry VIII of England with Francis I of France. See FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.

1520-1521.—Rivalry of the emperor and the French king for the English alliance. See FRANCE: 1520-1523.

1523.—Irish conspire with France against the English. See IRELAND: 1520-1540.

1525.—King changes sides in European politics and breaks his alliances with the emperor. See FRANCE: 1525-1526.

1527.—New alliance with France and Venice against Charles V.—Formal renunciation of the claim of the English kings to the crown of France. See ITALY: 1527-1520.

1527-1534.—Henry VIII and the divorce question.—Rupture with Rome.—Act of Supremacy.



HENRY VIII

—“Prior to the second decade of the sixteenth century, Englishmen had looked upon the bishops of Rome as the center of Catholic unity. At this time, however, there arose in England a feeling of hostility toward the Catholic church similar in most respects to that on the Continent. In the first place the teachings of Lutheranism were finding their way across the Channel and were already persuading a considerable number of people that Catholic doctrines were fundamentally wrong. Others believed that the clergy—particularly the bishops and abbots—needed a moral overhauling. The chief objections, however, were on political and economic grounds. At this time England was no longer a loose federation of feudal states in perpetual turmoil. Outside the church her great barons had been subdued and brought completely under the sway of the king, who established a real despotism under the cloak of constitutional government. This policy had the moral support of the powerful middle class, who, tired of civil war, wanted peace, which for them meant prosperity.

The church was the sole obstacle to the supremacy of the king. Its vast wealth was almost wholly exempt from taxation, while a large part of its revenues constantly flowed into the coffers of a foreigner, the pope. Its officials could not be tried and punished in the ordinary courts of the realm, nor did the king have control over the bishops and abbots, the sole remaining feudal lords. It was even a worse grievance that, on pretext of regulating the morals of king and people, the pope could interfere almost at will in domestic politics. Briefly, a clash between the international policy of the church and the national policy of the state was inevitable.”—G. W. Botsford, *Brief history of the world*, pp. 327-328.—“It is difficult [however] to see how the Anglican Church would have immediately broken away from Catholic unity had it not been for the peculiar marital troubles of Henry VIII. The king had been married eighteen years to Catherine of Aragon, and had been presented by her with six children (of whom only one daughter, the Princess Mary, had survived), when one day he informed her that they had been living all those years in mortal sin and that their union was not true marriage. The queen could hardly be expected to agree with such a definition, and there ensued a legal suit between the royal pair. To Henry VIII the matter was really quite simple. Henry was tired of Catherine and wanted to get rid of her; he believed the queen could bear him no more children and yet he ardently desired a male heir; rumor reported that the susceptible king had recently been smitten by the brilliant black eyes of a certain Anne Boleyn, a maid-in-waiting at the court. The purpose of Henry was obvious; so was the means, he thought. For it had occurred to him that Catherine was his elder brother's widow, and, therefore, had no right, by church law, to marry him. To be sure, a papal dispensation had been obtained from Pope Julius II authorizing the marriage, but why not now obtain a revocation of that dispensation from the reigning Pope Clement VII? Thus the marriage with Catherine could be declared null and void, and Henry would be a bachelor, thirty-six years of age, free to wed some princess, or haply Anne Boleyn. There was no doubt that Clement VII would like to do a favor for his great English champion, but two difficulties at once presented themselves. It would be a most dangerous precedent for the pope to reverse the decision of one of his predecessors. Worse still, the Emperor Charles V, the nephew of Queen Catherine, took up cudgels in his aunt's behalf and threatened Clement with dire penalties if he nullified the marriage. The pope complained truthfully that he was between the anvil and the hammer. There was little for him to do except to temporize and to delay decision as long as possible. The protracted delay was very irritating to the impulsive English king, who was now really in love with Anne Boleyn. Gradually Henry's former effusive loyalty to the Roman See gave way to a settled conviction of the tyranny of the papal power, and there rushed to his mind the recollection of efforts of earlier English rulers to restrict that power. A few salutary enactments against the Church might compel a favorable decision from the pope. Henry VIII seriously opened his campaign against the Roman Church in 1531, when he frightened the English clergy into paying a fine of over half a million dollars for violating an obsolete statute that had forbidden reception of papal legates without royal sanction, and in the same year he forced the clergy to recognize himself as supreme head of the Church as far as that is permitted by

the law of Christ.' His subservient Parliament then empowered him to stop the payment of annates [first year's income, paid by ecclesiastics to the Pope] and to appoint the bishops without recourse to the papacy. Without waiting longer for the papal decision, he had Cranmer, one of his own creatures, whom he had just named' archbishop of Canterbury, declare his marriage with Catherine null and void and his union with Anne Boleyn canonical and legal. Pope Clement VII thereupon handed down [in 1534] his long-delayed decision favorable to Queen Catherine, and excommunicated Henry VIII for adultery."—C. J. H. Hayes, *Modern Europe*, pp. 151-152.—"The papal decree deposing him from the throne, and absolving his subjects from their allegiance, did not follow until 1538, and was issued by Paul III. Clement's bull [of excommunication] was sent forth on the 23d of March. On the 23d of November [1534] Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy [see also SUPREMACY, ACTS OF], without the qualifying clause which the clergy had attached to their vote. The king was, moreover, clothed with full power and authority to repress and amend all such errors, heresies, and abuses as 'by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed.' Thus a visitatorial function of vast extent was recognized as belonging to him. In 1532 convocation was driven to engage not 'to enact or promulge or put in execution' any measures without the royal license, and to promise to change or to abrogate any of the 'provincial constitutions' which he should judge inconsistent with his prerogative. The clergy were thus stripped of all power to make laws. A mixed commission, which Parliament ordained for the revision of the whole canon law, was not appointed in this reign. The dissolution of the king's marriage thus dissolved the union of England with the papacy."—G. P. Fisher, *History of the Christian church*, period 8, ch. 6.—See also CHURCH OF ENGLAND: 1534-1563.

ALSO IN: J. S. Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, v. 2, ch. 27-35.—J. A. Froude, *History of England*, v. 1, ch. 2.—S. H. Burke, *Historical portraits of the Tudor dynasty*, v. 1, ch. 8-25.—J. Lingard, *History of England*, v. 6, ch. 3.—T. E. Bridgett, *Life and writings of Sir Thomas More*.

1529-1535.—Act of Succession.—Execution of More and Fisher.—"When Henry's antagonism to the pope became manifest, Sir Thomas More, who had been in the service of the crown for many years and had become lord chancellor on Wolsey's downfall, resigned in 1532." In 1534 Parliament passed the Act of Succession which provided that the heirs of Henry and Anne Boleyn should succeed to the throne after Henry's death. All subjects were required to take an oath upholding this statute and the Act of Supremacy. "When More was asked to take this oath he refused, on grounds of conscience; and Fisher, the aged bishop of Rochester, another old friend of Henry, did the same. They were both brought to trial and beheaded as traitors, to the astonishment and disapproval of all Europe. Many others, including a number of prominent ecclesiastics, were executed for treason on the same grounds in the year 1535. The pope in retaliation excommunicated Henry and declared him deposed from the throne. Such a sentence, which three hundred years before had humbled King John, had now but little meaning in England, and there was no serious probability of any regard being paid to it."—E. P. Cheney, *Short history of England*, p. 303.—"By a tyrannical edict, miscalled a law, in the same session of 1533-4, it was made high treason, after the 1st of

May, 1534, by writing, print, deed, or act, to do or to procure, or cause to be done or procured, anything to the prejudice, slander, disturbance, or derogation of the king's lawful matrimony with queen Anne. If the same offences were committed by words, they were only misprision. The same act enjoined all persons to take an oath to maintain the whole contents of the statute, and an obstinate refusal to make such oath was subjected to the penalties of misprision. . . . Sir T. More was summoned to appear before these commissioners at Lambeth, on Monday the 13th of April, 1534. . . . After having read the statute and the form of the oath, he declared his readiness to swear that he would maintain and defend the order of succession to the crown as established by parliament. He disclaimed all censure of those who had imposed, or on those who had taken, the oath, but declared it to be impossible that he should swear to the whole contents of it, without offending against his own conscience. . . . He never more returned to his house, being committed to the custody of the abbot of Westminster, in which he continued four days; and at the end of that time he was conveyed to the Tower on Friday the 17th of April, 1534. . . . On the 6th of May, 1535, almost immediately after the defeat of every attempt to practise on his firmness, More was brought to trial at Westminster, and it will scarcely be doubted, that no such culprit stood at any European bar for a thousand years. . . . It is lamentable that the records of the proceedings against such a man should be scanty. We do not certainly know the specific offence of which he was convicted. . . . On Tuesday, the 6th of July (St. Thomas's eve), 1535, Sir Thomas More, 'his singular good friend,' came to him early with a message from the king and council, to say that he should die before nine o'clock of the same morning. . . . The lieutenant brought him to the scaffold, which was so weak that it was ready to fall, on which he said, merrily, 'Master lieutenant, I pray you see me safe up, and for my coming down let me shift for myself' When he laid his head on the block he desired the executioner to wait till he had removed his beard, for that had never offended his highness."—J. Mackintosh, *Sir Thomas More (Cabinet Cyclopaedia: Eminent British statesmen*, v. 1).

ALSO IN: S. R. Gardiner, *Historical biographies*, ch. 3.—T. E. Bridgett, *Life and writings of Sir Thomas More*, ch. 12-24.—S. H. Burke, *Historical portraits of the Tudor dynasty*, v. 1, ch. 29.

1530.—First copyright law. See COPYRIGHT: 1500-1710.

1531-1563.—Genesis of the Church of England.—"Henry VIII. attempted to constitute an Anglican Church differing from the Roman Catholic Church on the point of the supremacy, and on that point alone. His success in this attempt was extraordinary. The force of his character, the singularly favorable situation in which he stood with respect to foreign powers, the immense wealth which the spoliation of the abbeys placed at his disposal, and the support of that class which still halted between two opinions, enabled him to bid defiance to both the extreme parties, to burn as heretics those who avowed the tenets of the Reformers, and to bang as traitors those who owned the authority of the Pope."—Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, ch. 1.—"The Reformation in England was singular amongst the great religious movements of the sixteenth century. It was the least heroic of them all—the least swayed by religious passion, or moulded and governed by spiritual and theological necessities. From a general point of view, it looks at first little more than

a great political change. The exigencies of royal passion, and the dubious impulses of statecraft, seem its moving and really powerful springs. But, regarded more closely, we recognise a significant train both of religious and critical forces at work. The lust and avarice of Henry, the policy of Cromwell, and the vacillations of the leading clergy, attract prominent notice; but there may be traced beneath the surface a widespread evangelical fervour amongst the people, and, above all, a genuine spiritual earnestness and excitement of thought at the universities. These higher influences preside at the first birth of the movement. They are seen in active operation long before the reforming task was taken up by the Court and the bishops."—J. Tulloch, *Rational theology and Christian philosophy in England in the 17th century*, v. 1, ch. 2.—"Popular feeling and political considerations combined to hurry the government along. In 1530 the Council, by the king's command, had issued a declaration against Luther's writings, but in 1536, convocation, acting at Henry's bidding, drew up the Ten Articles, a statement of doctrine which showed a decided advance toward Lutheranism. A complete English translation of the Bible had been made by Coverdale, under the auspices of the king, and it was ordered (1538) that a copy of this, open to all, should be placed in every church. Portions of the service, also, were translated into the vernacular [see also BIBLE, ENGLISH]. The destruction of the monasteries was accompanied by an attack upon relics, the object of popular worship. Here the religious zeal of the reformer was reinforced by the greed of the spoilsman since some of the shrines were rich in gold and jewels."—K. Co-man and E. K. Kendall, *History of England*, p. 232.—See also CHURCH OF ENGLAND: 1534-1563.

1535-1539.—**Suppression of the monasteries.**—"Two years later Henry ordered that the monasteries be dissolved. To a certain extent their day of usefulness had passed away. At that time many of the monks were wealthy landowners, and cared more for increasing their revenues than for their religious duties. Many friars, too, had lost both their religious devotion and their love of learning, and were now mere beggars. Then, too, these classes had firmly opposed Henry's break with Rome, and still refused to recognize the Act of Supremacy. Henry's chief motive, however, was his need of funds to pay for the gayeties of court life. His orders to destroy the monasteries were carried out ruthlessly. Many conscientious monks and nuns were deprived of shelter and livelihood. The estates were confiscated by the Crown, which divided a large part of it among favorite courtiers. The lead, stone, and glass, together with the roofs and walls, were sold as building materials. The gold, silver, and precious metals were taken to the royal treasury."—G. W. Botsford, *Brief history of the world*, p. 328.—"A revenue of about £131,607 is computed to have thus come to the Crown, while the movables are valued at £400,000. How was this vast sum of money expended? (1) By the Act for the suppression of the greater monasteries the King was empowered to erect six new sees, with their deans and chapters, namely, Westminster, Oxford, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol and Peterborough. . . . (2) Some monasteries were turned into collegiate churches, and many of the abbey churches . . . were assigned as parish churches. (3) Some grammar schools were erected. (4) A considerable sum is said to have been spent in making roads and in fortifying the coasts of the Channel. (5) But by far the greater part of the monastic property passed into the hands of the nobility and gentry, either by purchase at very

easy rates, or by direct gift from the Crown. . . . The monks and nuns ejected from the monasteries had small pensions assigned to them which are said to have been regularly paid; but to many of them the sudden return into a world with which they had become utterly unacquainted, and in which they had no part to play, was a terrible hardship, . . . greatly increased by the Six Article Law, [See below: 1539] which made the marriage of the secularized 'religious' illegal under heavy penalties." G. G. Perry, *History of the Reformation in England*, ch. 4.—"The religious bodies, instead of uniting in their common defence, seem to have awaited singly their fate with the apathy of despair. A few houses only, through the agency of their friends, sought to purchase the royal favour with offers of money and lands; but the rapacity of the king refused to accept a part when the whole was at his mercy."—J. Lingard, *History of England*, v. 6, ch. 4.—Some of the social results of the suppression "may be summed up in a few words. The creation of a large class of poor to whose poverty was attached the stigma of crime; the division of class from class, the rich mounting up to place and power, the poor sinking to lower depths; destruction of custom as a check upon the exactions of the landlords; the loss by the poor of those foundations at schools and universities intended for their children, and the passing away of ecclesiastical tithes into the hands of lay owners."—F. A. Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English monasteries*, v. 2, p. 523.

1535-1553.—**Policy in Ireland.** See IRELAND: 1535-1553.

1536-1543.—**Trial and execution of Anne Boleyn.**—Her successors, the later wives of Henry VIII.—Anne Boleyn had been secretly married to the king in January, 1533, and had been crowned on Whitsunday of that year. Within three years the fickle king had fastened his affections on Jane Seymour, a young lady then of the queen's bed-chamber. Charges were brought against the unfortunate queen, and the commission appointed to inquire into her alleged misdeeds found her guilty of high treason. Condemnation duly followed, and the unhappy queen was executed May 19, 1536. The king lost little time in wedding Jane Seymour. "She died in childbed of Edward VI. on the 13th of October, 1537. The next choice made by or for Henry, who remained a widower for the period of more than two years," was the "princess Anne, sister of the duke of Cleves, a considerable prince on the lower Rhine. . . . Holbein was employed to paint this lady for the king, who, pleased by the execution, gave the flattering artist credit for a faithful likeness. He met her at Dover, and almost immediately betrayed his disappointment. Without descending into . . . particulars, it is necessary to state that, though the marriage was solemnised, the king treated the princess of Cleves as a friend." At length, by common action of an obsequious parliament and a more obsequious convocation of the church, the marriage was declared to be annulled, for reasons not specified. The consent of the repudiated wife was "insured by a liberal income of £3,000 a year, and she lived for 16 years in England with the title of princess Anne of Cleves. . . . This annulment once more displayed the triumph of an English lady over a foreign princess." The lady who now captivated the . . . monarch was Lady Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, who became queen on August 8, 1540. In the following November, the king received such information of Lady Catherine's dissolute life before marriage "as im-

mediately caused a rigid inquiry into her behaviour. . . . The confessions of Catherine and of lady Rochford, upon which they were attainted in parliament, and executed in the Tower on the 14th of February, are not said to have been at any time questioned. . . . On the 10th of July, 1543, Henry wedded Catherine Parr, the widow of Lord Latimer, a lady of mature age," who survived him.—J. Mackintosh, *History of England* (L. C. C.), v. 2, ch. 7-8.

ALSO IN: P. Friedmann, *Anne Boleyn*.—H. W. Herbert, *Memoirs of Henry VIII and his six wives*.—A. F. Pollard, *Henry VIII*.

1536-1601.—English poor laws. See CHARITIES: England: 1536-1601.

1539.—Reformation checked.—Six Articles.—"Yielding to the pressure of circumstances, he [Henry VIII] had allowed the Reformers to go further than he really approved. The separation from the Church of Rome, the absorption by the Crown of the powers of the Papacy, the unity of authority over both Church and State centred in himself, had been his objects. In doctrinal matters he clung to the Church of which he had once been the champion. He had gained his objects because he had the feeling of the nation with him. In his eagerness he had even countenanced some steps of doctrinal reform. But circumstances had changed. . . . Without detriment to his position he could follow his natural inclinations. He listened, therefore, to the advice of the reactionary party of which Norfolk was the head. They were full of bitterness against the upstart Cromwell, and longed to overthrow him as they had overthrown Wolsey. The first step in their triumph was the bill of the Six Articles, carried in the Parliament of 1539. These laid down and fenced round with extraordinary severity the chief points of the Catholic religion at that time questioned by the Protestants. The bill enacted, first, 'that the natural body and blood of Jesus Christ were present in the Blessed Sacrament,' and that 'after consecration there remained no substances of bread and wine, nor any other but the substance of Christ' [transubstantiation]; whoever, by word or writing, denied this article was a heretic, and to be burned. Secondly, the Communion in both kinds was not necessary, both body and blood being present in each element; thirdly, priests might not marry; fourthly, vows of chastity by man or woman ought to be observed; fifthly, private masses ought to be continued; sixthly, auricular confession must be retained. Whoever wrote or spoke against these . . . Articles, on the first offence his property was forfeited; on the second offence he was a felon, and was put to death. Under this 'whip with six strings' the kingdom continued for the rest of the reign. The Bishops at first made wild work with it. Five hundred persons are said to have been arrested in a fortnight; the king had twice to interfere and grant pardons. It is believed that only twenty-eight persons actually suffered death under it.—J. F. Bright, *History of England*, v. 2, p. 411.

ALSO IN: J. H. Blount, *Reformation of the Church of England*, v. 1, ch. 8-9.—S. H. Burke, *Men and women of the English Reformation*, v. 2, pp. 17-24.

1540-1567.—Shane O'Neill's campaign against England.—Rebellion in Ireland. See ULSTER: 1540-1567; IRELAND: 1540-1579.

1542.—Defeat of the Scots at the battle of Solway-frith. See SCOTLAND: 1542.

1542-1547.—Alliance with Charles V against Francis I.—Capture and restoration of Bou-

logne.—Treaty of Guines. See FRANCE: 1532-1547.

1544-1548.—Wooing of Mary Queen of Scots.—See SCOTLAND: 1544-1548.

1547.—Accession of King Edward VI.—Edward VI was only nine when Henry VIII died. During his brief reign (he died at sixteen) the kingdom was in the hands first of Hertford who became duke of Somerset, then of Warwick, a brilliant but unscrupulous soldier who had himself created duke of Northumberland.

1547-1553.—Protestantizing the church of England under Edward VI.—"The Church of England, separated from the papacy under Henry VIII, became Protestant under Edward VI (1547-1553). The young king's guardian tolerated all manner of reforming propaganda, and Calvinists as well as Lutherans preached their doctrines freely. Official articles of religion, which were drawn up for the Anglican Church, showed unmistakably Protestant influence. The Latin service books of the Catholic Church were translated into English, under Cranmer's auspices, and the edition of the Book of Common Prayer, published in 1552, made clear that the Eucharist was no longer to be regarded as a propitiatory sacrifice; the names 'Holy Communion' and 'Lord's Supper' were substituted for 'Mass,' while the word 'altar' was replaced by 'table.' The old places of Catholic worship were changed to suit a new order: altars and images were taken down, the former service books destroyed, and stained-glass windows broken. Several peasant uprisings [the most famous of these was Kett's Rebellion (1549)] signified that the nation was not completely united upon a policy of religious change, but the reformers had their way, and Protestantism advanced."—C. J. H. Hayes, *History of modern Europe*, p. 154.

ALSO IN: J. Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, bk. 2.—G. Burnet, *History of the Reformation of Church of England*, v. 2, bk. 1.—L. von Ranke, *History of England*, bk. 2, ch. 6.

1547-1555.—Troubles in Ireland.—Plantation scheme. See IRELAND: 1541-1555.

1553.—Right of succession to the throne, on the death of Edward VI.—"If Henry VII. be considered as the stock of a new dynasty, it is clear that on mere principles of hereditary right, the crown would descend, first, to the issue of Henry VIII.; secondly, to those of [his elder sister] Margaret Tudor, queen of Scots; thirdly, to those of [his younger sister] Mary Tudor, queen of France. The title of Edward was on all principles equally undisputed; but Mary and Elizabeth might be considered as excluded by the sentence of nullity, which had been pronounced in the case of Catharine and in that of Anne Boleyn, both which sentences had been confirmed in parliament. They had been expressly pronounced to be illegitimate children. Their hereditary right of succession seemed thus to be taken away, and their pretensions rested solely on the conditional settlement of the crown on them, made by their father's will, in pursuance of authority granted to him by act of parliament. After Elizabeth, Henry had placed the descendants of Mary, queen of France, passing by the progeny of his eldest sister Margaret. Mary of France, by her second marriage with Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, had two daughters,—lady Frances, who wedded Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, created duke of Suffolk; and lady Elinor, who espoused Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland. Henry afterwards settled the crown by his will on the heirs of these two ladies successively, passing over his nieces themselves in silence. Northumberland obtained

the hand of lady Jane Grey, the oldest daughter of Grey, duke of Suffolk, by lady Frances Brandon, for lord Guilford Dudley, the admiral's son. The marriage was solemnised in May, 1553, and the fatal right of succession claimed by the house of Suffolk devolved on the excellent and unfortunate lady Jane."—J. Mackintosh, *History of England*, v. 2, ch. 9.

1553.—Accession of Queen Mary.

1553.—Status of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism.—"Great as was the number of those whom conviction or self interest enlisted under the Protestant banner, it appears plain that the Reformation moved on with too precipitate a step for the majority. The new doctrines prevailed in London, in many large towns, and in the eastern counties. But in the north and west of England, the body of the people were strictly Catholics. The clergy, though not very scrupulous about conforming to the innovations, were generally averse to most of them. And, in spite of the church lands, I imagine that most of the nobility, if not the gentry, inclined to the same persuasion. . . . An historian, whose bias was certainly not unfavourable to Protestantism [Burnet, iii. 190, 196] confesses that all endeavours were too weak to overcome the aversion of the people towards reformation, and even intimates that German troops were sent for from Calais on account of the bigotry with which the bulk of the nation adhered to the old superstition. This is somewhat a humiliating admission, that the Protestant faith was imposed upon our ancestors by a foreign army. . . . It is certain that the re-establishment of popery on Mary's accession must have been acceptable to a large part, or perhaps to the majority, of the nation."—H. Hallam, *Constitutional history of England*, v. 1, ch. 2.—"Eight weeks and upwards passed between the proclaiming of Mary queen and the Parliament by her assembled; during which time two religions were together set on foot, Protestantism and Popery; the former hoping to be continued, the latter labouring to be restored. . . . No small jostling was there betwixt the zealous promoters of these contrary religions. The Protestants had possession on their side, and the protection of the laws lately made by King Edward, and still standing in free and full force unrepealed. . . . The Papists put their ceremonies in execution, presuming on the queen's private practice and public countenance."—T. Fuller, *Church history of Britain*, bk. 8, sect. 1, ¶ 5.

ALSO IN: J. H. Blunt, *Reformation of the Church of England*, v. 1, ch. 8-9.

1554.—Wyat's insurrection.—Queen Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain was opposed with great bitterness of popular feeling, especially in London and its neighborhood. Risings were undertaken in Kent, Devonshire, and the midland counties, intended for the frustration of the marriage scheme; but they were ill planned and soon suppressed. That in Kent, led by Sir Thomas Wyatt, threatened to be formidable at first, and the queen's troops retreated before it. Wyatt, however, lost his opportunity for securing London, by delays, and his followers dispersed. He was taken prisoner and executed. "Four hundred persons are said to have suffered for this rebellion."—D. Hume, *History of England*, ch. 36.

1555-1558.—Temporary Roman Catholic revival under Mary Tudor.—"An attempt was made, by authority of King Edward's will, to set aside both his sisters from the succession, and raise Lady Jane Grey to the throne, who had lately been married to one of Northumberland's sons. This was Northumberland's doing; he was actu-

ated by ambition, and the other members of the government assented to it, believing, like the late young King, that it was necessary for the preservation of the Protestant faith. Cranmer opposed the measure, but yielded. . . . But the principles of succession were in fact well ascertained at that time, and, what was of more consequence, they were established in public opinion. Nor could the intended change be supported on the ground of religion, for popular feeling was decidedly against the Reformation. Queen Mary obtained possession of her rightful throne without the loss of a single life, so completely did the nation acknowledge her claim; and an after insurrection, rashly planned and worse conducted, served only to hasten the destruction of the Lady Jane and her husband. . . . If any person may be excused for hating the Reformation, it was Mary. She regarded it as having arisen in this country from her mother's wrongs, and enabled the King to complete an iniquitous and cruel divorce. It had exposed her to inconvenience, and even danger, under her father's reign, to vexation and restraint under her brother; and after having been bastardized in consequence of it, . . . an attempt had been made to deprive her of the inheritance, because she continued to profess the Roman Catholic faith. . . . Had the religion of the country been settled, she might have proved a good and beneficent, as well as conscientious, queen. But she delivered her conscience to the direction of cruel men; and . . . boasted that she was a virgin sent by God to ride and tame the people of England. . . . The people did not wait till the laws of King Edward were repealed; the Romish doctrines were preached, and in some places the Romish Clergy took possession of the churches, turned out the incumbents, and performed mass in jubilant anticipation of their approaching triumph. What course the new Queen would pursue had never been doubtful; and as one of her first acts had been to make Gardiner Chancellor, it was evident that a fiery persecution was at hand. Many who were obnoxious withdrew in time, some into Scotland, and more into Switzerland and the Protestant parts of Germany. Cranmer advised others to fly; but when his friends entreated him to preserve himself by the like precaution, he replied, that it was not fitting for him to desert his post. . . . The Protestant Bishops were soon dispossessed of their sees; the marriages which the Clergy and Religioners had contracted were declared unlawful, and their children bastardized. The heads of the reformed Clergy, having been brought forth to hold disputations, for the purpose rather of intimidating than of convincing them, had been committed to different prisons, and after these preparatories the fiery process began."—R. Southey, *Book of the church*, ch. 14.—"The total number of those who suffered in this persecution, from the martyrdom of Rogers, in February, 1555, to September, 1558, when its last ravages were felt, is variously related, in a manner sufficiently different to assure us that the relaters were independent witnesses, who did not borrow from each other, and yet sufficiently near to attest the general accuracy of their distinct statements. By Cooper they are estimated at about 290. According to Burnet they were 284. Speed calculates them at 274. The most accurate account is probably that of Lord Burleigh, who, in his treatise called 'The Execution of Justice in England,' reckons the number of those who died in that reign by imprisonment, torments, famine and fire, to be near 400, of which those who were burnt alive amounted to 290. From Burnet's Tables of the separate years, it is

apparent that the persecution reached its full force in its earliest year."—J. Mackintosh, *History of England*, v. 2, ch. 11.—Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, who more than any other had been responsible for the success of the Reformation in England, and Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, were burned at the stake at Oxford, on October 15, 1555. "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man," said Latimer to Ridley as they were being led to death. "We shall this day light a candle in England which (I trust) shall never be put out." "Though Pole [Archbishop of Canterbury after Cranmer] and Mary could have laid their hands on earl and baron, knight and gentleman, whose heresy was notorious, although, in the queen's own guard, there were many who never listened to a mass, they durst not strike where there was danger that they would be struck in return. . . . They took the weaver from his loom, the carpenter from his workshop, the husbandman from his plough; they laid hands on maidens and boys 'who had never heard of any other religion than that which they were called on to abjure'; old men tottering into the grave, and children whose lips could but just lisp the articles of their creed; and of these they made their burnt-offerings; with these they crowded their prisons, and when filth and famine killed them, they flung them out to rot."—J. A. Froude, *History of England*, ch. 24.—Queen Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain and his arbitrary disposition, "while it thoroughly alienated the kingdom from Mary, created a prejudice against the religion which the Spanish court so steadily favoured. . . . Many are said to have become Protestants under Mary who, at her coming to the throne, had retained the contrary persuasion."—H. Hallam, *Constitutional history of England*, v. 1, ch. 2.

ALSO IN: J. Collier, *Ecclesiastical history of Great Britain*, pt. 2, bk. 5.—J. Lingard, *History of England*, v. 7, ch. 2-3.—J. Fox, *Book of martyrs*.—P. Heylyn, *Ecclesia Restaurata*, v. 2.—J. Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, bk. 3.

1557-1559.—Involved by the Spanish husband of Queen Mary in war with France.—Loss of Calais.—Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis. See FRANCE: 1547-1550; NETHERLANDS: 1555-1558.

1558.—Accession of Queen Elizabeth.

1558-1566.—Puritanism taking form.—First naming of the Puritans.—"The Church of England was a latitudinarian experiment, a contrivance to enable men of opposing creeds to live together without shedding each others' blood. It was not intended, and it was not possible, that Catholics or Protestants should find in its formulas all that they required. The services were deliberately made elastic; comprehending in the form of positive statement only what all Christians agreed in believing, while opportunities were left open by the rubric to vary the ceremonial according to the taste of the congregations. The management lay with the local authorities in town or parish; where the people were Catholics the Catholic aspect could be made prominent; where Popery was a bugbear, the people were not disturbed by the obtusion of doctrines which they had outgrown. In itself it pleased no party or section. To the heated controversialist its chief merit was its chief defect. . . . Where the tendencies to Rome were strongest, there the extreme Reformers considered themselves bound to exhibit in the most marked contrast the unloveliness of the purer creed. It was they who furnished the noble element in the Church of England. It was they who had been its martyrs; they who, in their scorn of the world, in their passionate desire to consociate

themselves in life and death to the Almighty, were able to rival in self-devotion the Catholic Saints. But they had not the wisdom of the serpent, and certainly not the harmlessness of the dove. Had they been let alone—had they been unharassed by perpetual threats of revolution and a return of the persecutions—they, too, were not disinclined to reason and good sense. A remarkable specimen survives, in an account of the Church of Northampton, of what English Protestantism could become under favouring conditions. . . . The fury of the times unhappily forbade the maintenance of this wise and prudent spirit. As the power of evil gathered to destroy the Church of England, a fiercer temper was required to combat with them, and Protestantism became impatient, like David, of the uniform in which it was sent to the battle. It would have fared ill with England had there been no hotter blood there than filtered in the sluggish veins of the officials of the Establishment. There needed an enthusiasm fiercer far to encounter the revival of Catholic fanaticism; and if the young Puritans, in the heat and glow of their convictions, snapped their traces and flung off their harness, it was they, after all, who saved the Church which attempted to disown them, and with the Church saved also the stolid mediocrity to which the fates then and ever committed and commit the government of it."—J. A. Froude, *History of England*, v. 10, ch. 20.—"The English bishops, conceiving themselves empowered by their canons, began to show their authority in urging the clergy of their dioceses to subscribe to the Liturgy, ceremonies and discipline of the Church; and such as refused the same were branded with the odious name of Puritans. A name which in this notion first began in this year [1564]; and the grief had not been great if it had ended in the same."—T. Fuller, *Church history of Britain*, bk. 9, sect. 1.—Members of the various Protestant sects were termed "dissenters" or "non-conformists" while the Roman Catholics were generally called "Papists"

1558-1588.—Age of Elizabeth: Definite fashioning of Anglicanism.—English dissent from Anglicanism.—"The education of Elizabeth, as well as her interest, led her to favour the reformation; and she remained not long in suspense with regard to the party which she should embrace. But though determined in her own mind, she resolved to proceed by gradual and secure steps, and not to imitate the example of Mary, in encouraging the bigots of her party to make immediately a violent invasion on the established religion. She thought it requisite, however, to discover such symptoms of her intentions as might give encouragement to the Protestants, so much depressed by the late violent persecutions. She immediately recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to the prisoners who were confined an account of religion."—D. Hume, *History of England*, v. 3, ch. 38, pp. 375-380.—"Elizabeth ascended the throne much more in the character of a Protestant champion than her own convictions and inclinations would have dictated. She was, indeed, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, whom by this time the Protestants were beginning to regard as a martyr of the faith; but she was also the child of Henry VIII., and the heiress of his imperious will. Soon, however, she found herself Protestant almost in her own despite. The Papacy, in the first pride of successful reaction, offered her only the alternative of submission or excommunication, and she did not for a moment hesitate to choose the latter. . . . Then, too, the shadow of Spanish supremacy began to cast itself broadly over Eu-

rope: the unequal struggle with Holland was still prolonged: it was known that Philip's dearest wish was to recover to his empire and the Church the island kingdom which had once unwillingly accepted his rule. It was thus the instinct of self-defence which placed Elizabeth at the head of the Protestant interest in Europe: she sent Philip Sidney to die at Zutphen: her sailor buccaneers, whether there were peace at home or not, bit and tore at everything Spanish upon the southern main: till at last, 1588, Philip gathered up all his naval strength and hurled the Armada at our shores. 'Afflavit Deus, et dissipati sunt.' The valour of England did much; the storms of heaven the rest. Mary of Scotland had gone to her death the year before, and her son had been trained to hate his mother's faith. There could be no question any more of the fixed Protestantism of the English people."—C. Beard, *Hibbert lectures*, 1883: *Reformation*, lect. 9.—In the reign of Elizabeth the church took definite form and acquired those

sea. . . . A great majority both of clergy and laity yielded to the times; and of these temporizing conformists it cannot be doubted that many lost by degrees all thought of returning to their ancient fold. But others, while they complied with exterior ceremonies, retained in their private devotions their accustomed mode of worship."—H. Hallam, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 3.

ALSO IN: J. Tulloch, *English Puritanism and its leaders*, introd.—D. Neal, *History of the Puritans*, v. 1, ch. 4.—D. Campbell, *Puritan in Holland, England, and America*, v. 3, ch. 8-10.

1558-1598.—Age of Elizabeth: Queen's chief councilors.—"Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, although officially experienced during three reigns, though still young, was the queen's chief adviser from first to last—that is to say, till he died in 1598. Philip II., who also died in that year, was thus his exact contemporary; for he mounted the Spanish throne just when Elizabeth and her minister began their work together. He was not long in discovering that there was one man, possessed of the most balanced judgment ever brought to the head of English affairs, who was capable of unwinding all his most secret intrigues; and, in fact, the two arch-enemies, the one in London and the other in Madrid, were pitted against each other for forty years. Elizabeth had also the good sense to select the wisest and most learned ecclesiastic of his day, Matthew Parker, for her Primate and chief adviser in Church affairs. It should be noted that both of these sages, as well as the queen herself, had been Conformists to the Papal obedience under Mary—a position far from heroic, but not for a moment to be confused with that of men whose philosophical indifference to the questions which exercised all the highest minds enabled them to join in the persecution of Romanists and Anglicans at different times with a sublime impartiality. . . . It was under the advice of Cecil and Parker that Elizabeth, on coming to the throne, made her famous settlement or Establishment of religion."—M. Burrows, *Commentaries on the history of England*, bk. 2, ch. 17.

1558-1603.—Age of Elizabeth: Parliament.—"The house of Commons, upon a review of Elizabeth's reign, was very far, on the one hand, from exercising those constitutional rights which have long since belonged to it, or even those which by ancient precedent they might have claimed as their own; yet, on the other hand, was not quite so servile and submissive an assembly as an artful historian has represented it. If many of its members were but creatures of power, . . . there was still a considerable party, sometimes carrying the house along with them, who with patient resolution and inflexible aim recurred in every session to the assertion of that one great privilege which their sovereign contested, the right of parliament to inquire into and suggest a remedy for every public mischief or danger. It may be remarked that the ministers, such as Knollys, Hatton, and Robert Cecil, not only sat among the commons, but took a very leading part in their discussions; a proof that the influence of argument could no more be dispensed with than that of power. This, as I conceive, will never be the case in any kingdom where the assembly of the estates is quite subservient to the crown. Nor should we put out of consideration the manner in which the commons were composed. Sixty-two members were added at different times by Elizabeth to the representation; as well from places which had in earlier times discontinued their franchise, as from those to which it was first granted; a very large proportion



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characteristics which we associate with the word "Anglican." A series of Acts reestablished the sovereignty of England as head of the church, adopted the Thirty-nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer. A uniform doctrine and form of worship were to be used throughout the kingdom. Thus the English church which can claim unbroken continuity from the days of St. Augustine to the present was in reality changed from Catholic to Protestant between 1558 and 1603. The majority of the nation accepted the Anglican church, but there were numerous objectors who were vigorously persecuted. "Camden and many others have asserted that by systematic connivance the Roman Catholics enjoyed a pretty free use of their religion for the first fourteen years of Elizabeth's reign. But this is not reconcilable to many passages in Strype's collections. We find abundance of persons harassed for recusancy, that is, for not attending the protestant church, and driven to insincere promises of conformity. Others were dragged before ecclesiastical commissions [forming a Protestant inquisition] for harbouring priests, or for sending money to those who had fled beyond

of them petty boroughs, evidently under the influence of the crown or peerage. The ministry took much pains with elections, of which many proofs remain. The house accordingly was filled with placemen, civilians, and common lawyers grasping at preferment. The slavish tone of these persons, as we collect from the minutes of D'Ewes, is strikingly contrasted by the manliness of independent gentlemen. And as the house was by no means very fully attended, the divisions, a few of which are recorded, running from 200 to 250 in the aggregate, it may be perceived that the court, whose followers were at hand, would maintain a formidable influence. But this influence, however pernicious to the integrity of parliament, is distinguishable from that exertion of almost absolute prerogative which Hume has assumed as the sole spring of Elizabeth's government, and would never be employed till some deficiency of strength was experienced in the other."—H. Hallam, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 5.

1558-1603.—Age of Elizabeth: Literature.—“The age of Elizabeth was distinguished beyond, perhaps, any other in our history by a number of great men, famous in different ways, and whose names have come down to us with unblemished honours: statesmen, warriors, divines, scholars, poets, and philosophers; Raleigh, Drake, Coke, Hooker, and—high and more sounding still, and still more frequent in our mouths—Shakespear, Spenser, Sidney, Bacon, Jonson, Beaumont, and Fletcher, men whom fame has eternised in her long and lasting scroll, and who, by their words and acts, were benefactors of their country, and ornaments of human nature.”—W. Hazlitt, *Lectures on the literature of the Age of Elizabeth*, lect. 1.—“Elizabethan literature was fresh and native, because it was the utterance of a youthful race, aroused to vigorous self-consciousness under conditions which did not depress or exhaust its energies. The English opened frank eyes upon the discovery of the world and man, which had been effected by the Renaissance. They were not wearied with collecting, collating, correcting, transmitting to the press. All the hard work of assimilating the humanities had been done for them. They had only to survey and to enjoy, to feel and to express, to lay themselves open to delightful influences, to con the noble lessons of the past, to thrill beneath the beauty and the awe of an authentic revelation. Criticism had not laid its cold, dry finger on the blossoms of the fancy. The new learning was still young enough to be a thing of wonder and entrancing joy.”—J. A. Symonds, *Comparison of Elizabethan with Victorian poetry* (*Fortnightly Review*, v. 45, p. 56).—See also ENGLISH LITERATURE: 1530-1660; DRAMA: 1558-1592.

1558-1603.—Age of Elizabeth: Industrial regulations.—Statute of laborers.—Poverty and the poor laws (1601).—Reform of the currency.—Economic progress.—“Elizabeth was a conscientious sovereign who wished all her subjects to be prosperous and happy. This condition she thought might be brought about by government regulation. For the benefit of small farmers, she proclaimed the Corn Laws, which forbade the importation of grain and thereby enabled the farmer to grow grain and sell it at a profit. Minute laws were passed, too, for the regulation of industries. ‘No person using the feat or mystery of cloth-making shall keep or have in his house any more than one woollen loom at a time on pain of a fine of twenty shillings.’ Those who wished to manufacture on a larger scale applied to the Crown for a charter; and for this privilege they paid a substantial fee. Merchants, such as haberdashers, saddlers, cur-

riers, and shoe-dealers, were forced to do the same thing. In like manner the Crown attempted to restrict certain manufactures to certain towns. Business men began to resent strongly this interference. The result was that they transferred their business to the country regions. In a certain town the citizens, who had previously built up a rope-making industry, complained that their town ‘was like to be utterly decayed owing to the competition of people in the adjacent parts.’ Because of the enclosures many laborers had lost their little gardens and were now dependent on wages alone; but they received so little for their work that in many cases they failed to make a living. Elizabeth and her legislators showed a deep interest in their welfare. The Statute of Laborers admitted that wages ‘are in divers places too small and not answerable to this time, respecting the advancement of prices of all things belonging to the said servants and laborers.’ This measure provided that in the future wages were to be fixed



SIR WALTER RALEIGH
(Painted by Zuccherò)

by the justices of the peace. These officers had to take into consideration ‘the price of food and other circumstances necessary to be considered,’ and to make the scheme ‘yield the hired person, both in the time of need and time of plenty, a convenient proportion of wages.’ In many instances this plan worked well. It must be remembered, however, that the judges then were not so independent and so fair as they are to-day. A majority were either employers or their friends. While they were often good-hearted, it was to their interest to keep wages as low as possible. Too often their pocketbooks got the better of their generosity. In many instances therefore this plan caused a decline in wages. Laborers without land or means of travel were forced to accept work from the nearest employer, however low the pay. Furthermore the workers were not permitted to join together in self-defence. It was a conspiracy, a legal offence, for them to enter into any association to raise the rate of wages. In the case of such unions members were induced to turn traitor and betray their fellows. . . . While the nobility and gentry became constantly richer, a majority of the laborers were in fair condition. The breach

was gradually widening between rich and poor, however, for there was growing up a class of paupers. Among them, it is true, there were many undeserving beggars who became a nuisance to society and good order. They bore a hatred to all and were always ready to join in any riot or disorder. In times of peace they formed gangs of marauders who terrorized the countryside. Property and life were insecure. The innocent traveller on a country road was constantly in danger of being stripped of his valuables by one or more of these sturdy beggars. At the same time wages tended to drop and prices to rise. As a result poverty became more common. Humanity demanded that the deserving poor be assisted, while there was an equally strong feeling that rogues and vagabonds be punished. The Poor Laws of Elizabeth resulted from these sentiments. Giving to the poor was no longer an act of Christian charity; it became a compulsory tax upon the people of the realm. Each parish now had its poor rate for which property owners were assessed. These laws ordained further that 'work was to be provided for those who could work, and relief for those who could not; poor children were to be trained to some craft; and the idle were to be punished.' In spite of its defects this group of laws was an admirable attempt to lessen a great social evil. They remained in force until early in the nineteenth century; [See also CHARITIES: England; 1553-1601]. When Elizabeth ascended the throne, her country was in an unsound financial condition. Her predecessors had been in the habit of filling their empty coffers by using more and more alloy in their coinage. For example, the shilling of 1551 weighed as much as that of 1527 but contained only one seventh as much silver. Necessarily business men understood that some coins were worth less than others. Hence they charge different prices for their goods according to the coins that were offered them. Foreigners, too, looked askance at the bad coins. The general public naturally felt confused by the irregularity. Those who had good coins saved them or melted them down. The debasement of the currency was detrimental to the laborer, for prices rose by leaps and bounds, and clothes and food became very dear. In 1560 the Queen asked her people to bring her their impure money. Their response was hearty and loyal, for they were willing to bear their share of the loss. The government undertook the cost of refining and recoinage. In this way Elizabeth averted a national disaster. There was a great increase in wealth during the reign of Elizabeth, due in large part to the intelligence and activity of her people, rich and poor alike. Manufacturers, capitalist farmers, merchants, and adventurers were especially energetic. England, too, was at peace; she took little part in the religious conflicts then raging on the Continent. National expenditures were kept down. The debasement of the coinage came to an end. The government could now be trusted to pay its debts promptly, and therefore found it easy to borrow money at low rates of interest. Elizabeth aimed further to make England a power in world affairs. She saw, however, that it would be foolish for her country to continue its ancient struggle with France, for supremacy on the Continent would profit little. Because England was surrounded by water, Elizabeth reasoned that its strength should be on the sea. She therefore encouraged the construction of merchant ships which, if necessary, could be armed and used for fighting. In this way a powerful navy was built up. Fishing, too, was encouraged. People were forced by law to eat fish on Friday 'so

that the fishers should be set to work.' Shippers also were aided in every possible way; English ships alone should be used in foreign trade, both going and coming. Piers were built, harbors repaired, and channels marked out with buoys."—G. W. Botsford, *Brief history of the world*, pp. 330-334.

1559.—Act of Supremacy, Act of Uniformity, and Court of High Commission.—"When Elizabeth's first Parliament met in January, 1559, Convocation, of course, met too. It at once claimed that the clergy alone had authority in matters of faith, and proceeded to pass resolutions in favour of Transubstantiation, the Mass, and the Papal Supremacy. The bishops and the Universities signed a formal agreement to this effect. That in the constitution of the English Church, Convocation, as Convocation, has no such power as this, was proved by the steps now taken. The Crown, advised by the Council and Parliament, took the matter in hand. As every element, except the Roman, had been excluded from the clerical bodies, a consultation was ordered between the representatives of both sides, and all preaching was suspended till a settlement had been arrived at between the queen and the Three Estates of the realm. The consultation broke up on the refusal of the Romanist champions to keep to the terms agreed upon; but even before it took place Parliament restored the Royal Supremacy, repealed the laws of Mary affecting religion, and gave the queen by her own desire, not the title of 'Supreme Head,' but 'Supreme Governor,' of the Church of England."—M. Burrows, *Commentaries on the history of England*, bk. 2, ch. 17.—This first Parliament of Elizabeth passed two memorable acts of great importance in English history,—the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity of Common Prayer. "The former is entitled 'An act for restoring to the crown the antient jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual; and for abolishing foreign power.' It is the same for substance with the 25th of Henry VIII [See above: 1527-1534] . . . but the commons incorporated several other bills into it; for besides the title of 'Supreme Governor in all causes Ecclesiastical and Temporal,' which is restored to the Queen, the act revives those laws of King Henry VIII, and King Edward VI. which had been repealed in the late reign. It forbids all appeals to Rome, and exonerates the subjects from all exactions and impositions heretofore paid to that court; and as it revives King Edward's laws, it repeals a severe act made in the late reign for punishing heresy. . . . 'Moreover, all persons in any public employes, whether civil or ecclesiastical, are obliged to take an oath in recognition of the Queen's right to the crown, and of her supremacy in all causes ecclesiastical and civil, on penalty of forfeiting all their promotions in the church, and of being declared incapable of holding any public office.' . . . Further, 'The act forbids all writing, printing, teaching, or preaching, and all other deeds or acts whereby any foreign jurisdiction over these realms is defended, upon pain that they and their abettors, being thereof convicted, shall for the first offence forfeit their goods and chattels; . . . spiritual persons shall lose their benefices, and all ecclesiastical preferments; for the second offence they shall incur the penalties of a præmunire; and the third offence shall be deemed high treason.' There is a remarkable clause in this act, which gave rise to a new court, called 'The Court of High Commission.' The words are these, 'The Queen and her successors shall have power, by their letters patent under the great seal, to assign, name, and authorize, as

often as they shall think meet. and for as long a time as they shall please, persons being natural-born subjects, to use, occupy, and exercise, under her and them, all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, and pre-eminences, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realms of England and Ireland, &c., to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences and enormities whatsoever. Provided, that they have no power to determine anything to be heresy, but what has been adjudged to be so by the authority of the canonical scripture, or by the first four general councils, or any of them; or by any other general council wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of canonical scripture; or such as shall hereafter be declared to be heresy by the high court of parliament, with the assent of the clergy in convocation.' Upon the authority of this clause the Queen appointed a certain number of 'Commissioners' for ecclesiastical causes, who exercised the same power that had been lodged in the hands of one vicegerent in the reign of King Henry VIII. And how sadly they abused their power in this and the two next reigns will appear in the sequel of this history. They did not trouble themselves much with the express words of scripture, or the four first general councils, but entangled their prisoners with oaths ex-officio, and the inextricable mazes of the popish canon law. . . . The papists being vanquished, the next point was to unite the reformed among themselves. . . . Though all the reformers were of one faith, yet they were far from agreeing about discipline and ceremonies, each party being for settling the church according to their own model. . . . The Queen . . . therefore appointed a committee of divines to review King Edward's liturgy, and to see if in any particular it was fit to be changed; their names were Dr. Parker, Grindal, Cox, Pilkington, May, Bill, Whitehead, and Sir Thomas Smith, doctor of the civil law. Their instructions were, to strike out all offensive passages against the pope, and to make people easy about the belief of the corporal presence of Christ in the sacraments; but not a word in favour of the stricter protestants. Her Majesty was afraid of reforming too far; she was desirous to retain images in churches, crucifixes and crosses, vocal and instrumental music, with all the old popish garments; it is not therefore to be wondered, that in reviewing the liturgy of King Edward, no alterations were made in favour of those who now began to be called Puritans, from their attempting a purer form of worship and discipline than had yet been established. . . . The book was presented to the two houses and passed into a law [June 24, 1559]. . . . The title of the act is 'An act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and administration of the Sacraments.'

—D. Neal, *History of the Puritans*, v. 1, ch. 4.—See also UNIFORMITY, ACTS OF.

ALSO IN: G. Burnet, *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, v. 2, bk. 3.—P. Heylyn, *Ecclesie Restaurata: Elizabeth, Anno 1.*—A. L. Cross, *Shorter history of England*, p. 265.

1559-1603.—Irish policy. See IRELAND: 1559-1603.

1562.—Statute of Apprentices. See APPRENTICES, STATUTE OF.

1562-1567.—Hawkins' slave-trading voyages to America.—First English enterprise in the New World. See AMERICA: 1562-1567; BUCCANNERS: English.

1568.—Detention and imprisonment of Mary Queen of Scots. See SCOTLAND: 1561-1568.

1569.—Quarrel with the Spanish governor of the Netherlands. See NETHERLANDS: 1568-1572

1572.—Alliance with France against the Netherlands. See NETHERLANDS: 1572.

1572-1580.—Drake's piratical warfare with Spain and his famous voyage. See AMERICA: 1572-1580.

1574.—Emancipation of villeins on the royal domains.—Practical end of serfdom. See SERFDOM: 11th-17th centuries.

1575.—Sovereignty of Holland and Zealand offered to Queen Elizabeth, and declined. See NETHERLANDS: 1575-1577.

1581.—Marriage proposals of the duke of Anjou declined by Queen Elizabeth. See NETHERLANDS: 1581-1584.

1585-1586.—Leicester in the Low Countries.—Queen Elizabeth's treacherous dealing with the struggling Netherlanders. See NETHERLANDS: 1585-1586.

1585-1587.—Mary Queen of Scots and the Catholic conspiracies.—Her trial and execution.—'Maddened by persecution, by the hopelessness of rebellion within or deliverance from without, the fiercer Catholics listened to schemes of assassination, to which the murder of William of Orange lent at the moment a terrible significance. The detection of Somerville, a fanatic who had received the host before setting out for London, 'to shoot the Queen with his dagger,' was followed by measures of natural severity, by the flight and arrest of Catholic gentry, by a vigorous purification of the Inns of Court, where a few Catholics lingered, and by the dispatch of fresh batches of priests to the block. The trial and death of Parry, a member of the House of Commons who had served in the Queen's household, on a similar charge, brought the Parliament together in a transport of horror and loyalty. All Jesuits and seminary priests were banished from the realm on pain of death. A bill for the security of the Queen disqualified any claimant of the succession who had instigated subjects to rebellion or hurt to the Queen's person from ever succeeding to the crown. The threat was aimed at Mary Stuart. Weary of her long restraint, of her failure to rouse Philip or Scotland to aid her, of the baffled revolt of the English Catholics and the baffled intrigues of the Jesuits, she bent for a moment to submission. 'Let me go,' she wrote to Elizabeth; 'let me retire from this island to some solitude where I may prepare my soul to die. Grant this and I will sign away every right which either I or mine can claim.' But the cry was useless, and her despair found a new and more terrible hope in the plots against Elizabeth's life. She knew and approved the vow of Anthony Babington and a band of young Catholics, for the most part connected with the royal household, to kill the Queen; but plot and approval alike passed through Walsingham's hands, and the seizure of Mary's correspondence revealed her guilt. In spite of her protests, a commission of peers sat as her judges at Fotheringhay Castle; and their verdict of 'guilty' annihilated, under the provisions of the recent statute, her claim to the crown. The streets of London blazed with bonfires, and peals rang out from steeple to steeple, at the news of her condemnation; but, in spite of the prayer of Parliament for her execution, and the pressure of the Council, Elizabeth shrank from her death. The force of public opinion, however, was now carrying all before it, and the unanimous demand of her people wrested at last a sullen consent from the Queen. She flung the warrant signed upon the floor, and the Council took on themselves the re-

sponsibility of executing it. Mary died [Feb. 8, 1587] on a scaffold which was erected in the castle hall at Forthingay, as dauntlessly as she had lived. 'Do not weep,' she said to her ladies, 'I have given my word for you.' 'Tell my friends,' she charged Melville, 'that I die a good Catholic.'—J. R. Green, *Short history of the English people*, ch. 7, sect. 6.—'Who now doubts,' writes an eloquent modern writer, 'that it would have been wiser in Elizabeth to spare her life?' Rather, the political wisdom of a critical and difficult act has never in the world's history been more signally justified. It cut away the only interest on which the Scotch and English Catholics could possibly have combined. It determined Philip upon the undisguised pursuit of the English throne, and it enlisted against him and his projects the passionate patriotism of the English nobility."—J. A. Froude, *History of England*, v. 12, ch. 34.

ALSO IN: A. de Lamartine, *Mary Stuart*, ch. 31-34.—L. S. F. Buckingham, *Memoirs of Mary Stuart*, v. 2, ch. 5-6.—L. von Ranke, *History of England*, bk. 3, ch. 5.—J. D. Leader, *Mary Queen of Scots in captivity*.—C. Nau, *History of Mary Stuart*.—F. A. Mignet, *History of Mary Queen of Scots*, ch. 9-10.

1587-1588.—Wrath of Catholic Europe.—Spanish vengeance and ambition astir.—"The death of Mary [Queen of Scots] may have preserved England from the religious struggle which would have ensued upon her accession to the throne, but it delivered Elizabeth from only one, and that the weakest of her enemies; and it exposed her to a charge of injustice and cruelty, which, being itself well founded, obtained belief for any other accusation, however extravagantly false. It was not Philip [of Spain] alone who prepared for making war upon her with a feeling of personal hatred: throughout Romish Christendom she was represented as a monster of iniquity; that representation was assiduously set forth, not in ephemeral libels, but in histories, in dramas, in poems, and in hawker's pamphlets; and when the king of Spain equipped an armament for the invasion of England, volunteers entered it with a passionate persuasion that they were about to bear a part in a holy war against the wickedest and most inhuman of tyrants. The Pope exhorted Philip to engage in this great enterprize for the sake of the Roman Catholic and apostolic church, which could not be more effectually nor more meritoriously extended than by the conquest of England. . . . And he promised, as soon as his troops should have set foot in that island, to supply him with a million of crowns of gold towards the expenses of the expedition. . . . Such exhortations accorded with the ambition, the passions, and the rooted principles of the king of Spain. The undertaking was resolved."—R. Southey, *Lives of the British admirals*, v. 2, p. 310.—"The succors which Elizabeth had from time to time afforded to the insurgents of the Netherlands was not the only cause of Philip's resentment and of his desire for revenge. She had fomented the disturbances in Portugal, . . . and her captains, among whom Sir Francis Drake was the most active, had for many years committed unjustifiable depredations on the Spanish possessions of South America, and more than once on the coasts of the Peninsula itself. . . . By Spanish historians, these hostilities are represented as unprovoked."—S. A. Dunham, *History of Spain and Portugal*, bk. 4, sect. 1, ch. 1.—When the intentions of the Spaniard were known, Drake's activity increased. In the spring of 1587, he sailed into the harbor of Cadiz, and destroyed fifty or sixty ships, which is said to have delayed the ex-

pedition for a year. This he called "singeing the king of Spain's beard."—See also CADIZ: 1587.

ALSO IN: J. A. Froude, *History of England*, v. 12, ch. 35.

1588.—Spanish Armada.—"The queen still clung to the hope of extricating herself from the danger of invasion. It was in vain that Leicester and Walsingham represented the attempt as calculated to paralyze the efforts of her subjects and to give courage to her enemies; supported by the opinion of Burghley, she named as commissioners the earl of Derby, Lord Cobham, Sir James Croft, and Dale and Rogers, doctors of civil law. They landed at Ostend, and after some preliminary forms, met at Bourbourg, near Calais, the Spanish commissioners, the count of Aremberg, Perenotte, Richardot, De Mas, and Garnier. The English opened the conferences with the demand of an armistice; it was granted by the Spaniards, but only for the four cautionary towns possessed by the queen in the Netherlands. They then brought forward three propositions; that the ancient league between England and the house of Burgundy should be renewed; that Philip should withdraw his foreign troops from the Low Countries, and that freedom of worship should be allowed to all the inhabitants for the space of at least two years. It was replied that, to the renewal of the league the king of Spain could have no objection; but that it would be imprudent in him to withdraw his forces as long as England and France continued in arms; and that the queen could not be serious in soliciting liberty of conscience for the Protestants of Belgium, as long as she refused it to the Catholics of England. The Spanish commissioners then demanded the restoration of the towns mortgaged to Elizabeth by the States; their opponents required, in return, the repayment of the money which she had advanced. Neither would yield; expedients were suggested and refused; and the conferences continued till the Armada had arrived in the mouth of the Channel. It was the general opinion that each party negotiated for the sole purpose of overreaching the other; but, if we may believe the private letters of the ministers, Elizabeth anxiously sought the restoration of peace. During five years, procrastination had marked the counsels of Philip; on a sudden his caution was exchanged for temerity. The marquess of Santa Cruz had objected to the danger of navigating a narrow and tempestuous sea without the possession of a single harbour capable of sheltering the fleet; the duke of Parma had solicited permission to reduce the port of Flushing previously to the departure of the expedition; and Sir William Stanley had advised the occupation of Ireland, as a measure necessary to secure the conquest of England. But the king would admit of no delay. He had understood from the pontiff that on his part everything was ready; that the money had been collected, the bull of deposition signed, and the appointment of the legate made out; but that he was resolved not to commit himself by any public act, till he should be assured that the Spanish forces had obtained a footing in England. Philip immediately issued peremptory orders to the admiral that he should put to sea without further delay; to Farnese that he should hold the army in readiness to embark on the first appearance of the fleet near the coast of Flanders. But Santa Cruz was already dead,—the victim of his anxiety to satisfy the impatience of his sovereign; and his place was inadequately supplied by the duke of Medina Sidonia, who, like the lord admiral of England, was totally unacquainted with the naval service. Under this new leader the

Armada sailed from the Tagus."—J. Lingard and H. Belloc, *History of England*, v. 6, pp. 506-508.

"At last, on the 28th, 29th and 30th May, 1588, the fleet, which had been waiting at Lisbon more than a month for favourable weather, set sail from that port. . . . The galleons, of which there were about 60, were huge round-stemmed clumsy vessels, . . . built up at stem and stern, like castles. The galleasses . . . were rowed each by 300 galley-slaves. They consisted of an enormous towering fortress at the stern, a castellated structure almost equally massive in front, with seats for the rowers amidships. At stem and stern and between each of the slaves' benches were heavy cannon. These galleasses were floating edifices, very wonderful to contemplate. They were gorgeously decorated. . . . To take part in an ostentatious pageant, nothing could be better devised. To fulfil the great objects of a war-vessel—to sail and to fight—they were the worst machines ever launched upon the ocean. . . . All the ships of the fleet—galleasses, galleys, galleons, and hulks—were so encumbered with top-hamper, so over-weighted in proportion to their draught of water, that they could bear but little canvas, even with smooth seas and light and favourable winds. . . . Such was the machinery which Philip had at last set afloat, for the purpose of dethroning Elizabeth and establishing the inquisition in England. . . . Medina Sidonia [the captain-general of the Armada] was to proceed straight from Lisbon to Calais roads; there he was to wait for the Duke of Parma [Spanish commander in the Netherlands] . . . to assume the chief command of the whole expedition. They were then to cross the channel to Dover . . . [and] march at once upon London. Medina Sidonia was to seize and fortify the Isle of Wight, guard the entrance of the harbours against any interference from the Dutch and English fleets, and—so soon as the conquest of England had been effected—he was to proceed to Ireland. . . . A strange omission had however been made in the plan from first to last. The commander of the whole expedition was the Duke of Parma: on his head was the whole responsibility. Not a gun was to be fired—if it could be avoided—until he had come forth with his veterans to make his junction with the Invincible Armada off Calais. . . . With as much sluggishness as might have been expected from their clumsy architecture, the ships of the Armada consumed nearly three weeks in sailing from Lisbon to the neighbourhood of Cape Finisterre. Here they were overtaken by a tempest. . . . [and] ultimately reassembled at Coruña; . . . they remained a month, repairing damages and recruiting; and on the 22d of July (N. S.) the Armada set sail."—J. L. Motley, *History of the United Netherlands*, ch. 10.

ALSO IN: J. A. Froude, *History of England*, v. 12, ch. 36.—The same, *Spanish story of the Armada*.—R. Southey, *Lives of British admirals*, v. 2, pp. 327-334.—C. M. Yonge, *Cameos from English history*, 5th series, c. 27.

1588.—Destruction of Armada.—"The great number of the English, the whole able-bodied population being drilled, counterbalanced the advantages possessed, from their universal use of firearms, by the invaders. . . . Every hamlet was on the alert for the beacon-signal. Some 15,000 men were already under arms in London; the compact Tilbury Fort was full, and a bridge of boats from Tilbury to Gravesend blocked the Thames."—H. R. Clinton, *From Crecy to Assye*, ch. 7.—"Howard . . . with Drake and Hawkins and the major part of the English fleet was lying in Plymouth, getting stores aboard as fast as might be, while

Seymour and Sir William Wynter with their squadron were lying at the East end of the Channel, when on July 10th the news came that the Armada had been sighted off the Lizard, coming up with a favouring wind. There was nothing for it but to work out of Plymouth Sound in the teeth of the wind. When the Spaniards came in view on the 20th (Saturday) the move had been accomplished. In the night, the English passed out to sea, across the Spanish front, and so in the morning found themselves to windward and attacked—as it would seem, for the first time in naval warfare, in 'line-ahead' formation, pouring successive broadsides into the enemy's 'weathermost' ship. This action lasted little more than two hours. Not many of the Spaniards were actually engaged, but the working effect of the new tactics was tested, Admiral Recalde's ship was crippled, some others had suffered from a very severe fire very inadequately returned; incidentally too, one great galleon had been almost blown to pieces by an accident, and the ship of Valdez was disabled through collision. The Duke of Medina Sidonia left her to her fate, and she surrendered to Drake early next morning, the two fleets in the meantime having proceeded up Channel. Drake ought to have led the pursuit during the night, and by not doing so caused some confusion and delay—also, it would seem, much indignation on the part especially of Frobisher; but his conduct is capable of legitimate if not complete justification. In consequence however, the English were unable to form for attack . . . till late on the next day, when they were foiled by the falling of a calm. When the breeze got up again on Tuesday, the Spaniards were to windward, off Portland, and challenged an engagement. In manœuvring to recover the weather-gauge, Frobisher, with some other vessels, was for a time cut off, and fought a very valiant fight, till a change in the wind enabled them to extricate themselves, and there was more sharp fighting in which the Spaniards suffered most. . . . It was supposed to be the intention of the Armada to secure the station at the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth; and it was to frustrate this object that the third battle was fought on Thursday. In the interval, Howard had only worried the enemy, being in need of fresh supplies of ammunition which were not arriving. . . . The brunt of the resulting engagement was borne by Frobisher and Howard, who occupied the enemy and were very thoroughly occupied themselves; until the Armada, which had not in appearance been getting the worst of it, went about and sailed off up Channel in good order. The explanation would appear to be that the Spaniard found himself suddenly threatened with a crushing flank attack by the combined squadrons of Drake and Hawkins, which would have driven him upon the banks known as the 'Owers'; and to escape destruction, he had no alternative but to give up the design on Portsmouth, if he had ever entertained it, and continue his unimpeded course up Channel. . . . Although strategically a great point was secured by this third engagement, the ostensible strength of the Spanish fleet remained virtually unaltered, and the English captains were evidently disappointed at having achieved no more marked results. Of course, on the theory that the odds were, professionally speaking, all in favour of the Armada, they had done exceedingly well; but they were fighting under the perfectly correct impression that the odds were in their own favour, and yet they had done no signal injury. In fact however they had accomplished a good deal more than appears on the surface. Their

losses were far short of 100 men all told; their ships were intact; the spirit of the fleet had been tested; and they had already learnt and remedied the defect in their organisation at the start. On the other hand, the Armada had lost three ships, several more had suffered so severely as to be useless for further action, its ammunition was running short, some hundreds of men had been killed or wounded, and the whole fleet had realised that in manœuvring capacity it was completely outclassed, so that its *morale* was failing. . . . On Saturday evening, without any further fighting, the Armada anchored in Calais Roads. The same evening, Howard was joined by Seymour's squadron, and for the first time his fleet was at its full strength. It now became his great object to force the decisive engagement before Medina Sidonia and Parma at Dunkirk could effect a junction. To this end it was needful to dislodge the Armada from its anchorage. Wind and tide both favouring, on Sunday night eight fire-ships were sent drifting on to the Spanish fleet. A panic arose; the Spaniards cut their cables and made for the open, to escape the danger. . . . For the Duke, the first thing to do was to recover his formation; for the English, to prevent his doing so. Howard should have led the attack, but turned aside to make sure of a crippled galleon. Drake, followed by Hawkins, Frobisher, and Seymour, sailed down on the Spaniards, and the last decisive engagement began. Medina Sidonia was never able to bring more than half his ships into action. He gained some time, by Howard's aberration, but in the course of the day the entire English fleet was engaging him. The ships and the captains, however, who were able to rejoin him, were the best in the Armada, and they made a magnificent and desperate struggle. Raked with broadside after broadside they fought on, drifting into ever more dangerous proximity to the shoals, their hulls riddled, their decks charnel-houses; resolved to sink rather than strike; while the English poured in a ceaseless storm of shot at close range, but always evaded the one danger, of being grappled and boarded, the sole condition under which the Spaniard could fight at an advantage. At last the English drew off; partly because their ammunition, like the Spaniards', was all but exhausted, except in Howard's squadron, the expenditure having been quite unparalleled; partly because a fierce squall for a time provided them with a new enemy which it took all their energies to meet. That squall was the salvation of the Spaniards; when it cleared, they were already in full flight to the North East. . . . But for the English shortage of ammunition, which made it impossible to provoke another general engagement, half the Armada might very well have fallen a prey to the pursuers; for it was a fleet that knew itself hopelessly beaten; its *morale* was gone, its ammunition was exhausted, its best crews were much more than decimated, many of its vessels were hopelessly crippled. As it was, the English were content to follow and watch while the Spaniards drove Northwards before a stiff gale; giving up the chase on August 2nd, by which time it was evident that the enemy had no course open to them but to attempt the passage round the North of Scotland, and so to make for home by the Irish coast as best they might; though later, the wind changing to the North created a passing fear that they might return with it to Denmark, to refit. In the whole series of actions, the English lost only about a hundred men and one ship. Out of that great Armada which had sailed with the Papal blessing to lower the insolent

pride of heretic England, not more than half the ships found their way back to Spain. Of the sixty or more that were lost, nine only are definitely recorded as wrecked on the Scottish or Irish coast: there must have been many more. Of their crews, those whom the winds and the waves spared, the Irish slew; and those who escaped the Irish, the English soldiery slew. Of the fate of the remainder, one-fourth of the entire fleet, nothing is known."—A. D. Innes, *History of England*, v. 4.—*England under the Tudors*, pp. 363-367.

1588-1590.—Effects of the Armada.—Philip's policy.—War with Spain.—Invasion of Portugal.—The defeat of the Spanish Armada marks the beginning and not the end of the Spanish war, which outlasted Elizabeth's reign. Philip was as slow to acknowledge defeat as he had been to engage in war; and he stubbornly set to work to recreate on a sounder basis his shattered naval power, and to reconstruct on saner principles his plans for Elizabeth's humiliation. The conquest of England at one great stroke was seen to be impracticable, and the war was reduced to the more normal level of hostilities between nations not unevenly matched, seeking to cripple rather than to annex their rivals. Philip would at any time have probably been content to abandon the pose of champion of the Roman catholic church and avenger of Mary Stuart, which was forced on him by catholic public opinion, in return for Elizabeth's desertion of the Dutch and abstention from attacks on the New World. He can have hoped for nothing better after 1588, and his designs on England were limited to attempts to seize some English port as a basis of operations. For his energies, which had momentarily been concentrated on England in 1588, were for the rest of his reign once more divided between England, France and the Netherlands; and the war became a European, rather than a national, struggle against Spain. This change hinged upon developments in France, where Henry III. was ground to powder between the upper and nether millstones of the Guises and the Huguenots, and national independence was far more precarious than in England. . . . Meanwhile English sailors had been impressed by the limitations rather than by the magnitude of their success. The capacity for resistance possessed by a close pack of Spanish ships had exceeded their expectations, and they had no desire to see another Armada in the Channel. The government set itself to the task of devising preventive measures. These were of three kinds: to cut the root, which nourished Spain's ambition, by intercepting its treasure-fleets from the Indies; to destroy the shipping in Spanish ports before it could sail; or, as Cobham had written in 1579, to make another Netherlands of Portugal. This last design was mooted in September, 1588, before the Armada had left British waters. Its success depended upon the accuracy of the reports which Don Antonio and other Portuguese exiles poured into Elizabeth's ears. Probably there was little hope of Antonio's establishment on the throne of Portugal; but it would be enough for England's purpose if his country were plunged in civil war, or even if a few places could be strengthened to defy the Spanish king; . . . [but] the expedition, which sailed in April, 1589, under the military command of Norris and the naval command of Drake, lit no national revolt in patient Portugal, although it carried a force stronger by thousands than any Elizabeth had sent to the Netherlands. Cupidity also marred its purpose: it was fitted out as a joint-stock enterprise, partly designed to recoup

the adventurers for their expense in defeating the Spanish Armada; and its first act was an attempt to plunder Coruña. 'We left there,' wrote Don Antonio, 'and disembarked at Peniche, where the strong wines of the country increased the sickness of the men; and when we arrived before Lisbon, there were not enough men fit to attack a boat. . . . We were short of powder and fire-match, and we had no artillery battery. Drake's fleet remained at Cascaes, and refrained from entering the river.' Lisbon was vigorously defended by the Cardinal Archduke Albert, who, said Henry IV., was a good general though nobody would believe it; and the expedition returned with hardly one-sixth of its men efficient. An inquiry was held on the conduct of the commanders; and Drake remained under a cloud for nearly six years, while his ambitious plans of naval warfare were exchanged for the more cautious policy of preying on Spanish treasure-ships. The Earl of Cumberland had, indeed, with one great ship, the *Victory*, and a few privateers, done more to please Elizabeth than had Drake's elaborate force. He seized Fayal in the Azores and held it to ransom; captured a number of prizes at sea and cut others out from under the Spanish guns; and maintained his position all the summer, narrowly missing the East and West Indian treasure. But Hawkins and Frobisher, who were sent out in 1590 to repeat and improve on the earl's exploits, achieved comparatively little; and the immunity of Philip's harbours from attack during the years which followed the Armada enabled him to build a navy of fighting ships. When in 1591 Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Richard Grenville again sought the Azores, a powerful fleet was sent to meet them. Howard escaped without great difficulty; but Grenville in the *Revenge* was too proud to obey orders to retreat, and fought for fifteen hours against fifteen Spanish men-of-war, refusing to surrender, and dying himself of his wounds a few hours after his capture. . . . His splendid bravery resulted in the loss of the only English warship taken in Elizabeth's reign. . . . For the next five years Elizabeth pursued a cautious policy. Leicester had died on September 5, 1588, Sir Amias Paulet three weeks later, Sir Walter Mildmay in 1589, and Walsingham on April 6, 1590. All had favoured aggression, and had championed Drake against the more conservative school of politicians represented by Burghley. Only two members were admitted to the privy council in their places, Sir John Fortescue as chancellor of the exchequer in 1589, and Sir Robert Cecil as secretary on August 2, 1591. The result was to give the cautious party complete control of the government; but it is misleading to represent the issue as one between war and peace. The alternatives were rather a naval colonial and a continental military war; and this divergence continued to divide opinion for more than a generation. Nor can we be sure that Burghley and the queen were wrong; it was more essential for England that France and the Netherlands should be saved from Spanish control than that England should burden herself with a colonial empire, the weight of which she was not yet strong enough to bear. Elizabeth liked to help those who helped themselves, and both the Dutch and the Huguenots showed remarkable efficiency at this time. . . . Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, had been left in command of the English contingent when Leicester withdrew in 1587, and he with his lieutenants, . . . saved Bergen-op-Zoom against which Parma had turned on the dispersal of the Armada. But many of the English officers and men were required in Septem-

ber, 1589, to make up the 4,000 troops which Elizabeth was sending under Willoughby to the assistance of Henry IV. They landed at Dieppe, and after accompanying the king to his futile attempt on Paris, assisted in the reduction of Le Mans, Alençon, Falaise, and Honfleur. They returned home early in 1590, too soon to participate in Henry's victory at Ivry on March 14; and only Williams and a handful of English were present at the siege of Paris which was raised by Parma in September."—A. F. Pollard, *History of England*, pp. 408-412.

ALSO IN: S. R. Gardiner, *Historical biographies: Drake*.—E. S. Creasy, *Fifteen decisive battles*, ch. 10.—C. Kingsley, *Westward Ho!* ch. 31.—R. Hakluyt, *Principal navigations, &c.* (E. Goldsmid's ed.), v. 7.—L. Ernstein, *Tudor ideals*.

1592-1648.—Climax in Elizabethan drama.—Shakespeare and his successors. See DRAMA: 1592-1648.

1595.—Sir Walter Raleigh in quest of El Dorado. See EL DORADO, QUEST OF.

1596.—Alliance with Henry IV of France against Spain. See FRANCE: 1593-1598.

1596.—Dutch and English expedition against Cadiz. See CADIZ: 1596; SPAIN: 1596.

1598 (August 14).—Defeat under Bagenal in battle with Hugh O'Neill. See ULSTER: 1585-1608.

1599.—Earl of Essex sent to Ulster.—His defeat. See ULSTER: 1585-1608.

16th-17th centuries.—Detailed outline of British expansion. See BRITISH EMPIRE: Expansion.

16th-17th centuries.—Commercial progress.—Importance of merchant adventurers.—Capitalistic tendencies. See COMMERCE: Era of geographic expansion; 16th-17th centuries: Industry and trade in England; 17th-18th centuries: Mercantile system; EAST INDIA COMPANY, BRITISH; HANSA TOWNS; INDIA: 1600-1702; AMERICA: 1528-1648; CAPITALISM: 14th century; 15th-16th centuries; 16th-18th centuries: Agriculture in English capitalism.

17th century.—Historiography of Reformation period. See HISTORY: 23; 24.

17th century.—Growth of national army.—Sea militarism. See MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 18; 30; 31.

17th century.—Free grammar schools.—Educational ideas of Milton and Locke. See EDUCATION: Modern; 17th century: Milton; 17th century: England.

1600.—East India Company chartered. See EAST INDIA COMPANY, BRITISH; BRITISH EMPIRE: Expansion; 17th century: India; INDIA: 1600-1702.

1601.—Elizabethan poor law. See CHARITIES: England: 1553-1601.

1601.—Lord Mountjoy's victory over Ulster. See ULSTER: 1585-1608.

1603.—Accession of King James I.—Stuart family.—On the death of Queen Elizabeth, in 1603, James VI of Scotland became also the accepted king of England (under the title of James I), by virtue of his descent from that daughter of Henry VII and sister of Henry VIII, Margaret, Tudor, who married James IV, king of Scots. His grandfather was James V; his mother was Marie Stuart, or Mary Queen of Scots, born, of her marriage with Lord Darnley. He was the ninth in the line of the Scottish dynasty of the Stuarts, or Stewarts, for an account of the origin of which see SCOTLAND: 1370. He had been carefully alienated from the religion of his mother and reared in Protestantism, to make him an acceptable heir to the English throne. He came to it at a time when the autocratic spirit of the Tudors, making use of the

peculiar circumstances of their time, had raised the royal power and prerogative to their most exalted pitch; and he united the two kingdoms of Scotland and England under one sovereignty. "The noble inheritance fell to a race who, comprehending not one of the conditions by which alone it was possible to be retained, profligately misused until they lost it utterly. The calamity was in no respect foreseen by the statesman, Cecil, to whose exertion it was mainly due that James was seated on the throne: yet in regard to it he cannot be held blameless. He was doubtless right in the course he took, in so far as he thereby satisfied a national desire, and brought under one crown two kingdoms that with advantage to either could not separately exist; but it remains a reproach to his name that he let slip the occasion of obtaining for the people some ascertained and settled guarantees which could not then have been refused, and which might have saved half a century of bloodshed. None such were proposed to James. He was allowed to seize a prerogative, which for upwards of fifty years had been strained to a higher pitch than at any previous period of the English history; and his clumsy grasp closed on it without a sign of question or remonstrance from the leading statesmen of England. 'Do I mak the judges? Do I mak the bishops?' he exclaimed, as the powers of his new dominion dawned on his delighted sense: 'Then, God's wauns! I mak what likes me, law and gospel!' It was even so. And this license to make gospel and law was given, with other far more questionable powers, to a man whose personal appearance and qualities were as suggestive of contempt, as his public acts were provocative of rebellion. It is necessary to dwell upon this part of the subject; for it is only just to his not more culpable but far less fortunate successor to say, that in it lies the source and explanation of not a little for which the penalty was paid by him. What is called the Great Rebellion [1642-1660] can have no comment so pregnant as that which is suggested by the character and previous career of the first of the Stuart kings."—J. Forster, *History and biology, essays*, p. 227.—In 1603 when James was on his way to London what was called a Millenary Petition was presented to him. It was signed by 825 of the clergy who asked for greater freedom in matters of worship.

1603-1619.—Religious controversy of the Netherlands. See NETHERLANDS: 1603-1619.

1604.—The Hampton Court conference.—James I "was not long seated on the English throne, when a conference was held at Hampton Court, to hear the complaints of the puritans, as those good men were called who scrupled to conform to the ceremonies and sought a reformation of the abuses of the church of England. On this occasion surrounded with his deans, bishops, and archbishops, who breathed into his ears the music of flattery, and worshipped him as an oracle, James, like king Solomon, to whom he was fond of being compared, appeared in all his glory, giving his judgment on every question, and displaying before the astonished prelates, who kneeled every time they addressed him, his polemic powers and theological learning. . . . After long conferences, during which the king gave the most extraordinary exhibitions of his learning, drollery, and profaneness, he was completely thrown off his guard by the word presbytery, which Dr. Reynolds, a representative of the puritans, had unfortunately employed. Thinking that he aimed at a 'Scotch presbytery,' James rose into a towering passion, declaring that presbytery agreed as well with monarchy as God and the devil. 'Then,' said he, 'Jack and Tom, and

Will and Dick, shall meet, and at their pleasures censure me and my council, and all our proceedings.' . . . Then, putting his hand to his hat, 'My lords the bishops,' said his majesty, 'I may thank you that these men plead for my supremacy; they think they can't make their party good against you, but by appealing unto it. But if once you are out, and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy; for no bishop, no king, as I said before.' Then rising from his chair, he concluded the conference with, 'If this be all they have to say, I'll make them conform, or I'll harry them out of this land, or else do worse.' The English lords and prelates were so filled with admiration at the quickness of apprehension and dexterity in controversy shown by the king, that, as Dr. Barlow informs us, 'one of them said his majesty spoke by the instinct of the Spirit of God.' . . . In these circumstances, buoyed up with flattery by his English clergy, and placed beyond the reach of the faithful admonitions of the Scottish ministry, we need not wonder to find James prosecuting, with redoubled ardour, his scheme of reducing the church of Scotland to the English model."—T. McCrie, *Sketches of Scottish church history*, ch. 5.—The king had the opportunity at this conference of drawing together the extreme parties in the religious controversy, but he chose to ally himself with one small party, and all clergymen who did not fully agree with the Anglican form of worship were driven from their offices.

ALSO IN: S. R. Gardiner, *First two Stuarts and the Puritan revolution*, ch. 1, sect. 3.—G. G. Perry, *History of the Church of England*, v. 1, ch. 2.—T. Fuller, *Church history of Britain*, v. 3, bk. 10, sect. 1.

1605.—Gunpowder plot.—"The Roman Catholics had expected great favour and indulgence on the accession of James, both as he was descended from Mary, whose life they believed to have been sacrificed to their cause, and as he himself, in his early youth, was imagined to have shown some partiality towards them. . . . Very soon they discovered their mistake; and were at once surprised and enraged to find James, on all occasions, express his intention of strictly executing the laws enacted against them, and of persevering in all the rigorous measures of Elizabeth. Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and of an ancient family, first thought of a most extraordinary method of revenge; and he opened his intention to Piercy, a descendant of the illustrious house of Northumberland. In vain, said he, would you put an end to the king's life: he has children. . . . To serve any good purpose, we must destroy, at one blow, the king, the royal family, the Lords, the Commons, and bury all our enemies in one common ruin. Happily, they are all assembled on the first meeting of Parliament, and afford us the opportunity of glorious and useful vengeance. Great preparations will not be requisite. A few of us, combining, may run a mine below the hall in which they meet, and choosing the very moment when the king harangues both Houses, consign over to destruction these determined foes to all piety and religion. . . . Piercy was charmed with this project of Catesby; and they agreed to communicate the matter to a few more, and among the rest to Thomas Winter, whom they sent over to Flanders, in quest of Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whose zeal and courage they were all thoroughly acquainted. . . . All this passed in the spring and summer of the year 1604; when the conspirators also hired a house in Piercy's name, adjoining to that in which the Parliament was to assemble. Towards the end of that year

they began their operations. . . . They soon pierced the wall, though three yards in thickness; but on approaching the other side they were somewhat startled at hearing a noise which they knew not how to account for. Upon inquiry, they found that it came from the vault below the House of Lords; that a magazine of coals had been kept there; and that, as the coals were selling off, the vault would be let to the highest bidder. The opportunity was immediately seized; the place hired by Piercy; thirty-six barrels of powder lodged in it; the whole covered up with faggots and billets; the doors of the cellar boldly flung open, and everybody admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous. . . . The day [November 5, 1605], so long wished for, now approached, on which the Parliament was appointed to assemble. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept, during the space of near a year and a half. No remorse, no pity, no fear of punishment, no hope of reward, had as yet induced any one conspirator, either to abandon the enterprise or make a discovery of it." But the betrayal was unwittingly made, after all, by one in the plot, who tried to deter Lord Monteagle from attending the opening session of Parliament, by sending him a mysterious message of warning. Lord Monteagle showed the letter to Lord Salisbury, secretary of state, who attached little importance to it, but who laid it before the king. The Scottish Solomon read it with more anxiety and was shrewdly led by some expressions in the missive to order an inspection of the vaults underneath the parliamentary houses. The gunpowder was discovered and Guy Fawkes was found in the place, with matches for the firing of it on his person. Being put to the rack he disclosed the names of his accomplices. They were seized, tried and executed, or killed while resisting arrest.—D. Hume, *History of England*, v. 4, ch. 46.

ALSO IN: S. R. Gardiner, *History of England*, v. 1, ch. 6.—J. Lingard, *History of England*, v. 9, ch. 1.

1606-1620.—Extent of King James's grants to London and Plymouth companies. See AMERICA: Map of King James's grants.

1609-1611.—Plantation of Ulster. See IRELAND: 1607-1611; ULSTER: 1609-1611.

1609-1611.—Extent of territory in America.—Hudson's route of exploration. See AMERICA: Map showing voyages of discovery.

1614.—Added parliament. See PARLIAMENT, ENGLISH: 1614.

1618.—Five Articles of Perth. See SCOTLAND: 1618.

1620.—Exodus of the Pilgrims and the planting of their colony at New Plymouth. See MASSACHUSETTS: 1620.

1620-1660.—Religion. See PURITANS: 1620-1660.

1620-1776.—Constitutional relations of the American colonies to the English crown and parliament. See U. S. A.: 1620-1776.

1622.—First printed newspaper. See PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1622-1702.

1625.—Protestant Alliance in the Thirty Years' War. See GERMANY: 1624-1626.

1625.—Graces of Charles I. See IRELAND: 1625.

1625.—Gains of Parliament in the reign of James I.—Impeachment of Bacon.—"The commons had now been engaged [at the end of the reign of James I], for more than twenty years, in a struggle to restore and to fortify their own and their fellow subjects' liberties. They had obtained in this period but one legislative measure of importance, the late declaratory act against monop-

olies. But they had rescued from disuse their ancient right of impeachment. They had placed on record a protestation of their claim to debate all matters of public concern. They had remonstrated against the usurped prerogatives of binding the subject by proclamation, and of levying customs at the out-ports. They had secured beyond controversy their exclusive privilege of determining contested elections of their members. They had maintained, and carried indeed to an unwarrantable extent, their power of judging and inflicting punishment, even for offences not committed against their house. Of these advantages some were evidently incomplete; and it would require the most vigorous exertions of future parliaments to realize them. But such exertions the increased energy of the nation gave abundant cause to anticipate. A deep and lasting love of freedom had taken hold of every class except perhaps the clergy; from which, when viewed together with the rash pride of the court, and the uncertainty of constitutional principles and precedents, collected through our long and various history, a calm by-stander might presage that the ensuing reign would not pass without disturbance, nor perhaps end without confusion."—H. Hallam, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 6.—In the first session of Parliament (1604) James quarrelled over the matter of parliamentary privilege. The session closed with the famous apology in which the house declared that free and lawful election of its members, freedom from arrest, and freedom of speech were its inalienable rights. In 1610 James dissolved Parliament when it demanded certain concessions be yielded by the king in return for an annual grant of £200,000 (Great Contract). The "added parliament" of 1614 discussed subjects prohibited by the king and was dissolved after two months (see PARLIAMENT, ENGLISH: 1614), and James tried to rule without parliament from 1614-1620. In the sessions of 1621 and 1622 the quarrel over privileges reached a climax. The king finally tore up the protestation of parliament that "their liberties and privileges were the inherited birthright of the subjects of England; the State, the defense of the realm, the laws and grievances were proper matters for them to debate; the members have liberty of speech, and freedom from all imprisonment for speaking on matters touching Parliamentary business"; and dissolved parliament. When it met again in 1624 James was willing to advise with them. An important act was passed doing away with monopolies (with certain exceptions), and foreign matters were discussed, particularly plans for war with Spain. "A parliamentary right which had slept ever since the reign of Henry VI., the right of the Lower House to impeach great offenders at the bar of the Lords, was revived against the monopolists; and James was driven by the general indignation to leave hem to their fate. But the practice of monopolies was only one sign of the corruption of the court. Sales of peerages and offices of state had raised a general disgust; and this disgust showed itself in the impeachment of the highest among the officers of State, the Chancellor, Francis Bacon, the most distinguished man of his time for learning and ability. . . . He had attached himself to the rising fortunes of Buckingham, and the favour of Buckingham made him Lord Chancellor. . . . The years during which he held the Chancellorship were the most disgraceful years of a disgraceful reign. They saw the execution of Raleigh, the sacrifice of the Palatinate, the exaction of benevolences, the multiplication of monopolies, the supremacy of Buckingham. Against none of the acts of folly and

wickedness which distinguished James's government did Bacon do more than protest. . . . To ordinary eyes the Chancellor was at the summit of human success . . . when the storm burst. The Commons charged Bacon with corruption in the exercise of his office. It had been customary among Chancellors to receive gifts from successful suitors after their suit was ended. Bacon, it is certain, had taken such gifts from men whose suits were still unsettled; and though his judgment may have been unaffected by them, the fact of their reception left him with no valid defense. . . . The heavy fine imposed on him was remitted by the Crown; but the Great Seal was taken from him, and he was declared incapable of holding office in the State or of sitting in Parliament."—J. R. Green,

such a force without money. He could not legally raise money without the consent of Parliament. It followed, therefore, that he either must administer the government in conformity with the sense of the House of Commons, or must venture on such a violation of the fundamental laws of the land as had been unknown during several centuries. . . . Just at this conjuncture James died [March 27, 1625]. Charles I. succeeded to the throne. He had received from nature a far better understanding, a far stronger will, and a far keener and firmer temper than his father's. He had inherited his father's political theories, and was much more disposed than his father to carry them into practice. . . . His taste in literature and art was excellent, his manner dignified though not gracious, his do-



CHARLES I IN THE GUARD-ROOM

Insulted by the soldiers of Cromwell, January 27, 1649

(After picture by Paul Delaroche)

Short history of the English people, pp. 490-491.

1625.—Marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria of France. See FRANCE: 1624-1626.

1625-1628.—Accession of Charles I.—Beginning of the struggle of king and Parliament.—“The political and religious schism which had originated in the 16th century was, during the first quarter of the 17th century, constantly widening. Theories tending to Turkish despotism were in fashion at Whitcomb. Theories tending to republicanism were in favour with a large portion of the House of Commons. . . . While the minds of men were in this state, the country, after a peace of many years, at length engaged in a war [with Spain, and with Austria and the Emperor in the Palatinate] which required strenuous exertions. This war hastened the approach of the great constitutional crisis. It was necessary that the king should have a large military force. He could not have

mestic life without blemish. Faithlessness was the chief cause of his disasters, and is the chief stain on his memory. He was, in truth, impelled by an incurable propensity to dark and crooked ways. . . . He seems to have learned from the theologians whom he most esteemed that between him and his subjects there could be nothing of the nature of mutual contract; that he could not, even if he would, divest himself of his despotic authority; and that, in every promise which he made, there was an implied reservation that such promise might be broken in case of necessity, and that of the necessity he was the sole judge. And now began that hazardous game on which were staked the destinies of the English people. It was played on the side of the House of Commons with keenness, but with admirable dexterity, coolness and perseverance. Great statesmen who looked far behind them and far before them were at the head of that

assembly. They were resolved to place the king in such a situation that he must either conduct the administration in conformity with the wishes of his Parliament, or make outrageous attacks on the most sacred principles of the constitution. They accordingly doled out supplies to him very sparingly. He found that he must govern either in harmony with the House of Commons, or in defiance of all law. His choice was soon made. He dissolved his first Parliament, and levied taxes by his own authority."—Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, ch. 1.—Parliament had refused him sufficient funds to carry on the war with Spain, had demanded that the laws against Roman Catholics be strictly enforced, and had made objections to the king's councillors, the chief of these being George Villiers, created duke of Buckingham in 1623. The king and his favorite struggled on without Parliament for some months, but the disastrous result of the expedition to Cadiz made it necessary for him to convoke a second Parliament in 1626 which he found more intractable than the first. Under the able leadership of John Eliot, the Commons discussed their grievances and demanded the impeachment of Buckingham. Charles "again resorted to the expedient of dissolution, raised fresh taxes without any show of legal right, and threw the chiefs of the opposition into prison. [Five knights thus treated, brought the matter to court by suing out writs of habeas corpus, but the judges decided in the King's favor.] At the same time a new grievance, which the peculiar feelings and habits of the English nation made insupportably painful, and which seemed to all discerning men to be of fearful augury, excited general discontent and alarm. Companies of soldiers were billeted on the people; and martial law was, in some places, substituted for the ancient jurisprudence of the realm. The King called a third Parliament [1628], and soon perceived that the opposition was stronger and fiercer than ever. He now determined on a change of tactics. Instead of opposing an inflexible resistance to the demands of the commons, he, after much altercation and many evasions, agreed to a compromise which, if he had faithfully adhered to it, would have averted a long series of calamities. The Parliament granted an ample supply. The King ratified, in the most solemn manner, that celebrated law which is known by the name of the Petition of Rights, and which is the second Great Charter of the liberties of England."—Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, ch. 1.

ALSO IN: J. R. Green, *History of the English people*, v. 3, bk. 7, ch. 5.—F. P. Guizot, *History of the English revolution*, bk. 1.

1627-1628.—Buckingham's war with France and expedition to La Rochelle. See FRANCE: 1627-1628.

1628.—Petition of Right.—"Charles had recourse to many subterfuges in hopes to elude the passing of this law; rather perhaps through wounded pride, as we may judge from his subsequent conduct, than much apprehension that it would create a serious impediment to his despotic schemes. He tried to persuade them to acquiesce in his royal promise not to arrest any one without just cause, or in a simple confirmation of the Great Charter and other statutes in favour of liberty. The peers, too pliant in this instance to his wishes, and half receding from the patriot banner they had lately joined, lent him their aid by proposing amendments (insidious in those who suggested them, though not in the body of the house) which the commons firmly rejected. Even when the bill was tendered to him for that

assent which it had been necessary, for the last two centuries, that the king should grant or refuse in a word, he returned a long and equivocal answer, from which it could only be collected that he did not intend to remit any portion of what he had claimed as his prerogative. But on an address from both houses for a more explicit answer, he thought fit to consent to the bill in the usual form. The commons, of whose harshness towards Charles his advocates have said so much, immediately passed a bill for granting five subsidies, about £350,000; a sum not too great for the wealth of the kingdom or for his exigencies, but considerable according to the precedents of former times, to which men naturally look. . . . The Petition of Right, . . . this statute is still called, from its not being drawn in the common form of an act of parliament." Although the king had been defeated in his attempt to qualify his assent to the Petition of Right, and had been forced to accede to it unequivocally, yet "he had the absurd and audacious insincerity (for we can use no milder epithets), to circulate 1,500 copies of it through the country, after the prorogation, with his first answer annexed; an attempt to deceive without the possibility of success. But instances of such ill-faith, accumulated as they are through the life of Charles, render the assertion of his sincerity a proof either of historical ignorance or of a want of moral delicacy."—H. Hallam, *Constitutional history of England*, v. 1, ch. 7.—For the text, see PETITION OF RIGHT.

1628.—Assassination of Buckingham.—"While the struggle [over the Petition of Right] was going on, the popular hatred of Buckingham showed itself in a brutal manner. In the streets of London, the Duke's physician, Dr. Lambé, was set upon by the mob, . . . [and] beaten to death. . . . The fleet was at Portsmouth, and Buckingham went down . . . to take the command. . . . As he rose [from the breakfast table] he received letters which made him believe that Rochelle had been relieved. He said he must tell the King instantly, but Soubise and the other refugees did not believe a word of it, and there was a good deal of disputing and gesticulation between them. He crossed a lobby, followed by the eager Frenchmen, and halted to take leave of an officer, Sir Thomas Fryar. Over the shoulder of this gentleman, as he bowed, a knife was thrust into Buckingham's breast. There was an effort to withdraw it; a cry 'The Villain!' and the great Duke, at 30 years old, was dead. The attendants at first thought the blow came from one of the noisy Frenchmen, and were falling on them." But a servant had seen the deed committed, and ran after the assassin, who was arrested and proved to be one John Felton, a soldier and a man of good family. He had suffered wrongs which apparently unhinged his mind.—C. M. Yonge, *Cameos from English history*, 6th series, c. 17.

ALSO IN: S. R. Gardiner, *History of England*, 1603-1642, ch. 45.

1629.—Religious and political conditions.—Ecclesiastical policy of Parliament.—Tonnage and poundage.—Tumult in Parliament.—Three Resolutions.—Dissolution.—"At the opening of the seventeenth century, [several features] differentiated England from the other countries of Europe. Owing to these characteristics, it was still possible that, if our island could for a while remain isolated from continental affairs, we might evolve some new kind of state, more free but not less highly organised than the military and bureaucratic despotism, which otherwise bade fair to become the one type of civilised government. For

England was a land of local government, local armaments, local feeling, where the life of the shire, the parish and the city was vigorous, yet where no feud existed between the country and town; where ranks were for ever mingling; where the gentry intermarried with the middle class, and shared with them the commercial and professional careers. Bureaucrats and soldiers were almost unknown; the King depended for the execution of his mandates on an unpaid magistracy, and for his defence on the loyalty of his subjects. The religion which most inspired the best and ablest men, did not depend, like the Protestantism of Germany or the Catholicism of France, on a State Church or a Church State, but referred the individual to his own intellect and his own conscience, and inspired him to defend his spiritual liberties. And this country, when Elizabeth died, was entering on a period of peace and isolation favourable to internal activities, while the nations on the continent again embarked on a series of gigantic wars. Whether in such a land, liberty had still a chance of survival; or whether the universal tide of monarchy in Europe would not after all prove irresistible even in England, now that feudal traditions were lost and no republican ideals had taken their place, was soon to be decided by the hazard of events, and by the prejudice and passion of men whom fortune would raise above their fellows, not to guide the world whither they themselves would, but blindly to impel it down courses which neither themselves nor any other had desired. . . . James had upheld the ecclesiastical polity of the High Churchmen; Charles took under his protection their doctrinal system. About the time of his accession, the Anglicans, whose defence of English insularity was based upon a profound study of the early fathers, adopted the theories of a contemporary Dutchman. The doctrine of Free Will promulgated by Arminius was encouraged by Laud, Charles and Buckingham, because to reject Predestination was to ruin Calvin's whole logical structure. The excitement produced seems now almost incredible. A generation that was theological as well as religious supposed that all their deepest beliefs and feelings depended on the dispute. The problem which in every age baffles or divides the acutest metaphysicians, supplied the catchwords of the two parties in Church and State. Prentices hooted down the street after the Arminian rogues; courtiers damned the Predestinate crew. Our ancestors might understand even less of what they were disputing than did the mobs who massacred one another for the doctrine of the Homoousion in the cities of the Eastern Empire; yet much that every Englishman could appreciate was for the time involved in the fate of the rival dogmas. The victory of Free Will would establish a coercive and despotic government; a sacramental and priestly religion; while Predestination implied privilege of Parliament, liberty of person, Protestant ascendancy, and the agreeable doctrine of exclusive salvation. So long as Parliament was continually meeting, it was impossible to begin a vigorous persecution of Puritanism, but every preparation for such an attempt was being made at Court. Manwaring and Montague, the clergymen whom the Commons had attacked by name for their Arminian and absolutist utterances, were rewarded, the one with a rich living, the other with a Bishopric. Laud, perpetually closeted with King and favourite, drew up at their request a list of the leading clergy, marking each name 'P' or 'O' (Puritan or Orthodox), as a guide to the exercise of royal patronage. The Commons were rightly convinced that the High Churchmen were striving

to acquire not a share but a monopoly. Indeed, neither side contemplated either a comprehension within, or a toleration without the Church. If the sovereign power of the Crown remained untouched for another generation, the Puritans would have to leave England; if Parliament became sovereign, the High Anglicans would no less certainly be crushed out. Thus the desire for liberty of conscience, then hopelessly involved with the right to persecute, drove Laud to become Erastian, and changed the gentlemen of the House of Commons into unconscious revolutionists. In the brief session of 1629, after the Duke's murder, the members attempted to dictate an ecclesiastical policy for the kingdom, and thereby proposed in effect, thought not yet in name, the sovereignty of Parliament—a doctrine as strange to the Constitution as the prerogative theories of Charles."—G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts (Political history of England, v. 5, pp. 71-72, 153-154)*.—"There needed to be a Committee of Religion. The House resolved itself into a Grand Committee of Religion; and did not want for matter. Bishop Neile of Winchester, Bishop Laud now of London, were a frightfully ceremonial pair of Bishops; the fountain they of innumerable tendencies to Papistry and the old clothes of Babylon. It was in this Committee of Religion, on the 11th day of February, 1628-9, that Mr. Cromwell, Member for Huntingdon, stood up and made his first speech, a fragment of which has found its way into History. . . . A new Remonstrance behoves to be resolved upon; Bishops Neile and Laud are even to be 'named' there. Whereupon, before they could get well 'named' . . . the King hastily interfered."—T. Carlyle, *Introduction to Oliver Cromwell's letters and speeches, ch. 4*.—"Tonnage and Poundage were closely connected in their minds with Predestination and Free Will. If the King was not to have his way in Church and State, he must depend for supply upon the Houses. He was already prevented from waging war without their consent, for the Petition of Right forbade him to levy direct taxation—'any gift, loan, benevolence, tax or such like charge without common consent by Act of Parliament.' They now proposed, by granting him Tonnage and Poundage for one year only, to make him dependent on them for indirect taxation also; he would then be unable to carry on prerogative government even in time of peace. But Charles refused to accept the grant unless it was given him for life, as it had been given to his father. Meanwhile he continued to levy the duties, relying on the decision which the Judges had made in Bate's case, that indirect taxation was within the power of the Crown. The House of Commons fell back upon the doubtful argument that indirect taxation was covered by the terms of the Petition of Right."—G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts (Political history of England, v. 5, p. 155)*.—See also TONNAGE and POUNDAGE.—"This Parliament, in a fortnight more, was dissolved; and that under circumstances of the most unparalleled sort. For Speaker Finch, as we have seen, was a Courtier, in constant communication with the King; one day, while these high matters were astir, Speaker Finch refused to 'put the question' when ordered by the House! He said he had orders to the contrary; persisted in that;—and at last took to weeping. What was the House to do? Adjourn for two days, and consider what to do! On the second day, which was Wednesday, Speaker Finch signified that by his Majesty's command they were again adjourned till Monday next. On Monday next Speaker Finch, still recusant, would not put the former nor indeed any question, having the

King's order to adjourn again instantly. He refused; was reprimanded, menaced; once more took to weeping; then started up to go his ways. But young Mr. Holles, Denzil Holles, the Earl of Clare's second son, he and certain other honourable members were prepared for that movement: they seized Speaker Finch, set him down in his chair, and by main force held him there! A scene of such agitation as was never seen in Parliament before. 'The House was much troubled,' 'Let him go,' cried certain Privy Councillors, Majesty's Ministers as we should now call them, who in those days sat in front of the Speaker, 'Let Mr. Speaker go!' cried they imploringly. 'No!' answered Holles; 'God's wounds, he shall sit there till it pleases the House to rise!' The House in a decisive though almost distracted manner, with their Speaker thus belid down for them, locked their doors; redacted Three emphatic Resolutions, their Protest against Arminianism, Papastry, and illegal Tonnage and Poundage; and passed the same by acclamation; letting no man out, refusing to let even the King's Usher in."—T. Carlyle, *Introduction to Oliver Cromwell's letters and speeches*, ch. 4.—"The business of the session of January to March, 1629, can be read in the famous Three Resolutions:—[1] Whosoever shall bring in innovation in religion, or by favour seek to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the true and orthodox Church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and the commonwealth. [2] Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking and levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall he likewise be reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth. [3] If any merchant or other person whatsoever shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by Parliament, he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberty of England, and an enemy to the same. Such were the Three Resolutions of the last and greatest day of Eliot's Parliamentary career, passed by the shouts of the angry members, thronging and swaying round the chair into which they had forced back the frightened Speaker [Finch], whilst the blows of the King's officers without resounded on the fastened door. When they had so voted, they flung all open and poured out flushed into the cold air of heaven, freemen still and already almost rebels."—G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts (Political history of England, v. 5. p. 155)*.—"For which surprising procedure, vindicated by Necessity the mother of Invention, and supreme of Lawgivers, certain honourable gentlemen, Denzil Holles, Sir John Eliot, William Strode, John Selden, and others less known to us, suffered fine, imprisonment, and much legal tribulation: nay Sir John Eliot, refusing to submit, was kept in the Tower till he died. This scene fell out on Monday, 2d of March, 1629."—T. Carlyle, *Introduction to Oliver Cromwell's letters and speeches*, ch. 4.

1629-1640.—Personal rule of Charles.—Ship-money.—"The aspect of public affairs grew darker and darker. . . . All the promises of the king were violated without scruple or shame. The Petition of Right, to which he had, in consideration of moneys duly numbered, given a solemn assent, was set at naught. Taxes were raised by the royal authority. Patents of monopoly were granted. The old usages of feudal times were made pretexts for harassing the people with exactions unknown during many years."—Lord Macaulay, *Nugent's*

memorials of Hampden (Critical and miscellaneous essays, v. 2).—After the death of Buckingham "Charles set eagerly to work to rule the kingdom by himself. To the Puritan dogma of enforced unity of religious belief—utterly mischievous, and just as much fraught with slavery to the soul in one sect as another—he sought, through Laud, to oppose the only less mischievous, because silly, doctrine of enforced uniformity in the externals of public worship. Laud was a small and narrow man, hating Puritanism in every form, and persecuting bitterly every clergyman or layman who deviated in any way from what he regarded as proper ecclesiastical custom. His tyranny was of that fussy kind which, without striking terror, often irritates nearly to madness. He was Charles's instrument in the effort to secure ecclesiastical absolutism. The instrument through which the King sought to establish the royal prerogative in political affairs was of far more formidable temper. Immediately after the dissolution of Parliament, Wentworth had obtained his price from the King, and was appointed to be his right-hand man in administering the kingdom. A man of great shrewdness and insight, he seems to have struggled to govern well, according to his lights; but he despised law and acted upon the belief that the people should be slaves, unpermitted, as they are unfit, to take any share in governing themselves. After awhile Laud was made archbishop; and Wentworth was later made Lord Strafford. Wentworth and Laud, with their associates, when they tried to govern on such terms, were continually clashing with the people. A government thus carried on naturally aroused resistance, which often itself took unjustifiable forms; and this resistance was, in its turn, punished with revolting brutality. Criticism of Laudian methods, or existing social habits, might take scurrilous shape; and then the critic's ears were hacked off as he stood in the pillory, or he was imprisoned for life. The great fight was made, not on a religious, but on a purely political question—that of Ship Money. The king wished to go to war with the Dutch, and to raise his fleet he issued writs, first to the maritime counties, and then to every shire [a step which had never been taken before] in England. He consulted his judges, who stated that his action was legal: as well they might, for when a judge disagreed with him on any important point, he was promptly dismissed from office. But there was one man in the kingdom who thought differently, John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire 'squire,' who had already once sat as a silent member in Parliament, together with another equally silent member of the same social standing, his [Hampden's] nephew, Oliver Cromwell. Hampden was assessed at twenty shillings. The amount was of no more importance than the value of the tea which a century and a half later was thrown into Boston Harbor; but in each case a vital principle—the same vital principle—was involved. If the King could take twenty shillings from Hampden without authority from the representatives of the people in Parliament assembled, then his rule was absolute: he could do what he pleased. On the other hand, if the House of Commons could do as it wished in granting money only for whatever need it chose to recognize in the kingdom, then the House of Commons was supreme. In Hampden's view but one course was possible—he was for the Parliament and the nation against the King; and he refused to pay the sum, facing without a murmur the punishment for his contumacy. The King and his ministers did not flinch from proceeding to any length against either

political or religious opponents. Charles heartily upheld Laud and Wentworth in carrying out their policy of 'thorough'; Laud in England; Wentworth, after 1633, in Ireland. 'Thorough,' in their sense of the word, meant making the State, which was the King, paramount in every ecclesiastical and political matter, and putting his interests above the interests, the principles, and the prejudices of all classes and all parties; paying heed to nothing but to what seemed right in the eyes of the sovereign and the sovereign's chosen advisers. Under Wentworth's strong hand a certain amount of material prosperity followed in Ireland, although chiefly among the English settlers. There was no such material prosperity in England; 1630, for instance, was a famine year. The net effect of the policy would in the long run have been to bring down a freedom-loving people to a lower grade of political and social development. There was, of course, no oppression in England in any way resembling such oppression as that which flogged the Dutch to revolt against the Spaniards. . . . Eliot, Hampden, and Pym, stood for the principles that were championed by Washington, Patrick Henry, and the Adames."—T. Roosevelt, *Oliver Cromwell*, pp. 33-36.—"Hampden, after consulting the most eminent constitutional lawyers of the time, refused to pay the few shillings at which he was assessed; and determined to incur all the certain expense and the probable danger of bringing to a solemn hearing this great controversy between the people and the crown. . . . Towards the close of the year 1637, this great cause came on in the Exchequer Chamber before all the judges of England. The leading counsel against the writ was the celebrated Oliver St. John; a man whose temper was melancholy, whose manners were reserved, and who was as yet little known in Westminster Hall; but whose great talents had not escaped the penetrating eye of Hampden. The arguments of the counsel occupied many days; and the Exchequer Chamber took a considerable time for deliberation. The opinion of the bench was divided. So clearly was the law in favour of Hampden, that though the judges held their situations only during the royal pleasure, the majority against him was the least possible. Four of the twelve pronounced decidedly in his favour; a fifth took a middle course. The remaining seven gave their voices in favour of the writ. The only effect of this decision was to make the public indignation stronger and deeper. 'The judgment,' says Clarendon, 'proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned than to the king's service.' The courage which Hampden had shown on this occasion, as the same historian tells us, 'raised his reputation to a great height generally throughout the kingdom.'"—Lord Macaulay, *Nugent's memorials of Hampden (Critical and miscellaneous essays, v. 2)*.—See also IRELAND: 1633-1639.

ALSO IN: J. Forster, *Statesmen of the Commonwealth: Hampden*.—S. R. Gardiner, *History of England, 1603-1642, v. 7, ch. 74 and v. 8, ch. 77 and 82; also Constitutional documents of the Puritan revolution, pp. 37-53, 115.*

1631.—Aid to Gustavus Adolphus in Germany. See GERMANY: 1631-1632.

1633-1639.—Wentworth's system of "Thorough" in Ireland. See IRELAND: 1633-1639.

1633-1640.—Ecclesiastical despotism of Laud.—"When Charles, having quarrelled with his parliament, stood alone in the midst of his kingdom, seeking on all sides the means of governing, the Anglican clergy believed this day [for establishing the independent and uncontrolled power of their church] was come. They had again got immense

wealth, and enjoyed it without dispute. The papists no longer inspired them with alarm. The primate of the church, Laud, possessed the entire confidence of the king and alone directed all ecclesiastical affairs. Among the other ministers, none professed, like lord Burleigh under Elizabeth, to fear and struggle against the encroachments of the clergy. The courtiers were indifferent, or secret papists. Learned men threw lustre over the church. The universities, that of Oxford more especially, were devoted to her maxims. Only one adversary remained—the people, each day more discontented with uncompleted reform, and more eager fully to accomplish it. But this adversary was also the adversary of the throne; it claimed at the same time, the one to secure the other, evangelical faith and civil liberty. The same peril threatened the sovereignty of the crown and of episcopacy. The king, sincerely pious, seemed disposed to believe that he was not the only one who held his authority from God, and that the power of the bishops was neither of less high origin, nor of less sacred character. Never had so many favourable circumstances seemed combined to enable the clergy to achieve independence of the crown, dominion over the people. Laud set himself to work with his accustomed vehemence. First, it was essential that all dissensions in the bosom of the church itself should cease, and that the strictest uniformity should infuse strength into its doctrines, its discipline, its worship. He applied himself to this task with the most unhesitating and unscrupulous resolution. [Archbishop Laud possessed great influence in the Privy Council and practically controlled the courts of High Commission and the Star Chamber]. Power was exclusively concentrated into the hands of the bishops. The court of high commission, where they took cognizance of and decided everything relating to religious matters, became day by day more arbitrary, more harsh in its jurisdiction, its forms and its penalties. The complete adoption of the Anglican canons, the minute observance of the liturgy, and the rites enforced in cathedrals, were rigorously exacted on the part of the whole ecclesiastical body. A great many livings were in the hands of nonconformists; they were withdrawn from them. The people crowded to their sermons; they were forbidden to preach. . . . Persecution followed and reached them everywhere. . . . On the part of the nonconformists, every innovation, the least derogation from the canons or the liturgy, was punished as a crime; yet Laud innovated without consulting anybody, looking to nothing beyond the king's consent, and sometimes acting entirely upon his own authority. . . . And all these changes had, if not the aim, at all events the result, of rendering the Anglican church more and more like that of Rome. . . . Books were published to prove that the doctrine of the English bishops might very well adapt itself to that of Rome; and these books, though not regularly licensed, were dedicated to the king or to Laud, and openly tolerated. . . . The splendour and exclusive dominion of episcopacy thus established, at least so he flattered himself, Laud proceeded to secure its independence. . . . The divine right of bishops became, in a short time, the official doctrine, not only of the upper clergy, but of the king himself. . . . By the time things had come to this pass, the people were not alone in their anger. The high nobility, part of them at least, took the alarm. They saw in the progress of the church far more than mere tyranny; it was a regular revolution, which, not satisfied with crushing popular reforms, disfigured and endangered the first reformation; that which

kings had made and the aristocracy adopted."—F. P. Guizot, *History of the English revolution of 1640*, bk. 2.—See also PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1637.

ALSO IN: D. Neal, *History of the Puritans*, v. 2, ch. 4-6.—G. G. Perry, *History of the Church of England*, v. 1, ch. 13-16.—P. Bayne, *Chief actors of the Puritan revolution*, ch. 3.

1638-1640.—Presbyterianism of the Puritan party.—Rise of the Independents.—"It is the artifice of the favourers of the Catholic and of the prelatical party to call all who are sticklers for the constitution in church or state, or would square their actions by any rule, human or divine, Puritans."—J. Rushworth, *Historical collections*, v. 2, 1355.—"These men [the Puritan Party], at the commencement of the civil war, were presbyterians: and such had at that time been the great majority of the serious, the sober, and the conscientious people of England. There was a sort of imputation of laxness of principles, and of a tendency to immorality of conduct, upon the adherents of the establishment, which was infinitely injurious to the episcopal church. But these persons, whose hearts were in entire opposition to the hierarchy, had for the most part no difference of opinion among themselves, and therefore no thought of toleration for difference of opinion in others. Their desire was to abolish episcopacy and set up presbytery. They thought and talked much of the unity of the church of God, and of the cordial consent and agreement of its members, and considered all sects and varieties of sentiment as a blemish and scandal upon their holy religion. They would put down popery and episcopacy with the strong hand of the law, and were disposed to employ the same instrument to suppress all who should venture to think the presbyterian church itself not yet sufficiently spiritual and pure. Against this party, which lorded it for a time almost without contradiction, gradually arose the party of the independents. . . . Before the end of the civil war they became almost as strong as the party of the presbyterians, and greatly surpassed them in abilities, intellectual, military and civil."—W. Godwin, *History of the commonwealth*, v. 2, bk. 2, ch. 1.—See also INDEPENDENTS; ENGLAND: 1643 (July); (July-September); 1646 (March); 1647 (April-August); 1648 (November-December).

1639.—First Bishops' War in Scotland. See SCOTLAND: 1638-1640.

1640.—Short Parliament and the Second Bishops' War.—Scots army in England.—"His Majesty having burnt Scotch paper Declarations 'by the hands of the common hangman,' and almost cut the Scotch Chancellor Loudon's head off, and being again resolute to chastise the rebel Scots with an Army, decides on summoning a Parliament for that end, there being no money attainable otherwise. To the great and glad astonishment of England; which, at one time, thought never to have seen another Parliament! Oliver Cromwell sat in this Parliament for Cambridge; recommended by Hampden, say some; not needing any recommendation in those Fen-countries, think others. Oliver's Colleague was a Thomas Meautys, Esq. This Parliament met, 13th April, 1640: it was by no means prompt enough with supplies against the rebel Scots; the king dismissed it in a huff, 5th May; after a Session of three weeks: Historians called it the Short Parliament. His Majesty decides on raising money and an Army 'by other methods': to which end Wentworth, now Earl Strafford and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, who had advised that course in the Council, did himself subscribe £20,000. Archbishop Laud had long ago

seen 'a cloud rising' against the Four surplices at Allhallowtide; and now it is covering the whole sky in a most dismal and really thundery-looking manner. His Majesty by 'other methods,' commission of array, benevolence, forced loan, or how he could, got a kind of Army on foot, and set it marching out of the several Counties in the South towards the Scotch Border; but it was a most hopeless Army. The soldiers called the affair a Bishops' War; they mutinied against their officers, shot some of their officers: in various Towns on their march, if the Clergyman were reputed Puritan, they went and gave him three cheers; if of Surplisce-tendency, they sometimes threw his furniture out of the window. No fighting against poor Scotch Gospellers was to be hoped for from these men. Meanwhile the Scots, not to be behindhand, had raised a good Army of their own; and decided on going into England with it, this time, 'to present their grievances to the King's Majesty.' On the 20th of August, 1640, they cross the Tweed at Coldstream; Montrose wading in the van of them all. They wore uniform of hodden gray, with blue caps; and each man had a moderate haversack of oatmeal on his back. August 28th, the Scots force their way across the Tyne, at Newburn, some miles above Newcastle; the King's Army making small fight, most of them no fight; hurrying from Newcastle, and all town and country quarters, towards York again, where his Majesty and Strafford were. The Bishops' War was at an end. The Scots, striving to be gentle as doves in their behaviour, and publishing boundless brotherly Declarations to all the brethren that loved Christ's Gospel and God's Justice in England,—took possession of Newcastle next day; took possession gradually of all Northumberland and Durham,—and stayed there, in various towns and villages, about a year. The whole body of English Puritans looked upon them as their saviours. . . . His Majesty and Strafford, in a fine frenzy at the turn of affairs, found no refuge, except to summon a 'Council of Peers,' to enter upon a 'Treaty' with the Scots; and alas, at last, summon a New Parliament. Not to be helped in any way. . . . A Parliament was appointed for the 3d of November next;—whereupon London cheerfully lent £200,000; and the Treaty with the Scots at Ripon, 1st October, 1640, by and by transferred to London, went peaceably on at a very leisurely pace. The Scotch Army lay quartered at Newcastle, and over Northumberland and Durham, on an allowance of £850 a day; an Army indispensable for Puritan objects; no haste in finishing its Treaty. The English army lay across in Yorkshire; without allowance except from the casualties of the King's Exchequer; in a dissatisfied manner, and occasionally getting into 'Army-Plots.' This Parliament, which met on the 3d of November, 1640, has become very celebrated in History by the name of the 'Long Parliament.'—T. Carlyle, *Cromwell's letters and speeches*, pt. 1: 1640.—"A point may be reached where the people have to assert their rights, be the peril what it may; and in Great Britain this point was passed under Charles I. The first break came, not in England, but in Scotland. . . . In Scotland the spirit of Puritanism was uppermost, and was already exhibiting both its strength and its weakness; its sincerity and its lack of breadth; its stern morality and its failure to discriminate between essentials and non-essentials; its loftiness of aim and its tendency to condemn liberality of thought in religion, art, literature, and science, alike as irreligious; its insistence on purity of life, and yet its unconscious tendency to promote hypocrisy and

to drive out one form of religious tyranny merely to erect another. A man of any insight would not have striven to force an alien system of ecclesiastical government upon a people so stubborn and self-reliant, who were wedded to their own system of religious thought. But this was what Laud attempted, with the full approval of Charles. In 1637 he made a last effort to introduce the ceremonies of the English Church at Edinburgh. No sooner was the reading of the Prayer-Book begun than the congregation burst into wild uproar, execrating it as no better than celebrating mass. It was essentially a popular revolt. . . . The whole nation responded to the cry, and hurried to sign a national Covenant, engaging to defend the Reformed religion, and to do away with all 'innovations,' that is, with everything in which Episcopacy differed from Puritanism and inclined toward the Church of Rome. In England and Scotland alike the Church of Rome was still accepted by the people at large as the most dangerous of enemies. The wonderful career of Gustavus Adolphus had just closed. The Thirty Years' War—the last great religious struggle—was still at its height. If, in France, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew stood far in the past, the Revolution of the Edict of Nantes yet lay in the future. The after-glow of the fires of Smithfield still gleamed with lurid light in each sombre Puritan heart. The men who, in England, were most earnest about their religion held to their Calvinistic creed with the utmost sincerity, high purpose, and self-devotion: but with no little harshness. There was a lofty creed, but one which, in the revolt against levity and viciousness, set up a standard of gloom; and, though ready to fight to the death for liberty for themselves, they had as yet little idea of tolerating liberty in others. Naturally, such men sympathized with one another, and the action of the Scotch was heartily, though secretly, applauded by the stoutest Presbyterians of England. Moreover, while menaced by the common oppressor, the Puritan independents, who afterward split off from the Presbyterians, made common cause with them, the irreconcilable differences between the two bodies not yet being evident. Soon the Scotch held a general assembly of the Church, composed of both clerical and lay members, and formally abolished Episcopacy, in spite of the angry protests of the King. Their action amounted in effect to establishing a theocracy. They repudiated the unlimited power of the King and the bishops, as men would do nowadays in like case; but they declared against liberty of thought and conduct in religious matters, basing their action on practically the same line of reasoning that influenced the very men they most denounced, hated, and feared. The King took up the glove which the Scotch had thrown down. He raised an army and undertook the first of what were derisively known as the 'Bishops' Wars.' But his people sympathized with the Scotch rather than with him. He got an army together on the Border, but it would not fight, and he was forced reluctantly to treat for peace. Then Strafford came back from Ireland and requested Charles to summon a Parliament so that he could get funds. In April, 1640, the Short Parliament came together, but the English spirit was now almost as high as the Scotch in hostility to the King, and Parliament would not grant anything to the King until the grievances of the people were redressed. To this demand Charles would not listen, and the Parliament was promptly dissolved. Then, being heartened by Laud, and especially by Strafford, Charles renewed the war, only to see his army driven in headlong panic before the Scotch

at Newburn. The result was that he had to try to patch up a peace under the direction of Strafford. But the Scotch would not leave the kingdom until they were paid the expenses of the war. There was no money to pay them, and Charles had to summon Parliament once more. On November 3, 1640, the Long Parliament met at Westminster."—T. Roosevelt, *Oliver Cromwell*, pp. 38, 39, 40, 41.

ALSO IN: J. Forster, *Statesmen of the Commonwealth: Strafford*.—S. R. Gardiner, *History of England, 1603-1642*, ch. 91-94.—J. H. Burton, *History of Scotland*, v. 7, ch. 72-73.

1640-1641.—Long Parliament and the beginning of its work.—Impeachment and execution of Strafford.—"The game of tyranny was now up. Charles had risked and lost his last stake. It is impossible to trace the mortifications and humiliations which this bad man now had to endure without a feeling of vindictive pleasure. His army was mutinous; his treasury was empty; his people clamoured for a Parliament; addresses and petitions against the government were presented. Strafford was for shooting those who presented them by martial law, but the king could not trust the soldiers. A great council of Peers was called at York, but the king would not trust even the Peers. He struggled, he evaded, he hesitated, he tried every shift rather than again face the representatives of his injured people. At length no shift was left. He made a truce with the Scots, and summoned a Parliament. . . . On the 3rd of November, 1640—a day to be long remembered—met that great Parliament, destined to every extreme of fortune—to empire and to servitude, to glory and to contempt;—at one time the sovereign of its sovereign, at another time the servant of its servants, and the tool of its tools. From the first day of its meeting the attendance was great, and the aspect of the members was that of men not disposed to do the work negligently. The dissolution of the late Parliament had convinced most of them that half measures would no longer suffice. Clarendon tells us that 'the same men who, six months before, were observed to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied, talked now in another dialect both of kings and persons; and said that they must now be of another temper than they were the last Parliament.' The debt of vengeance was swollen by all the usury which had been accumulating during many years; and payment was made to the full. This memorable crisis called forth parliamentary abilities, such as England had never before seen. Among the most distinguished members of the House of Commons were Falkland, Hyde, Digby, Young, Harry Vane, Oliver St. John, Denzil Hollis, Nathaniel Fiennes. But two men exercised a paramount influence over the legislature and the country—Pym and Hampden; and by the universal consent of friends and enemies, the first place belonged to Hampden."—Lord Macaulay, *Nugent's memorials of Hampden (Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, v. 2)*.—"The resolute looks of the members as they gathered at Westminster contrasted with the hesitating words of the king, and each brought from borough or county a petition of grievances. Fresh petitions were brought every day by bands of citizens or farmers. Forty committees were appointed to examine and report on them, and their reports formed the grounds on which the Commons acted. One by one the illegal acts of the Tyranny were annulled. Prynne [William Prynne, a barrister, imprisoned by Laud for his attacks on the Episcopacy] and his fellow 'martyrs' recalled from

their prisons, entered London in triumph, amid the shouts of a great multitude who strewed laurel in their path. The civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Privy Council, the Star Chamber, the Court of High Commission, the irregular jurisdictions of the Council of the North, of the Duchy of Lancaster, the County of Chester, and a crowd of lesser tribunals, were summarily abolished. Ship-money was declared illegal, and the judgment in Hampden's case annulled. A statute declaring 'the ancient right of the subjects of this kingdom that no subsidy, custom, impost, or any charge whatsoever, ought or may be laid or imposed upon any merchandize exported or imported by subjects, denizens or allies, without common consent of Parliament,' put an end forever to all pretensions

'that grand apostate to the Commonwealth who,' in the terrible words which closed Lord Digby's invective, 'must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be dispatched to the other.' He was conscious of his danger, but Charles forced him to attend the Court." He came to London with the solemn assurance of his master that, "while there was a king in England, not a hair of Strafford's head should be touched by the Parliament." Immediately impeached for high treason by the Commons, and sent to the Tower, he received from the king a second and more solemn pledge, by letter, that, "upon the word of a king, you shall not suffer in life, honour or fortune." But the "word of a king" likes Charles Stuart, had neither honor nor gratitude, nor a decent self respect behind it.



THE EARL OF STRAFFORD GOING TO EXECUTION, MAY 12, 1641

Being blessed by the Archbishop Laud

(Painted by Paul Delaroché)

to a right of arbitrary taxation on the part of the crown. A Triennial Bill enforced the Assembly of the Houses every three years, and bound the sheriff and citizens to proceed to election if the Royal writ failed to summon them. Charles protested, but gave way. He was forced to look helplessly on at the wreck of his Tyranny, for the Scotch army was still encamped in the north. . . . Meanwhile the Commons were dealing roughly with the agents of the Royal system. . . . Windebank, the Secretary of State, with the Chancellor, Finch, fled in terror over sea. Laud himself was flung into prison. . . . But even Laud, hateful as he was to all but the poor neighbors whose prayers his alms had won, was not the centre of so great and universal a hatred as the Earl of Strafford. Strafford's guilt was more than the guilt of a servile instrument of tyranny—it was the guilt of

He could be false to a friend as easily as to an enemy. When the Commons, fearing failure on the trial of their impeachment, resorted to a bill of attainder, Charles signed it with a little resistance, and Strafford went bravely and manfully to the block. "As the axe fell, the silence of the great multitude was broken by a universal shout of joy. The streets blazed with bonfires. The bells clashed out from every steeple."—J. R. Green, *Short history of England*, ch. 8, sect. 6.—Laud met his death at the same place, Jan. 10, 1644.

1641 (March-May).—Root and Branch Bill.—"A bill was brought in [March, 1641], known as the Restraining Bill, to deprive Bishops of their rights of voting in the House of Lords. The opposition it encountered in that House induced the Commons to follow it up [May 27] with a more vehement measure, 'for the utter abolition of Arch-

bishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Prebendaries and Canons,' a measure known by the title of the Root and Branch Bill. By the skill of the royal partisans, this bill was long delayed in Committee."—J. F. Bright, *History of England*, v. 2, period 2, p. 650.

ALSO IN: D. Masson, *Life of John Milton*, v. 2, bk. 2, ch. 3.

1641 (October).—Roundheads and Cavaliers.—Birth of English parties.—"After ten months of assiduous toil, the Houses, in September, 1641, adjourned for a short vacation and the king visited Scotland. He with difficulty pacified that kingdom, by consenting not only to relinquish his plans of ecclesiastical reform, but even to pass, with a very bad grace, an act declaring that episcopacy was contrary to the word of God. The recess of the English Parliament lasted six weeks. The day on which the houses met again is one of the most remarkable epochs in our history. From that day dates the corporate existence of the two great parties which have ever since alternately governed the country. . . . During the first months of the Long Parliament, the indignation excited by many years of lawless oppression was so strong and general that the House of Commons acted as one man. Abuse after abuse disappeared without a struggle. If a small minority of the representative body wished to retain the Star Chamber and the High Commission, that minority, overawed by the enthusiasm and by the numerical superiority of the reformers, contented itself with secretly regretting institutions which could not, with any hope of success, be openly defended. At a later period the Royalists found it convenient to antedate the separation between themselves and their opponents, and to attribute the Act which restrained the king from dissolving or proroguing the Parliament, the Triennial Act, the impeachment of the ministers, and the attainder of Strafford, to the faction which afterwards made war on the king. But no artifice could be more disingenuous. Every one of those strong measures was actively promoted by the men who were afterwards foremost among the Cavaliers. No republican spoke of the long mis-government of Charles more severely than Colepepper [John, first Lord Colepepper; chancellor of the exchequer, 1642]. The most remarkable speech in favour of the Triennial Bill was made by Digby. [Sir Kenelm Digby, brought up a Roman Catholic; chancellor to Queen Henrietta Maria (wife of Charles I) after 1643]. The impeachment of the Lord Keeper was moved by Falkland [Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, secretary of state 1641; went over to the royalists, 1642]. The demand that the Lord Lieutenant should be kept close prisoner was made at the bar of the Lords by Hyde. Not till the law attaining Strafford was proposed did the signs of serious disunion become visible. Even against that law, a law which nothing but extreme necessity could justify, only about sixty members of the House of Commons voted. It is certain that Hyde was not in the minority, and that Falkland not only voted with the majority, but spoke strongly for the bill. Even the few who entertained a scruple about inflicting death by a retrospective enactment thought it necessary to express the utmost abhorrence of Strafford's character and administration. But under this apparent concord a great schism was latent; and when, in October 1641, the Parliament reassembled after a short recess, two hostile parties, essentially the same with those which, under different names, have ever since contended, and are still contending, for the direction of public affairs, appeared confronting

each other. During some years they were designated as Cavaliers and Roundheads. They were subsequently called Tories and Whigs; nor does it seem that these appellations are likely soon to become obsolete."—Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, ch. 1.—It was not until some months later, however, that the name of Roundheads was applied to the defenders of popular rights by their royalist adversaries.—See also ROUNDHEADS.

1641 (November).—Grand Remonstrance.—Early in November, 1641, the king being in Scotland, and news of the insurrection in Ireland [Ulster Rebellion. See IRELAND: 1641] having just reached London, the party of Pym, Hampden, and Cromwell "resolved on a great pitched battle between them and the opposition, which should try their relative strengths before the king's return; and they chose to fight this battle over a vast document, which they entitled 'A Declaration and Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom,' but which has come to be known since as 'The Grand Remonstrance. . . . The notion of a great general document which, under the name of 'A Remonstrance,' should present to the king in one view a survey of the principal evils that had crept into the kingdom in his own and preceding reigns, with a detection of their causes, and a specification of the remedies, had more than once been before the Commons. It had been first mooted by Lord Digby while the Parliament was not a week old. Again and again set aside for more immediate work, it had recurred to the leaders of the Movement party, just before the king's departure for Scotland, as likely to afford the broad battleground with the opposition then becoming desirable. 'A Remonstrance to be made, how we found the Kingdom and the Church, and how the state of it now stands,' such was the description of the then intended document (Aug. 7). The document had doubtless been in rehearsal through the Recess, for on the 8th of November the rough draft of it was presented to the House and read at the clerk's table. When we say that the document in its final form occupies thirteen folio pages of rather close print in Rushworth, and consists of a preamble followed by 206 articles or paragraphs duly numbered, one can conceive what a task the reading of even the first draft of it must have been, and through what a storm of successive debates over proposed amendments and additions it reached completeness. There had been no such debates yet in the Parliament."—D. Masson, *Life of John Milton*, v. 2, bk. 2, ch. 6.—"It [the Grand Remonstrance] embodies the case of the Parliament against the Ministers of the king. It is the most authentic statement ever put forth of the wrongs endured by all classes of the English people, during the first fifteen years of the reign of Charles I.; and, for that reason, the most complete justification upon record of the Great Rebellion."—J. Forster, *Debates on the Grand Remonstrance (Historical and biographical essays*, v. 1).—"In this (document) all of Charles' errors were enumerated and a demand was made that the king's ministers should thereafter be responsible to Parliament. This document Parliament ordered to be printed and circulated throughout the country."—J. H. Robinson, *History of western Europe*, p. 484.—For text of this document, see GRAND REMONSTRANCE.

1642.—Law regarding control and instruction of children. See CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 1597-1642.

1642 (January).—King's attempt against the Five Members.—On the 3d of January, "the king was betrayed into . . . an indiscretion. . . . This

was the impeachment of Lord Kimbolton and the five members. . . . Herbert, attorney-general, appeared in the House of Peers, and, in his majesty's name, entered an accusation of high treason against Lord Kimbolton and five commoners, Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hambden, Pym, and Strode. The articles were: That they had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impose on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; that they had endeavoured, by many foul aspersions on his majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and make him odious to them; that they had attempted to draw his late army to disobedience of his royal commands, and to side with them in their traitorous designs; that they had invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade the kingdom; that they had aimed at subverting the rights and very being of Parliament; that, in order to complete their traitorous designs, they had endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the Parliament to join with them, and to that end had actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king and Parliament; and that they had traitorously conspired to levy, and actually had levied, war against the king. The whole world stood amazed at this important accusation, so suddenly entered upon, without concert, deliberation or reflection. . . . A sergeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the House the five members, and was sent back without any positive answer. Messengers were employed to search for them and arrest them. Their trunks, chambers, and studies, were sealed and locked. The House voted all these acts of violence to be breaches of privilege, and commanded every one to defend the liberty of the members. The king, irritated by all this opposition, resolved next day to come in person to the House, with an intention to demand, perhaps seize, in their presence, the persons whom he had accused. This resolution was discovered; . . . and they [the five members] had time to withdraw, a moment before the king entered. He was accompanied by his ordinary retinue, to the number of above two hundred. . . . The king left them at the door and he himself advanced alone through the hall, while all the members rose to receive him. The speaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took possession of it. . . . When the king was looking around for the accused members, he asked the speaker, who stood below, whether any of these persons were in the House? The speaker, falling on his knee, prudently replied: 'I have, sir, neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am. And I humbly ask pardon, that I cannot give any other answer to what your majesty is pleased to demand of me.' The Commons were in the utmost disorder; . . . the House immediately adjourned till next day. That evening the accused members, to show the greater apprehension, removed into the city, which was their fortress. The citizens were the whole night in arms. When the people . . . were wrought up to a sufficient degree of rage and terror, it was thought proper, that the accused members should, with a triumphant and military procession, take their seats in the House. The river was covered with boats, and other vessels, laden with small pieces of ordnance, and prepared for fight. Skippon, whom the Parliament had appointed, by their own authority, major-general of the city militia, conducted the members, at the head of this tumultuary army, to Westminster-

hall. And when the populace, by land and by water, passed Whitehall, they still asked, with insulting shouts, What has become of the king and his cavaliers? And whither are they fled? The king, apprehensive of danger from the enraged multitude, had retired to Hampton-court, deserted by all the world, and overwhelmed with grief, shame, and remorse for the fatal measures into which he had been hurried."—D. Hume, *History of England*, v. 5, ch. 55, pp. 85-01.

Also 18: S. R. Gardiner, *First two Stuarts and the Puritan revolution*, ch. 6, sect. 5.—Idem, *History of England, 1603-1642*, v. 10, ch. 103.—J. Forster, *Statesmen of the Commonwealth: Pym; Hampden*.—L. von Ranke, *History of England, 17th century*, v. 2, bk. 8, ch. 10.

1642 (January-August).—Preparations for war.—Marshalling of forces.—Raising of the king's standard.—"January 10th. The King with his Courts quits Whitehall; the Five Members and Parliament proposing to return tomorrow, with the whole City in arms round them. He left Whitehall; never saw it again till he came to lay down his head there. March 9th. The King has sent away his Queen from Dover, "to be in a place of safety,"—and also to pawn the Crown-jewels in Holland, and get him arms. He returns Northward again, avoiding London. Many messages between the Houses of Parliament and him: 'Will your Majesty grant us Power of the Militia; accept this list of Lord-Lieutenants?' On the 9th of March, still advancing Northward without affirmative response, he has got to Newmarket; where another Message overtakes him, earnestly urges itself upon him: 'Could not your Majesty please to grant us Power of the Militia for a limited time?' 'No, by God!' answers his Majesty, 'not for an hour.'—On the 10th of March he is at York, [his headquarters] where his Hull Magazine, gathered for service against the Scots, is lying near; where a great Earl of Newcastle, and other Northern potentates, will help him; where at least London and its Puritanism, now grown so fierce, is far off. There we will leave him; attempting Hull Magazine, in vain; exchanging messages with his Parliament; messages, missives, printed and written Papers without limit: Law-pleadings of both parties before the great tribunal of the English Nation, each party striving to prove itself right and within the verge of Law: preserved still in acres of typography, once thrillingly alive in every fibre of them; now a mere torpor, readable by few creatures, not rememberable by any."—T. Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's letters and speeches*, pt. 2, preliminary.—"As early as June 2 a ship had arrived on the North-English coast, bringing the King arms and ammunition from Holland, purchased by the sale of the crown-jewels which the Queen had taken abroad. On the 22d day of the same month more than forty of the nobles and others in attendance on the King at York had put down their names for the numbers of armed horse they would furnish respectively for his service. Requisitions in the King's name were also out for supplies of money; and the two Universities, and the Colleges in each, were invited to send in their plate. On the other hand, the Parliament had not been more negligent. [Between June and August Parliament had chosen a committee of safety for the kingdom, voted an army and made the Earl of Essex commander-in-chief.] There had been contributions or promises from all the chief Parliamentary nobles and others; there was a large loan from the city; and hundreds of thousands, on a smaller scale, were willing to subscribe. And already, through all the shires, the two opposed

powers were grappling and jostling with each other in raising levies. Despite all these preparations, however, it was probably not till August had begun that the certainty of Civil War was universally acknowledged. It was on the 6th of that month that the King issued his proclamation 'for suppressing the present Rebellion under the command of Robert, Earl of Essex,' offering pardon to him and others if within six days they made their submission. The Parliamentary answer to this was on the 11th; on which day the Commons resolved, each man separately rising in his place and giving his word, that they would stand by the Earl of Essex with their lives and fortunes to the end. Still, even after that, there were trembling souls here and there who hoped for a reconciliation. Monday the 22d of August put an end to all such fluttering:—On that day, the King, who had meanwhile left York, and come about a hundred miles farther south, into the very heart of England, . . . made a backward movement as far as the town of Nottingham, where preparations had been made for the great scene that was to follow. . . . This consisted in bringing out the royal standard and setting it up in due form. It was about six o'clock in the evening when it was done. . . . A herald read a proclamation, declaring the cause why the standard had been set up, and summoning all the lieges to assist his Majesty. Those who were present cheered and threw up their hats, and, with a beating of drums and a sounding of trumpets, the ceremony ended. . . . From that evening of the 22d of August, 1642, the Civil War had begun."—D. Masson, *Life of John Milton*, v. 2, bk. 2, ch. 8.

ALSO IN: John Forster, *Statesmen of the Commonwealth: Pym; Hampden*.—S. R. Gardiner, *History of England, 1603-1642*, v. 10, ch. 104-105.

1642 (August-September).—Nation choosing sides.—"In wealth, in numbers, and in cohesion the Parliament was stronger than the king. To him there had rallied most of the greater nobles, many of the lesser gentry, some proportion of the richer citizens, the townsmen of the west, and the rural population generally of the west and north of England. For the Parliament stood a strong section of the peers and greater gentry, the great bulk of the lesser gentry, the townsmen of the richer parts of England, the whole eastern and home counties, and lastly, the city of London. But as the Civil War did not sharply divide classes, so neither did it geographically bisect England. Roughly speaking, aristocracy and peasantry, the Church, universities, the world of culture, fashion, and pleasure were loyal: the gentry, the yeomanry, trade, commerce, morality, and law inclined to the Parliament. Broadly divided, the north and west went for the king; the south and east for the Houses; but the lines of demarcation were never exact: cities, castles, and manor-houses long held out in an enemy's county. There is only one permanent limitation. Draw a line from the Wash to the Solent. East of that line the country never yielded to the king; from first to last it never failed the Parliament. Within it are enclosed Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, Bucks, Herts, Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Sussex. This was the wealthiest, the most populous, and the most advanced portion of England. With Gloucester, Reading, Bristol, Leicester, and Northampton, it formed the natural home of Puritanism."—F. Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*, ch. 4.

1642 (September).—Edict suppressing stage representations. See DRAMA: 1603-1648.

1642 (October-December).—Edgehill. — The opening battle of the war.—Eastern Association.

—Immediately after the raising of his standard at Nottingham, the king, "aware at last that he could not rely on the inhabitants of Yorkshire, moved to Shrewsbury, at once to collect the Catholic gentry at Lancashire and Cheshire, to receive the Royalist levies of Wales, and to secure the valley of the Severn. The movement was successful. In a few days his little army was increased fourfold, and he felt himself strong enough to make a direct march towards the capital. Essex had garrisoned Northampton, Coventry and Warwick, and lay himself at Worcester; but the King, waiting for no sieges, left the garrisoned towns unmolested and passed on towards London, and Essex received peremptory orders to pursue and interpose if possible between the King and London. On the 22nd of October he was close upon the King's rear at Keynton, between Stratford and Banbury. But his army was by no means at its full strength; some regiments had been left to garrison the West, others, under Hampden had not yet joined him. But delay was impossible, and the first battle of the war was fought on the plain at the foot of the north-west slope of Edgehill, over which the royal army descended, turning back on its course to meet Essex. Both parties claimed the victory. In fact it was with the King. The Parliamentary cavalry found themselves wholly unable to withstand the charge of Rupert's cavaliers. [Rupert was the nephew of the king and the son of Frederick, Elector Palatine. He began the war as commander of the cavalry and later became commander-in-chief of the royal forces.] Whole regiments turned and fled without striking a blow; but, as usual, want of discipline ruined the royal cause. Rupert's men fell to plundering the Parliamentary baggage, and returned to the field only in time to find that the infantry, under the personal leading of Essex, had reestablished the fight. Night closed the battle [which is sometimes named from Edgehill and sometimes from Keynton]. The King's army withdrew to the vantage-ground of the hills, and Essex, reinforced by Hampden, passed the night upon the field. But the Royalist army was neither beaten nor checked in its advance, while the rottenness of the Parliamentary troops had been disclosed." Some attempts at peace-making followed this doubtful first collision; but their only effect was to embitter the passions on both sides. The King advanced, threatening London, but the citizens of the capital turned out valiantly to oppose him, and he "fell back upon Oxford, which henceforward became the centre of their operations. . . . War was again the only resource, and speedily became universal. . . . There was local fighting over the whole of England. . . . The headquarters of the King were constantly at Oxford, from which, as from a centre, Rupert would suddenly make rapid raids, now in one direction, now in another."—J. F. Bright, *History of England, period 2*, p. 659.—"This winter there arise among certain Counties 'Associations' for mutual defence, against Royalism and plunderous Rupertism; a measure cherished by the Parliament, condemned as treasonable by the King. Of which 'Associations,' countable to the number of five or six, we name only one, that of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Herts; with Lord Gray of Wark for Commander; where and under whom Oliver was now serving. This 'Eastern Association' is alone worth naming. All the other Associations, no man of emphasis being in the midst of them, fell in a few months to pieces; only this of Cromwell subsisted, enlarged itself, grew famous;—and kept its own borders clear of invasion during the whole course of the War."—

T. Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's letters and speeches*, pt. 2, preliminary.

ALSO IN: S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, v. 1, ch. 2-4.—W. Godwin, *History of the Commonwealth*, v. 1, ch. 2.

1643 (April).—Battle of Birmingham. See BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND: 1643.

1643 (May).—Cromwell's Ironsides.—"It was

trusts to greater; from my first being Captain of a Troop of Horse. . . . I had a very worthy friend then; and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory was very grateful to all,—Mr. John Hampden. At my first going out into this engagement, I saw our men were beaten at every hand. . . . Your troops, said I, are most of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such



ENGLAND AND WALES DURING THE CIVIL WARS OF THE 17TH CENTURY

. . . probably, a little before Edgehill, that there took place between Cromwell and Hampden the memorable conversation which fifteen years afterwards the Protector related in a speech to his second Parliament. It is a piece of autobiography so instructive and pathetic that it must be set forth in full in the words of Cromwell himself:—"I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser

kind of fellows; and, said I, their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality; do you think that the spirits of such base mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution in them? Truly I did represent to him in this manner conscientiously; and truly I did tell him: You must get men of a spirit; and take it not ill what I say.—I know you will not,—of a spirit

that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go; or else you will be beaten still. I told him so; I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. . . . I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did; and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy they beat continually.' . . . The issue of the whole war lay in that word. It lay with 'such men as had some conscience in what they did.' 'From that day forward they were never beaten.' . . . 'As for Colonel Cromwell,' writes a newsletter of May, 1643, 'he hath 2,000 brave men, well disciplined; no man swears but he pays his twelve-pence; if he be drunk, he is set in the stocks, or worse; if one calls the other roundhead he is cashiered: insomuch that the countries where they come leap for joy of them, and come in and join with them. How happy were it if all the forces were thus disciplined!' These were the men who ultimately decided the war, and established the Commonwealth. On the field of Marston, Rupert gave Cromwell the name of Ironside, and from thence this famous name passed to his troopers. There are two features in their history which we need to note. They were indeed 'such men as had some conscience in their work'; but they were also much more. They were disciplined and trained soldiers. They were the only body of 'regulars' on either side. The instinctive genius of Cromwell from the very first created the strong nucleus of a regular army, which at last in discipline, in skill, in valour, reached the highest perfection ever attained by soldiers either in ancient or modern times. The fervour of Cromwell is continually pressing towards the extension of this 'regular' force. Through all the early disasters, this body of Ironsides kept the cause alive: at Marston [1644] it overwhelmed the king: as soon as, by the New Model, this system was extended to the whole army, the Civil War was at an end." F. Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*, ch. 4.—See also MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 30.

ALSO IN: J. Forster, *Statesmen of the Commonwealth: Cromwell*.

1643 (June-September).—**King calls in the Irish.**—"To balance the accession of power which the alliance with Scotland [Solemn League and Covenant (1643)] brought to the Parliament, Charles was so unwise, men then said so guilty, as to conclude a peace with the Irish rebels, with the intent that thus those of his forces which had been employed against them, might be set free to join his army in England. No act of the King, not the levying of ship-money, not the crowd of monopolies which enriched the court and impoverished the people, neither the extravagance of Buckingham, the tyranny of Strafford nor the prelacy of Laud, not even the attempted arrest of the five members, raised such a storm of indignation and hatred throughout the kingdom, as did this determination of the King to withdraw (as men said), for the purpose of subduing his subjects, the force which had been raised to avenge the blood of 100,000 Protestant martyrs. . . . To the England of the time this act was nauseous, was exasperating to the highest degree, while to the cause of the King it was fatal; for, from this moment, the condition of the Parliamentary party began to mend."—N. L. Walford, *Parliamentary generals of the Great Civil War*, ch. 2.—"None of the king's schemes proved so fatal to his cause as these. On their discovery, officer after officer in his own army flung down their commissions,

the peers who had fled to Oxford fled back again to London, and the Royalist reaction in the Parliament itself came utterly to an end."—J. R. Green, *Short history of England*, ch. 8, sect. 7.

ALSO IN: S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, v. 1, ch. 11.

1643 (July).—**Meeting of the Westminster Assembly of divines.**—At the beginning of July, 1643, "London was astir with a new event of great consequence in the course of the national revolution. This was the meeting of the famous Westminster Assembly. The necessity of an ecclesiastical Synod or Convocation, to cooperate with the Parliament, had been long felt. Among the articles of the Grand Remonstrance of Dec. 1641 had been one desiring a convention of 'a General Synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this island, assisted by some from foreign parts,' to consider of all things relating to the Church and report thereon to Parliament. . . . Notwithstanding a Royal Proclamation from Oxford, dated June 22, forbidding the Assembly and threatening consequences, the first meeting duly took place on the day appointed—Saturday, July 1, 1643; and from that day till the 22 of February, 1648-9, or for more than five years and a half, the Westminster Assembly is to be borne in mind as a power or institution in the English realm, existing side by side with the Long Parliament, and in constant conference and cooperation with it. The number of its sittings during these five years and a half was 1,163 in all; which is at the rate of about four sittings every week for the whole time. The earliest years of the Assembly were the most important."—D. Masson, *Life of John Milton*, v. 2, bk. 3, ch. 3.—See also INDEPENDENTS; WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

ALSO IN: A. F. Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, lect. 4-5.—D. Neal, *History of the Puritans*, v. 3, ch. 2 and 4.

1643 (July-September).—**Solemn League and Covenant with the Scottish nation.**—"Scotland had been hitherto kept aloof from the English quarrel. . . . Up to this time the pride and delicacy of the English patriots withheld them, for obvious reasons, from claiming her assistance. Had it been possible, they would still have desired to engage no distant party in this great domestic struggle; but when the present unexpected crisis arrived . . . these considerations were laid aside, and the chief leaders of the Parliament resolved upon an embassy to the North, to bring the Scottish nation into the field. The conduct of this embassy was a matter of the highest difficulty and danger. The Scots were known to be bigoted to their own persuasions of narrow and exclusive church government, while the greatest men of the English Parliament had proclaimed the sacred maxim that every man who worshipped God according to the dictates of his conscience was entitled to the protection of the State. But these men, Vane, Cromwell, Marten and St. John, though the difficulties of the common cause had brought them into the acknowledged position of leaders and directors of affairs, were in a minority in the House of Commons, and the party who were their superiors in numbers were as bigoted to the most exclusive principles of Presbyterianism as the Scots themselves. Denzil Holles stood at the head of this inferior class of patriots. . . . The most eminent of the Parliamentary nobility, particularly Northumberland, Essex and Manchester belonged also to this body; while the London clergy, and the metropolis itself, were almost entirely Presbyterian. These things considered, there was indeed great reason to apprehend that this party, backed by the Scots,

and supported with a Scottish army, would be strong enough to overpower the advocates of free conscience, and 'set up a tyranny not less to be deplored than that of Laud and his hierarchy, which had proved one of the main occasions of bringing on the war.' Yet, opposing to all this danger only their own high purposes and dauntless courage, the smaller party of more consummate statesmen were the first to propose the embassy to Scotland. . . . On the 20th of July, 1643, the commissioners set out from London. They were four; and the man principally confided in among them was Vane [Sir Henry, the younger]. He, indeed, was the individual best qualified to succeed Hampden as a counsellor in the arduous struggle in which the nation was at this time engaged. . . . Immediately on his arrival in Edinburgh the negotiation commenced, and what Vane seems to have anticipated at once occurred. The Scots offered their assistance heartily on the sole condition of an adhesion to the Scottish religious system on the part of England. After many long and very warm debates, in which Vane held to one firm policy from the first, a solemn covenant was proposed, which Vane insisted should be named a solemn league and covenant, while certain words were inserted in it on his subsequent motion, to which he also adhered with immovable constancy, and which had the effect of leaving open to the great party in England, to whose interests he was devoted, that last liberty of conscience which man should never surrender. . . . The famous article respecting religion ran in these words: 'That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the Reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best Reformed churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confessing of faith, form of church government directory for worship and catechizing; that we and our posterity after us, may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy (that is, church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy).' Vane, by this introduction of 'according to the Word of God,' left the interpretation of that word to the free conscience of every man. On the 17th of August, the solemn league and covenant was voted by the Legislature and the Assembly of the Church at Edinburgh. The king in desperate alarm, sent his commands to the Scotch people not to take such a covenant. In reply, they 'humbly advised his majesty to take the covenant himself.' The surpassing service rendered by Vane on this great occasion to the Parliamentary cause, exposed him to a more violent hatred from the Royalists than he had yet experienced, and Clarendon has used every artifice to depreciate his motives and his sincerity. . . . The solemn league and covenant remained to be adopted in England. The Scottish form of giving it authority was followed as far as possible. It was referred by the two Houses to the Assembly of Divines, which had commenced its sittings on the 1st of the preceding July, being called to-

gether to be consulted with by the Parliament for the purpose of settling the government and form of worship of the Church of England. This assembly already referred to, consisted of 121 of the clergy; and a number of lay assessors were joined with them, consisting of ten peers, and twenty members of the House of Commons. All these persons were named by the ordinance of the two Houses of Parliament which gave birth to the assembly. The public taking of the Covenant was solemnized on the 25th of September, each member of either House attesting his adherence by oath first, and then by subscribing his name. The name of Vane, subscribed immediately on his return, appears upon the list next to that of Cromwell."—J. Forster, *Statesmen of the Commonwealth: Vane*.—For text of the Solemn League and Covenant, see SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

ALSO IN: J. K. Hosmer, *Life of young Sir Henry Vane*, ch. 8.—A. F. Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, lect. 5-6.—D. Neal, *History of the Puritans*, v. 3, ch. 2.—S. R. Gardiner, *Constitutional documents of the Puritan revolution*, p. 187.

1643 (August-September).—Siege of Gloucester and first battle of Newbury.—"When the war had lasted a year, the advantage was decidedly with the Royalists. . . . In August, 1643, he [Charles] sat down before the city of Gloucester. That city was defended by the inhabitants and by th garrison, with a determination such as had not, since the commencement of the war, been shown by the adherents of the Parliament. The emulation of London was excited. The trainbands of the City volunteered to march wherever their services might be required. A great force was speedily collected, and began to move westward. The siege of Gloucester was raised. The Royalists in every part of the kingdom were disheartened; the spirit of the parliamentary party revived; and the apostate Lords, who had lately fled from Westminster to Oxford, hastened back from Oxford to Westminster."—Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, ch. 1.—"In Gloucester the Puritan minority, having overawed their less zealous fellow-townsmen, were valiantly conducting an almost desperate defence. The end was only delayed because Charles was hampered at this crisis of his fate by want of munitions and engines of war, the result of want of money and of sea communication. When it was known that the apprentices were coming to the relief of Gloucester, the infantry and guns were left in the trenches to press the siege, and Rupert was sent with the cavalry to prevent the passage of the Cotswold Hills. The Royalist horse swept that upland cloth district of its thousand flocks, as they had already on less occasion swept many other sheep runs in the West, winning for the King's cause the hostility of loyal populations. The citizen soldiers had therefore to advance without provisions over an open plateau, where the agricultural land was 'all champion,' that is, unenclosed by hedges, and where consequently they were subject to fierce attacks from Rupert's cavalry. But Essex had troops of all arms, including on this occasion an infantry, who were not rascals gathered by the press-gang, but 'citizens of good account.' They arrived at last on the steep edge of the Cotswolds above Cheltenham, they saw across the plain the roofs and towers of Gloucester in the morning light, and the long columns of besiegers winding away from their burning camp. The object of the great march had been achieved, but it remained for Essex to bring the citizen army home. The Cavaliers, in full force, blocked his retreat at Newbury. Already short of food, he must cut his way through,

or surrender in a few days. As the fields round this town were much enclosed, a fierce soldiers'-battle was fought in the lanes and ditches at push of pike all day long, until the enemy could be detected only by the flash of his musket through the darkened hedge. Then both sides flung themselves down to sleep among the slain, each regiment in the ground it held. Not to have conquered meant destruction for the Roundheads. Their generals waited uneasily for dawn. But if Essex was short of bread, Charles was short of powder. At dawn the royal army had disappeared. On the 25th of September, scarcely five weeks after they had marched out, the prentices returned . . . in triumphant array."—G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts* (*Political history of England*, v. 5, pp. 254-255).—After accomplishing the relief of Gloucester, the Parliamentary army, marching back to London, was intercepted at Newbury by the army of king, and forced to fight a battle, September 20, 1643, in which both parties, as at Edgehill, claimed the victory. The Royalists, however, failed to bar the road to London, as they had undertaken to do, and Essex resumed his march on the following morning.—"In this unhappy battle was slain the lord viscount Falkland; a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive sincerity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed war than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity."—Earl of Clarendon, *History of the rebellion*, bk. 7, sect. 217.—This lamented death on the royal side nearly evened, so to speak, the great, unmeasured calamity which had befallen the better cause three months before, when the high-souled patriot Hampden was slain in a paltry skirmish with Rupert's horse, at Chalgrove Field, not far from the borders of Oxfordshire. Soon after the fight at Newbury, Charles, having occupied Reading, withdrew his army to Oxford and went into winter quarters.—N. L. Walford, *Parliamentary generals of the Great Civil War*, ch. 2.—"In the end of 1643 the tide was at the turn. Of the leaders on the royalist side Falkland had fallen, on the parliamentary side Pym 'the greatest leader of them all' and Hampden were both gone. With these two the giants of the first generation fell. The crisis had undergone once more a change of phase. The clouds hung heavier, the storm was darker, the ship labored in the trough. A little group of men next stood in the front line, honorable in character and patriotic in intention, but mediocre in their capacity for war. . . . For them too the hour had struck. Essex, Manchester, Warwick, were slow in motion without being firm in conclusion; just and candid, but . . . unwilling to see that Thorough must be met by Thorough; and of that Fabian type whom the quick call for action, instead of inspiring, irritates. . . . Cromwell had truer impressions and better nerve. The one essential was that Charles should not come out master in the military struggle. Cromwell saw that at this stage nothing else mattered; he saw that the Parliamentary liberties of the country could have no safety, until the king's weapon had been finally struck from his hand. At least one other actor in that scene was as keenly alive to this as Cromwell, and that was Charles himself. It is a mistake to suppose that the patriots and their comrades had now at their back a nation at red heat. The flame kindled by the attempted arrest of the five members, and by the tyranny of the Star Chamber or of the bishops,

had a little sunk. Divisions had arisen, and that fatal and familiar stage had come when men on the same side hate one another more bitterly than they hate the common foe. New circumstances evolved new motives. Some who had been most forward against the king at first had early fainted by the way and were now thinking of pardon and royal favor. Others were men of a neutral spirit, willing to have a peace on any terms. Others had got estates by serving the Parliament and now wished to secure them by serving the king. . . . Cromwell in his place warned the House of the discouragement that was stealing upon the public mind. Unless, he said, we have a more vigorous prosecution of the war, we shall make the kingdom weary of us and hate the name of a Parliament. Even many that had at the beginning been their friends, were now saying that Lords and Commons had got great places and commands and the power of the sword into their hands, and would prolong the war in order to perpetuate their own grandeur, just as soldiers of fortune across the seas spun out campaigns in order to keep their own employments. If the army were not put upon another footing and the war more vigorously followed, the people could bear the war no longer, but would insist upon peace, even rather a dishonorable peace than none. Almost the same reproaches were brought on the other side. This is the moment when Clarendon says that it seemed as if the whole stock of affection, loyalty, and courage that had at first animated the friends of the king were now quite spent, and had been followed up by negligence, laziness, inadvertency, and base dejection of spirit. Mere folly produced as much mischief to the king's cause as deliberate villainy could have done. Charles's own counsels according to Clarendon were as irresolute and unsteady as his advisers were ill-humored and factious. They were all blind to what ought to have been evident, and full of trepidation about things that were never likely to happen. One day they wasted time in deliberating without coming to a decision, another day they decided without deliberating. Worst of all, decision was never followed by vigorous execution. . . . All through the summer of 1643 the tide of victory flowed strong for the king. . . . [After the fall of Bristol] it seemed as if nothing could prevent the triumph of a great combined operation by which the king should lead his main army down the valley of the Thames, while Newcastle should bring his northern force through the eastern counties and unite with the king in overpowering London. But the moment was lost, and the tide turned. For good reasons or bad, the king stopped to lay siege to Gloucester, and so gave time to Essex to recover. This was one of the critical events of the war, as it was Essex's one marked success."—J. Morley, *Oliver Cromwell*, pp. 131-135.

ALSO IN: E. Cust, *Lives of the warriors of the Civil War*, pt. 2.—S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, v. 1, ch. 10.

1644 (January-July).—Defeat of Irish loyalists.—Scots in England.—Battle of Marston Moor.—The Irish army brought over by King Charles and landed in Flintshire, in November, 1643, under the command of Lord Byron, invaded Cheshire and laid siege to Nantwich, which was the headquarters of the Parliamentary cause in that region. Young Sir Thomas Fairfax was ordered to collect forces and relieve the town. With great difficulty he succeeded, near the end of January, 1644, in leading 2,500 foot-soldiers and twenty-eight troops of horse, against the besieging army, which numbered 3,000 foot and 1,800 horse.

On the 28th of January he attacked and routed the Irish royalists completely. "On the 19th of January, 1644, the Scottish army entered England. Lesley, now earl of Leven, commanded them. . . . In the meantime, the parliament at Westminster formed a council under the title of 'The Committee of the Two Kingdoms,' consisting of seven Lords, fourteen members of the Commons, and four Scottish Commissioners. Whatever belongs to the executive power as distinguished from the legislative devolved upon this Committee. In the spring of 1644 the parliament had five armies in the field, paid by general or local taxation, and by voluntary contributions. Including the Scottish army there were altogether 56,000 men under arms; the English forces [Parliamentary] being commanded, as separate armies, by Essex, Waller, Manchester, and Fairfax. Essex and Waller advanced to blockade Oxford. The queen went to Exeter in April, and never saw Charles again. The blockading forces around Oxford had become so strong that resistance appeared to be hopeless. On the night of the 3d of June the king secretly left the city and passed safely between the two hostile armies. There had again been jealousies and disagreements between Essex and Waller. Essex, supported by the council of war, but in opposition to the committee of the two kingdoms, had marched to the west. Waller, meanwhile, went in pursuit of the king into Worcestershire. Charles suddenly returned to Oxford; and then at Copredy Bridge, near Banbury, defeated Waller, who had hastened back to encounter him. Essex was before the walls of Exeter, in which city the queen had given birth to a princess. The king hastened to the west. He was strong enough to meet either of the parliamentary armies thus separated. Meanwhile the combined English and Scottish armies were besieging York. Rupert had just accomplished the relief of Lathom House, which had been defended by the heroic countess of Derby for eighteen weeks, against a detachment of the army of Fairfax. He then marched towards York with 20,000 men. The allied English and Scots retired from Hesse Moor, near York, to Tadcaster. Rupert entered York with 2,000 cavalry. The Earl of Newcastle was in command there. He counselled a prudent delay. The impetuous Rupert said he had the orders of the king for his guidance, and he was resolved to fight. On the 2nd of July, having rested two days in and near York, and enabled the city to be newly provisioned, the royalist army went forth to engage. They met their enemy on Marston Moor."—C. Knight, *Crown history of England*, ch. 25.—"For some five hours (July 21) the two hosts with colors flying and match burning, looked each other in the face. It was a showery summer afternoon. The Parliamentarians in the standing corn, hungry and wet, beguiled the time in singing hymns. 'You cannot imagine,' says an eye-witness, 'the courage, spirit, and resolution that was taken up on both sides; for we looked, and no doubt they also, upon this fight as the losing or gaining the garland.' . . . At seven o'clock the flame of battle leaped forth, the low hum of the two armed hosts in an instant charged into fierce uproar, and before many minutes the moor and the slope of the hill were covered with bloodshed and disorder. Who gave the sign for the general engagement we do not know, and it is even likely that no sign as the result of deliberate and concerted plan was ever given at all. . . . Cromwell, on the Parliamentary left, charged Rupert with the greatest resolution that ever was seen. It was the first time that these two great leaders of horse had ever met in direct shock, and

it was here that Rupert gave to Oliver the brave nickname of Ironside. As it happened, this was also one of the rare occasions when Oliver's cavalry suffered a check. David Leslie with his Scotch troopers was luckily at hand, and charging forward together they fell upon Rupert's right flank. This diversion enabled Oliver, who had been wounded in the neck, to order his retreating men to face about. Such a manœuver, say the soldiers, is one of the nicest in the whole range of tactics, and bears witness to the discipline and flexibility of Cromwell's force, like a delicate-mouthed charger with a consummate rider. With Leslie's aid they put Rupert and his cavalry to rout. . . . It was admitted by Cromwell's partizan that Leslie's chase of the broken forces of Rupert, making a rally impossible, was what left Cromwell free to hold his men compact and ready for another charge. The key to most of his victories was his care that his horse when they had broken the enemy should not scatter in pursuit. The secret a masterful coolness and the flash of military perception in the leader, along with iron discipline in the men. . . . In the center. . . the Parliamentary force was completely broken, though the Scotch infantry on the right continued stubbornly to hold their ground. This was the crisis of the fight, and the Parliamentary battle seemed to be irretrievably lost. It was saved in a second act by the manful stoutness of a remnant of the Scots in the center, and still more by the genius and energy of Cromwell and the endurance of his troopers. . . . Before ten o'clock all was over, and the Royalists beaten from the field were in full retreat. In what is sometimes too lightly called the vulgar courage of the soldier, neither side was wanting. Cromwell's was the only manœuver of the day that showed the talent of the soldier's eye or the power of swift initiative."—J. Morley, *Oliver Cromwell*, pp. 138, 139, 140, 141.—See also SCOTLAND: 1644-1645.

ALSO IN: T. Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's letters and speeches*, pt. 2, letter 8.—B. M. Cordery and J. S. Phillpotts, *King and Commonwealth*, ch. 7.—W. Godwin, *History of the Commonwealth*, v. 1, ch. 12.—E. Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, v. 2, ch. 4.

1644 (August-September).—Essex's surrender.—Second battle of Newbury.—"The great success at Marston, which had given the north to the Parliament, was all undone in the south and west through feebleness and jealousies in the leaders and the wretched policy that directed the war. Detached armies, consisting of a local militia, were aimlessly ordered about by a committee of civilians in London. Disaster follow on disaster. Essex, Waller, and Manchester would neither agree amongst themselves nor obey orders. Essex and Waller had parted before Marston was fought; Manchester had returned from York to protect his own eastern counties. Waller, after his defeat at Copredy, did nothing, and naturally found his army melting away. Essex, perversely advancing into the west, was outmanœuvred by Charles, and ended a campaign of blunders by the surrender of all his infantry [at Fowey, in Cornwall, Sept. 2, 1644]. By September, 1644, throughout the whole south-west the Parliament had not an army in the field. But the Committee of the Houses still toiled on with honourable spirit, and at last brought together near Newbury a united army nearly double the strength of the King's. On Sunday, the 20th of October, was fought the second battle of Newbury, as usual in these ill-ordered campaigns, late in the afternoon. An arduous day ended without victory, in spite of the greater numbers of the Parliament's army, though the

men fought well, and their officers led them with skill and energy. At night the King was suffered to withdraw his army without loss, and later to carry off his guns and train. The urgent appeals of Cromwell and his officers could not infuse into Manchester energy to win the day, or spirit to pursue the retreating foe."—F. Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*, ch. 5.

ALSO IN: B. M. Cordery and J. S. Phillpotts, *King and Commonwealth*, ch. 7.—S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, ch. 19 and 21.

1644-1645.—Self-denying Ordinance.—"Cromwell had shown his capacity for organization in the creation of the Ironsides; his military genius had displayed itself at Marston Moor. Newbury first raised him into a political leader. 'Without a more speedy, vigorous and effective prosecution of the war,' he said to the Commons after his quarrel with Manchester, 'casting off all lingering proceedings, like those of soldiers of fortune beyond sea to spin out a war, we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a Parliament.' But under the leaders who at present conducted it a vigorous conduct of the war was hopeless. They were, in Cromwell's plain words, 'afraid to conquer.' They desired not to crush Charles, but to force him back, with as much of his old strength remaining as might be, to the position of a constitutional King. . . . The army, too, as he long ago urged at Edgehill, was not an army to conquer with. Now, as then, he urged that till the whole force was new modeled, and placed under a stricter discipline, 'they must not expect any notable success in anything they went about.' But the first step in such a reorganization must be a change of officers. The army was led and officered by members of the two Houses, and the Self-renouncing [or Self-denying] Ordinance, which was introduced by Cromwell and Vane, declared the tenure of civil or military offices incompatible with a seat in either. In spite of a long and bitter resistance, which was justified at a later time by the political results which followed this rupture of the tie which had hitherto bound the army to the Parliament, the drift of public opinion was too strong to be withstood. The passage of the Ordinance brought about the retirement of Essex, Manchester, and Waller; and the new organization of the army went rapidly on under a new commander-in-chief, Sir Thomas Fairfax, the hero of the long contest in Yorkshire, and who had been raised into fame by his victory at Nantwich and his bravery at Marston Moor."—J. R. Green, *Short history of England*, ch. 8, sect. 7.

ALSO IN: W. Godwin, *History of the Commonwealth*, v. 1, ch. 15.—J. K. Hosmer, *Life of young Sir Henry Vane*, ch. 11.—J. A. Picton, *Oliver Cromwell*, ch. 10.—J. Forster, *Statesmen of the Commonwealth: Vane*.

1645.—Storm and destruction of Basing House by Cromwell. See BASING HOUSE.

1645 (January-February).—Attempted treaty of Uxbridge.—A futile negotiation between the king and Parliament was opened at Uxbridge in January, 1645. "But neither the king nor his advisers entered on it with minds sincerely bent on peace; they, on the one hand, resolute not to swerve from the utmost rigour of a conqueror's terms, without having conquered; and he though more secretly, cherishing illusive hopes of a more triumphant restoration to power than any treaty could be expected to effect. The three leading topics of discussion among the negotiators at Uxbridge were, the church, the militia, and the state of Ireland. Bound by their unhappy covenant, and watched by their Scots colleagues, the English com-

missioners on the parliament's side demanded the complete establishment of a presbyterian polity, and the substitution of what was called the directory for the Anglican liturgy. Upon this head there was little prospect of a union."—H. Hallam, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 10, pt. 1.

ALSO IN: Earl of Clarendon, *History of the rebellion*, v. 3, bk. 8, sect. 209-252.

1645 (January-April).—New model of the army.—The passage of the Self-denying Ordinance was followed, or accompanied, by the adoption of the scheme for the so-called new model of the army. "All officers were to be nominated by Sir Thomas Fairfax, the new General, and (as was insisted upon by the Lords, with the object of excluding the more fanatical Independents) every officer was to sign the covenant within twenty days of his appointment. . . . Sir Thomas Fairfax having been appointed Commander-in-Chief by a vote of both Houses on the 1st of April [1645], Essex, Manchester and others of the Lords resigned their commissions on the 2nd. . . . The name of Cromwell was of course, with those of other members of the Commons, omitted from the original list of the New Model army; but with a significance which could not have escaped remark, the appointment of lieutenant-general was left vacant, while none doubted by whom that vacancy would be filled."—N. L. Walford, *Parliamentary generals of the Great Civil War*, ch. 4.—The cavalry was greatly improved in this new organization and the energy and enthusiasm of Fairfax and Cromwell finally succeeded in welding together a powerful force.

ALSO IN: E. Cust, *Lives of the warriors of the Civil Wars*, pt. 2: Fairfax.

1645 (June).—Battle of Naseby.—"Early in April, Fairfax with his new army advanced westward to raise the siege of Taunton. . . . [Later he] received orders to proceed in pursuit of the royal forces, which, having left Worcester, were marching apparently against the Eastern Association, and had just taken Leicester on their way. He came up with the king in the neighbourhood of Harborough. Charles turned back to meet him, and just by the village of Naseby the great battle known by that name was fought. Cromwell had joined the army, amid the rejoicing shouts of the troops, two days before, with the Association horse. Again the victory seems to have been chiefly due to his skill. In detail it is almost a repetition of the battle of Marston Moor."—J. F. Bright, *History of England, period 2*, p. 675.—"It was on this high moor-ground, in the centre of England, that King Charles, on the 14th of June, 1645, fought his last battle; dashed fiercely against the New-Model Army which he had despised till then; and saw himself shivered utterly to ruin thereby. 'Prince Rupert, on the King's right wing, charged up the hill, and carried all before him'; but Lieutenant-General Cromwell charged downhill on the other wing, likewise carrying all before him,—and did not gallop off the field to plunder, he. Cromwell, ordered thither by the Parliament, had arrived from the Association two days before, 'amid shouts from the whole Army': he had the ordering of the Horse this morning. Prince Rupert, on returning from his plunder, finds the King's Infantry a ruin; prepares to charge again with the rallied Cavalry; but the Cavalry too, when it came to the point, 'broke all asunder,'—never to reassemble more. . . . There were taken here a good few 'ladies of quality in carriages';—and above a hundred Irish ladies not of quality, tatterey camp-followers 'with long skean-knives about a foot in length,' which they well knew how

to use; upon whom I fear the Ordinance against Papists pressed hard this day. The King's Carriage was also taken, with a Cabinet and many Royal Autographs in it, which when printed made a sad impression against his Majesty,—gave in fact a most melancholy view of the veracity of his Majesty, 'On the word of a King.' All was lost!"—T. Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's letters and speeches*, pt. 2, letter 20.—Although Charles held out for nearly a year before he gave himself up to the Scots his cause was doomed.

ALSO IN: Earl of Clarendon, *History of the rebellion*, v. 4, bk. 9, sect. 30-42.—E. Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, v. 3, ch. 1.

1645 (June-December).—Intrigues of Charles.—**Glamorgan's commission.**—Charles attempted to wring victory from defeat by playing off the fanatical Presbyterian Parliament against the army, being as he said, "not without hope that I shall be able to draw Presbyterians or Independents to side with me for extirpating one another, that I shall really be king again." Consequently the next two years were so filled with the intrigues of Charles that no party would put any trust in him. "At the battle of Naseby, copies of some letters to the queen, chiefly written about the time of the treaty of Uxbridge, and strangely preserved, fell into the hands of the enemy and were instantly published. No other losses of that fatal day were more injurious to [the king's] cause. . . . He gave her [the queen] power to treat with the English catholics, promising to take away all penal laws against them as soon as God should enable him to do so, in consideration of such powerful assistance as might deserve so great a favour, and enable him to affect it. . . . Suspicions were much aggravated by a second discovery that took place soon afterwards, of a secret treaty between the earl of Glamorgan and the confederate Irish catholics, not merely promising the repeal of the penal laws, but the establishment of their religion in far the greater part of Ireland. . . . The king, informed of this, disavowed Glamorgan."—H. Hallam, *Constitutional history of England*, v. 2, ch. 10.

ALSO IN: S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, v. 2, ch. 39 and 44.—T. Carte, *Life of James, duke of Ormond*, v. 3, bk. 4.—J. Lingard, *History of England*, v. 10, ch. 3.

1645 (September).—Defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh. See SCOTLAND: 1644-1645.

1645-1660.—Navigation laws. See NAVIGATION LAWS: 1645; 1651.

1646 (March).—**Adoption of Presbyterianism by Parliament.**—"For the last three years the Assembly of Divines had been sitting almost daily in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey. . . . They were preparing a new Prayer-book, a form of Church Government, a Confession of Faith, and a Catechism; but the real questions at issue were the establishment of the Presbyterian Church and the toleration of sectarians. The Presbyterians, as we know, desired to establish their own form of Church government by assemblies and synods, without any toleration for non-conformists, whether Catholics, Episcopalians, or sectarians. But though they formed a large majority in the Assembly, there was a well-organized opposition of Independents and Erastians, [see Erastianism] whose union made it no easy matter for the Presbyterians to carry every vote their own way. . . . After the Assembly had sat a year and a half, the Parliament passed an ordinance for putting a directory, prepared by the divines, into force, and taking away the Common Prayer-book (3rd Jan., 1645). The sign of the cross in baptism, the ring

in marriage, the wearing of vestments, the keeping of saints' days, were discontinued. The communion table was ordered to be set in the body of the church, about which the people were to stand or sit; the passages of Scripture to be read were left to the minister's choice; no forms of prayer were prescribed. The same year a new directory for ordination of ministers was passed into an ordinance. The Presbyterian assemblies, called presbyteries, were empowered to ordain, and none were allowed to enter the ministry without first taking the covenant (8th Nov., 1645). This was followed by a third ordinance for establishing the Presbyterian system of Church government in England by way of trial for three years. As originally introduced into the House, this ordinance met with great opposition, because it gave power to ministers of refusing the sacrament and turning men out of the Church for scandalous offences. Now, in what, argued the Erastians, did scandalous offences consist? . . . A modified ordinance accordingly was passed; scandalous offences, for which ministers might refuse the sacrament and excommunicate, were specified; assemblies were declared subject to Parliament, and leave was granted to those who thought themselves unjustly sentenced, to appeal right up from one Church assembly after another to the civil power—the Parliament (10th March, 1646). Presbyterians, both in England and Scotland, felt deeply mortified. After all these years' contending, then, just when they thought they were entering on the fruits of their labours, to see the Church still left under the power of the State—the disappointment was intense to a degree we cannot estimate. They looked on the Independents as the enemies of God; this 'lame Erastian Presbytery' as hardly worth the having. . . . The Assembly of Divines practically came to an end in 1649, when it was changed into a committee for examining candidates for the Presbyterian ministry. It finally broke up without any formal dismissal on the dispersion of the Rump Parliament in March, 1653."—B. M. Cordery and J. S. Phillpotts, *King and Commonwealth*, ch. 6.—See also INDEPENDENTS; WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

ALSO IN: S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, v. 2, ch. 40.—A. F. Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly*, lects. 7, 8, 13.—*Minutes of the sessions of the Westminster Assembly*.

1646-1647.—**King in the hands of the Scots.**—His duplicity and his intrigues.—Scots surrender him.—With his last field army conquered in 1645 and his forces dispersed, Charles took refuge with the Scots, riding into Newark May 5, 1646. In June Oxford surrendered. The Scots retreated to Newcastle where on July 17, 1646, proposals for peace from the Scots and Parliament were presented to Charles. The king was asked to support Presbyterians and to grant Parliament the control of the militia for twenty years. "The King had given no distinct answer. It was a suspicious circumstance that the Duke of Hamilton had gone into Scotland, especially as Cromwell learned that, in spite of an ostensible order from the King, Montrose's force had not been disbanded. . . . If the King had been a man to be trusted, and if he had frankly accepted the army programme of free religion, a free Parliament, and responsible advisers, there is little doubt that he might have kept his crown and his Anglican ritual—at least for his own worship—and might yet have concluded his reign prosperously as the first constitutional King of England. Instead of this, he angered the army by making their most sacred purposes mere cards in a game, to be played or held as he thought most to his own advantage in dealing with the

Presbyterian Parliament. . . . If the King would have taken the Covenant, and guaranteed to them their precious Presbyterian system, his Scottish subjects would have fought for him almost to the last man. The firmness of Charles in declining the Covenant for himself is, no doubt, the most creditable point in his resistance. But his obstinacy in disputing the right of two nations, in their political establishment of religion, to override his convictions by their own, illustrates his entire incapacity to comprehend the new light dawning on the relations of sovereign and people. The Scots did their best for him. They petitioned him, they knelt to him, they preached to him. . . . But to have carried with them an intractable man to form a wedge of division amongst themselves, at the same time that he brought against them the whole power of England, would have been sheer insanity. Accordingly, they made the best bargain they could both for him and themselves; and, taking their wages, they left him [Jan. 30, 1647] with his English subjects, who conducted him to Holdenby House, in Northamptonshire, on the 6th of February, 1647."—J. A. Picton, *Oliver Cromwell*, ch. 13.

ALSO IN: S. R. Gardiner, *First two Stuarts and the Puritan revolution*, ch. 7, sect. 4.—*History of the Great Civil War*, v. 2, ch. 38-45.—W. Godwin, *History of the Commonwealth*, v. 2, bk. 1, ch. 24-27, and bk. 2, ch. 1-6.—Earl of Clarendon, *History of the rebellion*, v. 3, bk. 9, sect. 161-178, and bk. 10.

1647 (April-August).—Army assumes custody of king.—Parliament was now willing to lessen its demands for it was desirous of disbanding the army which it considered a menace. The army was the stronghold of Independency and religious liberty. "That day [April 30, 1647] it became known that there existed an organization, a sort of Parliament, in the Army, the officers forming an upper council and the representatives of the rank and file a lower council. Two such representatives stood in the lower council for each squadron or troop, known as 'Adjutors,' aiders, or 'Agitators.' This organization had taken upon itself to see that the Army had its rights. . . . At the end of a month, there was still greater occasion for astonishment. Seven hundred horse suddenly left the camp, and appearing without warning, June 2, at Holmby House, where Charles was kept, in charge of Parliamentary commissioners, proposed to assume the custody of the King."—J. K. Hosmer, *Life of young Sir Henry Vane*, ch. 12.

1647 (August-December).—Charles' "game" with Cromwell and the army, and his flight.—Increasing unrest.—"So bold a step as the seizure of the King made necessary other bold steps on the part of the Army. Scarcely a fortnight had passed, when a demand was made for the exclusion from Parliament of eleven Presbyterians, the men most conspicuous for extreme views. The Army meanwhile hovered, ever ominously, close at hand, to the north and east of the city, paying slight regard to the Parliamentary prohibition to remain at a distance. The eleven members withdrew. . . . But if Parliament was willing to yield, Presbyterian London and the country round about were not, and in July broke out into sheer rebellion. . . . The Speakers of the Lords and Commons, at the head of the strength of the Parliament, fourteen Peers and one hundred Commoners, betook themselves to Fairfax, and on August 2 they threw themselves into the protection of the Army at Hounslow Heath, ten miles distant. A grand review took place. The consummate soldier, Fairfax, had his troops in perfect condition, and they were drawn out 20,000 strong to receive the seced-

ing Parliament. The soldiers rent the air with shouts in their behalf, and all was made ready for a most impressive demonstration. On the 6th of August, Fairfax marched his troops in full array through the city, from Hammersmith to Westminster. Each man had in his hat a wreath of laurel. The Lords and Commons who had taken flight were escorted in the midst of the column; the city officials joined the train. At Westminster the Speakers were ceremoniously reinstated, and the Houses again put to work, the first business being to thank the General and the veterans who had reconstituted them. The next day, with Skippon in the centre and Cromwell in the rear, the Army marched through the city itself, a heavy tramp of battle-seasoned platoons, at the mere sound of which the warlike ardor of the turbulent youths of the workshops and the rough watermen was completely squelched. Yet the soldiers looked neither to the right nor left; by no act, word, or gesture was any offence given."—J. K. Hosmer, *Life of young Sir Henry Vane*, ch. 12.

ALSO IN: C. R. Markham, *Life of the great Lord Fairfax*, ch. 24.—T. Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's letters and speeches*, pt. 3, letter 26.—W. Godwin, *History of the Commonwealth*, bk. 2, ch. 7-11.

After reinstating the Parliament at Westminster, "the army leaders resumed negotiations with the King. The indignation of the soldiers at his delays and intrigues made the task hourly more difficult; but Cromwell . . . clung to the hope of accommodation with a passionate tenacity. His mind, conservative by tradition, and above all practical in temper, saw the political difficulties which would follow on the abolition of Royalty, and in spite of the King's evasions, he persisted in negotiating with him. But Cromwell stood almost alone; the Parliament refused to accept Ireton's [General Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law] proposals as a basis of peace, Charles still evaded, and the army then grew restless and suspicious. There were cries for a wide reform, for the abolition of the House of Peers, for a new House of Commons, and the Adjutors called on the Council of Officers to discuss the question of abolishing Royalty itself. Cromwell was never braver than when he faced the gathering storm, forbade the discussion, adjourned the Council, and sent the officers to their regiments. But the strain was too great to last long, and Charles was still resolute to 'play his game.' He was, in fact, so far from being in earnest in his negotiations with Cromwell and Ireton, that at the moment they were risking their lives for him he was conducting another and equally delusive negotiation with the Parliament. . . . In the midst of his hopes of an accommodation, Cromwell found with astonishment that he had been duped throughout, and that the King had fled [to the Isle of Wight, Nov. 11, 1647]. . . . Even Cromwell was powerless to break the spirit which now pervaded the soldiers, and the King's perfidy left him without resource. 'The King is a man of great parts and great understanding,' he said at last, 'but so great a dissembler and so false a man that he is not to be trusted.' By a strange error, Charles had made his way from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight, perhaps with some hope from the sympathy of Colonel Hammond, the Governor of Carisbrooke Castle, and again found himself a prisoner. Foiled in his effort to put himself at the head of the new civil war, he set himself to organize it from his prison; and while again opening delusive negotiations with the Parliament, he signed a secret treaty with the Scots for the invasion of the realm. The rise of Inde-

pendency, and the practical suspension of the Covenant, had produced a violent reaction in his favour north of the Tweed. . . . In England the whole of the conservative party, with many of the most conspicuous members of the Long Parliament at its head, was drifting, in its horror of the religious and political changes which seemed impending, toward the King; and the news from Scotland gave the signal for fitful insurrections in almost every quarter."—J. R. Green, *Short history of England*, ch. 8, sect. 8.

ALSO IN: F. P. Guizot, *History of the English revolution of 1640*, bk. 7-8.—L. von Ranke, *History of England, 17th century*, bk. 10, ch. 4.—W. Godwin, *History of the Commonwealth*.—G. Hillier, *Narrative of attempted escapes of Charles from Carisbrooke Castle*.

1647 (September).—Renewed ordinance against printers. See PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1647.

1648.—Ordinance in regard to playhouses. See DRAMA: 1603-1648.

1648 (April-August).—Second Civil War.—Defeat of the Scots at Preston.—"The Second Civil War broke out in April, and proved to be a short but formidable affair. The whole of Wales was speedily in insurrection; a strong force of cavaliers were mustering in the north of England; in Essex, Surrey, and the southern counties various outbreaks arose; Berwick, Carlisle, Chester, Pembroke, Colchester, were held for the king; the fleet revolted; and 40,000 men were ordered by the Parliament of Scotland to invade England. Lambert was sent to the north; Fairfax to take Colchester [see COLCHESTER: 1648]; and Cromwell into Wales, and thence to join Lambert and meet the Scotch. On the 24th of May Cromwell reached Pembroke, but being short of guns, he did not take it till 11th July. The rising in Wales crushed, Cromwell turned northwards, where the north-west was already in revolt, and 20,000 Scots, under the Duke of Hamilton, were advancing into the country. Want of supplies and shoes, and sickness, detained him with his army, some 7,000 strong, 'so extremely harassed with hard service and long marches, that they seemed rather fit for a hospital than a battle.' Having joined Lambert in Yorkshire he fought the battle of Preston on 17th of August. The battle of Preston was one of the most decisive and important victories ever gained by Cromwell, over the most numerous enemy he ever encountered, and the first in which he was in supreme command. . . . Early on the morning of the 17th August, Cromwell, with some 9,000 men, fell upon the army of the Duke of Hamilton unawares, as it proceeded southwards in a long, straggling, unprotected line. The invaders consisted of 17,000 Scots and 7,000 good men from northern counties. The long ill-ordered line was cut in half and rolled back northward and southward, before they even knew that Cromwell was upon them. The great host, cut into sections, fought with desperation from town to town. But for three days it was one long chase and carnage, which ended only with the exhaustion of the victors and their horses. Ten thousand prisoners were taken. 'We have killed we know not what,' writes Cromwell, 'but a very great number; having done execution upon them above thirty miles together, besides what we killed in the two great fights.' His own loss was small, and but one superior officer. . . . The Scottish invaders dispersed, Cromwell hastened to recover Berwick and Carlisle, and to restore the Presbyterian or Whig party in Scotland."—F. Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*, ch. 1.

ALSO IN: J. H. Burton, *History of Scotland*, v.

7, ch. 74.—Earl of Clarendon, *History of the rebellion*, v. 4, bk. 11.

1648 (September-November).—Treaty at Newport.—In spite of Cromwell's military success, public sentiment in favor of an honorable peace with the king brought into ascendancy the party for distinction's sake called presbyterian, but now rather to be termed constitutional. "This change in the counsels of parliament brought on the treaty of Newport. The treaty of Newport was set on foot and managed by those politicians of the house of lords, who, having long suspected no danger to themselves but from the power of the king, had discovered, somewhat of the latest, that the crown itself was at stake, and that their own privileges were set on the same cast. . . . They now grew anxious to see a treaty concluded with the king. Sensible that it was necessary to anticipate, if possible, the return of Cromwell from the north, they implored him to comply at once with all the propositions of parliament, or at least to yield in the first instance as far as he meant to go. They had not, however, mitigated in any degree the rigorous conditions so often proposed; nor did the king during this treaty obtain any reciprocal concession worth mentioning in return for his surrender of almost all that could be demanded."—H. Hallam, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 10, pt. 2.—The utter faithlessness with which Charles carried on these negotiations, as on all former occasions, was shown at a later day when his correspondence came to light. . . . The parliament, though without any exact information, suspected all this perfidy; even the friends of peace, the men most affected by the king's condition, and most earnest to save him, replied but hesitatingly to the charges of the independents."—F. P. Guizot, *History of the English revolution of 1640*, bk. 8.

ALSO IN: Earl of Clarendon, *History of the rebellion*, v. 4, bk. 11, sect. 153-190.—I. Disraeli, *Commentaries on the life and reign of Charles I*, v. 2, ch. 30-40.

1648 (November-December).—Grand Army Remonstrance and Pride's Purge.—Long Parliament cut down to the Rump.—"By this time the army had lost all patience with the king. It was only too evident that he was merely seeking to gain time and the opportunity to escape to some friendly land to secure aid. The army saw that there could be no strong government in England so long as Charles was permitted to remain at large. By military authority he was removed on December 1 to the desolate Hurst Castle, where no help could reach him. On December 5th the House of Commons declared for a reconciliation with the king. On the 6th a body of soldiers, under the command of Colonel Pride, forced it to serve the purposes of the army by forcibly expelling all members who took the side of the king. This act of violence is commonly known as 'Pride's Purge.'"—S. R. Gardiner, *Student's history of England*, p. 557.—"The famous Pride's Purge was accomplished. By military force the Long Parliament was cut down to a fraction of its number, and the career begins of the mighty 'Rump,' so called in the coarse wit of the time because it was 'the sitting part.'"—J. K. Hosmer, *Life of young Sir Henry Vane*, ch. 13.—"This name [the Rump] was first given to them by Walker, the author of the History of Independency, by way of derision, in allusion to a fowl all devoured but the rump."—D. Neal, *History of the Puritans*, v. 4, ch. 1, footnote.

ALSO IN: C. R. Markham, *Life of the great Lord Fairfax*, ch. 28.—D. Masson, *Life of John Milton*, v. 3, bk. 4, ch. 1 and 3.

1649 (January).—Trial and execution of the king.—“During the month in which Charles had remained at Windsor [whither he had been brought from Hurst Castle on the 17th of December], there had been proceedings in Parliament of which he was imperfectly informed. On the day he arrived there, it was resolved by the Commons that he should be brought to trial. On the 2nd of January, 1649, it was voted that, in making war against the Parliament, he had been guilty of treason; and a High Court was appointed to try him. . . . [On January 10] the High Court of Justice was opened in Westminster-hall. . . . After the names of the members of the court had been called, 69 being present, Bradshaw, the president, ordered the serjeant to bring in the prisoner. Silently the King sat down in the chair prepared for him. He moved not his hat, as he looked sternly and contemptuously around. The sixty-nine rose not from their seats, and remained covered. . . . The clerk reads the charge, and when he is accused therein of being tyrant and traitor, he laughs in the face of the Court. ‘Though his tongue usually hesitated, yet it was very free at this time, for he was never discomposed in mind,’ writes Warwick. . . . Again and again contending against the authority of the Court, the King was removed, and the sitting was adjourned to the 22nd. On that day the same scene was renewed; and again on the 23rd. A growing sympathy for the monarch became apparent. The cries of ‘Justice, justice,’ which were heard at first, were now mingled with ‘God save the King.’ He had refused to plead; but the Court nevertheless employed the 24th and 25th of January in collecting evidence to prove the charge of his levying war against the Parliament. Coke, the solicitor-general, then demanded whether the Court would proceed to pronouncing sentence; and the members adjourned to the Painted Chamber. On the 27th the public sitting was resumed. . . . The Court, Bradshaw then stated, had agreed upon the sentence. Ludlow records that the King ‘desired to make one proposition before they proceeded to sentence; which he earnestly pressing, as that which he thought would lead to the reconciling of all parties, and to the peace of the three kingdoms, they permitted him to offer it: the effect of which was, that he might meet the two Houses in the Painted Chamber, to whom he doubted not to offer that which should satisfy and secure all interests.’ Ludlow goes on to say, ‘Designing, as I have since been informed, to propose his own resignation, and the admission of his son to the throne upon such terms as should have been agreed upon.’ The commissioners retired to deliberate, ‘and being satisfied, upon debate, that nothing but loss of time would be the consequence of it, they returned into the Court with a negative to his demand.’ Bradshaw then delivered a solemn speech to the King. . . . The clerk was lastly commanded to read the sentence, that his head should be severed from his body; ‘and the commissioners,’ says Ludlow, ‘testified their unanimous assent by standing up.’ The King attempted to speak; ‘but being accounted dead in law, was not permitted.’ On the 20th of January, the Court met to sign the sentence of execution, addressed to ‘colonel Francis Hacker, colonel Huncks, and lieutenant-colonel Phayr, and to every one of them.’ . . . There were some attempts to save him. The Dutch ambassador made vigorous efforts to procure a reprieve, whilst the French and Spanish ambassadors were inert.’ The ambassadors from the States nevertheless persevered; and early in the day of the 30th obtained some glimmering of hope from Fairfax. ‘But we found,’ they say in their despatch, ‘in front

of the house in which we had just spoken with the general, about 200 horsemen; and we learned, as well as on our way as on reaching home, that all the streets, passages, and squares of London were occupied by troops, so that no one could pass, and that the approaches of the city were covered with cavalry, so as to prevent any one from coming in or going out. . . . The same day [Jan. 30, 1649], between two and three o’clock, the King was taken to a scaffold covered with black, erected before Whitehall.’ To that scaffold before Whitehall, Charles walked, surrounded by soldiers, through the leafless avenues of St. James’s Park. It was a bitterly cold morning. . . . His purposed address to the people was delivered only to the hearing of those upon the scaffold, but its purport was that the people mistook the nature of government; ‘for people are free under a government, not by being sharers in it, but by due administration of the laws of it.’ His theory of government was a consistent one. He had the misfortune not to understand that the time had been fast passing away for its assertion. The beadsman did his office; and a deep groan went up from the surrounding multitude.”—C. Knight, *Popular history of England*, v. 4, ch. 7.—“In the death-warrant of 20th January, 1649, next after the President and Lord Grey, stands the name of Oliver Cromwell. He accepted the responsibility of it, justified, defended it to his dying day. No man in England was more entirely answerable for the deed than he. ‘I tell you,’ he said to Algernon Sidney, ‘we will cut off his head with the crown upon it.’ . . . Slowly he had come to know—not only that the man, Charles Stuart, was incurably treacherous, but that any settlement of Parliament with the old Feudal Monarchy was impossible. As the head of the king rolled on the scaffold the old Feudal Monarchy expired for ever. In January, 1649, a great mark was set in the course of the national life—the Old Rule behind it, the New Rule before it. Parliamentary government, the consent of the nation, equality of rights, and equity in the law—all date from this great New Departure. The Stuarts indeed returned for one generation, but with the sting of the Old Monarchy gone, and only to disappear almost without a blow. The Church of England returned; but not the Church of Laud or of Charles. The peers returned, but as a meek House of Lords, with their castles razed, their feudal rights and their political power extinct. It is said that the regicides killed Charles I. only to make Charles II. king. It is not so. They killed the Old Monarchy; and the restored monarch was by no means its heir, but a royal Stadtholder or Hereditary President.”—F. Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*, ch. 7.—“The proper lesson taught by the act of the thirtieth of January, was that no person, however high in station, however protected by the prejudices of his contemporaries, must expect to be criminal against the welfare of the state and the community, without retribution and punishment. The event however sufficiently proved that the condemnation and execution of Charles did not answer the purposes intended by its authors. It did not conciliate the English nation to republican ideas. It shocked all those persons in the country who did not adhere to the ruling party. This was in some degree owing to the decency with which Charles met his fate. He had always been in manners, formal, sober and specious. . . . The notion was everywhere prevalent, that a sovereign could not be called to account, could not be arraigned at the bar of his subjects. And the violation of this prejudice, instead of breaking down the wall which separated him from others, gave to his person a sa-

credness which never before appertained to it. Among his own partisans the death of Charles was treated, and was spoken of, as a sort of decide. And it may be admitted for a universal rule, that the abrupt violation of a deep-rooted maxim and persuasion of the human mind, produces a reaction, and urges men to hug the maxim closer than ever. I am afraid, that the day that saw Charles perish on the scaffold, rendered the restoration of his family certain."—W. Godwin, *History of the Commonwealth of England to the Restoration of Charles II*, v. 2, bk. 2, ch. 26.—"In private life he [Charles] was the best of the Stuart kings, reaching about the average level of his subjects. In public life his treachery, mendacity, folly, and vindictiveness: his utter inability to learn by experience or to sympathize with any noble ambition of his country: his readiness to follow evil counsel, and his ingratitude toward any sincere friend, made him as unfit as either of his sons to sit on the English throne; and a greater condemnation than this it is not possible to award."—T. Roosevelt, *Oliver Cromwell*, pp. 25, 26.

ALSO IN: John Forster, *Statesmen of the Commonwealth: Henry Marten*.—S. R. Gardiner, *Constitutional documents of the Puritan revolution*, pp. 268-290.

The following is the text of the Act which arraigned the king and constituted the Court by which he was tried: "Whereas it is notorious that Charles Stuart, the now king of England, not content with many encroachments which his predecessors had made upon the people in their rights and freedom, hath had a wicked design totally to subvert the antient and fundamental laws and liberties of this nation, and in their place to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government; and that, besides all other evil ways and means to bring his design to pass, he hath prosecuted it with fire and sword, levied and maintained a civil war in the land, against the parliament and kingdom; whereby this country hath been miserably wasted, the public treasure exhausted, trade decayed, thousands of people murdered, and infinite other mischiefs committed; for all which high and treasonable offences the said Charles Stuart might long since have justly been brought to exemplary and condign punishment: whereas also the parliament, well hoping that the restraint and imprisonment of his person after it had pleased God to deliver him into their hands, would have quieted the distempers of the kingdom, did forbear to proceed judiciously against him; but found, by sad experience, that such their remissness served only to encourage him and his accomplices in the continuance of their evil practices and in raising new commotions, rebellions, and invasions: for prevention therefore of the like or greater inconveniences, and to the end no other chief officer or magistrate whatsoever may hereafter presume, traitorously and maliciously, to imagine or contrive the enslaving or destroying of the English nation, and to expect impunity for so doing; be it enacted and ordained by the [Lords] and commons in Parliament assembled, and it is hereby enacted and ordained by the authority thereof, That the earls of Kent, Nottingham, Pembroke, Denbigh, and Mulgrave; the lord Grey of Warke; lord chief justice Rolle of the king's bench, lord chief justice St. John of the common Pleas, and lord chief baron Wylde; the lord Fairfax, lieutenant general Cromwell, &c. [in all about 150,] shall be, and are hereby appointed and required to be Commissioners and Judges, for the Hearing, Trying, and Judging of the said Charles Stuart; and the said Commissioners, or any 20 or more of them, shall be, and are hereby authorized and consti-

tuted an High Court of Justice, to meet and sit at such convenient times and place as by the said commissioners, or the major part, or 20 or more of them, under their hands and seals, shall be appointed and notified by public Proclamation in the Great Hall, or Palace Yard of Westminster; and to adjourn from time to time, and from place to place, as the said High Court, or the major part thereof, at meeting, shall hold fit; and to take order for the charging of him, the said Charles Stuart, with the Crimes and Treasons above-mentioned, and for receiving his personal Answer therunto, and for examination of witnesses upon oath. (which the court hath hereby authority to administer) or otherwise, and taking any other Evidence concerning the same; and thereupon, or in default of such Answer, to proceed to final Sentence according to justice and the merit of the cause; and such final Sentence to execute, or cause to be executed, speedily and impartially.—And the said court is hereby authorized and required to chuse and appoint all such officers, attendants, and other circumstances as they, or the major part of them, shall in any sort judge necessary or useful for the orderly and good managing of the premises; and Thomas lord Fairfax, the General, and all officers and soldiers, under his command, and all officers of justice, and other well-affected persons, are hereby authorized and required to be aiding and assisting unto the said court in the due execution of the trust hereby committed unto them; provided that this act, and the authority hereby granted, do continue in force for the space of one month from the date of the making hereof, and no longer."—*Cobbett's Parliamentary history of England*, v. 3, pp. 1254-1255.

1649 (February).—Commonwealth established.—"England was now a Republic. The change had been virtually made on Thursday, January 4, 1648-9, when the Commons passed their three great Resolutions, declaring (1) that the People of England were, under God, the original of all just power in the State, (2) that the Commons, in Parliament assembled, having been chosen by the People, and representing the People, possessed the supreme power in their name, and (3) that whatever the Commons enacted should have the force of a law, without needing the consent of either King or House of Peers. On Tuesday, the 30th of January, the theory of these Resolutions became more visibly a fact. On the afternoon of that day, while the crowd that had seen the execution in front of Whitehall were still lingering round the scaffold, the Commons passed an Act 'prohibiting the proclaiming of any person to be King of England or Ireland, or the dominions thereof.' It was thus declared that Kingship in England had died with Charles. But what of the House of Peers? It was significant that on the same fatal day the Commons revived their three theoretical resolutions of the 4th, and ordered them to be printed. The wretched little rag of a House might then have known its doom. But it took a week more to convince them." On the 6th of February it was resolved by the House of Commons, "That the House of Peers in Parliament is useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished, and that an Act be brought in to that purpose. Next day, Feb. 7, after another long debate, it was further resolved 'That it hath been found by experience, and this House doth declare, that the office of a King in this realm, and to have the power thereof in any single person, is unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the People of this nation, and therefore ought to be abolished, and that an

Act be brought in to that purpose.' Not till after some weeks were these Acts deliberately passed after the customary three readings. [They were passed in March, 1649]. The delay, however, was matter of mere Parliamentary form. Theoretically a Republic since Jan. 4, 1648-9, and visibly a Republic from the day of Charles's death, England was a Republic absolutely and in every sense from Feb. 7, 1648-9." For the administration of the government of the republican commonwealth, the Commons resolved, on February 7, that a council of state be erected, to consist of not more than forty persons. On the 13th, instructions to the intended council of state were reported and agreed to, "these Instructions conferring almost plenary powers, but limiting the duration of the Council to one year." On February 14 and 15 forty-one persons were appointed to be members of the Council, Fairfax, Cromwell, Vane, St. John, Whitlocke, Henry Marten, and Colonels Hutchinson and Ludlow being in the number; nine to constitute a quorum, and no permanent president to be



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chosen.—D. Masson, *Life of John Milton*, v. 4, bk. 1, ch. 1.

ALSO IN: J. Lingard, *History of England*, v. 10, ch. 5.—A. Bisset, *Omitted chapters of history of England*, ch. 1.

1649 (April-May).—Mutiny of the Levellers. See LEVELLERS.

1649-1650.—Cromwell's campaign in Ireland. See IRELAND: 1649-1650.

1649-1651.—Rule of Cromwell in New England. See MASSACHUSETTS: 1649-1651.

1650 (July).—Charles II proclaimed king in Scotland. See SCOTLAND: 1650 (March-July).

1650 (September).—War with the Scots and Cromwell's victory at Dunbar. See SCOTLAND: 1650 (September).

1651 (September).—Scots and Charles II overthrown at Worcester. See SCOTLAND: 1651 (August); (August-September).

1651-1653.—Army and the Rump.—"Now that the King is dead and his son defeated,' Cromwell said gravely to the Parliament, 'I think it necessary to come to a settlement.' But the settlement which had been promised after Naseby was still as distant as ever after Worcester. The bill for

dissolving the present Parliament, though Cromwell pressed it in person, was only passed, after bitter opposition, by a majority of two; and even this success had been purchased by a compromise which permitted the House to sit for three years more. Internal affairs were simply at a dead lock. . . . The one remedy for all this was, as the army saw, the assembly of a new and complete Parliament in place of the mere 'rump' of the old; but this was the one measure which the House was resolute to avert. Vane spurred it to a new activity. . . . But it was necessary for Vane's purposes not only to show the energy of the Parliament, but to free it from the control of the army. His aim was to raise in the navy a force devoted to the House, and to eclipse the glories of Dunbar and Worcester by yet greater triumphs at sea. With this view the quarrel with Holland had been carefully nursed. . . . The army hardly needed the warning conveyed by the introduction of a bill for its disbanding to understand the new policy of the Parliament. . . . The army petitioned not only for reform in Church and State, but for an explicit declaration that the House would bring its proceedings to a close. The Petition forced the House to discuss a bill for 'a New Representative,' but the discussion soon brought out the resolve of the sitting members to continue as a part of the coming Parliament without re-election. The officers, irritated by such a claim, demanded in conference after conference an immediate dissolution, and the House as resolutely refused. In ominous words Cromwell supported the demands of the army. 'As for the members of this Parliament, the army begins to take them in disgust. I would it did so with less reason.' . . . Not only were the existing members to continue as members of the New Parliament, depriving the places they represented of their right of choosing representatives, but they were to constitute a Committee of Revision, to determine the validity of each election, and the fitness of the members returned. A conference took place [April 10, 1653] between the leaders of the Commons and the officers of the army. . . . The conference was adjourned till the next morning, on an understanding that no decisive step should be taken; but it had no sooner reassembled, than the absence of the leading members confirmed the news that Vane was fast pressing the bill for a new Representative through the House. 'It is contrary to common honesty,' Cromwell angrily broke out; and, quitting Whitehall, he summoned a company of musketeers to follow him as far as the door of the House of Commons."—J. R. Green, *Short history of England*, ch. 8, sect. o.

ALSO IN: J. Forster, *Statesmen of the Commonwealth: Cromwell*.—J. A. Picton, *Oliver Cromwell*, ch. 22.

1651-1672.—Navigation Acts and the American colonies. See U. S. A.: 1651-1672; NAVIGATION LAWS: 1651.

1652-1654.—War with the Dutch republic.—"After the death of William, Prince of Orange, which was attended with the depression of his party and the triumph of the Dutch republicans [see NETHERLANDS: 1648-1650], the Parliament thought that the time was now favourable for cementing a closer confederacy with the states. St. John, chief justice, who was sent over to the Hague, had entertained the idea of forming a kind of coalition between the two republics, which would have rendered their interests totally inseparable; . . . but the states, who were unwilling to form a nearer confederacy with a government whose measures were so obnoxious, and whose situation seemed so precarious, offered only to renew the former alli-

ances with England; and the haughty St. John, disgusted with this disappointment, as well as incensed at many affronts which had been offered him, with impunity, by the retainers of the Palatine and Orange families, and indeed by the populace in general, returned into England and endeavoured to foment a quarrel between the republics. . . . There were several motives which at this time induced the English Parliament to embrace hostile measures. Many of the members thought that a foreign war would serve as a pretence for continuing the same Parliament, and delaying the new model for a representative, with which the nation had so long been flattered. Others hoped that the war would furnish a reason for maintaining, some time longer, that numerous standing army which was so much complained of. On the other hand, some, who dreaded the increasing power of Cromwell, expected that the great expense of naval armaments would prove a motive for diminishing the military establishment. To divert the attention of the public from domestic quarrels towards foreign transactions, seemed, in the present disposition of men's minds, to be good policy. . . . All these views, enforced by the violent spirit of St. John, who had great influence over Cromwell, determined the Parliament to change the purposed alliance into a furious war against the United Provinces. To cover these hostile intentions, the Parliament, under pretence of providing for the interests of commerce, embraced such measures as they knew would give disgust to the states. They framed the famous act of navigation, which prohibited all nations from importing into England in their bottoms any commodity which was not the growth and manufacture of their own country. . . . The minds of men in both states were every day more irritated against each other; and it was not long before these humours broke forth into action."—D. Hume, *History of England*, v. 5, ch. 60.—"The negotiations . . . were still pending when Blake, meeting Van Tromp's fleet in the Downs, in vain summoned the Dutch Admiral to lower his flag. A battle was the consequence, which led to a declaration of war on the 8th of July (1652). The maritime success of England was chiefly due to the genius of Blake, who having hitherto served upon shore, now turned his whole attention to the navy. A series of bloody fights took place between the two nations. For some time the fortunes of the war seemed undecided. Van Tromp, defeated by Blake, had to yield the command to De Ruyter. De Ruyter in his turn was displaced to give way again to his greater rival. Van Tromp was reinstated in command. A victory over Blake off the Naze (Nov. 28) enabled him to cruise in the Channel with a broom at his mast-head, implying that he had swept the English from the seas. But the year 1653 again saw Blake able to fight a drawn battle of two days' duration between Portland and La Hogue; while at length, on the 2d and 3d of June, a decisive engagement was fought off the North Foreland, in which Monk and Deane, supported by Blake, completely defeated the Dutch Admiral, who, as a last resource, tried in vain to blow up his own ship, and then retreated to the Dutch coast, leaving eleven ships in the hands of the English. In the next month, another victory on the part of Blake, accompanied by the death of the great Dutch Admiral, completed the ruin of the naval power of Holland. The States were driven to treat. In 1654 the treaty was signed, in which Denmark, the Hanseatic towns, and the Swiss provinces were included. . . . The Dutch acknowledged the supremacy of the English flag in the British

seas; they consented to the Navigation Act"—J. F. Bright, *History of England*, period 2, p. 701.—See also NAVIGATION LAWS: 1651.

ALSO IN: W. H. Dixon, *Robert Blake, admiral and general at sea*, ch. 6-7.—D. Hannay, *Admiral Blake*, ch. 6-7.—J. Campbell, *Naval history of Great Britain*, v. 2, ch. 15.—G. Penn, *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ch. 4.—J. Corbett, *Monk*, ch. 7.—J. Geddes, *History of the administration of John De Witt*, v. 1, bk. 4-5.

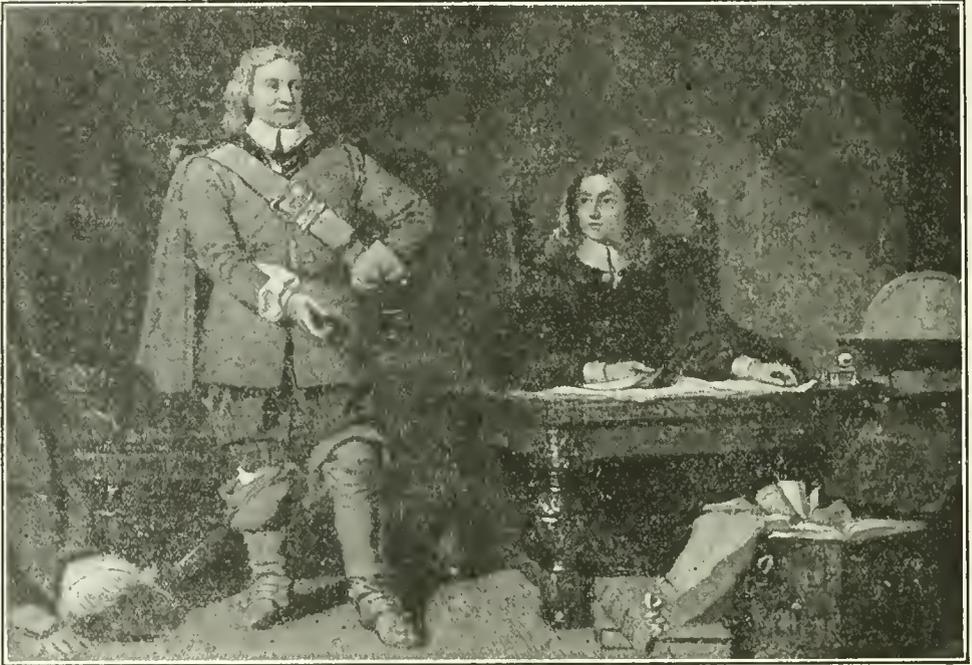
1653.—Cromwellian settlement in Ireland. See IRELAND: 1653.

1653 (April-December).—Cromwell's expulsion of the Long or Rump Parliament.—So-called Barbone's little or nominated parliament.—"The House was passing its bill in the form which he [Cromwell] disliked. Going to the House, when the last vote on the bill was about to be taken he rose to speak. Parliament, he said, had done well in its care for the public good, but it had been stained with 'injustice, delays of justice, self-interest.' Being interrupted by a member, he blazed up into anger. 'Come, come,' he cried; 'we have had enough of this. I will put an end to this. It is not fit you should sit here any longer.' He called in his soldiers, and bade them clear the House, following the members with words of obloquy as they passed out. 'What shall we do with this bauble?' he asked, taking up the mace. 'Take it away.' 'It is you,' he said to such of the members as still lingered, 'that have forced me to do this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that He would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work.' Cromwell and the officers shrank from summoning an elected Parliament. They gathered an assembly of their own nominees, to which men gave, in derision, the title of the Barbone's Parliament, because a certain Praise-God Barbone sat in it. In a speech at its opening, on July 4, Cromwell told them that England ought to be governed by godly men, and that they had been selected to govern it because they were godly. Unfortunately, many of these godly men were crotchety and unpractical. A large number of them wanted to abolish the Court of Chancery without providing a substitute, and a majority resolved to abolish tithes without providing any other means for the support of the clergy. At the same time, enthusiasts outside Parliament—the Fifth Monarchy men, as they were called—declared that the time had arrived for the reign of the saints, and that they were themselves the saints. All who had anything to lose were terrified, and turned to Cromwell for support, as it was known that no man in England had stronger common sense, or was less likely to be carried away by such dreamers. In the Parliament itself there was a strong minority which thought it desirable that, if tithes were abolished, support should be provided for the clergy in some other way. These men [the more moderate members], on December 11, got up early in the morning, and, before their opponents knew what they were about, declared Parliament to be dissolved, and placed supreme authority in the hands of Cromwell."—S. R. Gardiner, *Student's history of England*, pp. 550-568.—The "assembly of godly persons" proved, however, to be quite an unmanageable body, containing so large a number of erratic and impracticable reformers that everything substantial among English institutions was threatened with overthrow at their hands. After five months of busy session, Cromwell was happily able to bring about a dissolution of his parliament, by the action of a majority, surrendering back their powers into his hands,—which was done on the 10th of December,

1653.—F. P. Guizot, *History of Oliver Cromwell*, v. 2, bk. 5.

ALSO IN: J. A. Picton, *Oliver Cromwell*, ch. 23.
1653 (December).—Establishment and constitution of the Protectorate.—Instrument of Government.—“What followed the dissolution of the Little Parliament is soon told. The Council of Officers having been summoned by Cromwell as the only power de facto, there were dialogues and deliberations, ending in the clear conclusion that the method of headship in a ‘Single Person’ for his whole life must now be tried in the Government of the Commonwealth, and that Cromwell must be that ‘Single Person.’ The title of King was actually proposed; but, as there were objections to that, Protector was chosen as a title familiar in English History and of venerable associations. Accordingly, Cromwell having consented, and all

and religious, which had been the visible drift at last of the Barebones or Daft Little Parliament. . . . The powers and duties of the Protectorate had been defined, rather elaborately, in a Constitutional Instrument of forty-two Articles, called ‘The Government of the Commonwealth’ [more commonly known as The Instrument of Government] to which Cromwell had sworn fidelity at his installation.”—D. Masson, *Life of John Milton*, v. 4, bk. 4, ch. 1 and 3.—It is an interesting fact that this document was the first written constitution of modern times. Cromwell was to govern as “Lord Protector” in conjunction with a council of state. Parliament was to meet at least every three years to make laws and levy taxes. Puritanism was to be the state religion. The nature of this Parliament is of interest for several reasons. In the first place it consisted of only one house; secondly it



OLIVER CROMWELL DICTATING TO YOUNG JOHN MILTON, WHO WAS HIS SECRETARY
(Painted by Newenham)

preparations having been made, he was, on Friday, Dec. 16, in a great assembly of civic, judicial and military dignities, solemnly sworn and installed in the Chancery Court, Westminster Hall, as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland. There were some of his adherents hitherto who did not like this new elevation of their hero, and forsook him in consequence, regarding any experiment of the Single Person method in Government as a treason to true Republicanism, and Cromwell's assent to it as unworthy of him. Among these was Harrison Lambert, on the other hand, had been the main agent in the change, and took a conspicuous part in the installation-ceremony. In fact, pretty generally throughout the country and even among the Presbyterians, the elevation of Cromwell to some kind of sovereignty had come to be regarded as an inevitable necessity of the time, the only possible salvation of the Commonwealth from the anarchy, or wild and experimental idealism, in matters civil

represented both Great Britain and Ireland; in the third place its members were elected on the basis of equitable representation.—For the text of this document, see INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT.

1654 (April).—Incorporation of Scotland with the Commonwealth. See SCOTLAND: 1654.

1654-1658.—The Protector, his Parliaments and his major-generals.—Humble Petition and Advice.—“The House proceeded with their measure on the new footing, and on June 26th [1654] Oliver was solemnly installed as Lord Protector under the new law. Though the royal title was in abeyance, the scene marked the conversion of what had first been a military dictatorship, and then the Protectorate of a Republic, into a constitutional monarchy.”—J. Morley, *Oliver Cromwell*, p. 423.—“Oliver addressed his first Protectorate Parliament on Sunday, the 3d of September. . . . Immediately, under the leadership of old Parliamentarians, Haslerig, Scott, Bradshaw, and many other republicans, the House proceeded to debate the

Instrument of Government, the constitutional basis of the existing system. By five votes, it decided to discuss 'whether the House should approve of government by a Single Person and a Parliament.' This was of course to set up the principle of making the Executive dependent on the House; a principle, in Oliver's mind, fatal to settlement and order. He acted at once. Calling on the Lord Mayor to secure the city, and disposing his own guard round Westminster Hall, he summoned the House again on the 9th day. . . . Members were called on to sign a declaration, 'not to alter the government as settled in a Single Person and a Parliament.' Some 300 signed; the minority—about a fourth—refused and retired. . . . The Parliament, in spite of the declaration, set itself from the first to discuss the constitution, to punish heretics, suppress blasphemy, revise the Ordinances of the Council; and they deliberately withheld all supplies for the services and the government. At last they passed an Act for revising the constitution *de novo*. Not a single bill had been sent up to the Protector for his assent. Oliver, as usual, acted at once. On the expiration of their five lunar months, 22d January, 1655, he summoned the House and dissolved it, with a speech full of reproaches."—F. Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*, ch. 11.—"In 1656, the Protector called a second Parliament. By excluding from it about a hundred members whom he judged to be hostile to his government, he found himself on amicable terms with the new assembly. It presented to him a Humble Petition and Advice, asking that certain changes of the Constitution might be agreed to by mutual consent, and that he should assume the title of King. This title he rejected, and the Humble Petition and Advice was passed in an amended form on May 25, 1657, and at once received the assent of the Protector. On June 26, it was modified in some details by the Additional Petition and Advice. Taking the two together, the result was to enlarge the power of Parliament and to diminish that of the Council. The Protector, in turn, received the right of appointing his successor, and to name the life-members of 'the other House,' which was now to take the place of the House of Lords. . . . In accordance with the Additional Petition and Advice, the Protector summoned 'certain persons to sit in the other House.' A quarrel between the two Houses broke out, and the Protector [Feb. 4, 1658] dissolved the Parliament in anger."—S. R. Gardiner, *Constitutional doctrines of the Puritan revolution*, pp. 63-64, and 334-350.—"The Protectorate has sometimes been treated as a new and original settlement of the crucial question of Parliamentary sovereignty. On the contrary, the history of the Protectorate in its two phases, under the two Instruments of 1653 and 1657 by which it was constituted, seems rather to mark a progressive return to an old system than the creation of a new one. The 'Agreement of the People' (1649) was the embodiment of the idea of the absolute supremacy of a single elective House. The 'Instrument of Government' (1653) went a certain way toward mitigating this supremacy by entrusting executive power to a single person, subject to the assent and coöperation of a council itself the creation, at first direct and afterward indirect, of the single House. The 'Humble Petition and Advice' (1657) in effect restored the principle of monarchy, and took away from Parliament the right in future to choose the monarch. The oath prescribed for a privy council was an oath of allegiance to the person and authority of the Lord Protector and his successors, and he was clothed with the more than regal right of deciding who the successor should be. On him was conferred the

further power of naming the members of the new Second House. On the other hand, the council or cabinet by whose advice the Lord Protector was bound to govern, was to be approved by both Houses, and to be irremovable without the consent of Parliament. The Protectorate then was finally established, so far as constitutional documents go and in rudimentary forms, on the same principles of Parliamentary supremacy over the executive and of ministerial responsibility that have developed our modern system of government by Parliamentary cabinet."—J. Morley, *Oliver Cromwell*, pp. 424, 425.

ALSO IN: J. Forster, *Statesmen of the Commonwealth: Cromwell*.—L. von Ranke, *History of England, 17th century*, v. 3, bk. 12, ch. 1.—S. R. Gardiner, *Constitutional doctrines of the Puritan revolution*, introd., sect. 4 and pp. 314-324.—Cobbett's *Parliamentary history of England*, v. 3, pp. 1417-1426.

The merits of Cromwell's rule have been the subject of much controversy, but on the whole modern historians are inclined to agree with J. R. Green when he says, "if pardon, indeed, could ever be won for a tyranny, the wisdom and grandeur with which he used the power he usurped would win pardon for the Protector." His measures were often harsh, and fell heavily on the royalists, especially in matters of taxation. Anglican worship was forbidden, but private meetings did not seem to be interfered with. The Jews who had not been permitted to enter England from the time of Edward I were readmitted (see JEWS: England: 1655), and Catholics were given partial protection. Scores of ordinances regulating matters concerning the police, public amusements, finances, roads, the conditions of prisons, and particularly the Court of Chancery showed Cromwell's passion for a well-organized and just government. Peace and order were of paramount importance to the life of the protectorate, and revolts were put down with severity. (See LEVELLERS.) After the dissolution of Parliament in 1654 and the royalist uprisings in Devon, Dorset and the Welsh Marches, Cromwell divided the country into ten military provinces, each with a major-general at its head, armed with a certain degree of autocratic power. "His [Cromwell's] wish seems to have been to govern constitutionally, and to substitute the empire of the laws for that of the sword. But he soon found that, hated as he was, both by Royalists and Presbyterians, he could be safe only by being absolute. . . . Those soldiers who would not suffer him to assume the kingly title, stood by him when he ventured on acts of power as high as any English king has ever attempted. The government, therefore, though in form a republic, was in truth a despotism, moderated only by the wisdom, the sobriety and the magnanimity of the despot."—Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, ch. 1.—"I cannot . . . agree in the praises which have been showered upon Cromwell for the just administration of the laws under his dominion. That, between party and party, the ordinary civil rights of men were fairly dealt with, is no extraordinary praise; and it may be admitted that he filled the benches of justice with able lawyers, though not so considerable as those of the reign of Charles II.; but it is manifest that, so far as his own authority was concerned, no hereditary despot, proud in the crimes of a hundred ancestors, could more have spurned at every limitation than this soldier of a commonwealth."—H. Hallam, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 10, pt. 2.—See also PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1654-1664.—"Cromwell had that mark of greatness in a ruler that he was well served. No

prince had ever abler or more faithful agents in arms, diplomacy, administration. Blake, Monk, Lockhart, Thurloe are conspicuous names in a list that might easily be made longer. Familiars Cromwell had none. The sage and indefatigable Thurloe, who more closely than any of the others resembled the deep-browed counselors that stood around the throne of Elizabeth, came nearest to the heart of the Protector's deliberations. . . . Oliver was not of the evil Napoleonic build. He was liable to bursts of passion, he had his moods, he was unwisely and fatally impatient of Parliamentary discussion; but nobody knew better the value of consultation in good faith, of serious conference among men sincerely bent on common aims, of the arts of honest persuasion as distinguished from cajolery. Of that pettish egotism which regards a step taken on advice as humiliation, he had not a trace; he was a man."—J. Morley, *Oliver Cromwell*, pp. 431, 432.

1655.—Cromwell's intervention in behalf of Waldenses. See WALDENSES: 1655.

1655-1658.—War with Spain, alliance with France.—Acquisition of Dunkirk.—"Though the German war [the Thirty Years' War,] concluded in 1648 by the Treaty of Westphalia] was over, the struggle between France and Spain was continued with great animosity, each country striving to crush her rival and become the first power in Europe. Both Louis XIV. and Philip IV. of Spain were bidding for the protector's support. Spain offered the possession of Calais, when taken from France; France the possession of Dunkirk when taken from Spain (1655). Cromwell determined to ally himself with France against Spain. . . . It was in the West Indies that the obstructive policy of Spain came most into collision with the interests of England. Her kings based their claims to the possession of two continents on the bull of Pope Alexander VI., who in 1493 had granted them all lands they should discover from pole to pole, at the distance of 100 leagues west from the Azores and Cape Verd Islands. On the strength of this bull they held that the discovery of an island gave them the right to the group, the discovery of a headland the right to a continent. Though this monstrous claim had quite broken down as far as the North American continent was concerned, the Spaniards, still recognizing 'no peace beyond the line,' endeavoured to shut all Europeans but themselves out of any share in the trade or colonization of at least the southern half of the New World. . . . While war was now proclaimed with Spain, a treaty of peace was signed between France and England, Louis XIV. agreeing to banish Charles Stuart and his brothers from French territory (Oct. 24, 1655). This treaty was afterwards changed into a league, offensive and defensive (March 23, 1657), Cromwell undertaking to assist Louis with 6,000 men in besieging Gravelines, Mardyke, and Dunkirk, on condition of receiving the two latter towns when reduced by the allied armies. By the occupation of these towns Cromwell intended to control the trade of the Channel, to hold the Dutch in check, who were then but unwilling friends, and to lessen the danger of invasion from any union of Royalists and Spaniards. The war opened in the year 1657 [Jamaica, however, had already been taken from the Spaniards and St. Domingo attacked], with another triumph by sea." This was Blake's last exploit. He attacked and destroyed the Spanish hullion fleet, from Mexico, in the harbor of Santa Cruz, island of Teneriffe, and silenced the forts which guarded it. The great sea-captain died on his voyage home, after striking this blow. The next

spring "the siege of Dunkirk was commenced (May, 1658). The Spaniards tried to relieve the town, but were completely defeated in an engagement called the Battle of the Dunes from the sand hills among which it was fought; the defeat was mainly owing to the courage and discipline of Oliver's troops, who won for themselves the name of 'the Immortal Six Thousand.' . . . Ten days after the battle Dunkirk surrendered, and the French had no choice but to give over to the English ambassador the keys of a town they thought 'un si bon morceau' (June 25)."—B. M. Cordery and J. S. Phillpotts, *King and Commonwealth*, ch. 15.—See also FRANCE: 1655-1658.

ALSO IN: T. Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's letters and speeches*, bk. 9, speech 5, and bk. 10, letters 152-157.—J. Campbell, *Naval history of Great Britain*, v. 2, ch. 15.—J. Waylen, *House of Cromwell and the story of Dunkirk*, pp. 173-272.—W. H. Dixon, *Robert Blake*, ch. 9-10.—D. Hannay, *Admiral Blake*, ch. 9-11.

1658-1660.—Fall of the Protectorate and restoration of the Stuarts.—King Charles II and the Declaration of Breda.—When Oliver Cromwell died, on September 3, 1658—the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar, and at Worcester—his eldest son Richard, whom he had nominated, it was said, on his death-bed, was proclaimed Protector, and succeeded him "as quietly as any King had ever been succeeded by any Prince of Wales. During five months, the administration of Richard Cromwell went on so tranquilly and regularly that all Europe believed him to be firmly established on the chair of state." But Richard had none of his father's genius or personal power, and the discontents and jealousies which the former had rigorously suppressed soon tossed the latter from his unstable throne by their fierce upheaval. He summoned a new Parliament (January 27, 1659), which recognized and confirmed his authority, though containing a powerful opposition, of uncompromising republicans and secret royalists. But the army, which the great Protector had tamed to submissive obedience, was now stirred into mischievous action once more as a political power in the state, subservient to the ambition of Fleetwood and other commanders. Richard Cromwell could not make himself the master of his father's battalions. "He was used by the army as an instrument for the purpose of dissolving the Parliament [April 22], and was then contemptuously thrown aside. The officers gratified their republican allies by declaring that the expulsion of the Rump had been illegal, and by inviting that assembly to resume its functions. The old Speaker and a quorum of the old members came together [May 9] and were proclaimed, amidst the scarcely stifled derision and execration of the whole nation, the supreme power in the Commonwealth. It was at the same time expressly declared that there should be no first magistrate and no House of Lords. But this state of things could not last. On the day on which the Long Parliament revived, revived also its old quarrel with the army. Again the Rump forgot that it owed its existence to the pleasure of the soldiers, and began to treat them as subjects. Again the doors of the House of Commons were closed by military violence [October 13]; and a provisional government, named by the officers, assumed the direction of affairs." The troops stationed in Scotland, under Monk (George Monk, duke of Alhmarle), had not been consulted, however, in these transactions, and were evidently out of sympathy with their comrades in England. Monk, who had never meddled with politics before, was now in-

duced to interfere. He refused to acknowledge the military provisional government, declared himself the champion of the civil power, and marched into England at the head of his 7,000 veterans. His movement was everywhere welcomed and encouraged by popular demonstrations of delight. The army in England lost courage and lost unity, awed and paralyzed by the public feeling at last set free. Monk reached London without opposition, and was the recognized master of the realm. Nobody knew his intentions—himself, perhaps, as little as any—and it was not until after a period of protracted suspense that he declared himself for the convening of a new and free Parliament in the place of the Rump—which had again resumed its sittings—for the settlement of the state. Monk allowed the members who had been excluded by Pride's Purge to be readmitted and thus restored the Long Parliament, which dissolved itself March 26, 1660 after an intermittent term of nearly twenty years. "The result of the elections was such as might have been expected from the temper of the nation. The new House of Commons consisted, with few exceptions, of persons friendly to the royal family. The Presbyterians formed the majority. . . . The new Parliament, which, having been called without the royal writ, is more accurately described as a Convention, met at Westminster [April 26, 1660]. The Lords repaired to the hall, from which they had, during more than eleven years, been excluded by force. Both Houses instantly invited the King to return to his country. He was proclaimed with pomp never before known. A gallant fleet convoyed him from Holland to the coast of Kent. When he landed [May 25, 1660], the cliffs of Dover were covered by thousands of gazers, among whom scarcely one could be found who was not weeping with delight. The journey to London was a continued triumph."—Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, ch. 1.—The only guarantee with which the careless nation took back their ejected kings of the faithless race of Stuarts was embodied in a declaration which Charles sent over from "Our Court at Breda" in April, and which was read in Parliament with an effusive display of respect and thankfulness. In this declaration from Breda, "a general amnesty and liberty of conscience were promised, with such exceptions and limitations only as the Parliament should think fit to make. [By a compromise between Lords and Commons only thirteen regicides were executed and twenty-five were imprisoned for life. Among those sentenced to death was Sir Harry Vane (executed 1662), whose case is a glaring example of the political intolerance of the time. He was imprisoned under the Cromwellian regime for an attack on the protectorate, and was executed under the Restoration as a regicide, although he had had no part in putting Charles I to death.] All delicate questions, among others the proprietorship of confiscated estates, were in like manner referred to the decision of Parliament, thus leaving the King his liberty while diminishing his responsibility; and though fully asserting the ancient rights of the Crown, he announced his intention to associate the two Houses with himself in all great affairs of State."—F. P. Guizot, *History of Richard Cromwell and the Restoration*, v. 2, bk. 4.

ALSO IN: G. Burnet, *History of my own time*, bk. 2, 1660-61.—Earl of Clarendon, *History of the rebellion*, v. 6, bk. 16.—J. Evelyn, *Diary* (H. B. Wheatley, ed.).—C. H. Firth, *Last years of the Protectorate*.—D. Masson, *Life of Milton*, v. 5, bk. 3.—J. Corbett, *Monk*, ch. 9-14.

1660.—Puritan ban on drama lifted. See DRA-

MA: 1660-1800; ENGLISH LITERATURE: 1660-1780. 1660-1666.—Relations with Scotland. See SCOTLAND: 1660-1666.

1661.—Savoy conference.—"The Restoration had been the joint work of Episcopalian and Presbyterian; would it be possible to reconcile them on this question too [i. e., of the settlement of Church government]? The Presbyterian indeed was willing enough for a compromise, for he had an uneasy feeling that the ground was slipping from beneath his feet. Of Charles's intentions he was still in doubt; but he knew that Clarendon [Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, a supporter of Charles I, was successively chancellor of the exchequer and lord chancellor after the Restoration,] was the sworn friend of the Church. The Churchman on the other hand was eagerly expecting the approaching hour of triumph. It soon appeared that as King and Parliament, so King and Church were inseparable in the English mind; that indeed the return of the King was the restoration of the Church even more than it was the restoration of Parliament. In the face of the present Presbyterian majority however it was necessary to temporise. The former incumbents of Church livings were restored, and the Commons took the Communion according to the rites of the Church; but in other respects the Presbyterians were carefully kept in play; Charles taking his part in the elaborate farce by appointing ten of their leading ministers royal chaplains, and even attending their sermons." In October, 1660, Charles "took the matter more completely into his own hands by issuing a Declaration. Refusing, on the ground of constraint, to admit the validity of the oaths imposed upon him in Scotland, by which he was bound to uphold the Covenant, and not concealing his preference for the Anglican Church as 'the best fence God hath yet raised against popery in the world,' he asserted that nevertheless, to his own knowledge, the Presbyterians were not enemies to Episcopacy or a set liturgy, and were opposed to the alienation of Church revenues. The Declaration then went on to limit the power of bishops and archdeacons in a degree sufficient to satisfy many of the leading Presbyterians, one of whom, Reynolds, accepted a bishopric. Charles then proposed to choose an equal number of learned divines of both persuasions to discuss alterations in the liturgy; meanwhile no one was to be troubled regarding differences of practice. The majority in the Commons at first welcomed the Declaration, . . . and a bill was accordingly introduced by Sir Matthew Hale to turn the Declaration into a law. But Clarendon at any rate had no intention of thus hauling the Church of her revenge. Anticipating Hale's action, he had in the interval been busy in securing a majority against any compromise. The Declaration had done its work in gaining time, and when the bill was brought in it was rejected by 183 to 157 votes. Parliament was at once (December 24) dissolved. The way was now open for the riot of the Anglican triumph. Even before the new House met the mask was thrown off by the issuing of an order to the justices to restore the full liturgy. The conference indeed took place in the Savoy Palace. It failed, like the Hampton Court Conference of James I., because it was intended to fail. Upon the two important points, the authority of bishops and the liturgy, the Anglicans would not give way an inch. Both parties informed the King that, anxious as they were for agreement, they saw no chance of it. This last attempt at union having fallen through, the Government had their hands free; and their intentions were speedily made

plain."—O. Airy, *English Restoration and Louis XIV*, ch. 7.

ALSO IN: E. Calamy, *Nonconformist's memorial*, introd., sect. 3.—W. Orme, *Life and times of Richard Baxter*, ch. 7.

1662.—Sale of Dunkirk.—"Unable to confine himself within the narrow limits of his civil list, with his favorites and mistresses, he [Charles II] would have sought even in the infernal regions the gold which his subjects measured out to him with too parsimonious a hand. . . . [He] proposed to sell to France Dunkirk and its dependencies, which, he said, cost him too much to keep up. He asked twelve millions francs; he fell at last to five millions, and the treaty was signed Oct. 27, 1662. It was time; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, informed of the negotiation, had determined to offer Charles II. whatever he wished in behalf of their city not to alienate Dunkirk. Charles dared not retract his word, which would have been, as D'Estrades told him, to break forever with Louis XIV., and on the 2d of December Louis joyfully made his entry into his good city, reconquered by gold instead of the sword."—H. Martin, *History of France: Age of Louis XIV* (translated by M. L. Booth), v. 1, ch. 4.

1662-1665.—Act of Uniformity and persecution of the Nonconformists.—The failure of the Savoy Conference "was the conclusion which had been expected and desired. Charles had already summoned the Convocation, and to that assembly was assigned the task which had failed in the hands of the commissioners at the Savoy. . . . The act of uniformity followed [May 19, 1662], by which it was enacted that the revised Book of Common Prayer, and of Ordination of Ministers, and no other, should be used in all places of public worship; and that all beneficed clergymen should read the service from it within a given time, and, at the close, profess in a set form of words, their 'unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained and prescribed in it.' . . . The act of uniformity may have been necessary for the restoration of the church to its former discipline and doctrine; but if such was the intention of those who framed the declaration from Breda, they were guilty of infidelity to the king and of fraud to the people, by putting into his mouth language which, with the aid of equivocation, they might explain away, and by raising in them expectations which it was never meant to fulfil."—J. Lingard, *History of England*, v. 11, ch. 4.—"This rigorous act when it passed, gave the ministers, who could not conform, no longer time than till Bartholomew-day, August 24th, 1662, when they were all cast out. . . . This was an action without a precedent: The like to this the Reformed church, nay the Christian world, never saw before. Historians relate, with tragical exclamations, that between three and four score bishops were driven at once into the island of Sardinia by the African vandals; that 200 ministers were banished by Ferdinand, king of Bohemia; and that great havock was, a few years after, made among the ministers of Germany by the Imperial Interim. But these all together fell short of the number ejected by the act of uniformity, which was not less than 2,000. The succeeding hardships of the latter were also by far the greatest. They were not only silenced, but had no room left for any sort of usefulness, and were in a manner buried alive. Far greater tenderness was used towards the Popish clergy ejected at the Reformation. They were suffered to live quietly; but these were oppressed to the utmost, and that even by their brethren who professed the same faith themselves: not only excluded preferments,

but turned out into the wide world without any visible way of subsistence. Not so much as a poor vicarage, not an obscure chapel, not a school was left them. Nay, though they offered, as some of them did, to preach gratis, it must not be allowed them. . . . The ejected ministers continued for ten years in a state of silence and obscurity. . . . The act of uniformity took place August the 24th, 1662. On the 26th of December following, the king published a Declaration, expressing his purpose to grant some indulgence or liberty in religion. Some of the Nonconformists were hereupon much encouraged, and waiting privately on the king, had their hopes confirmed, and would have persuaded their brethren to have thanked him for his declaration; but they refused, lest they should make way for the toleration of the Papists, whom they understood the king intended to include in it. . . . Instead of indulgence or comprehension, on the 30th of June, an act against private meetings, called the Conventicle Act, passed the House of Commons, and soon after was made a law, viz.: 'That every person above sixteen years of age, present at any meeting, under pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is the practice of the church of England, where there are five persons more than the household, shall for the first offence, by a justice of peace be recorded, and sent to gaol three months, till he pay £5, and for the second offence six months, till he pay £10, and the third time being convicted by a jury, shall be banished to some of the American plantations, excepting New England or Virginia.' . . . In the year 1665 the plague broke out"—and the ejected ministers boldly took possession for the time of the deserted London pulpits. "While God was consuming the people by this judgment, and the Nonconformists were labouring to save their souls, the parliament, which sat at Oxford, was busy in making an act [called the Five Mile Act] to render their case incomparably harder than it was before, by putting upon them a certain oath ['that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king,' &c.], which, if they refused, they must not come (unless upon the road) within five miles of any city or corporation, any place that sent burgesses to parliament, any place where they had been ministers, or had preached after the act of oblivion. . . . When this act came out, those ministers who had any maintenance of their own, found out some place of residence in obscure villages, or market-towns, that were not corporations."—E. Calamy, *Nonconformist's memorial*, introd., sect. 4-6.—In December, 1661, the Corporation Act was passed prohibiting any man from holding office in a corporate town unless he renounced the covenant, declared it unlawful to bear arms against the king, and was willing to take the sacrament according to the Church of England. This Act, the Act of Uniformity, Conventicle Act and Five Mile Act were called the "Clarendon Code."

ALSO IN: J. Staughton, *History of religion in England*, v. 3, ch. 6-9.—D. Neal, *History of the Puritans*, v. 4, ch. 6-7.

1664-1665.—First refractory symptoms in Massachusetts. See MASSACHUSETTS: 1660-1665.

1665-1666.—War with Holland renewed.—Dutch fleet in the Thames. See NETHERLANDS: 1665-1666.

1668.—Triple Alliance with Holland and Sweden against Louis XIV. See NETHERLANDS: 1668.

1668-1670.—Secret Catholicism and the perfidy of the king—Begging of bribes from Louis XIV.—Betrayal of Holland.—Breaking of the Triple

Alliance.—In 1668, the royal treasury being greatly embarrassed by the king's extravagances, an attempt was made "to reduce the annual expenditure below the amount of the royal income. . . . But this plan of economy accorded not with the royal disposition, nor did it offer any prospect of extinguishing the debt. Charles remembered the promise of pecuniary assistance from France in the beginning of his reign; and, though his previous efforts to cultivate the friendship of Louis had been defeated by an unpropitious course of events, he resolved to renew the experiment. Immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, [1668] Buckingham [George Villiers, second duke of Buckingham] opened a negotiation with the duchess of Orleans, the king's sister, in France, and Charles, in his conversations with the French resident, apologised for his conduct in forming the triple alliance, and openly expressed his wish to enter into a closer union, a more intimate friendship, with Louis. . . . About the end of the year the communications between the two princes became more open and confidential; French money, or the promise of French money, was received by the English ministers; the negotiation began to assume a more regular form, and the most solemn assurances of secrecy were given, that their real object might be withheld from the knowledge, or even the suspicion, of the States. In this stage of the proceedings Charles received an important communication from his brother James. Hitherto that prince had been an obedient and zealous son of the Church of England; but Dr. Heylin's History of the Reformation had shaken his religious credulity, and the result of the inquiry was a conviction that it became his duty to reconcile himself with the Church of Rome. He was not blind to the dangers to which such a change would expose him; and he therefore purposed to continue outwardly in communion with the established church, while he attended at the Catholic service in private. But, to his surprise, he learned from Symonds, a Jesuit missionary, that no dispensation could authorise such duplicity of conduct: a similar answer was returned to the same question from the pope; and James immediately took his resolution. He communicated to the king in private that he was determined to embrace the Catholic faith; and Charles without hesitation replied that he was of the same mind, and would consult with the duke on the subject in the presence of lord Arundell, lord Arlington, and Arlington's confidential friend, sir Thomas Clifford. . . . The meeting was held in the duke's closet. Charles, with tears in his eyes, lamented the hardship of being compelled to profess a religion which he did not approve, declared his determination to emancipate himself from this restraint, and requested the opinion of those present, as to the most eligible means of effecting his purpose with safety and success. They advised him to communicate his intention to Louis, and to solicit the powerful aid of that monarch. Here occurs a very interesting question,—was Charles sincere or not? . . . He was the most accomplished dissembler in his dominions; nor will it be any injustice to his character to suspect that his real object was to deceive both his brother and the king of France. . . . Now, however, the secret negotiation proceeded with greater activity; and lord Arundell, accompanied by Sir Richard Bellings, hastened to the French court. He solicited from Louis the present of a considerable sum, to enable the king to suppress any insurrection which might be provoked by his intended conversion, and offered the co-operation of England in the projected invasion of Holland, on the condition of an annual subsidy during the continuation of hostilities." On

the advice of Louis, Charles postponed, for the time being, his intention to enter publicly the Romish church and thus provoke a national revolt; but his proposals were otherwise accepted, and a secret treaty was concluded at Dover, on May 22, 1670, through the agency of Charles' sister, Henrietta, the duchess of Orleans, who came over for that purpose. "Of this treaty, . . . though much was afterwards said, little was certainly known. All the parties concerned, both the sovereigns and the negotiators, observed an impenetrable secrecy. What became of the copy transmitted to France is unknown; its counterpart was confided to the custody of sir Thomas Clifford. . . . The principal articles were: 1. That the king of England should publicly profess himself a Catholic at such time as should appear to him most expedient, and subsequently to that profession should join with Louis in a war against the Dutch republic at such time as the most Christian king should judge proper. 2. That to enable the king of England to suppress any insurrection which might be occasioned by his conversion, the king of France should grant him an aid of 2,000,000 of livres, by two payments, one at the expiration of three months, the other of six months, after the ratification of the treaty, and should also assist him with an armed force of 6,000 men, if . . . necessary. . . . 4. That if, eventually, any new rights on the Spanish monarchy should accrue to the king of France, the king of England should aid him with all his power in the acquisition of those rights. 5. That both princes should make war on the united provinces, and that neither should conclude peace or truce with them without the advice and consent of his ally."—J. Lingard, *History of England*, v. 11, ch. 6.

ALSO IN: H. Hallam, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 11.—O. Airy, *English Restoration and Louis XIV*, ch. 16.—G. Burnet, *History of my own time*, v. 1, bk. 2.—T. F. Tout, *France and England: their relations in the Middle Ages and now*.

1671-1673.—**The Cabal.**—In 1667 Clarendon was impeached by Parliament and fled to the Continent. Charles now attempted to establish himself as absolute monarch and until 1673 (Test Act) he ruled with a group of intimate advisors known as the "Cabal." "It was remarked that the committee of council, established for foreign affairs, was entirely changed; and that Prince Rupert, the Duke of Ormond, Secretary Trevor, and Lord-keeper Bridgeman, men in whose honour the nation had great confidence, were never called to any deliberations. The whole secret was intrusted to five persons, Clifford, Ashley [afterwards earl of Shaftesbury], Buckingham, Arlington and Lauderdale. These men were known by the appellation of the Cabal, a word which the initial letters of their names happened to compose. Never was there a more dangerous ministry in England, nor one more noted for pernicious counsels."—D. Hume, *History of England*, v. 6, ch. 65.—See also CABINET: English: Origin of term.

1672-1673.—**Declaration of Indulgence and the Test Act.**—"It would have been impossible to obtain the consent of the party in the Royal council which represented the old Presbyterians, of Ashley or Lauderdale or the Duke of Buckingham, to the Treaty of Dover. But it was possible to trick them into approval of a war with Holland by playing on their desire for a toleration of the Nonconformists. The announcement of the King's Catholicism was therefore deferred. . . . His ministers outwitted, it only remained for Charles to outwit his Parliament. A large subsidy was demanded for the fleet, under the pretext of upholding the Triple Alliance, and the subsidy was no sooner granted than the two

Houses were adjourned. Fresh supplies were obtained by closing the Exchequer, and suspending—under Clifford's advice—the payment of either principal or interest on loans advanced to the public treasury. The measure spread bankruptcy among half the goldsmiths of London; but it was followed in 1672 by one yet more startling—the Declaration of Indulgence. By virtue of his ecclesiastical powers, the King ordered 'that all manner of penal laws on matters ecclesiastical against whatever sort of Nonconformists or recusants should be from that day suspended,' and gave liberty of public worship to all dissidents save Catholics, who were allowed to practice their religion only in private houses. . . . The Declaration of Indulgence was at once followed by a declaration of war against the Dutch on the part of both England and France. . . . It was necessary in 1673 to appeal to the Commons [for war supplies], but the Commons met in a mood of angry distrust. . . . There was a general suspicion that a plot was on foot for the establishment of Catholicism and despotism, and that the war and the Indulgence were parts of the plot. The change of temper in the Commons was marked by the appearance of what was from that time called the Country party, with Lords Russell and Cavendish and Sir William Coventry at its head—a party which sympathized with the Non-conformists, but looked on it as its first duty to guard against the designs of the Court. As to the Declaration of Indulgence, however, all parties in the House were at one. The Commons resolved 'that penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by consent of Parliament,' and refused supplies till the Declaration was recalled. The King yielded; but the Declaration was no sooner recalled than a Test Act, was passed through both Houses without opposition, which required from every one in the civil and military employment of the State the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, a declaration against transubstantiation, and a reception of the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. Clifford at once counseled resistance, and Buckingham talked flightily about bringing the army to London, but Arlington saw that all hope of carrying the 'great plan' through was at an end, and pressed Charles to yield. . . . Charles sullenly gave way. No measure has ever brought about more startling results. The Duke of York owned himself a Catholic, and resigned his office as Lord High Admiral. . . . Clifford, too, . . . owned to being a Catholic, and . . . laid down his staff of office. Their resignation was followed by that of hundreds of others in the army and the civil service of the Crown. . . . The resignations were held to have proved the existence of the dangers which the Test Act had been passed to meet. From this moment all trust in Charles was at an end."—J. R. Green, *Short history of England*, ch. 9, sect. 3.—"It is very true that the [Test Act] pointed only at Catholics, that it really proposed an anti-Popish test, yet the construction of it, although it did not exclude from office such Dissenters as could occasionally conform, did effectually exclude all who scrupled to do so. Aimed at the Romanists, it struck the Presbyterians. It is clear that, had the Nonconformists and the Catholics joined their forces with those of the Court, in opposing the measure, they might have defeated it; but the first of these classes for the present submitted to the inconvenience, from the horror which they entertained of Popery, hoping, at the same time, that some relief would be afforded for this personal sacrifice in the cause of a common Protestantism. Thus the passing of an Act, which, until a late period, inflicted a social wrong upon

two large sections of the community, is to be attributed to the course pursued by the very parties whose successors became the sufferers."—J. Stoughton, *History of religion in England*, v. 3, ch. 11.

ALSO IN: D. Neal, *History of the Puritans*, v. 4, ch. 8, and v. 5, ch. 1.—J. Collier, *Ecclesiastical history of Great Britain*, v. 8, pt. 2, bk. 9.

1672-1674.—Alliance with Louis XIV of France in war with Holland. See NETHERLANDS: 1672-1674.

1674.—Peace with the Dutch.—Treaty of Westminster. See NETHERLANDS: 1674.

1678-1679.—So-called Popish Plot.—The English people were rapidly becoming dissatisfied with the conduct of their king, and began to fear that French arms might be called in to overwhelm their newly-won liberties. At this critical juncture it was asserted that the Roman Catholics had leagued together to murder the king, to place the duke of York, who was an uncompromising Catholic, on the throne, and to suppress Protestantism. The originator of this falsehood was Titus Oates, a degraded character, once an Anglican clergyman, who had studied for a time at the Jesuit colleges at Valladolid, Spain, and St. Omer's, France, but was expelled from both institutions for his scandalous conduct. With the Gunpowder plot fresh in memory, however, people took this story seriously. Men went about armed, and there was increasing excitement. A new Test Act was passed whereby Catholics were excluded from both houses of Parliament. That body next proceeded to impeach Danby (Sir Thomas Osborne, Lord Treasurer, 1673, created earl of Danby, 1674), the king's minister, on the grounds of treasonable intercourse with France. To save both himself and his minister, Charles dissolved the Cavalier Parliament, which had sat for seventeen years (1661-1678). The new Parliament, however, showed a decided gain for the opposition. At this time Charles tried an interesting experiment in government. A new privy council was appointed of which fifteen members mere ministers to the crown, and the other fifteen influential lords and commoners; as this body was too large for matters requiring secrecy small committees were formed for the transaction of all important business.

1679 (May).—Habeas Corpus Act.—The foundation of freedom from arbitrary imprisonment laid by the Great Charter was renewed and strengthened during the reigns of the Stuarts. "The right of an English subject to a writ of habeas corpus, and to a release from imprisonment unless sufficient cause be shown for his detention, was fully canvassed in the first years of the reign of Charles I. . . . The parliament endeavoured to prevent such arbitrary imprisonment by passing the 'Petition of Right,' which enacted that no freeman, in any such manner . . . should be imprisoned or detained. Even this act was found unavailing against the malevolent interpretations put by the judges; hence the 16 Charles I., c. 10, was passed, which enacts, that when any person is restrained of his liberty by the king in person, or by the Privy Council, or any member thereof, he shall, on demand of his counsel, have a writ of habeas corpus, and, three days after the writ, shall be brought before the court to determine whether there is ground for further imprisonment, for bail, or for his release. Notwithstanding these provisions, the immunity of English subjects from arbitrary detention was not ultimately established in full practical efficiency until the passing of the statute of Charles II., commonly called the 'Habeas Corpus Act.'"—E. Fischel, *English constitution*, bk. 1, ch. 9.—This act was largely due to the efforts of Shaftesbury after whom it is some-

times called, and although it added no new right to the Petition of 1628 it improved the means of executing that right. Great delays had been used by jailors in making returns of writs of habeas corpus, prisoners had been shifted about from one place to another, and it was not clear what division of the King's Court could issue writs or whether more than one judge was required. In spite of the advance made by the Act of 1679, it contained obvious defects which went unremedied until 1816.—For the text of this document, see HABEAS CORPUS.

ALSO IN: W. Blackstone, *Commentaries on the laws of England*, bk. 3, ch. 8.—H. J. Stephen, *Commentaries*, v. 4, bk. 5, ch. 12, sect. 5.

1679-1681.—Exclusion Bill.—“Though the duke of York [James, brother of Charles II] was not charged with participation in the darkest schemes of the popish conspirators, it was evident that his succession was the great aim of their endeavours, and evident also that he had been engaged in the more real and undeniable intrigues of Coleman [Secretary of the duke of York]. His accession to the throne, long viewed with just apprehension, now seemed to threaten such perils to every part of the constitution as ought not supinely to be waited for, if any means could be devised to obviate them. This gave rise to the bold measure of the exclusion bill, too bold, indeed, for the spirit of the country, and the rock on which English liberty was nearly shipwrecked. In the long parliament, full as it was of pensioners and creatures of court influence, nothing so vigorous would have been successful. . . . But the zeal they showed against Danby induced the king to put an end [January 24, 1679] to this parliament of seventeen years' duration; an event long ardently desired by the popular party, who foresaw their ascendancy in the new elections. The next house of commons accordingly came together with an ardour not yet quenched by corruption; and after reviving the impeachments commenced by their predecessors, and carrying a measure long in agitation, a test which shut the catholic peers out of parliament, went upon the exclusion bill [the second reading of which was carried, May 21, 1679, by 207 to 128]. Their dissolution put a stop to this; and in the next parliament the lords rejected it [after the commons had passed the bill, without a division, October, 1680]. . . . The bill of exclusion . . . provided that the imperial crown of England should descend to and be enjoyed by such person or persons successively during the life of the duke of York as would have inherited or enjoyed the same in case he were naturally dead. . . . But a large part of the opposition had unfortunately other objects in view.” Under the contaminating influence of the earl of Shaftesbury, “they broke away more and more from the line of national opinion, till a fatal reaction involved themselves in ruin, and exposed the cause of public liberty to its most imminent peril. The countenance and support of Shaftesbury brought forward that unconstitutional and most impolitic scheme of the duke of Monmouth's succession. [James, duke of Monmouth, was the acknowledged natural son of king Charles, by Lucy Walters, his mistress while in exile at The Hague.] There could hardly be a greater insult to a nation used to respect its hereditary line of kings, than to set up the bastard of a prostitute, without the least pretence of personal excellence or public services, against a princess [Mary, daughter of James by Anne Hyde his first wife] of known virtue and attachment to the protestant religion. And the effrontery of this attempt was aggravated by the libels eagerly circulated to dupe the credulous populace into a belief of Monmouth's legitimacy.”

—H. Hallam, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 12.

ALSO IN: A. Carrel, *History of the counter-revolution in England*, pt. 2, ch. 1.—G. Roberts, *Life of Monmouth*, v. 1, ch. 4-8.—G. Burnet, *History of my own time*, bk. 3, 1679-81.—W. Temple, *Memoirs*, pt. 3 (*Works*, v. 2).

1680.—Whigs and Tories acquire their respective names.—Out of this tempest over the Exclusion bill two great political parties were formed. Many members of Parliament dreading a renewal of civil war were ready to accept a Roman Catholic monarch. The conservative temper of their minds made them dislike the Puritans as much as they did the “papists,” and they saw no way to safeguard Church and State except through a hereditary monarchy. On the other hand several of the great nobles, among them Shaftesbury, were distrustful of the royal power and violent in their hatred of Roman Catholicism. Others belonged to the wealthy merchant class who supported Parliament for the preservation of their economic interests. These latter became known as “Whigs” while their conservative opponents acquired the title of “Tories.” “Factions indeed were at this time [1680] extremely animated against each other. The very names by which each party denominated its antagonist discover the virulence and rancour which prevailed. For besides petitioner and abhorrer, appellations which were soon forgotten, this year is remarkable for being the epoch of the well-known epithets of Whig and Tory, by which, and sometimes without any material difference, this island has been so long divided. The court party reproached their antagonists with their affinity to the fanatical conventiclers in Scotland, who were known by the name of Whigs: the country party found a resemblance between the courtiers and the popish banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of Tory was affixed: and after this manner these foolish terms of reproach came into public and general use.”—D. Hume, *History of England*, v. 6, ch. 68.—“The definition of the nickname Tory, as it originally arose, is given in ‘A New Ballad’ (Narcissus Luttrell's Collection):—

The word Tory's of Irish Extraction,
'Tis a Legacy that they have left here
They came here in their brogues,
And have acted like Rogues,
In endeavouring to learn us to swear.”

—J. Grego, *History of parliamentary elections*, p. 36.—For the origin of the name of the Whig party, see WHIGS; RAPPAREES.

ALSO IN: G. W. Cooke, *History of party*, v. 1, ch. 2.—Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, ch. 2.

1681-1683.—Tory reaction and the downfall of the Whigs.—Rye-house plot.—“Shaftesbury's course rested wholly on the belief that the penury of the Treasury left Charles at his mercy, and that a refusal of supplies must wring from the King his assent to the exclusion. But the gold of France had freed the King from his thralldom. He had used the Parliament [of 1681] simply to exhibit himself as a sovereign whose patience and conciliatory temper was rewarded with insult and violence; and now that he saw his end accomplished, he suddenly dissolved the Houses in April, and appealed in a Royal declaration to the justice of the nation at large. The appeal was met by an almost universal burst of loyalty. The Church rallied to the King; his declaration was read from every pulpit; and the Universities solemnly decided that ‘no religion, no law, no fault, no forfeiture’ could avail to bar the sacred right of hereditary succes-

sion. . . . The Duke of York returned in triumph to St. James's. . . . Monmouth, who had resumed his progresses through the country as a means of checking the tide of reaction, was at once arrested. . . . Shaftesbury, alive to the new danger, plunged desperately into conspiracies with a handful of adventurers as desperate as himself, hid himself in the City, where he boasted that ten thousand 'brisk boys' were ready to appear at his call, and urged his friends to rise in arms. But their delays drove him to flight. . . . The flight of Shaftesbury proclaimed the triumph of the King. His wonderful sagacity had told him when the struggle was over and further resistance useless. But the Whig leaders, who had delayed to answer the Earl's call, still nursed projects of rising in arms, and the more desperate spirits who had clustered around him as he lay hidden in the City took refuge in plots of assassination, and in a plan for murdering Charles and his brother as they passed the Rye-house [a Hertfordshire farm house, so-called] on their road from London to Newmarket. Both the conspiracies were betrayed, and, though they were wholly distinct from one another, the cruel ingenuity of the Crown lawyers blended them into one. Lord Essex, the last of an ill-fated race, saved himself from a traitor's death by suicide in the Tower. Lord Russell, convicted on a charge of sharing in the Rye-house Plot, was beheaded in Lincoln Inn Fields. The same fate awaited Algernon Sidney. Monmouth fled in terror over sea, and his flight was followed by a series of prosecutions for sedition directed against his followers. In 1683 the Constitutional opposition which had held Charles so long in check lay crushed at his feet. . . . On the very day when the crowd around Russell's scaffold were dipping their handkerchiefs in his blood, as in the blood of a martyr, the University of Oxford solemnly declared that the doctrine of passive obedience, even to the worst of rulers, was a part of religion." During the brief remainder of his reign Charles was a prudently absolute monarch, governing without a Parliament, coolly ignoring the Triennial Act, and treating on occasions the Test Act, as well as other laws obnoxious to him, with contempt. He died unexpectedly, early in February, 1685, and his brother, the duke of York, succeeded to the throne, as James II, with no resistance, but with much feeling opposed to him.—J. R. Green, *Short history of England*, ch. 9, sect. 5-6.

ALSO IN: G. Roberts, *Life of Monmouth*, v. 1, ch. 8-10.—D. Hume, *History of England*, v. 6, ch. 68-69.—G. W. Cooke, *History of party*, v. 1, ch. 6-11.

1685.—Accession of James II.

1685 (February).—New king proclaims his religion.—"The King [James II] early put the loyalty of his Protestant friends to the proof. While he was a subject, he had been in the habit of hearing mass with closed doors in a small oratory which had been fitted up for his wife [Mary of Modena, his second wife]. He now ordered the doors to be thrown open, in order that all who came to pay their duty to him might see the ceremony. When the host was elevated there was a strange confusion in the antechamber. The Roman Catholics fell on their knees: the Protestants hurried out of the room. Soon a new pulpit was erected in the palace, and, during Lent, a series of sermons was preached there by Popish divines."—Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, v. 2, ch. 4.

1685 (May-July).—Monmouth's rebellion.—"The Parliament which assembled . . . [in] May . . . was almost entirely Tory. The failure of the Rye-house Plot had produced a reaction, which for a time entirely annihilated the Whig influence. . . . The apparent triumph of the King and the Tory

party was completed by the disastrous failure of the insurrection planned by their adversaries. A knot of exiled malcontents, some Scotch, some English, had collected in Holland. Among them was Monmouth and the Earl of Argyle, son of that Marquis of Argyle who had taken so prominent a part on the Presbyterian side in the Scotch troubles of Charles I.'s reign. Monmouth had kept aloof from politics till, on the accession of James, he was induced to join the exiles at Amsterdam, whither Argyle, a strong Presbyterian, but a man of lofty and moderate views, also repaired. National jealousy prevented any union between the exiles, and two expeditions were determined on,—the one under Argyle, who hoped to find an army ready to his hand among his clansmen in the West of Scotland, the other under Monmouth in the West of England. Argyle's expedition set sail on the 2nd of May [1685]. . . . Argyle's invasion was ruined by the limited authority intrusted to him, and by the jealousy and insubordination of his fellow leaders. . . . His army disbanded. He was himself taken in Renfrewshire, and, after an exhibition of admirable constancy, was beheaded. . . . A week before the final dispersion of Argyle's troops, Monmouth had landed in England [at Lyme, June 11]. He was well received in the West. He had not been twenty-four hours in England before he found himself at the head of 1,500 men; but though popular among the common people, he received no support from the upper classes. Even the strongest Whigs disbelieved the story of his legitimacy, and thought his attempt ill-timed and fraught with danger. . . . Meanwhile Monmouth had advanced to Taunton, had been there received with enthusiasm, and, vainly thinking to attract the nobility, had assumed the title of King. Nor was his reception at Bridgewater less flattering. But difficulties already began to gather round him; he was in such want of arms, that, although rustic implements were converted into pikes, he was still obliged to send away many volunteers; the militia were closing in upon him in all directions; Bristol had been seized by the Duke of Beaufort, and the regular army under Feversham and Churchill were approaching." After feebly attempting several movements, against Bristol and into Wiltshire, Monmouth lost heart and fell back to Bridgewater. "The Royalist army was close behind him, and on the fifth of July encamped about three miles from Bridgewater, on the plain of Sedgemoor." Monmouth was advised to undertake a night surprise, and did so in the early morning of the 6th. "The night was not unfitting for such an enterprise, for the mist was so thick that at a few paces nothing could be seen. Three great ditches by which the moor was drained lay between the armies; of the third of these, strangely enough, Monmouth knew nothing." The unexpected discovery of this third ditch, known as "the Bussex Rhine," which his cavalry could not cross, and behind which the enemy rallied, was the ruin of the enterprise. "Monmouth saw that the day was lost, and with the love of life which was one of the characteristics of his soft nature, he turned and fled. Even after his flight the battle was kept up bravely. At length the arrival of the King's artillery put an end to any further struggle. The defeat was followed by all the terrible scenes which mark a suppressed insurrection. . . . Monmouth and Grey pursued their flight into the New Forest, and were there apprehended in the neighbourhood of Ringwood." Monmouth petitioned abjectly for his life, but in vain. He was executed on the 15th of July. "The failure of this insurrection was followed by the most terrible cruelties. Feversham returned to London, to be flattered by the

King and laughed at by the Court for his military exploits. He left Colonel Kirke in command at Bridgewater. This man had learned, as commander at Tangier, all the worst arts of cruel despotism. His soldiery in bitter pleasantries were called Kirke's 'Lambs,' from the emblem of their regiment. It is impossible to say how many suffered at the hands of this man and his brutal troops; 100 captives are said by some to have been put to death the week after the battle. But this military revenge did not satisfy the Court.—J. F. Bright, *History of England, period 2, pp. 764-768.*

ALSO IN: G. Roberts, *Life of Monmouth, v. 1-2, ch. 13-28.*

1685 (September).—Bloody Assizes.—“Large numbers of Monmouth's followers were hanged by the pursuing soldiers without form of law. Many were thrust into prison to await their trial. Jeffreys, the most insolent of the judges, was sent to hold, in the western counties, what will always be known as the Bloody Assizes. It is true that the law which he had to administer was cruel, but Jeffreys gained peculiar obliquely by delighting in its cruelty, and by sneering at its unhappy victims. At Winchester he condemned to death an old lady, Alice Lisle, who was guilty of hiding in her house two fugitives from vengeance. At Dorchester 74 persons were hanged. In Somersetshire no less than 233 were put to death. Jeffreys overwhelmed his victims with scornful mockery. One of them pleaded that he was a good Protestant: ‘Protestant?’ cried Jeffreys, ‘you mean Presbyterian; I'll hold you a wager of it, I can smell a Presbyterian forty miles.’ Some one tried to move his compassion in favour of one of the accused. ‘My lord,’ he said, ‘this poor creature is on the parish.’ ‘Do not trouble yourselves,’ was the only answer given, ‘I will ease the parish of the burden,’ and he ordered the man to be hanged at once. The whole number of those who perished in the Bloody Assizes was 320, whilst 841 were transported to the West Indies to work as slaves under a broiling sun. James welcomed Jeffreys on his return, and made him Lord Chancellor as a reward for his achievements.”—S. R. Gardiner, *Student's history of England, pp. 637-638.*

ALSO IN: J. Mackintosh, *History of the revolution in England, ch. 1.*—Lord Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors, v. 3, ch. 100.*—G. Roberts, *Life of Monmouth, v. 2, ch. 20-31.*

1685-1689.—James II's policy in Ireland.—Opposition in Ulster. See IRELAND: 1685-1688; 1689; ULSTER: 1687-1689.

1685-1689.—Despotism of James II in Scotland. See SCOTLAND: 1681-1689.

1686.—Court of High Commission revived.—When Parliament met in November, 1685, James tried to force through three measures of importance to him in carrying out his arbitrary government: (1) the maintenance of a standing army of 20,000; (2) the repeal of the Test Act; (3) the repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act. The Houses stubbornly refused and the angry king prorogued them. Parliament did not meet again in his reign. “James conceived the design of employing his authority as head of the Church of England as a means of subjecting that church to his pleasure, if not of finally destroying it. It is hard to conceive how he could reconcile to his religion the exercise of supremacy in an heretical sect, and thus sanction by his example the usurpations of the Tudors on the rights of the Catholic Church. . . . He, indeed, considered the ecclesiastical supremacy as placed in his hands by Providence to enable him to betray the Protestant establishment. ‘God,’ said he to Barillon, ‘has permitted that all the laws made to

establish Protestantism now serve as a foundation for my measures to re-establish true religion, and give me a right to exercise a more extensive power than other Catholic princes possess in the ecclesiastical affairs of their dominions.’ He found legal advisers ready with paltry expedients for evading the two statutes of 1641 and 1660 [abolishing, and re-affirming the abolition of the Court of High Commission], under the futile pretext that they forbade only a court vested with such powers of corporal punishment as had been exercised by the old Court of High Commission; and in conformity to their pernicious counsel, he issued, in July, a commission to certain ministers, prelates, and judges, to act as a Court of Commissioners in Ecclesiastical Causes. The first purpose of this court was to enforce directions to preachers, issued by the King, enjoining them to abstain from preaching on controverted questions.”—J. Mackintosh, *History of the revolution in England, ch. 2.*

ALSO IN: D. Neal, *History of the Puritans, v. 5, ch. 3.*

1687.—Riddance of the Test Act by royal dispensing power.—“The abolition of the tests was a thing resolved upon in the catholic council, and for this a sanction of some kind or other was required, as they dared not yet proceed upon the royal will alone. Chance, or the machinations of the catholics, created an affair which brought the question of the tests under another form before the court of king's bench. This court had not the power to abolish the Test Act, but it might consider whether the king had the right of exempting particular subjects from the formalities. . . . The king . . . closeted himself with the judges one by one, dismissed some, and got those who replaced them, ‘ignorant men,’ says an historian, ‘and scandalously incompetent,’ to acknowledge his dispensing power. . . . The judges of the king's bench, after a trial, . . . declared, almost in the very language used by the crown counsel:—1. That the kings of England are sovereign princes; 2. That the laws of England are the king's laws; 3. That therefore it is an inseparable prerogative in the kings of England to dispense with penal laws in particular cases, and upon particular necessary reasons; 4. That of those reasons, and those necessities, the king himself is sole judge; and finally, which is consequent upon all, 5. That this is not a trust invested in, or granted to the king by the people, but the ancient remains of the sovereign power and prerogative of the kings of England, which never yet was taken from them, nor can be. The case thus decided, the king thought he might rely upon the respect always felt by the English people for the decisions of the higher courts, to exempt all his catholic subjects from the obligations of the test. And upon this, it became no longer a question merely of preserving in their commissions and offices those whose dismissal had been demanded by parliament. . . . To obtain or to retain certain employments, it was necessary to be of the same religion with the king. Papists replaced in the army and in the administration all those who had pronounced at all encregetically for the maintenance of the tests. Abjurations, somewhat out of credit during the last session of parliament, again resumed favour.”—A. Carrel, *History of the counter-revolution in England, ch. 3.*

ALSO IN: J. Stoughton, *History of religion in England, v. 4, ch. 4.*

1687-1688.—Declarations of Indulgence.—Trial of the seven bishops.—“Under pretence of toleration for Dissenters, James endeavoured, under another form, to remove obstacles from Romanists. . . . He announced to the English Privy Council

his intention to prorogue Parliament, and to grant upon his own authority entire liberty of conscience to all his subjects. Accordingly on the 4th of April, [1687], he published his Indulgence, declaring his desire to see all his subjects become members of the Church of Rome, and his resolution (since that was impracticable) to protect them in the free exercise of their religion; also promising to protect the Established Church; then he annulled a number of Acts of Parliament, suspended all penal laws against Nonconformists, authorised Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters to perform worship publicly, and abrogated all Acts of Parliament imposing any religious test for civil or military offices. [So blind was James to the general discontent aroused by this act that he attempted to procure the election of a "packed" Parliament, but finding no one in town or county whom he could trust, he was forced to abandon his scheme, and rule without even the form of constitutional control.] . . . On the 27th of April, 1688, James issued a second Declaration of Indulgence for England . . . [and directed it] to be publicly read during divine service in all Churches and Chapels, by the officiating ministers, on two successive Sundays . . . and desired the Bishops to circulate this Declaration through their dioceses. Hitherto the Bishops and Clergy had held the doctrine of passive obedience to the sovereign, however bad in character or in his measures—now they were placed by the King himself in a dilemma. Here was a violation of existing law, and an intentional injury to their Church, if not a plan for the substitution of another. The Nonconformists, whom James pretended to serve, coincided with and supported the Church. A decided course must be taken. . . . A petition to the King was drawn up by the Archbishop of Canterbury in his own handwriting, disclaiming all disloyalty and all intolerance, . . . but stating that Parliament had decided that the King could not dispense with Statutes in matters ecclesiastical—that the Declaration was therefore illegal—and could not be solemnly published by the petitioners in the House of God and during divine service. This paper was signed by Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol. On Friday evening the six Bishops who had signed were introduced by Sunderland to the King, who read the document and pronounced it libellous [and seditious and rebellious], and the Bishops retired. On Sunday, the 20th of May, the first day appointed, the Declaration was read in London only in four Churches out of one hundred. The Dissenters and Church Laymen sided with the Clergy. On the following Sunday the Declaration was treated in the same manner in London, and on Sunday, the 3d of June, was disregarded by Bishops and Clergy in all parts of England. James, by the advice of Jeffreys, ordered the Archbishop and Bishops to be indicted for a seditious libel. They were, on the 8th of June, conveyed to the Tower amidst the most enthusiastic demonstrations of respect and affection from all classes. The same night the Queen was said to have given birth to a son; but the national opinion was that some trick had been played. [This charge of trickery was baseless.] On the 20th of June the trial of the seven Bishops came on before the Court of King's Bench. . . . The Jury, who, after remaining together all night (one being stubborn) pronounced a verdict of not guilty on the morning of the 30th June, 1688."—W. H. Torriano, *William the Third*, ch. 2.—"The court met at nine o'clock. The nobility and gentry covered the benches, and an immense concourse of people filled the Hall, and

blocked up the adjoining streets. Sir Robert Langley, the foreman of the jury, being, according to established form, asked whether the accused were guilty or not guilty, pronounced the verdict, 'Not guilty.' No sooner were these words uttered than a loud huzza arose from the audience in the court. It was instantly echoed from without by a shout of joy, which sounded like a crack of the ancient and massy roof of Westminster Hall. It passed with electrical rapidity from voice to voice along the infinite multitude who waited in the streets. It reached the Temple in a few minutes. . . . 'The acclamations,' says Sir John Reresby, 'were a very rebellion in noise.' In no long time they ran to the camp at Hounslow, and were repeated with an ominous voice by the soldiers in the hearing of the King, who, on being told that they were for the acquittal of the bishops, said, with an ambiguity probably arising from confusion, 'So much the worse for them.'"—J. Mackintosh, *History of the revolution in England in 1688*, ch. 9.

ALSO IN: A. Strickland, *Lives of the seven bishops*.—R. Southey, *Book of the church*, ch. 18.—G. G. Perry, *History of the Church of England*, v. 2, ch. 30.

1688 (July).—William of Orange and Mary the hope of the nation.—"The wiser among English statesmen had fixed their hopes steadily on the succession of Mary, the elder daughter and heiress of James. The tyranny of her father's reign made this succession the hope of the people at large. But to Europe the importance of the change, whenever it should come about, lay not so much in the succession of Mary as in the new power which such an event would give to her husband, William, Prince of Orange. We have come, in fact, to a moment when the struggle of England against the aggression of its King blends with the larger struggle of Europe against the aggression of Lewis XIV."—J. R. Green, *Short history of England*, ch. 9, sect. 7.—"William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the republic of the United Provinces, was, before the birth of the Prince of Wales, first prince of the blood royal of England [as son of Princess Mary, daughter of Charles I, and, therefore, nephew as well as son-in-law of James II]; and his consort, the Lady Mary, the eldest daughter of the King, was, at that period, presumptive heiress to the crown."—J. Mackintosh, *History of the revolution in England*, ch. 10.

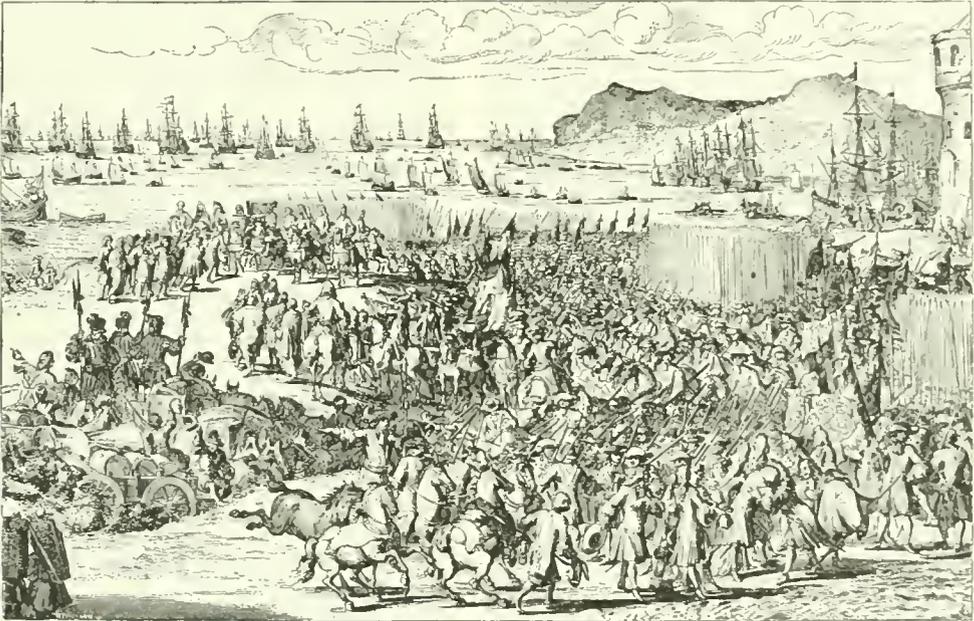
1688 (July-November).—Invitation to William of Orange and his acceptance.—"In July, in almost exact coincidence of time with the Queen's accouchement, came the memorable trial of the Seven Bishops, which gave the first demonstration of the full force of that popular animosity which James's rule had provoked. Some months before, however, Edward Russell, nephew of the Earl of Bedford, and cousin of Algernon Sidney's fellow-victim, had sought the Hague with proposals to William [prince of Orange] to make an armed descent upon England, as vindicator of English liberties and the Protestant religion. William had cautiously required a signed invitation from at least a few representative statesmen before committing himself to such an enterprise, and on the day of the acquittal of the Seven Bishops a paper, signed in cipher by Lord Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, and Lumley, by Compton, Bishop of Northampton, by Edward Russell, and by Henry Sidney, brother of Algernon [leaders of both parties], was conveyed by Admiral Herbert to the Hague. William was now furnished with the required security for English assistance in the projected undertaking, but the task before him was still one of extreme difficulty. . . . On the 10th of

October, matters now being ripe for such a step, William, in conjunction with some of his English advisers, put forth his famous declaration. Starting with a preamble to the effect that the observance of laws is necessary to the happiness of states, the instrument proceeds to enumerate fifteen particulars in which the laws of England had been set at naught. The most important of these were—(1) the exercise of the dispensing power; (2) the corruption, coercion, and packing of the judicial bench; (3) the violation of the test laws by the appointment of papists to offices (particularly judicial and military officers, and the administration of Ireland), and generally the arbitrary and illegal measures resorted to by James for the propagation of the Catholic religion; (4) the establishment and action of the Court of High Commission; (5) the infringement of some municipal charters, and the procuring of the surrender of others; (6) interference

as soon as the state of the nation should permit of it, send home his foreign forces. About a week after, on the 16th of October, all things being now in readiness, the Prince took solemn leave of the States-General. . . . On the 10th William and his armament set sail from Helvoetsluys, but was met on the following day by a violent storm which forced him to put back on the 21st. On the 1st of November the fleet put to sea a second time. . . . By noon of the 5th of November, the Prince's fleet was wafted safely into Torbay."—H. D. Traill, *William the Third*, ch. 3.—See also IRELAND: 1680.

ALSO IN: G. Burnet, *History of my own time*, 1688, v. 3.—L. von Ranke, *History of England*, 17th century, v. 4, bk. 18, ch. 1-4.—Lord Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, ch. 106-107; *Somers*, v. 4.—T. P. Courtenay, *Life of Danby* (*Lardner's cabinet cyclopaedia*, pp. 315-324).

1688 (November - December). — "Glorious



ARRIVAL OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE IN ENGLAND, NOVEMBER, 1688.

(After a contemporary copper plate by Romain de Hooghe)

with elections by turning out of all employment such as refused to vote as they were required; and (7) the grave suspicion which had arisen that the Prince of Wales was not born of the Queen, which as yet nothing had been done to remove. Having set forth these grievances, the Prince's manifesto went on to recite the close interest which he and his consort had in this matter as next in succession to the crown, and the earnest solicitations which had been made to him by many lords spiritual and temporal, and other English subjects of all ranks, to interpose, and concluded by affirming in a very distinct and solemn manner that the sole object of the expedition then preparing was to obtain the assembling of a free and lawful Parliament, to which the Prince pledged himself to refer all questions concerning the due execution of the laws, and the maintenance of the Protestant religion, and the conclusion of an agreement between the Church of England and the Dissenters, as also the inquiry into the birth of the 'pretended Prince of Wales'; and that this object being attained, the Prince would,

Revolution."—Ignominious flight of James.—When it was too late, James suddenly awoke to the dangers threatening him and tried to reverse his policy. He prepared to call Parliament, restored charters to towns, abolished the court of Ecclesiastical Commission and re-invested bishops and clergymen who had been forced out of their livings. But nothing could stop the slow shifting of the national allegiance to William. "Every day now brought with it new accessions to the standard of the prince, and tidings of movements in different parts of the kingdom in his favour; while James was as constantly reminded, by one desertion after another, that he lived in an atmosphere of treachery, with scarcely a man or woman about him to be trusted. The defection of the lords Churchill and Drumlaneric, and of the dukes of Grafton and Ormond, was followed by that of prince George and the princess Anne [daughter of James]. . . . So desperate had the affairs of James now become, that some of his advisers urged his leaving the kingdom, and negotiating with safety to his person

from a distance. . . . On the morning of the 9th of December, the queen and the infant prince of Wales were lodged on board a yacht at Gravesend, and commenced a safe voyage to Calais. . . . The arrest of the monarch at Feversham . . . was followed by an order of the privy council, commanding that his carriage and the royal guards should be sent to reconduct him to the capital. . . . After some consultation the king was informed that the public interests required his immediate withdrawal to some distance from Westminster, and Hampton Court was named. James expressed a preference for Rochester, and his wishes in that respect were complied with. The day on which the king withdrew to Rochester William took up his residence in St. James's. The king chose his retreat, deeming it probable that it might be expedient for him to make a second effort to reach the continent. . . . His guards left him so much at liberty, that no impediment to his departure was likely to arise; and on the last day of this memorable year—only a week after his removal from Whitehall, James embarked secretly at Rochester, and with a favourable breeze safely reached the French coast."

—R. Vaughan, *History of England under the House of Stuart*, v. 2, pp. 914-918.—This deposition of James II and the seating of William and Mary on the throne of England by Act of Parliament is known as the "glorious revolution" of 1688.

ALSO IN: Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, v. 2, ch. 9-10.—H. D. Traill, *William the Third*, ch. 4.—*Continuation of Sir J. Mackintosh's history of the revolution in 1688*, ch. 16-17.—J. Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, v. 2, pt. 1, bk. 6-7.

1689 (January-February).—Settlement of the crown on William and Mary.—Declaration of Rights.—"The convention [called by William when he entered London] met on the 22nd of January. Their first care was to address the prince to take the administration of affairs and disposal of the revenue into his hands, in order to give a kind of parliamentary sanction to the power he already exercised. On the 28th of January the commons, after a debate in which the friends of the late king made but a faint opposition, came to their great vote: That king James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant. They resolved unanimously the next day, That it hath been found by experience inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince. This vote was a remarkable triumph of the whig party, who had contended for the exclusion bill. . . . The lords agreed with equal unanimity to this vote; which, though it was expressed only as an abstract proposition, led by a practical inference to the whole change that the whigs had in view. But upon the former resolution several important divisions took place." The lords were unwilling to commit themselves to the two propositions, that James had "abdicated" the government by his desertion of it, and that the throne had thereby become "vacant." They yielded at length, however, and adopted the resolution as the commons had passed it. They "followed this up by a resolution, that the prince and princess of Orange shall be declared king and queen of England, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. But the commons, with a noble patriotism, delayed to concur in this hasty settlement of the crown, till they should have completed the declara-

tion of those fundamental rights and liberties for the sake of which alone they had gone forward with this great revolution. That declaration, being at once an exposition of the misgovernment which had compelled them to dethrone the late king, and of the conditions upon which they elected his successors, was incorporated in the final resolution to which both houses came on the 13th of February, extending the limitation of the crown as far as the state of affairs required: That William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, he, and be declared, king and queen of England, France and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them, the said prince and princess, during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in, and executed by, the said prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess, during their joint lives; and after their decease the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess; for default of such issue, to the princess Anne of Denmark [younger daughter of James II], and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange. . . . The Declaration of Rights presented to the prince of Orange by the marquis of Halifax, as speaker of the lords, in the presence of both houses, on the 18th of February, consists of three parts; a recital of the illegal and arbitrary acts committed by the late king, and of their consequent vote of abdication; a declaration, nearly following the words of the former part, that such enumerated acts are illegal; and a resolution, that the throne shall be filled by the prince and princess of Orange, according to the limitations mentioned. . . . This declaration was, some months afterwards [in October], confirmed by a regular act of the legislature in the bill of rights."—H. Hallam, *Constitutional history of England*, v. 3, ch. 14-15.

ALSO IN: Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, v. 2, ch. 10.—L. von Ranke, *History of England, 17th century*, v. 4, bk. 10, ch. 2-3.—R. Gneist, *History of English constitution*, v. 2, ch. 42.

1689.—Mutiny Act. See MILITARY LAW: Mutiny Act.

1689 (April-August).—Church and the revolution.—Toleration Act.—Non-jurors.—"The men who had been most helpful in bringing about the late changes were not all of the same way of thinking in religion; many of them belonged to the Church of England; many were Dissenters. It seemed, therefore, a fitting time to grant the Dissenters some relief from the harsh laws passed against them in Charles II.'s reign. Protestant Dissenters, save those who denied the Trinity, were no longer forbidden to have places of worship and services of their own, if they would only swear to be loyal to the king, and that his power was as lawful in Church as in State matters. The law that gave them this is called the Toleration Act. Men's notions were still, however, very narrow; care was taken that the Roman Catholics should get no benefit from this law. Even a Protestant Dissenter might not yet lawfully be a member of either House of Parliament, or take a post in the king's service; for the Test Acts were left untouched. King William, who was a Presbyterian in his own land, wanted very much to see the Dissenters won back to the Church of England. To bring this about, he wished the Church to alter those things in the Prayer Book which kept Dissenters from joining with her. But most of the clergy would not have any change; and because these were the stronger party in Convocation—as the Parliament of the

Church is called—William could get nothing done. At the same time a rent, which at first seemed likely to be serious, was made in the Church itself. There was a strong feeling among the clergy in favour of the banished king. So a law was made by which every man who held a preferment in the Church, or either of the Universities, had to swear to be true to King William and Queen Mary, or had to give up his preferment. Most of the clergy were very unwilling to obey this law; but only 400 were found stout-hearted enough to give up their livings rather than do what they thought to be a wicked thing. These were called 'non-jurors,' or men who would not swear. Among them were five out of the seven Bishops who had withstood James II. only a year before. The sect of non-jurors, who looked upon themselves as the only true Churchmen, did not spread. But it did not die out altogether until seventy years ago [i.e., early in the nineteenth century]. It was at this time that the names High-Church and Low-Church first came into use.—J. Rowley, *Settlement of the constitution*, ch. 1.

ALSO IN: J. Stoughton, *History of religion in England*, v. 5, ch. 4-11.—T. Lathbury, *History of the non-jurors*.

1689 (May).—War declared against France.—Grand Alliance. See FRANCE: 1680-1690.

1689 (October).—Bill of Rights.—Question of revenue.—In its sitting of October, 1680, Parliament passed several measures of great importance. Among these was the Bill of Rights (For the text of this document, see BILL OF RIGHTS, ENGLISH) and the Toleration Act. The question of the revenue, the rock upon which the Stuarts had been wrecked, was settled in this Parliament and the following, by separating the royal expenditure (known as the "civil list") from the appropriations necessary for carrying on the government.

1689-1696.—War of the league of Augsburg (called in American history "King William's War"). See FRANCE: 1680-1690; 1689-1691; 1692; 1693 (July); 1694; 1695-1696; CANADA: 1680-1690; 1692-1697; NEWFOUNDLAND: 1694-1697; U. S. A.: 1690.

1690 (June).—Battle of Beachy Head.—Great peril of the kingdom.—"In June, 1690, whilst William was in Ireland, the French sent a fleet, under Tourville, to threaten England. He left Brest and entered the British Channel. Herbert (then Earl of Torrington) commanded the English fleet lying in the Downs, and sailed to Saint Helens, where he was joined by the Dutch fleet under Evertsen. On the 26th of June the English and French fleets were close to each other, and an important engagement was expected, when unexpectedly Torrington abandoned the Isle of Wight and retreated towards the Straits of Dover. . . . The Queen and her Council, receiving this intelligence, sent to Torrington peremptory orders to fight. Torrington received these orders on the 29th June. Next day he bore down on the French fleet in order of battle. He had less than 60 ships of the line, whilst the French had 80. He placed the Dutch in the van, and during the whole fight rendered them little or no assistance. He gave the signal to engage, which was immediately obeyed by Evertsen, who fought with the most splendid courage, but at length, being unsupported, his second in command and many other officers of high rank having fallen, and his ships being fearfully shattered, Evertsen was obliged to draw off his contingent from the unequal battle. Torrington destroyed some of these injured ships, took the remainder in tow, and sailed along the coast of Kent for the Thames. When in that river he pulled up all the buoys to prevent pursuit.

. . . Upon his return to London he was sent to the Tower, and in December was tried at Sheerness by court-martial, and on the third day was acquitted; but William refused to see him, and ordered him to be dismissed from the navy."—W. H. Torriano, *William the Third*, ch. 24.—"There has scarcely ever been so sad a day in London as that on which the news of the Battle of Beachy Head arrived. The shame was insupportable; the peril was imminent. . . . At any moment London might be appalled by news that 20,000 French veterans were in Kent. It was notorious that, in every part of the kingdom, the Jacobites had been, during some months, making preparations for a rising. All the regular troops who could be assembled for the defence of the island did not amount to more than 10,000 men. It may be doubted whether our country has ever passed through a more alarming crisis than that of the first week of July, 1690."—Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, v. 3, ch. 15.

ALSO IN: J. Campbell, *Naval history of Great Britain*, v. 2, ch. 18.

1691.—Toleration of Waldenses obtained by William of Orange. See WALDENSES: 1691.

1691.—Treaty of Limerick with Ireland. See IRELAND: 1691.

1692.—Attempted invasion from France.—Battle of La Hogue.—"The diversion in Ireland having failed, Louis [XIV] wished to make an effort to attack England without and within James II., who had turned to so little advantage the first aid granted by the King of France saw therefore in preparation a much more powerful assistance, and obtained what had been refused him after the days of the Boyne [July 1, 1690; see IRELAND: 1680] and Beachy-Head,—an army to invade England. . . . An army of 30,000 men, with 500 transports, was assembled on the coast of Normandy, the greater part at La Hogue and Cherbourg, the rest at Havre: this was composed of all the Irish troops, a number of Anglo-Scotch refugees, and a corps of French troops. Marshal de Bellefonds commanded under King James. Tourville was to set out from Brest in the middle of April with fifty ships of the line, enter the Channel, attack the English fleet before it could be reinforced by the Dutch, and thus secure the invasion. Express orders were sent to him to engage the enemy 'whatever might be his numbers.' It was believed that half of the English fleet would go over to the side of the allies of its king. . . . May 20, at daybreak, between the Capes of La Hogue and Barfleur, Tourville found himself in presence of the allied fleet, the most powerful that had ever appeared on the sea. He had been joined by seven ships from the squadron of Rochefort, and numbered 44 vessels against 00, 78 of which carried over 50 guns, and, for the most part, were much larger than a majority of the French. The English had 63 ships and [4,540] guns; the Dutch, 36 ships and 2,614 guns; in all, 7,154 guns; the French counted only 3,114. The allied fleet numbered nearly 42,000 men; the French fleet less than 20,000." Notwithstanding this great inferiority of numbers and strength, it was the French fleet which made the attack, bearing down under full sail "on the immense mass of the enemy." The attempt was almost hopeless; and yet, when night fell, after a day of tremendous battle, Tourville had not yet lost a ship; but his line of battle had been broken, and no chance of success remained. "May 30, at break of day, Tourville rallied around him 35 vessels. The other nine had strayed, five towards La Hogue, four towards the English coast, whence they regained Brest. If there had been a naval port at La Hogue or at Cherbourg, as Colbert and Vauban

had desired, the French fleet would have preserved its laurels! There was no place of retreat on all that coast. The fleet of the enemy advanced in full force. It was impossible to renew the prodigious effort of the day before." In this emergency, Tourville made a daring attempt to escape with his fleet through the dangerous channel called the race of Alderney, which separates the Channel Islands from the Normandy coast. Twenty-two vessels made the passage safely and found a place of refuge at St. Malo; thirteen were too late for the tide and failed. Most of these were destroyed, during the next few days, by the English and Dutch at Cherbourg and in the bay of La Hogue,—in the presence and under the guns of King James' army of invasion. "James II. had reason to say that 'his unlucky star' everywhere shed a malign influence around him; but this influence was only that of his blindness and incapacity. Such was that disaster of La Hogue, which has left among us such a fatal renown, and the name of which resounds in our history like another Agincourt or Cressy. Historians have gone so far as to ascribe to this the destruction of the French navy."—H. Martin, *History of France: Age of Louis XIV* (translated by M. L. Booth), v. 2, ch. 2.—This was the greatest naval battle since the Armada and gave the English and Dutch control of the channel.

ALSO IN: Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, v. 4, ch. 18.—L. von Ranke, *History of England, 17th century*, v. 5, bk. 20, ch. 4.—J. Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, v. 3, pt. 2, bk. 7. 1693.—Triennial bill. See PARLIAMENT, ENGLISH: 1693.

1694.—Attack on Brest. See BREST: 1694.

1694.—Incorporation of the Bank of England. See BANK OF ENGLAND.

1695.—Expiration of censorship law.—Appearance of first newspapers. See PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1695.

1697.—Peace of Ryswick.—Recognition of William II by France. See FRANCE: 1697; also NEWFOUNDLAND: 1694-1697.

1698.—Plans for Panama canal and trade over the Isthmus. See PANAMA CANAL: Projects for building canal previous to 1800.

1698-1700.—Question of the Spanish succession. See SPAIN: 1698-1700.

18th century.—Detailed outline of British expansion.—Colonial relations. See BRITISH EMPIRE: Expansion.

18th century.—Growth of the Bank of England.—Use of credit.—Commercial progress.—Agricultural conditions.—Industrial revolution. See CAPITALISM: 18th century: England; COMMERCE: Era of geographic expansion: 17th-18th centuries: Mercantile system; EUROPE: Modern period: Industrial revolution; MONEY AND BANKING: Modern: 17th-18th centuries: Banking in Great Britain; AGRICULTURE: Modern: British Isles: 17th-18th centuries; INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: England.

18th century.—Historiography. See HISTORY: 25.

18th century.—Education.—Dissenters' schools. See EDUCATION: Modern: 18th century: England.

1701.—Act of Settlement and the succession.—The history of Parliament at this time is the history of the rise of party government. In the early part of William's reign, the Whigs were in control, but towards the close the Tories obtained a majority. "The first work of the Tory Parliament was the Act of Settlement. By this Act the succession was settled, after Anne's death, on Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and her descendants.

She was the daughter of Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia and was thus the granddaughter of James I. The principle on which the selection rested was that she was the nearest Protestant heir, all the living descendants of Charles I, except William and Anne, being Roman Catholics. [Queen Mary had died in December, 1691.] The view that the nation had a right to fix the succession was now accepted by the Tories as fully as by the Whigs; but the Tories, seeing that William was inclined to trust their opponents more than themselves, now went beyond the Whigs in their desire to restrict the powers of the Crown. By the Tory Act of Settlement the future Hanoverian sovereign was (1) to join in the Communion of the Church of England; (2) not to declare war without consent of Parliament on behalf of territories possessed by him on the Continent, and (3) not to leave the three kingdoms without consent of Parliament—an article which was repealed in the first year of George I. A stipulation (4) that no pardon under the great seal was to be pleadable in bar of impeachment, was intended to prevent William or his successors from protecting ministers against Parliament, as Charles II had attempted to do in Danby's case. A further stipulation was (5) that after Anne's death no man, unless born in England or of English parents abroad, should sit in the Privy Council or in Parliament, or hold office or lands granted him by the Crown. These five articles all sprang from jealousy of a foreign sovereign. A sixth, enacting (6) that the judges should, henceforward, hold their places as long as they behaved well, but might be removed on an address from both Houses of Parliament, was an improvement in the constitution, irrespective of all personal considerations. It has prevented, ever since, the repetition of the scandal caused by James II, when he changed some of the judges for the purpose of getting a judgment in his own favour."—S. R. Gardiner, *Student's history of England*, pp. 672-673.—See also below: 1714.

ALSO IN: A. Halliday, *Annals of the House of Hanover*, v. 2, bk. 10.

1701-1702.—Rousing of the nation to war with France.—The king of Spain, Charles II, died without heirs, but the emperor, Leopold I, who had married one of his sisters, and Louis XIV, who had married another, had long planned to divide the Spanish possessions between them. Louis, however, procured and accepted for his grandson the bequest of the vast Spanish empire, thus overthrowing the Partition Treaty. Neither Leopold nor William of Orange could permit this unprecedented extension of French power. "William had the intolerable chagrin of discovering not only that he had been befooled, but that his English subjects had no sympathy with him or animosity against the royal swindler who had tricked him. 'The blindness of the people here,' he writes sadly to the Pensionary Heinsius, 'is incredible. For though the affair is not public, yet it was no sooner said that the King of Spain's will was in favour of the Duke of Anjou, than it was the general opinion that it was better for England that France should accept the will than fulfil the Treaty of Partition.' . . . William dreaded the idea of a Bourbon reigning at Madrid, but he saw no very grave objection, as the two treaties showed, to Naples and Sicily passing into French hands. With his English subjects the exact converse was the case. They strongly deprecated the assignment of the Mediterranean possessions of the Spaniard to the Dauphin; but they were undisturbed by the sight of the Duke of Anjou seating himself on the Spanish throne. . . . But just as, under a discharge from

an electric battery, two repugnant chemical compounds will sometimes rush into sudden combination, so at this juncture the King and the nation were instantaneously united by the shock of a gross affront. The hand that liberated the uniting fluid was that of the Christian king. On the 16th of September 1701 James II. breathed his last at St. Germain, and, obedient to one of those impulses, half-chivalrous, half-arrogant, which so often determined his policy, Louis XIV. declared his recognition of the Prince of Wales as de jure King of England. No more timely and effective assistance to the policy of its de facto king could possibly have been rendered. Its effect upon English public opinion was instantaneous; and when William returned from Holland on the 4th of November, he found the country in the temper in which he could most have wished it to be.

"Dissolving the Parliament in which his plans had long been factiously opposed, he summoned a new one, which met on the last day of the year 1701. Opposition in Parliament—in the country it was already inaudible—was completely silenced. The two Houses sent up addresses assuring the King of their firm resolve to defend the succession against the pretended Prince of Wales and all other pretenders whatsoever. . . . Nor did the goodwill of Parliament expend itself in words. The Commons accepted without a word of protest the four treaties constituting the new Grand Alliance. [The most important members were England, Holland and Austria.] . . . The votes of supply were passed unanimously." But scarcely had the nation and the king arrived at this agreement with one another than the latter was snatched from his labors. On February 21, 1702, William received an injury, through the stumbling of his horse, which his frail and diseased body could not bear. His death would not have been long delayed in any event, but it was hastened by this accident, and occurred on March 8 following. He was succeeded by Anne, the sister of his deceased queen, Mary, and second daughter of the deposed Stuart king, James II.—H. D. Traill, *William the Third*, ch. 14-15.—See also SPAIN: 1701-1702.

ALSO IN: L. von Ranke, *History of England*, 17th century, v. 5, bk. 21, ch. 7-10.

1701-1709.—Barrier treaty with Austria and the Netherlands against France. See BARRIER FORTRESSES.

1702.—Accession of Queen Anne.

1702.—War of the Spanish Succession. See SPAIN: 1702; CADIZ: 1702; NETHERLANDS: 1702-1704; GERMANY: 1703.

1702.—First daily newspaper. See PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1622-1702.

1702-1711.—War of the Spanish Succession in America (called "Queen Anne's War"). See NEW ENGLAND: 1702-1710; CANADA: 1711-1713.

1702-1714.—Age of Anne in literature.—"That which was once called the Augustan age of English literature was specially marked by the growing development of a distinct literary class. . . . We have . . . a brilliant society of statesmen, authors, clergymen, and lawyers, forming social clubs, meeting at coffee-houses, talking scandal and politics, and intensely interested in the new social phenomena. . . . The essayist, the critic, and the novelist appear for the first time in their modern shape; and the journalist is slowly gaining some authority as the wielder of a political force."—L. Stephen, *History of English thought in the eighteenth century*, v. 2, ch. 12, sect. 23-50.—See also ENGLISH LITERATURE: 1660-1780.

1703.—Methuen treaty with Portugal. See

PORTUGAL: 1703; SPAIN: 1703-1704; TARIFF: 15th-17th centuries.

1703.—Aylesbury election case.—"Ashby, a burghess of Aylesbury, sued the returning officer for maliciously refusing his vote. Three judges of the King's Bench decided, against the opinion of Chief Justice Holt, that the verdict which a jury had given in favor of Ashby must be set aside, as the action was not maintainable. The plaintiff went to the House of Lords upon a writ of error, and there the judgment was reversed by a large majority of Peers. The Lower House maintained that 'the qualification of an elector is not cognizable elsewhere than before the Commons of England'; that Ashby was guilty of a breach of privilege; and that all persons who should in future commence such an action, and all attorneys and counsel conducting the same, are also guilty of a high breach of privilege. The Lords, led by Somers, then came to counter-resolutions. . . . The prorogation of Parliament put an end to the quarrel in that Session; but in the next it was renewed with increased violence. The judgment against the Returning Officer was followed up by Ashby levying his damages. Other Aylesbury men brought new actions. The Commons imprisoned the Aylesbury electors. The Lords took strong measures that affected, or appeared to affect, the privileges of the Commons. The Queen finally stopped the contest by a prorogation; and the quarrel expired when the Parliament expired under the Triennial Act. Lord Somers 'established the doctrine which has been acted on ever since, that an action lies against a Returning Officer for maliciously refusing the vote of an elector.'"—C. Knight, *Popular history of England*, v. 5, ch. 17.

ALSO IN: Lord Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors: Somers*, v. 4, ch. 110.

1703-1708.—Hostility to the Union in Scotland.—Spread of Jacobitism. See SCOTLAND: 1703-1704; 1707-1708.

1704-1707.—Marlborough's campaigns in the War of the Spanish Succession.—Campaigns in Spain. See GERMANY: 1704; SPAIN: 1703-1704, to 1707; NETHERLANDS: 1705; 1706-1707.

1707.—Union with Scotland. See SCOTLAND: 1707.

1708-1709.—War of the Spanish Succession: Oudenarde and Malplaquet. See NETHERLANDS: 1708-1709; SPAIN: 1707-1710.

1709.—Whig ministry.—Barrier Treaty with Holland.—From the first Marlborough had attempted to maintain a system of political balance between Whigs and Tories, and in the ministry of 1704 had succeeded in placing in the cabinet Tories of a moderate stamp. Robert Harley was made secretary of state, and Henry St. John (later Lord Bolingbroke) was made secretary of war. When the victory of Ramillies (1706) placed Marlborough at the height of his power, he forced Anne to give Sunderland (the bitterest of the Whig leaders) an office. By 1708, the hostility of the English to the continuance of the war and Anne's increasing distrust of Marlborough finally caused the duke to go over to the Whigs. The Tories, Harley and St. John, were put out of the ministry and the triumph of the Whigs was complete. Lord Somers was made president of the council, Wharton, lord lieutenant of Ireland, while the duke of Newcastle and Robert Walpole held lower offices. Their ascendancy was short-lived, however. "The influence of the Whig party in the affairs of government in England, always irksome to the Queen, had now begun visibly to decline; and the partiality she was suspected of entertaining for her brother, with her known dislike of the

house of Hanover, inspired them with alarm, lest the Tories might seek still further to propitiate her favour, by altering, in his favour, the line of succession, as at present established. They had, accordingly, made it one of the preliminaries of the proposed treaty of peace [to close the war of the Spanish Succession], that the Protestant succession, in England, should be secured by a general guarantee, and now sought to repair, as far as possible, the failure caused by the unsuccessful termination of the conferences, by entering into a treaty to that effect with the States [Netherlands]. The Marquis Townshend, accordingly, repaired for this purpose to the Hague, when the States consented to enter into an engagement to maintain the present succession to the crown, with their whole force, and to make the recognition of that succession, and the expulsion of the Pretender from France, an indispensable preliminary to any peace with that kingdom. In return for this important guarantee, England was to secure to the States a barrier, formed of the towns of Nieuport, Furnes and the fort of Knokke, Menin, Lille, Ryssel, Tournay, Condé, and Valenciennes, Maubeuge, Charleroi, Namur, Lier, Halle, and some forts, besides the citadels of Ghent and Dendermonde. It was afterwards asserted, in excuse for the dereliction from that treaty on the part of England, that Townshend had gone beyond his instructions; but it is quite certain that it was ratified without hesitation by the queen, whatever may have been her secret feelings regarding it."—C. M. Davies, *History of Holland*, v. 3, pt. 3, ch. 11.

1709-1710.—Immigration from German Palatines. See PALATINES: 1700-1710.

1709-1752.—Periodicals of Steele and Addison.—The "Tatler," "Spectator," and others. See PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1700-1752.

1710-1712.—Opposition to the war.—Trial of Sacheverell.—Fall of the Whigs and Marlborough.—"A 'deluge of blood' such as that of Malplaquet [Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet were victories won in various parts of the Netherlands against the French] increased the growing weariness of the war, and the rejection of the French offers was unjustly attributed to a desire on the part of Marlborough of lengthening out a contest which brought him profit and power. The expulsion of Harley and St. John [Bolingbroke] from the Ministry had given the Tories leaders of a more vigorous stamp, and St. John brought into play a new engine of political attack whose powers soon made themselves felt. In the Examiner, and in a crowd of pamphlets and periodicals which followed in its train, the humor of Prior, the bitter irony of Swift, and St. John's own brilliant sophistry spent themselves on the abuse of the war and of its general. . . . A sudden storm of popular passion showed the way in which public opinion responded to these efforts. A High-Church divine, Dr. Sacheverell, maintained the doctrine of non-resistance [the doctrine, that is, of passive obedience and non-resistance to government, implying a condemnation of the revolution of 1688 and of the revolution settlement], in a sermon at St. Paul's, with a boldness which deserved prosecution; but in spite of the warning of Marlborough and of Somers the Whig Ministers resolved on his impeachment. His trial in 1710 at once widened into a great party struggle, and the popular enthusiasm in Sacheverell's favor showed the gathering hatred of the Whigs and the war. . . . A small majority of the peers found him guilty, but the light sentence they inflicted was in effect an acquittal, and bonfires and illuminations over the whole country welcomed it as a Tory triumph.

The turn of popular feeling freed Anne at once from the pressure beneath which she had bent; and the skill of Harley, whose cousin, Mrs. Masham, had succeeded the Duchess of Marlborough in the Queen's favor, was employed in bringing about the fall both of Marlborough and the Whig Ministers. [The new Tory ministry contained Harley and St. John at its head.] . . . The return of a Tory House of Commons sealed his [Marlborough's] fate. His wife was dismissed from court. A masterly plan for a march into the heart of France in the opening of 1711 was foiled by the withdrawal of a part of his forces, and the negotiations which had for some time been conducted between the French and English Ministers without his knowledge marched rapidly to a close. [This secret treaty negotiated by Lord Bolingbroke was in direct opposition to the terms of the Grand Alliance which stipulated that no separate peace was to be made by any of the contracting parties.] . . . At the opening of 1712 the Whig majority of the House of Lords was swamped by the creation of twelve Tory peers. Marlborough was dismissed from his command, charged with peculation, and condemned as guilty by a vote of the House of Commons. He at once withdrew from England, and with his withdrawal all opposition to the peace was at an end."—J. R. Green, *Short history of the English people*, sect. 9, ch. 9.—Added to other reasons for opposition to the war, the death of the Emperor Joseph I, which occurred in April, 1711, had entirely reversed the situation in Europe out of which the war proceeded. The Archduke Charles, whom the allies had been striving to place on the Spanish throne, was now certain to be elected emperor. He received the imperial crown, in fact, in December, 1711. By this change of fortune, therefore, he became a more objectionable claimant of the Spanish crown than Louis XIV's grandson had been. (See AUSTRIA: 1711.)—Lord Mahon, *History of England, reign of Anne*, ch. 12-15.—"Round the fall of Marlborough has gathered the interest attaching to the earliest political crisis at all resembling those of quite recent times. It is at this moment that Party Government in the modern sense actually commenced. William the Third with military instinct had always been reluctant to govern by means of a party. Bound as he was, closely, to the Whigs, he employed Tory Ministers. . . . The new idea of a homogeneous government was working itself into shape under the mild direction of Lord Somers; but the form finally taken under Sir Robert Walpole, which has continued to the present time, was as yet some way off. Marlborough's notions were those of the late King. Both abroad and at home he carried out the policy of William. He refused to rely wholly upon the Whigs, and the extreme Tories were not given employment. The Ministry of Godolphin [Sidney Godolphin, created earl of Godolphin 1706; held the office of lord treasurer; was a master of finance, serving under four sovereigns] was a composite administration, containing at one time, in 1705, Tories like Harley and St. John as well as Whigs such as Sunderland and Halifax. . . . Lord Somers was a type of statesman of a novel order at that time. . . . In the beginning of the eighteenth century it was rare to find a man attaining the highest political rank who was unconnected by birth or training or marriage with any of the great 'governing families,' as they have been called. Lord Somers was the son of a Worcester attorney. . . . It was fortunate for England that Lord Somers should have been the foremost man of the Whig

party at the time when constitutional government, as we now call it, was in course of construction. By his prudent counsel the Whigs were guided through the difficult years at the end of Queen Anne's reign; and from the ordeal of seeing their rivals in power they certainly managed, as a party, to emerge on the whole with credit. Although he was not nominally their leader, the paramount influence in the Tory party was Bolingbroke's; and that the Tories suffered from the defects of his great qualities, no unprejudiced critic can doubt. Between the two parties, and at the head of the Treasury through the earlier years of the reign, stood Godolphin, without whose masterly knowledge of finance and careful attention to the details of administration Marlborough's policy would have been baffled and his campaigns remained unfought. To Godolphin, more than to any other one man, is due the preponderance of the Treasury control in public affairs. It was his administration, during the absence of Marlborough on the Continent, which created for the office of Lord Treasurer its paramount importance, and paved the way for Sir Robert Walpole's government of England under the title of First Lord of the Treasury. . . . Marlborough saw and always admitted that his victories were due in large measure to the financial skill of Godolphin. To this statesman's lasting credit it must be remembered that in a venal age, when the standards of public honesty were so different from those which now prevail, Godolphin died a poor man. . . . Bolingbroke is interesting to us as the most striking figure among the originators of the new parliamentary system. With Marlborough disappeared the type of Tudor statesmen modified by contact with the Stuarts. He was the last of the Imperial Chancellors. Bolingbroke and his successor Walpole were the earlier types of constitutional statesmen among whom Mr. Pitt and, later, Mr. Gladstone stand pre-eminent. . . . He and his friends, opponents of Marlborough, and contributors to his fall, are interesting to us mainly as furnishing the first examples of 'Her Majesty's Opposition,' as the authors of party government and the prototypes of cabinet ministers of to-day. Their ways of thought, their style of speech and of writing, may be dissimilar to those now in vogue, but they show greater resemblance to those of modern politicians than to those of the Ministers of William or of the Stuarts. Bolingbroke may have appeared a strange product of the eighteenth century to his contemporaries, but he would not have appeared peculiarly misplaced among the colleagues of Lord Randolph Churchill or Mr. Chamberlain."—R. B. Brett, *Footprints of statesmen*, ch. 3.—See also NETHERLANDS: 1710-1712.

ALSO IN: W. Coxe, *Memoirs of Marlborough*, ch. 80-107.—Idem, *Memoirs of Walpole*, v. 1, ch. 5-6.—G. Saintsbury, *Marlborough*.—G. W. Cooke, *Memoirs of Bolingbroke*, v. 1, ch. 6-13.—J. C. Collins, *Bolingbroke*.—A. Hassall, *Life of Bolingbroke*, ch. 3.

1711-1714.—Occasional Conformity Bill and the Schism Act.—"The Test Act, making the reception of the Anglican Sacrament a necessary qualification for becoming a member of corporations, and for the enjoyment of most civil offices, was very efficacious in excluding Catholics, but was altogether insufficient to exclude moderate Dissenters. . . . Such men, while habitually attending their own places of worship, had no scruple about occasionally entering an Anglican church, or receiving the sacrament from an Anglican clergyman. The Independents, it is true, and some of the Baptists, censured this practice, and Defoe wrote

vehemently against it, but it was very general, and was supported by a long list of imposing authorities. . . . In 1702, in 1703, and in 1704, measures for suppressing occasional conformity were carried through the Commons, but on each occasion they were defeated by the Whig preponderance in the Lords." In 1711, the Whigs formed a coalition with one section of the Tories to defeat the negotiations which led to the Peace of Utrecht (closing the war of the Spanish Succession); but, the Tories "made it the condition of alliance that the Occasional Conformity Bill should be accepted by the Whigs. The bargain was made; the Dissenters were abandoned, and, on the motion of Nottingham, a measure was carried providing that all persons in places of profit or trust, and all common councilmen in corporations, who, while holding office, were proved to have attended any Nonconformist place of worship, should forfeit the place, and should continue incapable of public employment till they should depose that for a whole year they had not attended a conventicle. The House of Commons added a fine of £40, which was to be paid to the informer, and with this addition the Bill became a law. Its effects during the few years it continued in force were very inconsiderable, for the great majority of conspicuous Dissenters remained in office, abstaining from public worship in conventicles, but having Dissenting ministers as private chaplains in their houses. . . . The object of the Occasional Conformity Bill was to exclude the Dissenters from all Government positions of power, dignity or profit. It was followed in 1714 by the Schism Act, which was intended to crush their seminaries and deprive them of the means of educating their children in their faith. . . . As carried through the House of Commons, it provided that no one, under pain of three months' imprisonment, should keep either a public or a private school, or should even act as tutor or usher, unless he had obtained a licence from the Bishop, had engaged to conform to the Anglican liturgy, and had received the sacrament in some Anglican church within the year. In order to prevent occasional conformity it was further provided that if a teacher so qualified were present at any other form of worship he should at once become liable to three months' imprisonment, and should be incapacitated for the rest of his life from acting as schoolmaster or tutor. . . . Some important clauses, however, were introduced by the Whig party qualifying its severity. They provided that Dissenters might have school-mistresses to teach their children to read; that the Act should not extend to any person instructing youth in reading, writing, or arithmetic, in any part of mathematics relating to navigation, or in any mechanical art only. . . . The facility with which this atrocious Act was carried, abundantly shows the danger in which religious liberty was placed in the latter years of the reign of Queen Anne."—W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England, 18th century*, ch. 1.—The Schism Act was repealed in 1719, during the administration of Lord Stanhope.—*Cobbett's parliamentary history*, v. 7, pp. 567-587.

ALSO IN: J. Stoughton, *History of religion in England*, v. 5, ch. 14-16.

1712.—First stamp tax on newspapers. See PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1712.

1713.—Ending of the War of the Spanish Succession.—Peace of Utrecht.—Acquisitions from Spain and France. See UTRECHT: 1712-1714; BRITISH EMPIRE: Treaties promoting expansion: 1713; CANADA: 1713; NEWFOUNDLAND: 1713; SLAVERY: 1698-1776.

1713.—Commercial treaty with France.—Relations with Portugal. See TARIFF: 1689-1721.

1713.—Second Barrier Treaty with the Dutch. See NETHERLANDS: 1713-1715.

1713-1714.—Desertion of the Catalans. See CATALONIA: 1713-1714; SPAIN: 1713-1714.

1714.—End of the Stuart line and the beginning of the Hanoverians.—Queen Anne died, after a short illness, on the morning of August 1, 1714. The Tories, who had just gained control of the ministry, were wholly unprepared for this emergency. They assembled in privy council on July 29, when the probably fatal issue of the queen's illness became apparent, and "a strange scene is said to have occurred. Argyle and Somerset [dukes of] though they had contributed largely by their defection to the downfall of the Whig ministry of Godolphin, were now again in opposition to the Tories, and had recently been dismissed from their posts. Availing themselves of their rank of Privy Councillors, they appeared unsummoned in the council room, pleading the greatness of the emergency. Shrewsbury [president of the council in the Tory ministry of Queen Anne's reign, but a strong rival of Bolingbroke's], who had probably concocted the scene, rose and warmly thanked them for their offer of assistance; and these three men appear to have guided the course of events. . . . Shrewsbury, who was already Chamberlain and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, became Lord Treasurer, and assumed the authority of Prime Minister. Summonses were at once sent to all Privy Councillors, irrespective of party, to attend; and Somers and several other of the Whig leaders were speedily at their posts. They had the great advantage of knowing clearly the policy they should pursue, and their measures were taken with admirable promptitude and energy. The guards of the Tower were at once doubled. Four regiments were ordered to march from the country to London, and all seamen to repair to their vessels. An embargo was laid on all shipping. The fleet was equipped, and speedy measures were taken to protect the seaports and to secure tranquility in Scotland and Ireland. At the same time despatches were sent to the Netherlands ordering seven of the ten British battalions to embark without delay; to Lord Strafford, the ambassador at the Hague, desiring the States-General to fulfil their guarantee of the Protestant succession in England; to the Elector, urging him to hasten to Holland, where, on the death of the Queen, he would be met by a British squadron, and escorted to his new kingdom." When the Queen's death occurred, "the new King was at once proclaimed, and it is a striking proof of the danger of the crisis that the funds, which had fallen on a false rumour of the Queen's recovery, rose at once when she died. Atterbury [Bishop Atterbury of Rochester who was banished by Parliament in 1722 for his Jacobite intrigues] is said to have urged Bolingbroke to proclaim James III. at Charing Cross, and to have offered to head the procession in his lawn sleeves, but the counsel was mere madness, and Bolingbroke saw clearly that any attempt to overthrow the Act of Settlement would be now worse than useless. . . . The more violent spirits among the Jacobites now looked eagerly for a French invasion, but the calmer members of the party perceived that such an invasion was impossible. . . . The Regency Act of 1705 came at once into operation. The Hanoverian minister produced the sealed list of the names of those to whom the Elector entrusted the government before his arrival, and it was found to consist of eighteen names taken from the leaders of the Whig party.

. . . Parliament, in accordance with the provisions of the Bill, was at once summoned, and it was soon evident that there was nothing to fear. The moment for a restoration was passed."—W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England, 18th century*, v. 1, ch. 1.—"George I., whom circumstances and the Act of Settlement had thus called to be King of Great Britain and Ireland, had been a sovereign prince for sixteen years, during which time he had been Elector of Brunswick-Lüneburg. The new royal house in England is sometimes called the House of Hanover, sometimes the House of Brunswick. It will be found that the latter name is more generally used in histories written during the last [eighteenth] century, the former in books written in the present day [nineteenth century]. If the names were equally applicable, the modern use is the more convenient, because there is another, and in some respects well known, branch of the House of Brunswick; but no other has a right to the name of Hanover. It is, however, quite certain that, whatever the English use may be, Hanover is properly the name of a town and of a duchy, but that the electorate was Brunswick-Lüneburg."—E. E. Morris, *Early Hanoverians*, bk. 1, ch. 2.—See also above: 1701.

ALSO IN: P. M. Thornton, *Brunswick accession*, ch. 1-10.—A. Halliday, *Annals of the House of Hanover*, v. 2, bk. 10.—J. McCarthy, *History of the four Georges*, ch. 1-4.—W. M. Thackeray, *Four Georges*, lect. 1.—A. W. Ward, *Electress Sophia and the Hanoverian succession (English Historical Review, v. 1)*.

1714-1721.—First years of George I.—Rise of Walpole to power and the founding of Parliamentary government.—"The accession of the house of Hanover in the person of the great-grandson of James I. was once called by a Whig of this generation [1889] the greatest miracle in our history. It took place without domestic or foreign disturbance. . . . Within our own borders a short lull followed the sharp agitations of the last six months. The new king appointed an exclusively Whig Ministry. The office of Lord Treasurer was not revived, and the title disappears from political history. Lord Townshend was made principal Secretary of State [General Stanhope was raised to the peerage and made a fellow secretary], and assumed the part of first Minister. Mr. Walpole [Sir Robert] took the subaltern office of paymaster of the forces, holding along with it the paymastership of Chelsea Hospital. Although he had at first no seat in the inner Council or Cabinet, which seems to have consisted of eight members, only one of them a commoner, it is evident that from the outset his influence was hardly second to that of Townshend himself. In little more than a year (October, 1715) he had made himself so prominent and valuable in the House of Commons, that the opportunity of a vacancy was taken to appoint him to be First Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. . . . Besides excluding their opponents from power, the Whigs instantly took more positive measures. The new Parliament was strongly Whig. A secret committee was at once appointed to inquire into the negotiations for the Peace. Walpole was chairman, took the lead in its proceedings, and drew the report." On Walpole's report, the House "directed the impeachment of Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Ormond for high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours mainly relating to the Peace of Utrecht. . . . [Bolingbroke and the Duke of Ormond fled to the continent.] The proceedings against Oxford and Bolingbroke are the last instance in our history of a political impeachment. They are the last ministers

who were ever made personally responsible for giving bad advice and pursuing a discredited policy, and since then a political mistake has ceased to be a crime. . . . The affair came to an abortive end. . . . The opening years of the new reign mark one of the least attractive periods in political history. George I. . . . cared very little for his new kingdom, and knew very little about its people or its institutions. . . . His expeditions to Hanover threw the management of all domestic affairs almost without control into the hands of his English ministers. If the two first Hanoverian kings had been Englishmen instead of Germans, if they had been men of talent and ambition, or even men of strong and commanding will without much talent, Walpole would never have been able to lay the foundations of government by the House of Commons and by Cabinet so firmly that even the obdurate will of George III. was unable to overthrow it [see CABINET, ENGLISH]. Happily for the system now established, circumstances compelled the first two sovereigns of the Hanoverian line to strike a bargain with the English Whigs, and it was faithfully kept until the accession of the third George. The king was to manage the affairs of Hanover, and the Whigs were to govern England. It was an excellent bargain for England. Smooth as this operation may seem in historic description, Walpole found its early stages rough and thorny." The king was not easily brought to understand that England would not make war for Hanoverian objects, nor allow her foreign policy to be shaped by the ambitions of the Electorate. Differences arose which drove Townshend from the Cabinet, and divided the Whig party. Walpole retired from the government with Townshend, and was in opposition for three years, while Lord Stanhope and the earl of Sunderland controlled the administration. The Whig schism came to an end in 1720, and Townshend and Walpole rejoined the administration (in the contest over the Peage Bill, 1720). The latter as paymaster of the forces without a seat in the Cabinet. "His opposition was at an end, but he took no part in the active work of government. . . . Before many months had passed the country was overtaken by the memorable disasters of the South Sea Bubble [see SOUTH SEA BUBBLE]. . . . All eyes were turned to Walpole. Though he had privately dabbled in South Sea stock on his own account, his public predictions came back to men's minds; they remembered that he had been called the best man for figures in the House, and the disgrace of his most important colleagues only made his sagacity the more prominent. . . . He returned to his old posts, and once more became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer (April, 1721), while Townshend was again Secretary of State. Walpole held his offices practically without a break for twenty-one years. The younger Pitt had an almost equal span of unbroken supremacy, but with that exception there is no parallel to Walpole's long tenure of power. To estimate aright the vast significance of this extraordinary stability, we must remember that the country had just passed through eighty years of revolution. A man of 80 in 1721 could recall the execution of Charles I., the protectorate of Oliver, the fall of Richard Cromwell, the restoration of Charles II., the exile of James II., the change of the order of succession to William of Orange, the reactionary ministry of Anne, and finally the second change to the House of Hanover. The interposition, after so long a series of violent perturbations as this, of twenty years of settled system and continuous order under one man, makes Walpole's government of capital and decisive importance in our history, and consti-

tutes not an artificial division like the reign of a king, but a true and definite period, with a beginning, an end, a significance, and a unity of its own." —J. Morley, *Walpole*, ch. 3-4.

Also in: W. Coxe, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, v. 1, ch. 9-21.

1715.—**Jacobite rising.** See SCOTLAND: 1715.

1716.—**Septennial Act.**—The easy suppression of the Jacobite rebellion was far from putting an end to the fears of the loyal supporters of the Hanoverian dynasty. They regarded with especial anxiety the approaching Parliamentary elections. "As, by the existing statute of 6 William and Mary [the Triennial Act, of 1694], Parliament would be dissolved at the close of the year, and a new election held in the spring of 1717, there seemed great probability of a renewal of the contest, or at least of very serious riots during the election time. With this in view, the ministers proposed that the existing Parliament should be continued for a term of seven instead of three years. This, which was meant for a temporary measure has never been repealed, and is still the law under which Parliaments are held. [By the Parliament Act of 1911, the term of Parliament was changed from seven years to five.] It has been often objected to this action of Parliament, that it was acting arbitrarily in thus increasing its own duration. 'It was a direct usurpation,' it has been said, 'of the rights of the people, analogous to the act of the Long Parliament in declaring itself indestructible.' It has been regarded rather as a party measure than as a forward step in liberal government. We must seek its vindication in the peculiar conditions of the time. It was useless to look to the constituencies for the support of the popular liberty. The returns of members in the smaller boroughs was in the hands of corrupt or corruptible freemen; in the counties, of great landowners; in the larger towns, of small placeholders under Government. A general election in fact only gave fresh occasion for the exercise of the influence of the Crown and of the House of Lords—freedom and independence in the presence of these two permanent powers could be secured only by the greater permanence of the third element of the Legislature, the House of Commons. It was thus that, though no doubt in some degree a party measure for securing a more lengthened tenure of office to the Whigs, the Septennial Act received, upon good constitutional grounds, the support and approbation of the best statesmen of the time."—J. F. Bright, *History of England*, period 3, p. 938.

Also in: Lord Mahon, *History of England*, 1713-1783, v. 1, ch. 6.

1717-1719.—**Triple Alliance.**—**Quadruple Alliance.**—**War with Spain.** See FRANCE: 1717-1719; SPAIN: 1713-1725; ITALY: 1715-1735

1719-1720.—**Treaties with Sweden.** See SWEDEN: 1710-1721.

1720.—**South Sea Bubble.** See SOUTH SEA BUBBLE.

1721-1742.—**Development of the cabinet system of ministerial government.** See CABINET: English: Origin of term.

1725.—**Alliance of Hanover.** See SPAIN: 1713-1725.

1726-1731.—**Fresh differences with Spain.**—**Gibraltar besieged.**—**Treaty of Seville.**—**Second Treaty of Vienna.** See SPAIN: 1726-1731.

1727.—**Accession of King George II.**

1727-1741.—**Walpole's administration under George II.**—"The management of public affairs during the six years of George the First's reign in which Walpole was Prime Minister, was easy. . . . His political fortunes seemed to be ruined by George the First's death [1727]. That King's suc-

cessor had ransacked a very copious vocabulary of abuse, in order to stigmatise the minister and his associates. Rogue and rascal, scoundrel and fool, were his commonest utterances when Robert Walpole's name was mentioned. . . . Walpole bowed meekly to the coming storm," and an attempt was made to put Sir Spencer Compton in his place. But Compton himself, as well as the king and his sagacious queen, soon saw the futility of it, and the old ministry was retained. "At first, Walpole was associated with his brother-in-law, Townsend. But they soon disagreed and the rupture was total after the death of Walpole's sister, Townsend's wife. . . . After Townsend's dismissal, Walpole reigned alone, if, indeed, he could be said to exercise sole functions while Newcastle was tied to him. Long before he was betrayed by this person, of whom he justly said that his name was perfidy, he knew how dangerous was the association. But Newcastle was the largest proprietor of rotten boroughs in the kingdom, and, fool and knave as he was, he had wit enough to guess at his own importance, and knavery enough to make his market. Walpole's chief business lay in managing the King, the Queen, the Church, the House of Commons, and perhaps the people. I have already said, that before his accession George hated Walpole. But there are hatreds and hatreds, equal in fervency while they last, but different in duration. The King hated Walpole because he had served his father well. But one George was gone, and another George was in possession. Then came before the man in possession the clear vision of Walpole's consummate usefulness. The vision was made clearer by the sagacious hints of the Queen [Caroline of Anspach]. It became clear as noonday when Walpole contrived to add £115,000 to the civil list. . . . Besides, Walpole was sincerely determined to support the Hanoverian succession. He constantly insisted to George that the final settlement of his House on the throne would be fought out in England. . . . Hence he was able to check one of the King's ruling passions, a longing to engage in war. . . . It is generally understood that Walpole managed the House of Commons by bribery; that the secret service money was thus employed; and that this minister was the father of that corruption which was reported to have disgraced the House during the first half of the . . . [eighteenth] century. I suspect that these influences have been exaggerated. It is a stock story that Walpole said he knew every man's price. It might have been generally true, but the foundation of this apothegm is, in all likelihood, a recorded saying of his about certain members of the opposition. . . . Walpole has been designated, and with justice, as emphatically a peace minister. He held 'that the most pernicious circumstances in which this country can be, are those of war, as we must be great losers while the war lasts, and cannot be great gainers when it ends.' He kept George the Second at peace, as well as he could, by insisting on it that the safety of his dynasty lay in avoiding foreign embroilments. He strove in vain against the war which broke out in 1739 [War of 'Jenkins' Ear']. . . . I do not intend to disparage Walpole's administrative ability when I say that the country prospered independently of any financial policy which he adopted or carried out. . . . Walpole let matters take their course, for he understood that the highest merit of a minister consists in his doing no mischief. But Walpole's praise lies in the fact, that, with this evident growth of material prosperity, he steadily set his face against gambling with it. He resolved, as far as lay in his power, to keep the peace of Europe; and he was seconded in his efforts by Cardinal Fleury. He contrived to smooth away the

difficulties which arose in 1727; and on January 13, 1730, negotiated the treaty of Seville [see SPAIN: 1726-1731], the benefits of which lasted through ten years of peace, and under which he reduced the army to 5,000 men." But the opposition to Walpole's peace policy became a growing passion, which overcame him in 1741 and forced him to resign. On his resignation he was raised to the peerage, with the title of earl of Orford, and defeated, though with great difficulty, the determination of his enemies to impeach him.—J. E. T. Rogers, *Historical gleanings*, v. 1, ch. 2.—"It is impossible, I think, to consider his [Walpole's] career with adequate attention without recognising in him a great minister, although the merits of his administration were often rather negative than positive, and although it exhibits few of those dramatic incidents, and is but little susceptible of that rhetorical colouring, on which the reputation of statesmen largely depends. . . . He was eminently true to the character of his countrymen. He discerned with a rare sagacity the lines of policy most suited to their genius and to their needs, and he had a sufficient ascendancy in English politics to form its traditions, to give a character and a bias to its institutions. The Whig party, under his guidance, retained, though with diminished energy, its old love of civil and of religious liberty, but it lost its foreign sympathies, its tendency to extravagance, its military restlessness. The landed gentry, and in a great degree the Church, were reconciled to the new dynasty. The dangerous fissures which divided the English nation were filled up. Parliamentary government lost its old violence, it entered into a period of normal and pacific action, and the habits of compromise, of moderation, and of practical good sense, which are most essential to its success, were greatly strengthened. These were the great merits of Walpole. His faults were very manifest, and are to be attributed in part to his own character, but in a great degree to the moral atmosphere of his time. He was an honest man in the sense of desiring sincerely the welfare of his country and serving his sovereign with fidelity; but he was intensely wedded to power, exceedingly unscrupulous about the means of grasping or retaining it, and entirely destitute of that delicacy of honour which marks a high-minded man. . . . His estimate of political integrity was very similar to his estimate of female virtue. He governed by means of an assembly which was saturated with corruption, and he fully acquiesced in its conditions and resisted every attempt to improve it. . . . It is necessary to speak with much caution on this matter, remembering that no statesman can emancipate himself from the conditions of his time. . . . The systematic corruption of Members of Parliament is said to have begun under Charles II., in whose reign it was practised to the largest extent. It was continued under his successor, and the number of scandals rather increased than diminished after the Revolution. . . . And if corruption did not begin with Walpole, it is equally certain that it did not end with him. His expenditure of secret service money, large as it was, never equalled in an equal space of time the expenditure of Bute. [John Stuart, Earl of Bute; favorite of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and later of his son who ascended the throne as George III.; prime minister in 1761]. . . . The real charge against him is that in a period of profound peace, when he exercised an almost unexampled ascendancy in politics, and when public opinion was strongly in favour of the diminution of corrupt influence in Parliament, he steadily and successfully resisted every attempt at reform. . . . It was his settled policy to maintain his Parliamentary majority, not by attracting to his ministry

great orators, great writers, great financiers, or great statesmen, . . . but simply by engrossing borough influence and extending the patronage of the Crown."—W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the 18th century*, v. 1, ch. 3.—"But for Sir Robert Walpole, we should have had the Pretender back again. But for his obstinate love of peace, we should have had wars, which the nation was not strong enough nor united enough to endure. But for his resolute counsels and good-humoured resistance, we might have had German despots attempting a Hanoverian regimen over us: we should have had revolt, commotion, want, and tyrannous misrule, in place of a quarter of a century of peace, freedom and material prosperity, such as the country never enjoyed, until that corrupter of parliaments, that dissolute tipsy cynic, that courageous lover of peace and liberty, that great citizen, patriot and statesman governed it. . . . In private life the old pagan revelled in the lowest pleasures: he passed his Sundays tippling at Richmond; and his holidays bawling after dogs, or boozing at Houghton with Boors over beef and punch. He cared for letters no more than his master did: he judged human nature so meanly that one is ashamed to have to own that he was right, and that men could be corrupted by means so base. But, with his hiring House of Commons, he defended liberty for us; with his incredulity he kept Church-craft down. . . . He gave Englishmen no conquests, but he gave them peace, and ease, and freedom; the Three per Cents, nearly at par; and wheat at five and six and twenty shillings a quarter."—W. M. Thackeray, *Four Georges*, ch. 2.—It is interesting to note that Walpole brought prosperity to England through strict adherence to mercantilist principles, among which may be mentioned the removal of duties on imported raw material and on exported manufactures, as well as an aggressive colonial policy. Walpole, who was called "the best master of figures of any man of his time" also achieved economies through the application of business methods to public finance.

ALSO IN: W. Coxe, *Memoirs of Sir R. Walpole*, v. 1, ch. 31-50.—Lord Mahon (Earl Stanhope), *History of England, 1713-1783*, v. 2-3, ch. 15-23.—Lord Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of George II. 1729.—Religious movement.* See METHODIST CHURCH: 1729-1791.

1731-1740.—Questions of the Austrian succession.—Guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction. See AUSTRIA: 1718-1738; 1740 (October); (October-November).

1733.—First Bourbon family compact.—Hostility to Great Britain. See FRANCE: 1733.

1739-1741.—War of Jenkins' Ear.—Assiento.—"In spite of Walpole's love of peace, and determined efforts to preserve it, in the year 1730 a war broke out with Spain, which is an illustration of the saying that the occasion of a war may be trifling, though its real cause be very serious. The war is often called the War of Jenkins' Ear. The story ran that eight years before (1731) a certain Captain Jenkins, skipper of the ship 'Rebecca,' of London, had been maltreated by the Spaniards. His ship was sailing from Jamaica, and hanging about the entrance of the Gulf of Florida, when it was boarded by the Spanish coastguard. The Spaniards could find no proof that Jenkins was smuggling, though they searched narrowly, and being angry at their ill-success they hanged him to the yardarm, lowering him just in time to save his life. At length they pulled off his ear and told him to take it to his king. . . . Seven years later Captain Jenkins was examined by the House of Commons. . . . 'No need of allies now,' said one politician; 'the

story of Jenkins will raise us volunteers.' The war arose out of a question of trade, in this as in so many other cases the English being prepared to fight in order to force an entrance for their trade, which the Spaniards wished to shut out from Spanish America. This question found a place amongst the other matters arranged by the treaty of Utrecht, when the English obtained almost as their sole return for their victories what was known as the Assiento. This is a Spanish word meaning contract, but its use had been for some time confined to the disgraceful privilege of providing Spanish America with negroes kidnapped from their homes in Africa. The Flemings, the Genoese, the Portuguese, and the French Guinea Company received in turn from Spanish kings the monopoly in this shameful traffic, which at the treaty of Utrecht was passed on for a period of thirty years to England, now becoming mistress of the seas, and with her numerous merchant ships better able than others to carry on the business. The English Government committed the contract to the South Sea Company, and the number of negroes to be supplied annually was no less than 4,800 'sound, healthy, merchantable negroes, two-thirds to be male, none under ten or over forty years old.' In the Assiento Treaty there was also a provision for the trading of one English ship each year with Spanish America; but in order to prevent too great advantage therefrom it was carefully stipulated that the ship should not exceed 600 tons burden. There is no doubt that this stipulation was regularly violated by the English sending a ship of the required number of tons, but with it numerous tenders and smaller craft. Moreover smuggling, being very profitable, became common; . . . Walpole, always anxious for peace, by argument, by negotiation, by delays, resisted the growing desire for war; at length he could resist no longer . . . [and] allowed himself to be forced into a declaration of war October 10, 1730. The news was received throughout England with a perfect frenzy of delight. . . . A year and a day after this declaration of war an event occurred—the death of the Emperor—which helped to swell the volume of this war until it was merged into the European war, called the War of the Austrian Succession, which includes within itself the First and Second Silesian Wars, between Austria and Frederick the Great of Prussia. The European war went on until the general pacification in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748. Within another ten years war broke out again on somewhat similar grounds, but on a much wider scale and with the combatants differently arranged, under the title 'Seven Years' War' The events of this year, whilst the war was only between Spain and England, were the attacks on Spanish settlements in America, the capture of Porto Bello, and the failure before Cartagena, which led to Anson's famous voyage."—E. E. Morris, *Early Hanoverians*, bk. 2, ch. 3.—Admiral Vernon, setting sail with the English fleet from Jamaica, captured Porto Bello, on the Isthmus of Darien, Dec. 1st—an exploit for which he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. His attempt on Cartagena, in the spring of 1741, proved, however, a complete failure. . . . A squadron, under Commodore Anson, despatched to the South Sea for the purpose of annoying the Spanish colonies of Peru and Chili, destroyed the Peruvian town of Paita, and made several prizes. . . . It was on this occasion that Anson circumnavigated the globe, having sailed from England in 1740 and returned to Spithead in 1744."—T. H. Dyer, *History of modern Europe*, bk. 6, ch. 3.—See also FRANCE: 1733; GEORGIA: 1738-1743.

ALSO IN: R. Walter, *Voyage around the world*

of George Anson.—J. Barrow, *Life of Lord George Anson*, ch. 1-2.—W. Coxe, *Memoirs of the Bourbon kings of Spain*, v. 3, ch. 43.

1740-1741.—Beginning of the War of the Austrian Succession. See AUSTRIA: 1740-1741.

1742.—Naval operations in the Mediterranean. See ITALY: 1741-1743.

1743.—British Pragmatic Army.—Battle of Dettingen. See AUSTRIA: 1743.

1743.—Treaty of Worms with Austria and Sardinia. See ITALY: 1743; AUSTRIA: 1743-1744.

1743 (October).—Second Bourbon family compact. See FRANCE: 1743 (October).

1743-1752.—Struggle of French and English for supremacy in India.—Founding of British empire by Clive. See INDIA: 1743-1752.

1744-1745.—War of the Austrian Succession: Hostilities in America. See ENGLAND: 1744-1745.

1744-1747.—War of the Austrian Succession in Italy.—Siege of Genoa. See ITALY: 1744-1745; 1746-1747.

1745.—Pitt's admission to the cabinet.—"From Walpole's death in 1745, when the star of the Stuarts set for ever among the clouds of Culloden, to 1754, when Henry Pelham [brother of the Duke of Newcastle and prime minister in 1743] followed his old chief, public life in England was singularly calm and languid. The temperate and peaceful disposition of the Minister seemed to pervade Parliament. At his death the King exclaimed: 'Now I shall have no more peace'; and the words proved to be prophetic. Both in Parliament and in the country, as well as beyond its shores, the elements of discord were swiftly at war. Out of conflicting ambitions and widely divergent interests a new type of statesman, very different from Walpole, or from Bolingbroke, or from Pelham, or from the 'hubble-bubble Newcastle,' was destined to arise. And along with the new statesman a new force, of which he was in part the representative, in part the creator, was to be introduced into political life. This new force was the unrepresented voice of the people. The new statesman was an ex-cornet of horse, William Pitt [who had long been the leader of a group of young men called 'Patriots' opposed to the ministry of Walpole], better known as Lord Chatham. The characteristics of William Pitt which mainly influenced his career were his ambition and his ill-health. Power, and that conspicuous form of egotism called personal glory, were the objects of his life. He pursued them with all the ardour of a strong-willed purpose; but the flesh was in his case painfully weak. Gout had declared itself his foe while he was still an Eton boy. His failures, and prolonged withdrawal at intervals from public affairs, were due to the inroads of this fatal enemy, from whom he was destined to receive his death-blow. Walpole had not been slow to recognize the quality of this 'terrible cornet of horse,' as he called him."—R. B. Brett, *Footprints of statesmen*, ch. 7.

ALSO IN: Lord Mahon, *History of England*, v. 3, ch. 24-28.

1745 (May).—War of the Austrian Succession in the Netherlands.—Battle of Fontenoy. See BELGIUM: 1745.

1745-1746.—Young Pretender's invasion.—Last rising of the Jacobites. See SCOTLAND: 1745-1746.

1745-1747.—War of the Austrian Succession.—British incapacity.—Final successes at sea.—"The extraordinary incapacity of English commanders, both by land and sea, is one of the most striking facts in the war we are considering. . . . Mismanagement and languor were general. The battle of Dettingen [1743] was truly described as a happy escape rather than a great victory; the army

in Flanders can hardly be said to have exhibited any military quality except courage, and the British navy, though it gained some successes, added little to its reputation. The one brilliant exception was the expedition of Anson round Cape Horn, for the purpose of plundering the Spanish merchandise and settlements in the Pacific. . . . The overwhelming superiority of England upon the sea began, however, gradually to influence the war. The island of Cape Breton, which commanded the mouth of Gulf St. Lawrence, and protected the Newfoundland fisheries, was captured in the June of 1745. In 1747 a French squadron was destroyed by a very superior English fleet off Cape Finisterre. Another was defeated near Belleisle, and in the same year as many as 644 prizes were taken. The war on the part of the English, however, was most efficiently conducted by means of subsidies, which were enormously multiplied."—W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England*, 18th century, v. 1, ch. 3.

1748 (October).—End and results of the War of the Austrian Succession. See AIX-LA-CHAPELLE: Congresses: 2; NEW ENGLAND: 1745-1748.

1751.—Adoption of Gregorian calendar. See CHRONOLOGY: Gregorian reformation of Julian calendar.

1753.—Jewish Naturalization Bill. See JEWS: England: 1662-1753.

1754-1755.—Seven Years' War.—Causes and provocations.—"The seven years that succeeded the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle [closing the War of the Austrian Succession, 1748] are described by Voltaire as among the happiest that Europe ever enjoyed. Commerce revived, the fine arts flourished, and the European nations resembled, it is said, one large family that had been reunited after its dissensions. Unfortunately, however, the peace had not exterminated all the elements of discord. Scarcely had Europe begun to breathe again when new disputes arose, and the seven years of peace and prosperity were succeeded by another seven of misery and war. The ancient rivalry between France and England, which had formerly vented itself in continental struggles, had, by the progress of maritime discovery and colonisation, been extended to all the quarters of the globe. The interests of the two nations came into collision in India, Africa and America, and a dispute about boundaries in this last quarter again plunged them into a war. By the 6th article of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, France and England were mutually to restore their conquests in such state as they were before the war. This clause became a copious source of quarrel. The principal dispute regarded the limits of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, which province had . . . been ceded to England. . . . Another dispute regarded the western limits of the British North American settlements. The English claimed the banks of the Ohio as belonging to Virginia, the French as forming part of Louisiana. . . . The question of boundaries was, however, undoubtedly the occasion, if not also the true cause, of the war. A series of desultory conflicts had taken place along the Ohio, and on the frontiers of Nova Scotia, in 1754, without being avowed by the mother countries. . . . Orders were now issued to the English fleet to attack French vessels wherever found. . . . It being known that a considerable French fleet was preparing to sail from Brest and Rochefort for America, Admiral Boscawen was despatched thither, and captured two French men-of-war off Cape Race in Newfoundland, June, 1755. [See CANADA: 1755 (June).] Hostilities were also transferred to the shores of Europe. . . . A naval war between England and France was now unavoidable; but, as in the case of the Austrian Succession, this was also to be mixed

up with a European war. The complicated relations of the European system again caused these two wars to run into one, though their origin had nothing in common. France and England, whose quarrel lay in the New World, appeared as the leading Powers in a European contest in which they had only a secondary interest, and decided the fate of Canada on the plains of Germany. The war in Europe, commonly called the Seven Years' War, was chiefly caused by the pride of one Empress [Maria Theresa], the vanity of another [Elizabeth of Russia], and the subserviency of a royal courtier [Madame Pompadour], who became the tool of these passions."—T. H. Dyer, *History of modern Europe*, v. 3, bk. 6, ch. 5.—"The Seven Years' War was in its origin not an European war at all; it was a war between England and France on Colonial questions with which the rest of Europe had nothing to do; but the alliances and enmities of England and France in Europe, joined with the fact that the King of England was also Elector of Hanover, made it almost certain that a war between England and France must spread to the Continent. I am far from charging on the English Government of the time—for it was they, and not the French, who forced on the war—as Macaulay might do, the blood of the Austrians who perished at Leuthen [1767], of the Russians sabred at Zorndorf [1758], and the Prussians mown down at Kunersdorf [1759]. The States of the Continent had many old enmities not either appeased or fought out to a result; and these would probably have given rise to a war some day, even if no black men, to adapt Macaulay again, had been previously fighting on the coast of Coromandel, nor red men scalping each other by the great lakes of North America. Still, it is to be remembered that it was the work of England that the war took place then and on those lines; and in view of the enormous suffering and slaughter of that war, and of the violent and arbitrary proceedings by which it was forced on, we may well question whether English writers have any right to reprobate Frederick's seizure of Silesia as something specially immoral in itself and disastrous to the world. If the Prussians were highway robbers, the English were pirates. . . . The origin of the war between England and France, if a struggle which had hardly been interrupted since the nominal peace could be said to have an origin, was the struggle for America."—A. R. Ropes, *Causes of the Seven Years' War* (Royal Historical Society, Transactions, new series, v. 4).—See also GERMANY: 1755-1756; CANADA: 1750-1753; OHIO: 1748-1754.

ALSO IN: Lord Mahon, *History of England*, v. 4, ch. 31-32.—F. Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, ch. 1-7

1756-1757.—Wars in India.—Black Hole of Calcutta. See INDIA: 1755-1757.

1757-1759.—Campaigns on the Continent.—Defence of Hanover. See GERMANY: 1757 (July-December), to 1759 (April-August); BREST: 1757.

1757-1760.—Great administration of the Elder Pitt.—"In 1754 Henry Pelham died. The important consequence of his death was the fact that it gave Pitt at last an opportunity of coming to the front. The Duke of Newcastle, Henry Pelham's brother, became leader of the administration, with Henry Fox for Secretary at War, Pitt for Paymaster-general of the Forces, and Murray, afterwards to be famous as Lord Mansfield, for Attorney-general. There was some difficulty about the leadership of the House of Commons. Pitt was still too much disliked by the King to be available for the position. Fox for a while refused to accept it, and Murray was unwilling to do anything which might be likely to withdraw him from the professional path along

which he was to move to such distinction. An attempt was made to get on with a Sir Thomas Robinson, a man of no capacity for such a position, and the attempt was soon an evident failure. Then Fox consented to take the position on Newcastle's own terms, which were those of absolute submission to the dictates of Newcastle. Later still he was content to descend to a subordinate office which did not even give him a place in the Cabinet. Fox never recovered the damage which his reputation and his influence suffered by this amazing act. . . . The Duke of Newcastle's Ministry soon fell. Newcastle was not a man who had the slightest capacity for controlling or directing a policy of war; and the great struggle known as the Seven Years' War had now broken out. One lamentable event in the war has to be recorded, although it was but of minor importance. This was the capture of Minorca by the French under the romantic, gallant, and profligate Duc de Richelieu. The event is memorable chiefly, or only, because it was followed by the trial and execution [March 14, 1757] of the unfortunate Admiral Byng [see MINORCA: 1756]. . . . The Duke of Newcastle resigned office, and for a short time the Duke of Devonshire was at the head of a coalition Ministry which included Pitt. The King, however, did not stand this long, and one day suddenly turned them all out of office. Then a coalition of another kind was formed, which included Newcastle and Pitt, with Henry Fox in the subordinate position of paymaster. Pitt now for the first time had it all his own way. He ruled everything in the House of Commons. He flung himself with passionate and patriotic energy into the alliance with that great Frederick whose genius and daring were like his own."—J. McCarthy, *History of the four Georges*, v. 2, ch. 41.—"Newcastle took the Treasury. Pitt was Secretary of State, with the lead in the House of Commons, and with the supreme direction of the war and of foreign affairs. Fox, the only man who could have given much annoyance to the new Government, was silenced with the office of Paymaster, which, during the continuance of that war, was probably the most lucrative place in the whole Government. He was poor, and the situation was tempting. . . . The first acts of the new administration were characterized rather by vigour than by judgment. Expeditions were sent against different parts of the French coast with little success. . . . But soon conquests of a very different kind filled the kingdom with pride and rejoicing. A succession of victories undoubtedly brilliant, and, as it was thought, not barren, raised to the highest point the fame of the minister to whom the conduct of the war had been intrusted. In July, 1758, Louisburg fell. The whole island of Cape Breton was reduced. [See CANADA: 1758; CAPE BRETON ISLAND: 1758-1760.] The fleet to which the Court of Versailles had confided the defence of French America was destroyed. The captured standards were borne in triumph from Kensington Palace to the city, and were suspended in St. Paul's Church, amidst the roar of guns and kettle-drums, and the shouts of an immense multitude. Addresses of congratulation came in from all the great towns of England. Parliament met only to decree thanks and monuments, and to bestow, without one murmur, supplies more than double of those which had been given during the war of the Grand Alliance. The year 1750 opened with the conquest of Goree. Next fell Guadaloupe; then Ticonderoga; then Niagara. The Toulon squadron was completely defeated by Boscawen off Cape Lagos. But the greatest exploit of the year was the achievement of Wolfe on the heights of Abraham. The news of his glorious death and of

the fall of Quebec reached London in the very week in which the Houses met. [See CANADA: 1759 (July, August); 1759 (July-September).] All was joy and triumph. Envy and faction were forced to join in the general applause. Whigs and Tories vied with each other in extolling the genius and energy of Pitt. His colleagues were never talked of or thought of. The House of Commons, the nation, the colonies, our allies, our enemies, had their eyes fixed on him alone. Scarcely had Parliament voted a monument to Wolfe when another great event called for fresh rejoicings. The Brest fleet, under the command of Conflans, had put out to sea. It was overtaken by an English squadron under Hawke. Conflans attempted to take shelter close under the French coast. The shore was rocky: the night was black: the wind was furious: the waves of the Bay of Biscay ran high. But Pitt had infused into every branch of the service a spirit which had long been unknown. No British seaman was disposed to err on the same side with Byng. The pilot told Hawke that the attack could not be made without the greatest danger. 'You have done your duty in remonstrating,' answered Hawke; 'I will answer for everything. I command you to lay me alongside the French admiral.' Two French ships of the line struck. Four were destroyed. The rest hid themselves in the rivers of Brittany. [See below: 1759 (August-November).] The year 1760 came; and still triumph followed triumph. Montreal was taken; the whole Province of Canada was subjugated [see CANADA: 1759]; the French fleets underwent a succession of disasters in the seas of Europe and America. In the meantime conquests equalling in rapidity, and far surpassing in magnitude, those of Cortes and Pizarro, had been achieved in the East. In the space of three years the English had founded a mighty empire. The French had been defeated in every part of India. Chandernagore had surrendered to Clive, Pondicherry to Coote. Throughout Bengal, Bahar, Orissa, and the Carnatic, the authority of the East India Company was more absolute than that of Acbar or Aurungzebe had ever been. [See INDIA: 1757-1772; 1758-1761.] On the continent of Europe the odds were against England. We had but one important ally, the King of Prussia; and he was attacked, not only by France, but also by Russia and Austria. Yet even on the Continent, the energy of Pitt triumphed over all difficulties. Vehemently as he had condemned the practice of subsidising foreign princes, he now carried that practice farther than Carteret [John Carteret, Earl of Granville, in the cabinet of Lord Wilmington in 1742, unsuccessfully tried to form a ministry in 1746] himself would have ventured to do. The active and able Sovereign of Prussia [Frederick, the Great] received such pecuniary assistance as enabled him to maintain the conflict on equal terms against his powerful enemies. On no subject had Pitt ever spoken with so much eloquence and ardour as on the mischiefs of the Hanoverian connection. He now declared, not without much show of reason, that it would be unworthy of the English people to suffer their King to be deprived of his electoral dominions in an English quarrel. He assured his countrymen that they should be no losers, and that he would conquer America for them in Germany. By taking this line he conciliated the King, and lost no part of his influence with the nation. In Parliament, such was the ascendancy which his eloquence, his success, his high situation, his pride, and his intrepidity had obtained for him, that he took liberties with the House of which there had been no example, and which have never since been imitated. . . . The face of affairs was speedily

changed. The invaders [of Hanover] were driven out. . . . In the meantime, the nation exhibited all the signs of wealth and prosperity. . . . The success of our arms was perhaps owing less to the skill of his [Pitt's] dispositions than to the national resources and the national spirit. But that the national spirit rose to the emergency, that the national resources were contributed with unexampled cheerfulness, this was undoubtedly his work. The ardour of his soul had set the whole kingdom on fire. . . . The situation which Pitt occupied at the close of the reign of George the Second was the most enviable ever occupied by any public man in English history. He had conciliated the King; he domineered over the House of Commons; he was adored by the people; he was admired by all Europe. He was the first Englishman of his time; and he had made England the first country in the world. The Great Commoner, the name by which he was often designated, might look down with scorn on coronets and garters. The nation was drunk with joy and pride."—Lord Macaulay, *First essay on William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (*Essays*, v. 3).

ALSO IN: Lord Mahon, *History of England*, 1713-1783, v. 4, ch. 33-36.—E. Creasy, *Memoirs of eminent Etonians*, ch. 4.

1758 (June-August).—Seven Years' War.—Abortive expeditions against the coast of France.—Early in 1758 there was sent out "one of those joint military and naval expeditions which Pitt seems at first to have thought the proper means by which England should assist in a continental war. Like all such isolated expeditions, it was of little value. St. Malo, against which it was directed, was found too strong to be taken, but a large quantity of shipping and naval stores was destroyed. The fleet also approached Cherbourg, but although the troops were actually in their boats ready to land, they were ordered to re-embark, and the fleet came home. Another somewhat similar expedition was sent out later in the year. In July General Bligh and Commodore Howe took and destroyed Cherbourg, but on attempting a similar assault on St. Malo they found it too strong for them. The army had been landed in the Bay of St. Cast, and, while engaged in re-embarkation, it was attacked by some French troops which had been hastily collected and severely handled."—J. F. Bright, *History of England*, period 3, p. 1027.

1758-1759.—Seven Years' War in America. See CANADA: 1758; 1759; CAPE BRETON ISLAND: 1758-1760.

1759 (August-November).—British naval supremacy established.—Victories off Lagos and in Quiberon bay.—"Early in the year [1759] the French had begun to make preparations for an invasion of the British Isles on a large scale. Flat-bottomed boats were built at Havre and other places along the coasts of Normandy and Brittany, and large fleets were collected at Brest and Toulon, besides a small squadron at Dunkirk. . . . Had a landing been effected, the regular troops in the country, with the support of the newly created militia, would probably have been equal to the emergency; but a more effectual bulwark was found in the fleet, which watched the whole French coast, ready to engage the enemy as soon as he ventured out of his ports. The first attempt to break through the cordon was made by M. de la Clue from Toulon. The English Mediterranean fleet, under Admiral Boscawen, cruising before that port, was compelled early in July to retire to Gibraltar to take in water and provisions and to refit some of the ships. Hereupon M. de la Clue put to sea, and hugging the African coast, passed the

straits without molestation. Boscawen, however, though his ships were not yet refitted, at once gave chase, and came up with the enemy off [Lagos, on] the coast of Portugal, where an engagement took place [August 18], in which three French ships were taken and two driven on shore and burnt. The remainder took refuge in Cadiz, where they were blockaded till the winter, when, the English fleet being driven off the coast by a storm, they managed to get back to Toulon. The discomfiture of the Brest fleet, under M. de Conflans, was even more complete. On November 6 Admiral Sir Edward Hawke, who had blockaded Brest all the summer and autumn, was driven from his post by a violent gale, and on the 14th, Conflans put to sea with 21 sail of the line and 4 frigates. On the same day, Hawke, with 22 sail of the line, stood out from Torbay, where he had taken shelter, and made sail for Quibéron Bay, judging that Conflans would steer thither to liberate a fleet of transports which were blocked up in the river Morbihan, by a small squadron of frigates under Commodore Duff. On the morning of the 20th, he sighted the French fleet chasing Duff in Quibéron Bay. Conflans, when he discerned the English, recalled his chasing ships and prepared for action; but on their nearer approach changed his mind, and ran for shelter among the shoals and rocks of the coast. The sea was running mountains high and the coast was very dangerous and little known to the English, who had no pilots; but Hawke, whom no peril could daunt, never hesitated a moment, but crowded all sail after them. Without regard to lines of battle, every ship was directed to make the best of her way towards the enemy, the admiral telling his officers he was for the old way of fighting, to make down-right work with them. In consequence many of the English ships never got into action at all; but the short winter day was wearing away, and all haste was needed if the enemy were not to escape. . . . As long as daylight lasted the battle raged with great fury, so near the coast that '10,000 persons on the shore were the sad spectators of the white flag's disgrace.' . . . By nightfall two French ships, the *Thésée* 74, and *Superb* 70, were sunk, and two, the *Formidable* 80, and the *Héros* 74, had struck. The *Soleil Royal* afterwards went aground, but her crew escaped, as did that of the *Héros*, whose captain dishonourably ran her ashore in the night. Of the remainder, seven ships of the line and four frigates threw their guns overboard, and escaped up the river *Vilaine*, where most of them bumped their bottoms out in the shallow water; the rest got away and took shelter in the *Charente*, all but one, which was wrecked, but very few ever got out again. With two hours more of daylight Hawke thought he could have taken or destroyed all, as he was almost up with the French van when night overtook him. Two English ships, the *Essex* 64, and the *Resolution* 74, went ashore in the night and could not be got off, but the crews were saved, and the victory was won with the loss of 40 killed and 200 wounded. The great invasion scheme was completely wrecked. *Thurot* [Admiral *Thurot*, a celebrated French privateer] had succeeded in getting out from *Dunkirk*, and for some months was a terror to the northern coast-towns, but early in the following year an end was put to his career. For the rest of the war the French never ventured to meet the English in battle on the high seas, and could only look on helplessly while their colonies and commerce fell into the hands of their rivals. From the day of the fight in Quibéron Bay, the naval and commercial supremacy of England was assured."—F. W. Longman, *Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War*, ch. 12, sect. 3.

ALSO IN: C. D. Yonge, *History of the British navy*, v. 1, ch. 12.—J. Entick, *History of the late war*, v. 4, pp. 241-290.

1760.—Successes of the Prussians and their allies. See GERMANY: 1760.

1760-1763.—Accession of George III.—His ignorance and his despotic notions of kingship.—Retirement of the elder Pitt.—Rise and fall of Bute.—Grenville ministry.—"When George III. came to the throne, in 1760, England had been governed for more than half a century by the great Whig families which had been brought into the foreground by the revolution of 1688. . . . Under Walpole's wise and powerful sway, the first two Georges had possessed scarcely more than the shadow of sovereignty. It was the third George's ambition to become a real king, like the king of France or the king of Spain. From earliest babyhood, his mother had forever been impressing upon him the precept, 'George be king!' and this simple lesson had constituted pretty much the whole of his education. Popular tradition regards him as the most ignorant king that ever sat upon the English throne; and so far as general culture is concerned, this opinion is undoubtedly correct. . . . Nevertheless . . . George III. was not destitute of a certain kind of ability, which often gets highly rated in this not too clear-sighted world. He could see an immediate end very distinctly, and acquired considerable power from the dogged industry with which he pursued it. In an age where some of the noblest English statesmen drank their gallon of strong wine daily, or sat late at the gambling-table, or lived in scarcely hidden concubinage, George III. was decorous in personal habits and pure in domestic relations, and no banker's clerk in London applied himself to the details of business more industriously than he. He had a genuine talent for administration, and he devoted this talent most assiduously to selfish ends. Scantly endowed with human sympathy, and almost boorishly stiff in his ordinary unstudied manner, he could be smooth as oil whenever he liked. He was an adept in gaining men's confidence by a show of interest, and securing their aid by dint of fair promises; and when he found them of no further use, he could turn them adrift with wanton insult. Any one who dared to disagree with him upon even the slightest point of policy he straightway regarded as a natural enemy, and pursued him ever afterward with vindictive hatred. As a natural consequence, he surrounded himself with weak and short-sighted advisers, and toward all statesmen of broad views and independent character he nursed the bitterest rancour. . . . Such was the man who, on coming to the throne in 1760, had it for his first and chiefest thought to break down the growing system of cabinet government in England."—J. Fiske, *American Revolution*, v. 1, ch. 1.—"The dissolution of Parliament, shortly after his accession, afforded an opportunity of strengthening the parliamentary connection of the king's friends. Parliament was kept sitting while the king and Lord Bute were making out lists of the court candidates, and using every exertion to secure their return. The king not only wrested government boroughs from the ministers, in order to nominate his own friends, but even encouraged opposition to such ministers as he conceived not to be in his interest. . . . Lord Bute, the originator of the new policy, was not personally well qualified for its successful promotion. He was not connected with the great families who had acquired a preponderance of political influence; he was no parliamentary debater: his manners were unpopular: he was a courtier rather than a politician: his intimate relations with the Princess of

Wales [wife of Frederick, father of George III] were an object of scandal; and, above all, he was a Scotchman. . . . Immediately after the king's accession he had been made a privy councillor, and admitted into the cabinet. An arrangement was soon afterwards concerted, by which Lord Holderness retired from office with a pension, and Lord Bute succeeded him as Secretary of State. It was now the object of the court to break up the existing ministry, and to replace it with another, formed from among the king's friends. Had the ministry been united, and had the chiefs reposed confidence in one another, it would have been difficult to overthrow them. But there were already jealousies amongst them, which the court lost no opportunity of fomenting. A breach soon arose between Mr. Pitt, the most powerful and popular of the ministers, and his colleagues. He desired to strike a sudden blow against Spain, which had concluded a secret treaty of alliance with France, then at war with this country [see FRANCE: 1761 (August); SPAIN: 1761-1763]. Though war minister he was opposed by all his colleagues except Lord Temple. He bore himself haughtily at the council,—declared that he had been called to the ministry by the voice of the people, and that he could not be responsible for measures which he was no longer allowed to guide. Being met with equal loftiness in the cabinet, he was forced to tender his resignation. The king overpowered the retiring minister with kindness and condescension. He offered the barony of Chatham to his wife, and to himself an annuity of £3,000 a year for three lives. The minister had deserved these royal favours, and he accepted them, but at the cost of his popularity. . . . The same Gazette which announced his resignation, also trumpeted forth the peerage and the pension, and was the signal for clamours against the public favourite. On the retirement of Mr. Pitt, Lord Bute became the most influential of the ministers. He undertook the chief management of public affairs in the cabinet, and the sole direction of the House of Lords. . . . His ascendancy provoked the jealousy and resentment of the king's veteran minister, the Duke of Newcastle: who had hitherto distributed all the patronage of the Crown, but now was never consulted. . . . At length, in May, 1762, his grace, after frequent disagreements in the cabinet and numerous affronts, was obliged to resign. And now, the object of the court being at length attained, Lord Bute was immediately placed at the head of affairs, as First Lord of the Treasury. . . . The king and his minister were resolved to carry matters with a high hand, and their arbitrary attempts to coerce and intimidate opponents disclosed their imperious views of the prerogative. Preliminaries of a treaty of peace with France having been agreed upon, against which a strong popular feeling was aroused, the king's vengeance was directed against all who ventured to disapprove them. The Duke of Devonshire having declined to attend the council summoned to decide upon the peace, was insulted by the king, and forced to resign his office of Lord Chamberlain. A few days afterwards the king, with his own hand, struck his grace's name from the list of privy councillors. . . . No sooner had Lord Rockingham heard of the treatment of the Duke of Devonshire than he . . . resigned his place in the household. A more general proscription of the Whig nobles soon followed. The Dukes of Newcastle and Grafton, and the Marquess of Rockingham, having presumed, as peers of Parliament, to express their disapprobation of the peace, were dismissed from the lord-lieutenancies of their counties. . . . Nor was the vengeance of the court confined to the heads of the Whig party. All placemen,

who had voted against the preliminaries of peace, were dismissed. . . . The preliminaries of peace were approved by Parliament; and the Princess of Wales, exulting in the success of the court, exclaimed, 'Now my son is king of England.' But her exultation was premature. . . . These stretches of prerogative served to unite the Whigs into an organised opposition. . . . The fall of the king's favoured minister was even more sudden than his rise. . . . Afraid, as he confessed, 'not only of falling himself, but of involving his royal master in his ruin,' he resigned suddenly [April 7, 1763].—to the surprise of all parties, and even of the king himself,—before he had held office for eleven months. . . . He retreated to the interior cabinet, whence he could direct more securely the measures of the court; having previously negotiated the appointment of Mr. George Grenville as his successor, and arranged with him the nomination of the cabinet. The ministry of Mr. Grenville was constituted in a manner favourable to the king's personal views, and was expected to be under the control of himself and his favourite."—T. E. May, *Constitutional history of England, 1760-1860, ch. 1.*

ALSO IN: J. H. Jesse, *Memoirs of the life and reign of George III, v. 1, ch. 1-10.*—Grenville papers, v. 1-2.—W. Massey, *History of England: Reign of George III, v. 1, ch. 2-3.*—G. O. Trevelyan, *Early history of Charles James Fox, ch. 4.*

1761-1762.—Third family compact of the Bourbon kings.—War with Spain. See FRANCE: 1761 (August); SPAIN: 1761-1763.

1761-1762.—Seven Years' War: Last campaigns in Germany. See GERMANY: 1761-1762.

1762-1764.—"North Briton," No. 45, and the prosecution of Wilkes.—"At first the king got on well with Grenville, as they were both inclined to take high-handed proceedings with those who criticised the Government. John Wilkes, a member of the House of Commons, blamed the king's speech in No. 45 of the *North Briton*. The king ordered the prosecution of all concerned in the article, and Lord Halifax, as Secretary of State, issued a warrant for the apprehension of its authors, printers, and publishers. Such a warrant was called a general warrant, because it did not specify the name of any particular person who was to be arrested. On this warrant Wilkes was arrested and sent to the Tower. On May 6, however, he was discharged by Pratt, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, on the ground that, by his privilege as a member of Parliament, he was protected from arrest, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace. Not long afterwards Pratt declared general warrants to be illegal, though there had been several examples of their use. In November, 1763, the House of Commons, urged on by the king and Grenville, voted No. 45 of the *North Briton* to be a libel, whilst the House of Lords attacked Wilkes on the ground that in the notes of an indecent poem called *An Essay on Woman*, of which he was the author, he had assailed Bishop Warburton, a member of that House. Wilkes, indeed, had never published the poem, but its existence was betrayed by Lord Sandwich, one of the Bedford party, who had been a boon companion of Wilkes, and whose life was as profligate as Wilkes's own. On January 19, 1764, the House of Commons expelled Wilkes on account of No. 45, and on February 21, in the Court of King's Bench, a verdict was recorded against him both as a libeller and as the author of an obscene poem. Attempts having been made to get rid of him by challenging him to fight duels, he escaped to France and was outlawed by the Court."—S. R. Gardiner, *Student's history of England, pp. 260-270.*—The Bedford party was so-called after John

Russell, fourth duke of Bedford, who was a violent opponent of Pitt and had been one of the negotiators of peace at the end of the Seven Years' War. When he was ousted from the ministry with the fall of Bute, he headed the Bedford party or the "Bloomsbury Gang."

ALSO IN: J. E. T. Rogers, *Historical gleanings*, v. 2, ch. 3.—Lord Mahon, *History of England*, 1713-1783, v. 5, ch. 41-42.

1763.—End and results of the Seven Years' War: Peace of Paris and peace of Hubertsburg.—America to be English, not French. See SEVEN YEARS' WAR: Treaties which ended the war; BRITISH EMPIRE: Treaties promoting expansion: 1763; HONDURAS, BRITISH: 1763.

1763-1774.—Events leading up to the American Revolution. See U. S. A.: 1763-1764 to 1774-1775; BOSTON: 1768; 1770; 1773; 1774.

1765-1768.—Grenville dismissed.—Rockingham and Grafton-Chatham ministries.—Repeal of the Stamp Act.—Fresh trouble in the American colonies.—"Hitherto the Ministry had only excited the indignation of the people and the colonies. Not satisfied with the number of their enemies, they now proceeded to quarrel openly with the king. In 1765 the first signs of the illness, to which George afterwards fell a victim, appeared; and as soon as he recovered he proposed, with wonderful firmness, that a Regency Bill should be brought in, limiting the king's choice of a Regent to the members of the Royal Family. The Ministers, however, in alarm at the prospect of a new Bute Ministry, persuaded the king that there was no hope of the Princess's name being accepted, and that it had better be left out of the Bill. The king unwisely consented to this unparalleled insult on his parent, apparently through lack of consideration. Parliament, however, insisted on inserting the Princess's name by a large majority, and thus exposed the trick of his Ministers. This the king never forgave. They had been for some time obnoxious to him, and now he determined to get rid of them. With this view he induced the Duke of Cumberland to make overtures to Chatham [Pitt, not yet titled], offering almost any terms." But no arrangement was practicable, and the king was left quite at the mercy of the ministers he detested. "He was obliged to consent to dismiss Bute and all Bute's following. He was obliged to promise that he would use no underhand influence for the future. Life, in fact, became a burden to him under George Grenville's domination, and he determined to dismiss him, even at the cost of accepting the Whig Houses, whom he had pledged himself never to employ again. Pitt and Temple still proving obdurate, Cumberland opened negotiations with the Rockingham Whigs, and the Grenville Ministry was at an end [July, 1765]. . . . The new Ministry was composed as follows: Rockingham became First Lord of the Treasury; Dowdeswell, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Newcastle, Privy Seal; Northington, Lord Chancellor. . . . Their leader Rockingham was a man of sound sense, but no power of language or government. . . . He was totally free from any suspicion of corruption. In fact there was more honesty than talent in the Ministry altogether. . . . The back-bone of the party was removed by the refusal of Pitt to co-operate. Burke was undoubtedly the ablest man among them, but his time was not yet come. Such a Ministry, it was recognized even by its own members, could not last long. However, it had come in to effect certain necessary legislation, and it certainly so far accomplished the end of its being. It repealed the Stamp Act [see U. S. A.: 1766: Repeal of Stamp Act], which had caused so much indignation among the Americans; and at the same

time passed a law securing the dependence of the colonies. . . . The king, however, made no secret of his hostility to his Ministers. . . . The conduct of Pitt in refusing to join them was a decided mistake, and more. He was really at one with them on most points. Most of their acts were in accordance with his views. But he was determined not to join a purely party Ministry, though he could have done so practically on whatever terms he pleased. In 1766, however, he consented to form a coalition, in which were included men of the most opposite views—"King's Friends," Rockingham Whigs, and the few personal followers of Pitt. Rockingham refused to take any office, and retired to the more congenial occupation of following the hounds. The nominal Prime Minister of this Cabinet was the Duke of Grafton, for Pitt refused the leadership, and retired to the House of Lords as Lord Chatham. Charles Townshend became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord North, the leader of the 'King's Friends,' was Pay-master. The Ministry included Shelburne, Barré, Conway, Northington, Barrington, Camden, Granby—all men of the most opposite views. . . . This second Ministry of Pitt was a mistake from the very first. He lost all his popularity by taking a peerage. . . . As a peer and Lord Privy Seal he found himself in an uncongenial atmosphere. . . . His name, too, had lost a great deal of its power abroad. 'Pitt' had, indeed, been a word to conjure with; but there were no associations of defeat and humiliation connected with the name of 'Chatham.' . . . There were other difficulties, however, as well. His arrogance had increased, and it was so much intensified by irritating gout, that it became almost impossible to serve with him. His disease later almost approached madness. . . . The Ministry drifted helplessly about at the mercy of each wind and wave of opinion like a water-logged ship; and it was only the utter want of union among the Opposition which prevented its sinking entirely. As it was, they contrived to renew the breach with America, which had been almost entirely healed by Rockingham's repeal of the Stamp Act. Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was by far the ablest man left in the Cabinet, and he rapidly assumed the most prominent position. He had always been in favour of taxing America. He now brought forward a plan for raising a revenue from tea, glass, and paper [see U. S. A.: 1766-1767, and 1767-1768], by way of import duty at the American ports. . . . This wild measure was followed shortly by the death of its author, in September; and then the weakness of the Ministry became so obvious that, as Chatham still continued incapable, some fresh reinforcement was absolutely necessary. A coalition was effected with the Bloomsbury Gang; and, in consequence, Lords Gower, Weymouth, and Sandwich joined the Ministry. Lord Northington and General Conway retired. North succeeded Townshend at the Exchequer. Lord Hillsborough became the first Secretary of State for the Colonies, thus raising the number of Secretaries to three. This Ministry was probably the worst that had governed England since the days of the Cabal; and the short period of its existence was marked by a succession of arbitrary and foolish acts. On every important question that it had to deal with, it pursued a course diametrically opposed to Chatham's views; and yet with singular irony his nominal connection with it was not severed for some time. [that is, not until the following year, 1768]."—B. C. Skottowe, *Our Hanoverian kings*, pp. 234-230.

ALSO IN: Grenville papers, v. 3-4.—C. W. Dilke, *Papers of a critic*, v. 2.—E. Lodge, *Portraits*, v. 8, ch. 2.

1766.—Examination of Benjamin Franklin before Parliament. See U. S. A.: 1766.

1767-1769.—First war with Hyder Ali, of Mysore. See INDIA: 1767-1769.

1768-1774.—John Wilkes and the king and Parliament again.—Middlesex elections.—In March, 1768, Wilkes, though outlawed by the court, returned to London from Paris and solicited a pardon from the king; but his petition was unnoticed. Parliament being then dissolved and writs issued for a new election, he offered himself as a candidate to represent the City of London. "He polled 1,247 votes, but was unsuccessful. On the day following this decision he issued an address to the freeholders of Middlesex. The election took place at Brentford, on the 28th of March. At the close of the poll the numbers were—Mr. Wilkes, 1,202; Mr. Cooke, 827; Sir W. B. Proctor, 807. This was a victory which astonished the public and terrified the ministry. The mob was in ecstasies. The citizens of London were compelled to illuminate their houses and to shout for 'Wilkes and liberty.' It was the earnest desire of the ministry to pardon the man whom they had persecuted, but the king remained inexorable. . . . A month after the election he wrote to Lord North: 'Though relying entirely on your attachment to my person as well as in your hatred of any lawless proceeding, yet I think it highly expedient to apprise you that the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes appears to be very essential, and must be effected.' What the sovereign counselled was duly accomplished. Before his expulsion, Wilkes was a prisoner in the King's Bench. Having surrendered, it was determined that his outlawry was informal; consequently it was reversed, and sentence was passed for the offences whereof he had been convicted. He was fined £1,000, and imprisoned for twenty-two months. On his way to prison he was rescued by the mob; but as soon as he could escape out of the hands of his boisterous friends he went and gave himself into the custody of the Marshal of the King's Bench. Parliament met on the 10th of April, and it was thought that he would be released in order to take his seat. A dense multitude assembled before the prison, but, balked in its purpose of escorting the popular favourite to the House, became furious, and commenced a riot. Soldiers were at hand prepared for this outbreak. They fired, wounding and slaughtering several persons; among others, they butchered a young man whom they found in a neighbouring house, and who was mistaken for a rioter they had pursued. At the inquest the jury brought in a verdict of wilful murder against the magistrate who ordered the firing, and the soldier who did the deed. The magistrate was tried and acquitted. The soldier was dismissed the service, but received in compensation, as a reward for his services, a pension of one shilling a day. A general order sent from the War Office by Lord Barrington conveyed his Majesty's express thanks to the troops employed, assuring them 'that every possible regard shall be shown to them; their zeal and good behaviour on this occasion deserve it; and in case any disagreeable circumstance should happen in the execution of their duty, they shall have every defence and protection that the law can authorise and this office can give.' This approbation of what the troops had done was the necessary supplement to a dispatch from Lord Weymouth sent before the riot, and intimating that force was to be used without scruple. Wilkes commented on both documents. His observations on the latter drew a complaint from Lord Weymouth of breach of privilege. This was made an additional pretext for his expulsion from the House of Commons.

Ten days afterwards he was re-elected, his opponent receiving five votes only. On the following day the House resolved 'that John Wilkes, Esquire, having been in this session of Parliament expelled this House, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present Parliament'; and his election was declared void. Again the freeholders of Middlesex returned him, and the House re-affirmed the above resolution. At another election he was opposed by Colonel Luttrell, a Court tool, when he polled 1,143 votes against 200 cast for Luttrell. It was declared, however, that the latter had been elected. Now began a struggle between the country, which had been outraged in the persons of the Middlesex electors, and a subservient majority in the House of Commons that did not hesitate to become instrumental in gratifying the personal resentment of a revengeful and obstinate king. The cry of 'Wilkes and liberty' was raised in quarters where the very name of the popular idol had been proscribed. It was evident that not the law only had been violated in his person, but that the Constitution itself had sustained a deadly wound. Wilkes was overwhelmed with substantial marks of sympathy. In the course of a few weeks £20,000 were subscribed to pay his debts. He could boast, too, that the courts of law had at length done what was right between him and one of the Secretaries of State who had signed the General Warrant, the other having been removed by death beyond the reach of justice. Lord Halifax was sentenced to pay £4,000 damages. These damages, and the costs of the proceedings, were defrayed out of the public purse. Lord North admitted that the outlay had exceeded £100,000. Thus the nation was doubly insulted by the ministers, who first violated the law, and then paid the costs of the proceedings out of the national taxes. On the 17th of April, 1770, Wilkes left the prison, to be elected in rapid succession to the offices—then much sought after, because held in high honour—of Alderman, Sheriff, and Lord Mayor of London. In 1774 he was permitted to take his seat as Member for Middlesex. After several failures, he succeeded in getting the resolutions of his incapacity to sit in the House formally expunged from its journals. He was elected Chamberlain of the City in 1779, and filled that lucrative and responsible post till his death, in 1797, at the age of seventy. Although the latter portion of his career as Member of Parliament has generally been considered a blank, yet it was marked by several incidents worthy of attention. He was a consistent and energetic opponent of the war with America."—W. F. Rae, *John Wilkes (Fortnightly Review, Sept., 1868, v. 10)*.

ALSO IN: Idem, *Wilkes, Sheridan, Fox, pt. 1*.—G. O. Trevelyan, *Early history of Charles James Fox, ch. 5-6, 8*.

1769-1772.—Junius Letters. See JUNIUS LETTERS.

1770.—Fall of the Grafton ministry.—Beginning of the administration of Lord North.—"The incompetency of the ministry was . . . becoming obvious. In the first place it was divided within itself. The Prime Minister [Grafton], with the Chancellor and some others, were remnants of the Chatham ministry and admirers of Chatham's policy. The rest of the Cabinet were either men who represented Bedford's party, or members of that class whose views are sufficiently explained by their name, 'the King's friends.' Grafton, fonder of hunting and the turf than of politics, had by his indolence suffered himself to fall under the influence of the last-named party, and unconstitutional action [Middlesex election (see above):

1768-1774) had been the result which had brought discontent in England to the verge of open outbreak. Hillsborough, under the same influence, was hurrying along the road which led to the loss of America. On this point the Prime Minister had found himself in a minority in his own Cabinet. France too, under Choiseul [the great French minister of foreign affairs who arranged favorable peace terms for his country in 1763], in alliance with Spain, was beginning to think of revenge for the losses of the Seven Years' War. A crisis was evidently approaching, and the Opposition began to close their ranks. Chatham, yielding again to the necessities of party, made a public profession of friendship with Temple and George Grenville; and though there was no cordial connection, there was external alliance between the brothers and the old Whigs under Rockingham. In the first session of 1770 the storm broke. Notwithstanding the state of public affairs, the chief topic of the King's speech was the murrain among 'horned beasts;—a speech not of a king, but, said Junius, of 'a ruined grazier.' Chatham at once moved an amendment when the address in answer to this speech was proposed. He deplored the want of all European alliances, the fruit of our desertion of our allies at the Peace of Paris; he blamed the conduct of the ministry with regard to America, which, he thought, needed much gentle handling, inveighed strongly against the action of the Lower House in the case of Wilkes, and ended by moving that that action should at once be taken into consideration. At the sound of their old leader's voice his followers in the Cabinet could no longer be silent. Camden declared he had been a most unwilling party to the persecution of Wilkes, and though retaining the Seals, attacked and voted against the ministry. In the Lower House, Granby, one of the most popular men in England, followed the same course. James Grenville and Dunning, the Solicitor-General, also resigned. Chatham's motion was lost, but was followed up by Rockingham, who asked for a night to consider the state of the nation. . . . Grafton thus found himself in no state to meet the Opposition, and in his heart still admiring Chatham, and much disliking business, he suddenly and unexpectedly gave in his resignation the very day fixed for Rockingham's motion. The Opposition seemed to have everything in their own hands, but there was no real cordiality between the two sections. . . . The King with much quickness and decision, took advantage of this disunion. To him it was of paramount importance to retain his friends in office, and to avoid a new Parliament elected in the present excited state of the nation. There was only one of the late ministry capable of assuming the position of Prime Minister. This was Lord North, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to him the King immediately and successfully applied, so that while the different sections of the Opposition were still unable to decide on any united action, they were astonished to find the old ministry reconstituted and their opportunity gone. The new Prime Minister . . . had great capacity for business and administration, and much sound sense; he was a first-rate debater, and gifted with a wonderful sweetness of temper, which enabled him to listen unmoved, or even to sleep, during the most violent attacks upon himself, and to turn aside the bitterest invectives with a happy joke. With his accession to the Premiership the unstable character of the Government ceased. Resting on the King, making himself no more than an instrument of the King's will, and thus commanding the support of all royal influence, from

whatever source derived, North was able to bid defiance to all enemies, till the ill effects of such a system of government, and of the King's policy, became so evident that the clamour for a really responsible minister grew too loud to be disregarded. [Lord North's ministry lasted from 1770-1782, longer than all the other ministries in the reign combined.] Thus is closed the great constitutional struggle of the early part of the reign—the struggle of the King, supported by the unrepresented masses, and the more liberal and independent of those who were represented, against the domination of the House of Commons. It was an attempt to break those trammels which, under the guise of liberty, the upper classes, the great lords and landed aristocracy, had succeeded after the Revolution in laying on both Crown and people. In that struggle the King had been victorious. But he did not recognize the alliance which had enabled him to succeed. He did not understand that the people had other objects much beyond his own."—J. F. Bright, *History of England, period 3*, pp. 1057-1060.

ALSO IN: *Correspondence of George III with Lord North*, v. 1.—W. Massey, *History of England: Reign of George III*, v. 1, ch. 10-13.—J. Adolphus, *History of England: Reign of George III*, v. 1, ch. 17.—E. Burke, *Thoughts on the present discontents* (*Works*, v. 1).

1771.—Last contention of Parliament against the press.—Freedom of reporting secured.—“The session of 1771 commenced with a new quarrel between the House of Commons and the country. The standing order for the exclusion of strangers, which had long existed (and which still exists), was seldom enforced, except when it was thought desirable that a question should be debated with closed doors. It was now attempted, by means of this order, to prevent the publication of the debates and proceedings of the House. It had long been the practice of the newspapers, and other periodical journals, to publish the debates of Parliament, under various thin disguises, and with more or less fulness and accuracy, from speeches furnished at length by the speakers themselves, to loose and meagre notes of more or less authenticity. One of the most attractive features of the ‘Gentleman’s Magazine, a monthly publication of respectability, which has survived to the present day, was an article which purported to be a report of the debates in Parliament. This report was, for nearly three years, prepared by Dr. Johnson, who never attended the galleries himself, and derived his information from persons who could seldom give him more than the names of the speakers, and the side which each of them took in the debate. The speeches were, therefore, the composition of Johnson himself; and some of the most admired oratory of the period was avowedly the product of his genius. Attempts were made from time to time, both within and without the walls of Parliament, to abolish, or at least to modify, the standing order for the exclusion of strangers, by means of which the license of reporting had been restricted; for there was no order of either House specifically prohibiting the publication of its debates. But such proposals had always been resisted by the leaders of parties, who thought that the privilege was one which might be evaded, but could not safely be formally relinquished. The practice of reporting, therefore, was tolerated on the understanding, that a decent disguise should be observed; and that no publication of the proceedings of Parliament should take place during the session. There can be little doubt, however, that the public journals would have

gone on, with the tacit connivance of the parliamentary chiefs, until they had practically established a right of reporting regularly the proceedings of both Houses, had not the presumptuous folly of inferior members provoked a conflict with the press upon this ground of privilege, and, in the result, driven Parliament reluctantly to yield what they would otherwise have quietly conceded. It was Colonel Onslow, member for Guildford, who rudely agitated a question which wiser men had been content to leave unvexed; and by his rash meddling, precipitated the very result which he thought he could prevent. He complained that the proceedings of the House had been inaccurately reported; and that the newspapers had even presumed to reflect on the public conduct of honourable members."—W. Massey, *History of England*, v. 2, ch. 15.—"Certain printers were in consequence ordered to attend the bar of the House. Some appeared and were discharged, after receiving, on their knees, a reprimand from the Speaker. Others evaded compliance; and one of them, John Miller, who failed to appear, was arrested by its messenger, but instead of submitting, sent for a constable and gave the messenger into custody for an assault and false imprisonment. They were both taken before the Lord Mayor (Mr. Brass Crosby), Mr. Alderman Oliver, and the notorious John Wilkes, who had recently been invested with the aldermanic gown. These civic magistrates, on the ground that the messenger was neither a peace-officer nor a constable, and that his warrant was not backed by a city magistrate, discharged the printer from custody, and committed the messenger to prison for an unlawful arrest. Two other printers, for whose apprehension a reward had been offered by a Government proclamation, were collusively apprehended by friends, and taken before Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, who discharged the prisoners as 'not being accused of having committed any crime.' These proceedings at once brought the House into conflict with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. The Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver, who were both members of Parliament, were ordered by the House to attend in their places, and were subsequently committed to the Tower. Their imprisonment, instead of being a punishment, was one long-continued popular ovation, and from the date of their release, at the prorogation of Parliament shortly afterwards, the publication of debates has been pursued without any interference or restraint. Though still in theory a breach of privilege, reporting is now encouraged by Parliament as one of the main sources of its influence—its censure being reserved for wilful misrepresentation only. But reporters long continued beset with many difficulties. The taking of notes was prohibited, no places were reserved for reporters, and the power of a single member of either House to require the exclusion of strangers was frequently and capriciously employed. By the ancient usage of the House of Commons [until 1875] any one member by merely 'spying' strangers present could compel the Speaker to order their withdrawal."—T. P. Taswell-Langmead, *English constitutional history*, ch. 17.

ALSO IN: R. F. D. Palgrave, *House of Commons*, lect. 2.—T. E. May, *Constitutional history of England*, v. 1, ch. 7.

1774.—James Watt's steam engine. See STEAM AND GAS ENGINES: Watt's improvements.

1774.—Gambling Act. See INSURANCE: Life insurance: Early forms.

1775-1783.—American Revolution.—Campaigns.—Declaration of Independence.—French alli-

ance with American colonies.—Treaty of peace. See FRANCE: 1775-1776; U. S. A.: 1775 (April) to 1783 (September).

1776.—Trade conditions. See TARIFF: 1776.

1776-1778.—People, parties, king, and Lord North, in their relations to the American Revolution.—"The undoubted popularity of the war [in America] in its first stage had for some time continued to increase, and in the latter part of 1776 and 1777 it had probably attained its maximum. . . . The Whigs at this time very fully admitted that the genuine opinion of the country was with the Government and with the King. . . . The Declaration of Independence, and the known overtures of the Americans to France, were deemed the climax of insolence and ingratitude. The damage done to English commerce, not only in the West Indies but even around the English and Irish coast, excited a widespread bitterness. . . . In every stage of the contest the influence of the Opposition was employed to trammel the Government. . . . The statement of Wraxall that the Whig colours of buff and blue were first adopted by Fox in imitation of the uniform of Washington's troops, is, I believe, corroborated by no other writer; but there is no reason to question his assertion that the members of the Whig party in society and in both Houses of Parliament during the whole course of the war wished success to the American cause and rejoiced in the American triumphs. . . . While the Opposition needlessly and heedlessly intensified the national feeling against them, the King, on his side, did the utmost in his power to embitter the contest. It is only by examining his correspondence with Lord North that we fully realise how completely at this time he assumed the position not only of a prime minister but of a Cabinet, superintending, directing, and prescribing, in all its parts, the policy of the Government. . . . 'Every means of distressing America,' wrote the King, 'must meet with my concurrence.' He strongly supported the employment of Indians. . . . It was the King's friends who were most active in promoting all measures of violence. . . . The war was commonly called the 'King's war,' and its opponents were looked upon as opponents of the King. The person, however, who in the eye of history appears most culpable in this matter, was Lord North. . . . The publication of the correspondence of George III. . . . supplies one of the most striking and melancholy examples of the relation of the King to his Tory ministers. It appears from this correspondence that for the space of about five years North, at the treaty of the King, carried on a bloody, costly, and disastrous war in direct opposition to his own judgment and to his own wishes. . . . Again and again he entreated that his resignation might be accepted, but again and again he yielded to the request of the King, who threatened, if his minister resigned, to abdicate the throne. . . . The King was determined, under no circumstances, to treat with the Americans on the basis of the recognition of their independence; but he acknowledged, after the surrender of Burgoyne, and as soon as the French war had become inevitable, that unconditional submission could no longer be hoped for. . . . He consented, too, though apparently with extreme reluctance, and in consequence of the unanimous vote of the Cabinet, that new propositions should be made to the Americans." These overtures, conveyed to America by three Commissioners, were rejected, and the colonies concluded, in the spring of 1778, their alliance with France. "The moment was one of the most terrible in English history. England had not an ally in the world. . . . England, already exhausted

by a war which its distance made peculiarly terrible, had to confront the whole force of France, and was certain in a few months to have to encounter the whole force of Spain. . . . There was one man to whom, in this hour of panic and consternation, the eyes of all patriotic Englishmen were turned. . . . If any statesman could, at the last moment, conciliate [the Americans], dissolve the new alliance, and kindle into a flame the loyalist feeling which undoubtedly existed largely in America, it was Chatham. If, on the other hand, conciliation proved impossible, no statesman could for a moment be compared to him in the management of a war. Lord North implored the King to accept his resignation, and to send for Chatham. Bute, the old Tory favourite, breaking his long silence, spoke of Chatham as now indispensable. Lord Mansfield, the bitterest and ablest rival of Chatham, said, with tears in his eyes, that unless the King sent for Chatham the ship would assuredly go down. . . . The King was unmoved. He consented indeed—and he actually authorised Lord North to make the astounding proposition—to receive Chatham as a subordinate minister to North. . . . This episode appears to me the most criminal in the whole reign of George III., and in my own judgment it is as criminal as any of those acts which led Charles I. to the scaffold.”—W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the 18th century*, v. 4, ch. 14.—“George III. and Lord North have been made scapegoats for sins which were not exclusively their own. The minister, indeed, was only the vizier, who hated his work, but still did not shrink from it, out of a sentiment that is sometimes admired under the name of loyalty, but which in such a case it is difficult to distinguish from base servility. The impenetrable mind of the King was, in the case of the American war, the natural organ and representative of all the lurking ignorance and arbitrary humours of the entire community. It is totally unjust and inadequate to lay upon him the entire burden.”—J. Morley, *Edmund Burke: A historical study*, p. 135.—“No sane person in Great Britain now approves of the attempt to tax the colonies. No sane person does otherwise than rejoice that the colonies became free and independent. But let us in common fairness say a word for King George. In all that he did he was backed by the great mass of the British nation. And let us even say a word for the British nation also. Had the King and the nation been really wise, they would have let the colonies go without striking a blow. But then no king and no nation ever was really wise after that fashion. King George and the British nation were simply not wiser than other people. I believe that you may turn the pages of history from the earliest to the latest times, without finding a time when any king or any commonwealth, freely and willingly, without compulsion or equivalent, gave up power or dominion, or even mere extent of territory on the map, when there was no real power or dominion. Remember that seventeen years after the acknowledgment of American independence, King George still called himself King of France. Remember that, when the title was given up, some people thought it unwise to give it up. Remember that some people . . . regretted the separation between the crowns of Great Britain and Hanover. If they lived to see the year 1866, perhaps they grew wiser.”—E. A. Freeman, *The English people in its three homes (Lectures to American Audiences)*, pp. 183-184.

ALSO IN: *Correspondence of George III with Lord North*.—Lord Brougham, *Historical sketches of statesmen in the reign of George III.*—T. Mac-

knight, *History of the life and times of Edmund Burke*, v. 2, ch. 22-26.

1778-1780.—Repeal of Catholic penal laws.—Gordon riots.—“The Quebec Act of 1774 [see CANADA: 1763-1774], establishing Catholicism in Canada, would a generation earlier have been impossible, and it was justly considered a remarkable sign of the altered condition of opinion that such a law should be enacted by a British Parliament, and should have created no serious disturbances in the country. . . . The success of the Quebec Act led Parliament, a few years later, to undertake the relief of the Catholics at home from some part of the atrocious penal laws to which they were still subject.”—W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the 18th century*, v. 3, ch. 3.

“On June 2, 1780, the Duke of Richmond called, in the House of Lords, for manhood suffrage and annual Parliaments. That very day the unfitnes of the multitude of those times for political power received a strong illustration. In 1778 Sir George Savile had carried a Bill relieving Roman Catholics of some of the hardships inflicted on them by the law. The cry of ‘No Popery’ was at once raised, and, whilst the Duke of Richmond was speaking to the peers, a mob, led by Lord George Gordon, a half-crazy fanatic, poured down to Westminster with a petition for the repeal of Savile’s Act. Members of both Houses were hustled and ill-used, and for some time the mob endeavoured to burst into the House of Commons. Failing in this, they streamed off, and sacked and burnt the chapels of Roman Catholic ambassadors. The mob, however, loved riot more than they hated Popery. They burnt Newgate and liberated the prisoners. They fell, with special eagerness, upon the houses of magistrates. For six days they were in complete possession of a considerable part of London, plundering and setting fire to houses at their pleasure. Soldiers alone could arrest such a flood of mischief; and when, at last, soldiers were ordered to attack the mob, the riot was suppressed.”—S. R. Gardiner, *Student’s history of England*, pp. 790-792.

ALSO IN: J. H. Jesse, *Memoirs of the life and reign of George III*, v. 2, ch. 34.—H. Walpole, *Journal of the reign of George III*, v. 2, pp. 403-424.—*Annual Register*, 1780, pp. 254-287.—C. Dickens, *Barnaby Rudge*.—W. J. Amherst, *History of Catholic emancipation*, v. 1, ch. 1-5.

1778-1782.—Revolt in Ireland. See IRELAND: 1778-1782.

1779 (June).—Spain’s declaration of war. See SPAIN: 1770-1783.

1780.—Protest of Neutral League of the North against English seizure of ships. See ARMED NEUTRALITY.

1780-1782.—Declining strength of the government.—Rodney’s great naval victory.—Siege of Gibraltar.—“The fall of Lord North’s ministry, and with it the overthrow of the personal government of George III., was now close at hand. For a long time the government had been losing favour. In the summer of 1780, the British victories in South Carolina had done something to strengthen, yet when, in the autumn of that year, Parliament was dissolved, although the king complained that his expenses for purposes of corruption had been twice as great as ever before, the new Parliament was scarcely more favourable to the ministry than the old one. Misfortunes and perplexities crowded in the path of Lord North and his colleagues. The example of American resistance had told upon Ireland. . . . For more than a year there had been war in India, where Hyder Ali [great Indian commander and ruler; the most dangerous Asiatic foe

with which the English ever contended], for the moment, was carrying everything before him. France, eager to regain her lost foothold upon Hindustan, sent a strong armament thither, and insisted that England must give up all her Indian conquests except Bengal. For a moment England's great Eastern empire tottered, and was saved only by the superhuman efforts of Warren Hastings, aided by the wonderful military genius of Sir Eyre Coote. In May, 1781, the Spaniards had taken Pensacola, thus driving the British from their last position in Florida [see FLORIDA: 1779-1781]. In February, 1782, the Spanish fleet captured Minorca, and the siege of Gibraltar, which had been kept up for nearly three years, was pressed with redoubled energy. During the winter the French recaptured St. Eustatius, and handed it over to Holland; and Grasse's great fleet swept away all the British possessions in the West Indies, except Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua. All this time the Northern League kept up its jealous watch upon British cruisers in the narrow seas, and among all the powers of Europe the government of George could not find a single friend. The maritime supremacy of England was, however, impaired but for a moment. Rodney was sent back to the West Indies, and on the 12th of April, 1782, his fleet of 36 ships encountered the French near the island of Sainte-Marie-Galante. The battle [called the "Battle of the Saints"] of eleven hours which ensued . . . was one of the most tremendous contests ever witnessed upon the ocean before the time of Nelson. The French were totally defeated, and Grasse was taken prisoner,—the first French commander-in-chief, by sea or land, who had fallen into an enemy's hands since Marshal Tallard gave up his sword to Mariborough, on the terrible day of Blenheim. France could do nothing to repair this crushing disaster. Her naval power was eliminated from the situation at a single blow; and in the course of the summer the English achieved another great success by overthrowing the Spaniards at Gibraltar, after a struggle which, for dogged tenacity, is scarcely paralleled in modern warfare. By the autumn of 1782, England, defeated in the United States, remained victorious and defiant as regarded the other parties to the war."—J. Fiske, *American Revolution*, v. 2, ch. 15.—"Gibraltar . . . had been closely invested for nearly three years. At first, the Spanish had endeavoured to starve the place; but their blockade having been on two occasions forced by the British fleet, they relinquished that plan, and commenced a regular siege. During the spring and summer of 1781, the fortress was bombarded, but with little success; in the month of November, the enemy were driven from their approaches, and the works themselves were almost destroyed by a sally from the garrison. Early in the year, however, the fall of Minorca enabled the Spanish to reform the siege of Gibraltar. De Grillon himself, the hero of Minorca, superseding Alvarez, assumed the chief command. . . . The garrison of Gibraltar comprised no more than 7,000 men; while the force of the allied monarchies amounted to 33,000 soldiers, with an immense train of artillery. De Grillon, however, who was well acquainted with the fortress, had little hope of taking it from the land side, but relied with confidence on the formidable preparations which he had made for bombarding it from the sea. Huge floating batteries, bomb-proof and shot-proof, were constructed; and it was calculated that the action of these tremendous engines alone would be sufficient to destroy the works. Besides the battering ships, of which ten were provided, a large armament of vessels

of all rates was equipped; and a grand attack was to take place, both from sea and land, with 400 pieces of artillery. Six months were consumed in these formidable preparations; and it was not until September that they were completed. A partial cannonade took place on the 9th and three following days; but the great attack, which was to decide the fate of the beleaguered fortress, was commenced on the 13th of September. On that day, the combined fleets of France and Spain, consisting of 47 sail of the line, besides numerous ships of inferior rate, were drawn out in order of battle before Gibraltar. Numerous bomb ketches, gun and mortar boats, dropped their anchors within close range; while the ten floating batteries were moored with strong iron chains within half gunshot of the walls. On the land 170 guns were prepared to open fire simultaneously with the ships; and 40,000 troops were held in readiness to rush in at the first practicable breach. . . . The grand attack was commenced at ten o'clock in the forenoon, by the fire of 400 pieces of artillery. The great floating batteries, securely anchored within 600 yards of the walls, poured in an incessant storm, from 142 guns. Elliot had less than 100 guns to reply to the cannonade both from sea and land; and of these he made the most judicious use. Disregarding the attack from every other quarter, he concentrated the whole of his ordnance on the floating batteries in front of him; for unless these were silenced, their force would prove irresistible. But for a long time the thunder of 80 guns made no impression on the enormous masses of wood and iron. The largest shells glanced harmless from their sloping roofs; the heaviest shot could not penetrate their hulls seven feet in thickness. Nevertheless, the artillery of the garrison was still unceasingly directed against these terrible engines of destruction. A storm of red-hot balls was poured down upon them; and about midday it was observed that the combustion caused by these missiles, which had hitherto been promptly extinguished, was beginning to take effect. Soon after, the partial cessation of the guns from the battering ships, and the volumes of smoke which issued from their decks, made it manifest they were on fire, and that all the efforts of the crews were required to subdue the conflagration. Towards evening, their guns became silent; and before midnight, the flames burst forth from the principal floating battery, which carried the Admiral's flag. . . . Eight of the 10 floating batteries were on fire during the night; and the only care of the besieged was to save from the flames and from the waters, the wretched survivors of that terrible flotilla, which had so recently menaced them with annihilation. . . . The loss of the enemy was computed at 2,000; that of the garrison, in killed and wounded, amounted to no more than 84. The labour of a few hours sufficed to repair the damage sustained by the works. The French and Spanish fleets remained in the Straits, expecting the appearance of the British squadron under Lord Howe; and relying on their superiority in ships and weight of metal, they still hoped that the result of an action at sea might enable them to resume the siege of Gibraltar. Howe, having been delayed by contrary winds, did not reach the Straits until the 9th of October; and, notwithstanding the superior array which the enemy presented, he was prepared to risk an engagement. But at this juncture, a storm having scattered the combined fleet, the British Admiral was enabled to land his stores and reinforcements without opposition. Having performed this duty, he set sail for England; nor did the Spanish Admiral, though still superior by eight sail of the line, venture to dispute

his passage. Such was the close of the great siege of Gibraltar; an undertaking which had been regarded by Spain as the chief object of the war, which she had prosecuted for three years, and which, at the last, had been pressed by the whole force of the allied monarchies. After this event, the war itself was virtually at an end."—W. Massey, *History of England: Reign of George III, v. 3, ch. 27*.—See also SPAIN: 1779-1783; HONDURAS, BRITISH: 1782-1783.

ALSO IN: Lord Mahon, *History of England, v. 7, ch. 62-66*.—J. Drinkwater, *History of the siege of Gibraltar*.

1780-1783.—Second war with Hyder Ali (second Mysore War). See INDIA: 1780-1783.

1781-1783.—War with Holland. See NETHERLANDS: 1747-1795.

1782.—Legislative independence conceded to Ireland. See IRELAND: 1778-1782.

1782.—Gilbert's Act. See CHARITIES: England: 1782-1834.

1782-1783.—Fall of Lord North.—Second Rockingham ministry.—Fox, Shelburne, and the

any longer. He gave permission to Lord North to announce his resignation, and parted with him with the characteristic words: 'Remember, my Lord, it is you who desert me, not I who desert you.' . . . Even when the long-deferred blow fell, and Lord North's Ministry was no more [Mar. 20, 1782], the King refused to send for Lord Rockingham. He still flattered himself that he might get together a Ministry from among the followers of Chatham and of Lord North [who were opposed to party connection and American independence], which would be able to restore peace without granting independence, and [Lord] Shelburne was the politician who he fixed upon to aid him in this scheme. . . . Shelburne, however, was too clever to fall into the trap. A Ministry which had against it the influence of the Rockingham connection and the talents of Charles [James] Fox, and would not receive the hearty support of Lord North's phalanx of placemen, was foredoomed to failure. The pear was not yet ripe. He saw clearly enough that his best chance of permanent success lay in becoming the successor, not the supplanter, of Rockingham.



WILLIAM PITT,
EARL OF CHATHAM



KING GEORGE III



CHARLES
JAMES FOX

American peace negotiations.—Shelburne ministry.—Coalition of Fox and North.—"There comes a point when even the most servile majority of an unrepresentative Parliament finds the strain of party allegiance too severe, and that point was reached when the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown became known in November, 1781. 'O God, it is all over!' cried Lord North, wringing his hands, when he heard of it. . . . On February 7, a vote of censure, moved by Fox, upon Lord Sandwich, was negatived by a majority of only twenty-two. On the 22nd, General Conway lost a motion in favour of putting an end to the war by only one vote. On the 27th, the motion was renewed in the form of a resolution and carried by a majority of nineteen [see U. S. A.: 1782 (February-May)]. Still the King would not give his consent to Lord North's resignation. Rather than commit himself to the opposition, he seriously thought of abdicating his crown and retiring to Hanover. . . . Indeed, if it had not been for his large family, and the character of the Prince of Wales, already too well known, it is far from improbable that he would have carried this idea into execution, and retired from a Government of which he was no longer master. By the 20th [of March], however, even George III. saw that the game could not be kept up

. . . His game was to wait. He respectfully declined to act without Rockingham. . . . Before Rockingham consented to take office, he procured a distinct pledge from the King that he would not put a veto upon American independence, if the Ministers recommended it; and on the 27th of March the triumph of the Opposition was completed by the formation of a Ministry, mainly representative of the old Whig families, pledged to a policy of economical reform, and of peace with America on the basis of the acknowledgment of independence. Fox received the reward of his services by being appointed Foreign Secretary, and Lord Shelburne took charge of the Home and Colonial Department. Rockingham himself went to the Treasury, Lord John Cavendish became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Keppel First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Camden President of the Council. Burke [Edmund Burke; came to London in 1750, entirely unknown, and entered Parliament in 1765] was made Paymaster of the Forces, and Sheridan Under-Secretary to his friend Fox. At the King's special request, Thurlow was allowed to remain as Chancellor. . . . The Cabinet no sooner met than it divided into the parties of Shelburne and of Fox, while Rockingham, Conway, and Cavendish tried to hold the balance between them,

and Thurlow artfully fomented the dissensions. . . . Few Administrations have done so much in a short time as did the Rockingham Ministry during the three months of its existence, and it so happened that the lion's share of the work fell to Fox. [Useless offices were abolished; contractors were excluded from the House of Commons; revenue officers were deprived of their vote, and legislative independence granted to Ireland.] Upon his appointment to office his friends noticed a change in habits and manner of life, as complete as that ascribed to Henry V. on his accession to the throne. He is said never to have touched a card during either of his three short terms of office. . . . By the division of work among the two Secretaries of State, all matters which related to the colonies were under the control of Shelburne, while those relating to foreign Governments belonged to the department of Fox. Consequently it became exceedingly important to these two Ministers whether independence was to be granted to the American colonies by the Crown of its own accord, or should be reserved in order to form part of the general treaty of peace. According to Fox's plan, independence was to be offered at once fully and freely to the Americans. They would thus gain at a blow all that they wanted. Their jealousy of French and Spanish interests in America would at once assert itself, and England would have no difficulty in bringing them over to her side in the negotiations with France. Such was Fox's scheme, but unfortunately, directly America became independent, she ceased to be in any way subject to Shelburne's management, and the negotiations for peace would pass wholly out of his control into the hands of Fox. . . . Shelburne at once threw his whole weight into the opposite scale. He urged with great effect that to give independence at once was to throw away the trump card. It was the chief concession which England would be required to make, the only one which she was prepared to make; and to make it at once, before she was even asked, was wilfully to deprive herself of her best weapon. The King and the Cabinet adopted Shelburne's view. Fox's scheme for the isolation of France failed, and a double negotiation for peace was set on foot. Shelburne and Franklin took charge of the treaty with America [see U. S. A.: 1782 (September)], Fox and M. de Vergennes that with France and Spain and Holland. An arrangement of this sort could hardly have succeeded had the two Secretaries been the firmest of friends; since they were rivals and enemies it was foredoomed to failure." Fox found occasion very soon to complain that important matters in Shelburne's negotiation with Franklin were kept from his knowledge, and once more he proposed to the Cabinet an immediate concession of independence to the Americans. Again he was outvoted, and, "defeated and despairing, only refrained from resigning there and then because he would not embitter Rockingham's last moments upon earth." This was on June 30. "On the 1st of July Rockingham died, and on the 2nd Shelburne accepted from the King the task of forming a Ministry." Fox, of course, declined to enter it, and suffered in influence because he could not make public the reasons for his inability to act with Lord Shelburne. "Only Lord Cavendish, Burke, and the Solicitor-General, Lee, left office with Portland and Fox, and the gap was more than supplied by the entrance of William Pitt [Lord Chatham's son, who had entered Parliament in 1780] into the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Fortune seemed to smile on Shelburne. He . . . might well look forward to a long and unclouded tenure of political power. His Administration lasted not quite seven months." It

was weakened by distrust and dissatisfaction among its members, and overturned in February, 1783, by a vote of censure on the peace which it had concluded with France, Spain and the American states. It was succeeded in the government by the famous coalition ministry formed under Fox and Lord North. "The Duke of Portland succeeded Shelburne at the Treasury. Lord North and Fox became the Secretaries of State [and were the real leaders in the cabinet]. Lord John Cavendish returned to the Exchequer, Keppel to the Admiralty, and Burke to the Paymastership, the followers of Lord North . . . were rewarded with the lower offices. Few combinations in the history of political parties have been received by historians and posterity with more unqualified condemnation than the coalition of 1783. . . . There is no evidence to show that at the time it struck politicians in general as being specially heinous."—H. O. Wakeman, *Life of Charles James Fox*, ch. 3-5.—Fox defended his union with Lord North by saying that the country needed "a broad and stable administration."—See also U. S. A.: 1782 (September-November).

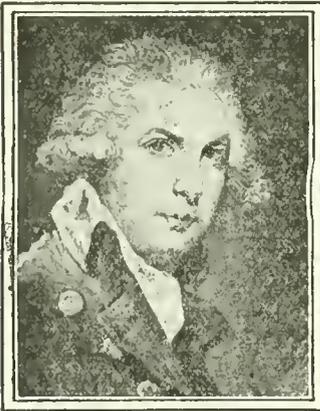
ALSO IN: Lord J. Russell, *Life of Fox*, v. 1, ch. 16-17.—W. F. Rae, *Wilkes, Sheridan, Fox*, pp. 307-317.—E. Fitzmaurice, *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne*, v. 3, ch. 3-6.

1782-1815.—Growth of trade.—Foundations of sea supremacy. See COMMERCE: Commercial Age: 1782-1815.

1783-1787.—Fall of the coalition.—Ascendancy of the Younger Pitt.—His extraordinary grasp of power.—Attempted measures of reform.—On November 18, seven days after Parliament had convened, Fox introduced a bill for the better government of India. Fox's measure proposed that the government of the East India Company be replaced by seven commissioners, nominated by Parliament for a term of four years; it also remedied the system of monopolies and extortion. "It was clear that it [the bill] furnished an admirable weapon against an unpopular Coalition which had resisted economical reform, demanded a great income for a debauched prince, and now aimed at securing a monopoly of the vast patronage of India,—patronage which, genially exercised by Dundas, [Henry Dundas, later Viscount Melville and Baron Dunira; held offices under various ministries from 1776-1801] was soon to secure Scotland for Pitt. In the House of Commons the majority for the Bill was over 100; the loftiest eloquence of Burke was exerted in its favour; and Fox was, as ever, dauntless and crushing in debate. But outside Parliament the King schemed, and controversy raged. . . . When the Bill arrived at the House of Lords, the undertakers were ready. The King had seen Temple, and empowered him to communicate to all whom it might concern his august disapprobation. The uneasy whisper circulated, and the joints of the lords became as water. The peers who yearned for lieutenantcies or regiments, for stars or strawberry leaves; the prelates, who sought a larger sphere of usefulness; the minions of the bedchamber and the janissaries of the closet; all, temporal or spiritual, whose convictions were unequal to their appetite, rallied to the royal nod. . . . The result was overwhelming. The triumphant Coalition was paralysed by the rejection of their Bill. They rightly refused to resign, but the King could not sleep until he had resumed the seals. Late at night he sent for them. The messenger found North and Fox gaily seated at supper with their followers. At first he was not believed. 'The King would not dare do it,' exclaimed Fox. But the under Secretary charged with the message soon convinced them of its authenticity, and the seals were delivered with

a light heart. In such dramatic fashion, and the springtide of its youth, fell that famous government, unhonoured and unwept. 'England,' once said Mr. Disraeli, 'does not love coalitions.' She certainly did not love this one. On this occasion there was neither hesitation nor delay; the moment had come, and the man. Within 12 hours of the King's receiving the seals, Pitt had accepted the First Lordship of the Treasury and the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. That afternoon his writ was moved amid universal derision. And so commenced a supreme and unbroken Ministry of 17 years. Those who laughed were hardly blamable, for the difficulties were tremendous. . . . The composition of the Government was . . . the least of Pitt's embarrassments. The majority against him in the House of Commons was not less than 40 or 50 containing, with the exception of Pitt himself and Dundas, every debater of eminence; while he had, before the meeting of Parliament, to prepare and to obtain the approval of the East India Company to a scheme which should take the place of Burke's. [Fox's bill had been largely the work of Burke.] The Coalition Ministers were only dismissed on the

and amazed his enemies. He gave the place to Barré. . . . To a nation inured to jobs this came as a revelation. . . . Above and beyond all was the fact that Pitt, young, unaided, and alone, held his own with the great leaders allied against him. . . . In face of so resolute a resistance, the assailants began to melt away. Their divisions, though they always showed a superiority to the Government, betrayed notable diminution. . . . On the 25th of March Parliament was dissolved, the announcement being retorted by the unexplained theft of the Great Seal. When the elections were over, the party of Fox, it was found, had shared the fate of the host of Sennacherib. The number of Fox's martyrs—of Fox's followers who had earned that nickname by losing their seats—was 160. . . . The King and Pitt were supported on the tidal wave of one of those great convulsions of feeling, which in Great Britain relieve and express pent-up national sentiment, and which in other nations produce revolutions."—Lord Rosebery, *Pitt*, ch. 3.—"Three subjects then needed the attention of a great statesman, though none of them were so pressing as to force themselves on the attention of



RICHARD
BRINSLEY SHERIDAN



WILLIAM PITT,
THE YOUNGER



EDMUND
BURKE

18th of December, 1783; but, when the House of Commons met on the 12th of January, 1784, all this had been done. The narrative of the next three months is stirring to read, but would require too much detail for our limits. . . . On the day of the meeting of Parliament, Pitt was defeated in two pitched divisions, the majorities against him being 39 and 54. His government seemed still-born. His colleagues were dismayed. The King came up from Windsor to support him. But in truth he needed no support. He had inherited from his father that confidence which made Chatham once say, 'I am sure that I can save this country, and that nobody else can'; which made himself say later, 'I place much dependence on my new colleagues; I place still more dependence on myself.' He had refused, in spite of the King's insistence, to dissolve; for he felt that the country required time. . . . The Clerkship of the Pells, a sinecure office worth not less than £3,000 a year, fell vacant the very day that Parliament met. It was universally expected that Pitt would take it as of right, and so acquire an independence, which would enable him to devote his life to politics, without care for the morrow. He had not £300 a year; his position was to the last degree precarious. . . . Pitt disappointed his friends

a little statesman. These were, our economical and financial legislation, the imperfection of our parliamentary representation, and the unhappy condition of Ireland. Pitt dealt with all three. . . . He brought in a series of resolutions consolidating our customs laws [1787], of which the inevitable complexity may be estimated by their number. They amounted to 133, and the number of Acts of Parliament which they restrained or completed was much greater. He attempted, and successfully, to apply the principles of Free Trade, the principles which he was the first of English statesmen to learn from Adam Smith, to the actual commerce of the country. [See *TARIFF*: 1784-1786.] . . . The financial reputation of Pitt has greatly suffered from the absurd praise which was once lavished on the worst part of it. The dread of national ruin from the augmentation of the national debt was a sort of nightmare in that age. . . . Mr. Pitt sympathised with the general apprehension and created the well-known 'Sinking Fund.' He proposed to apply annually a certain fixed sum to the payment of the debt, which was in itself excellent [as long as there was a surplus]. . . . [In 1792] he proposed to borrow the money to pay off the debt, and fancied that he thus diminished it. . . . The exposure of

this financial juggle, for though not intended to be so, such in fact it was, has reacted very unfavourably upon Mr. Pitt's deserved fame. . . . The subject of parliamentary reform is the one with which, in Mr. Pitt's early days, the public most connected his name, and is also that with which we are now least apt to connect it. . . . He proposed the abolition of the worst of the rotten boroughs fifty years before Lord Grey accomplished it. . . . If the strong counteracting influence of the French Revolution had not changed the national opinion, he would unquestionably have amended our parliamentary representation. . . . The state of Ireland was a more pressing difficulty than our financial confusion, our economical errors, or our parliamentary corruption. . . . He proposed at once to remedy the national danger of having two Parliaments, and to remove the incredible corruption of the old Irish Parliament, by uniting the three kingdoms in a single representative system, of which the Parliament should sit in England. [See below: 1801-1806] . . . Of these great reforms he was only permitted to carry a few into execution. His power, as we have described it, was great when his reign commenced, and very great it continued to be for very many years; but the time became unfavourable for all forwardlooking statesmanship."—W. Bagehot, *Biographical studies: William Pitt*.

ALSO IN: Lord Mahon, *Life of William Pitt*, v. 1, ch. 4-9.—G. Tomline, *Life of William Pitt*, v. 1-2, ch. 3-9.—Lord Rosebery, *Pitt*, ch. 3-4.

1784.—Pitt's bill for management of East India Company. See INDIA: 1784.

1784.—Society of Universal Good Will. See CHARITIES: England: 1774-1784.

1784-1786.—Tariff regulation.—Hovering Act.—Commercial treaty with France. See TARIFF: 1784-1786.

1784-1788.—Dispute with United States over execution of treaty of peace. See U. S. A.: 1784-1788.

1788 (February).—Opening of the trial of Warren Hastings. See INDIA: 1785-1795.

1788-1789.—Serious illness of the king.—Regency question.—The king's derangement which began to show itself in the summer of 1788, was more serious and of longer duration than the first. "He was able . . . to sign a warrant for the further prorogation of Parliament by commission, from the 25th September to the 20th November. But, in the interval, the king's malady increased: he was wholly deprived of reason, and placed under restraint; and for several days his life was in danger. As no authority could be obtained from him for a further prorogation, both Houses assembled on the 20th November. . . . According to long established law, Parliament, without being opened by the Crown, had no authority to proceed to any business whatever; but the necessity of an occasion, for which the law had made no provision, was now superior to the law; and Parliament accordingly proceeded to deliberate upon the momentous questions to which the king's illness had given rise." By Mr. Fox it was maintained that "the Prince of Wales had as clear a right to exercise the power of sovereignty during the king's incapacity as if the king were actually dead; and that it was merely for the two Houses of Parliament to pronounce at what time he should commence the exercise of his right. . . . Mr. Pitt, on the other hand, maintained that as no legal provision had been made for carrying on the government, it belonged to the Houses of Parliament to make such provision." The discussion to which these differences, and many obstructing circumstances in the situation of affairs, gave rise, was so prolonged, that the king recovered his faculties

(February, 1789) before the Regency Bill, framed by Mr. Pitt, had been passed.—T. E. May, *Constitutional history of England*, v. 1, ch. 3.—The main features of this bill (which was passed in modified form in 1811) were as follows: The Prince might dismiss his ministers or dissolve Parliament, but he could not confer the peerage except on members of the royal family. He was restricted in his power of granting offices and pensions, and he could not give away any part of the king's estate. The management of the king and his household was placed in the hands of the Queen.

1789.—Nootka Sound controversy. See NOOTKA SOUND CONTROVERSY.

1789-1792.—War with Tippu Sahib (third Mysore War). See INDIA: 1785-1793.

1790.—Commercial treaty with France annulled. See TARIFF: 1780-1826.

1793.—Coalition against revolutionary France.—Unsuccessful siege of Dunkirk. See FRANCE: 1793 (March-September), (July-December).

1793-1796.—Popular feeling towards the French Revolution.—Small number of the English Jacobins.—Pitt forced into war.—Tory panic and reign of terror.—Violence of government measures.—"That the war [of Revolutionary France] with Germany would widen into a vast European struggle, a struggle in which the peoples would rise against their oppressors, and the freedom which France had won diffuse itself over the world, no French revolutionist doubted for an hour. Nor did they doubt that in this struggle England would join them. It was from England that they had drawn those principles of political and social liberty which they believed themselves to be putting into practice. It was to England that they looked above all for approbation and sympathy. . . . To the revolutionists at Paris the attitude of England remained unintelligible and irritating. Instead of the aid they had counted on, they found but a cold neutrality. . . . But that this attitude was that of the English people as a whole was incredible to the French enthusiasts. . . . Their first work therefore they held to be the bringing about a revolution in England. . . . They strove, through a number of associations which had formed themselves under the name of Constitutional Clubs, to rouse the same spirit which they had roused in France; and the French envoy, Chauvelin, protested warmly against a proclamation which denounced this correspondence as seditious. . . . Burke was still working hard in writings whose extravagance of style was forgotten in their intensity of feeling to spread alarm throughout Europe. He had from the first encouraged the emigrant princes to take arms, and sent his son to join them at Coblenz. 'Be alarmists,' he wrote to them; 'diffuse terror!' But the royalist terror which he sowed would have been of little moment had it not roused a revolutionary terror in France. . . . In November the Convention decreed that France offered the aid of her soldiers to all nations who would strive for freedom. . . . In the teeth of treaties signed only two years before, and of the stipulation made by England when it pledged itself to neutrality, the French Government resolved to attack Holland, and ordered its generals to enforce by arms the opening of the Scheldt [see FRANCE: 1792-1793 (December-February)]. To do this was to force England into war. Public opinion was already pressing every day harder upon Pitt. . . . But even while withdrawing our Minister from Paris on the imprisonment of the King, to whose Court he had been commissioned, Pitt clung stubbornly to a policy of peace. . . . No hour of Pitt's life is so great as the hour when he stood lonely and passionless before the growth of

national passion, and refused to bow to the gathering cry for war. . . . But desperately as Pitt struggled for peace, his struggle was in vain. . . . Both sides ceased from diplomatic communications, and in February, 1793, France issued her Declaration of War. From that moment Pitt's power was at an end. His pride, his immovable firmness, and the general confidence of the nation, still kept him at the head of affairs; but he could do little save drift along with a tide of popular feeling which he never fully understood. Around him the country broke out in a fit of passion and panic which rivalled the passion and panic oversea. . . . The partisans of Republicanism were in reality but a few handfuls of men. . . . But in the mass of Englishmen the dread of these revolutionists passed for the hour into sheer panic. Even the bulk of the Whig party believed property and the constitution to be in peril, and forsook Fox when he still proclaimed his faith in France and the Revolution."—J. R. Green, *History of the English people*, v. 4, bk. 9, ch. 4.—The French Revolution brought disaster to the Whig party. It was discredited both by the secession of its moderate members and by the views of its extreme members. Finally the split between Burke and Fox widened the breach in the Whig ranks. "Burke himself said that not one man in a hundred was a Revolutionist. Fox's revolutionary sentiments met with no response, but with general reprobation, and caused even his friends to shrink from his side. Of the so-called Jacobin Societies, the Society for Constitutional Information numbered only a few hundred members, who, though they held extreme opinions, were headed by men of character, and were quite incapable of treason or violence. The Corresponding Society was of a more sinister character; but its numbers were computed only at 6,000, and it was swallowed up in the loyal masses of the people. . . . It is sad to say it, but when Pitt had once left the path of right, he fell headlong into evil. To gratify the ignoble fears and passions of his party, he commenced a series of attacks on English liberty of speaking and writing which Mr. Massey, a strong anti-revolutionist, characterizes as unparalleled since the time of Charles I. The country was filled with spies. A band of the most infamous informers was called into activity by the government. . . . There was a Tory reign of terror, to which a slight increase of the panic among the upper classes would probably have lent a redder hue. Among other measures of repression the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; and the liberties of all men were thus placed at the mercy of the party in power. . . . In Scotland the Tory reign of terror was worse than in England."—G. Smith, *Three English statesmen*, pp. 239-247.—"The gaols were filled with political delinquents, and no man who professed himself a reformer could say, that the morrow might not see him a prisoner upon a charge of high treason. . . . But the rush towards despotism against which the Whigs could not stand, was arrested by the people. Although the Habeas Corpus had fallen, the Trial by Jury remained, and now, as it had done before, when the alarm of fictitious plots had disposed the nation to acquiesce in the surrender of its liberties, it opposed a barrier which Toryism could not pass." The trials which excited most interest were those of Hardy, who organized the Corresponding Society, and Horne Tooke. But no unlawful conduct or treasonable designs could be proved against them by credible witnesses, and both were acquitted. "The public joy was very general at these acquittals. . . . The war lost its popularity; bread grew scarce; commerce was crippled; . . . the easy success that had been anticipated was replaced by reverses. The

people clamoured and threw stones at the king, and Pitt eagerly took advantage of their violence to tear away the few shreds of the constitution which yet covered them. He brought forward the Seditious Meetings bill, and the Treasonable Practices bill [both enacted in 1795]. Bills which, among other provisions, placed the conduct of every political meeting under the protection of a magistrate, and rendered disobedience to his command a felony."—G. W. Cooke, *History of party*, v. 3, ch. 17.

ALSO IN: J. Adolphus, *History of England: Reign of George III*, v. 5-6, ch. 81-89 and 95.—J. Gifford, *History of the political life of Wm. Pitt*, v. 3-4, ch. 23-24, and 28-29.—W. Massey, *History of England: Reign of George III*, v. 3-4, ch. 32-36.—E. Smith, *Story of the English Jacobins*.—A. Bisset, *Short history of the English Parliament*, ch. 8.

1794.—Campaigns of the coalition against France.—French successes in the Netherlands and on the Rhine.—Conquest of Corsica.—Naval victory of Lord Howe. See FRANCE: 1794 (March-July).

1794.—Threatening relations with the United States.—Jay Treaty. See U. S. A.: 1793-1795; ARBITRATION, INTERNATIONAL: Modern period: 1704.

1794-1795.—Withdrawal of troops from the Netherlands.—French conquest of Holland.—Establishment of the Batavian republic.—Crumbling of the European coalition. See FRANCE: 1794-1795 (October-May).

1795.—Disastrous expedition to Quiberon bay. See FRANCE: 1794-1796.

1796 (September).—Evacuation and abandonment of Corsica. See FRANCE: 1796 (September).

1796 (October).—Unsuccessful peace negotiations with the French Directory. See FRANCE: 1796 (October).

1796-1798.—Attempted French invasions of Ireland.—Irish insurrection. See IRELAND: 1793-1798.

1796-1803.—Possession of Guiana. See GUIANA: 1580-1814.

1797.—Monetary panic and suspension of specie payments.—Defeat of the first reform movement.—Mutiny of the fleet.—Naval victories of Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown.—From 1793 to 1797 conditions in England grew from bad to worse. 1795 was marked by failure of crops, bread riots and extreme suffering among the poor. In 1796 a monetary crisis threatened, due to circumstances rising out of the war with France. Food had to be purchased abroad, and the markets of Spain, Holland, France and Italy were closed which caused a scarcity of specie. At the same time, fear of an invasion was aroused at home by the almost continuous failure of the English Allies. "The aspect of affairs in Britain had never been so clouded during the 18th century as at the beginning of the year 1797. The failure of Lord Malmesbury's mission to Paris had closed every hope of an honourable termination to the war, while of all her original allies, Austria alone remained; the national burdens were continually increasing, and the three-per-cents had fallen to fifty-one; while party spirit raged with uncommon violence, and Ireland was in a state of partial insurrection. A still greater disaster resulted from the panic arising from the dread of invasion, and which produced such a run on all the banks, that the Bank of England itself was reduced to payment in sixpences, and an Order in Council appeared (Feb. 26) for the suspension of all cash payments. This measure, at first only temporary, was prolonged from time to time by parliamentary enactments, making bank-notes a legal-tender; and

it was not till 1819, after the conclusion of peace, that the recurrence to metallic currency took place. The Opposition deemed this a favourable opportunity to renew their cherished project of parliamentary reform; and on 26th May, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Grey brought forward a plan chiefly remarkable for containing the outlines of that subsequently carried into effect in 1831. It was negative, however, after violent debates, by a majority of 258 against 93. After a similar strife of parties, the motion for the continuance of the war was carried by a great majority in both houses; and the requisite supplies were voted. . . . Unknown to the government, great discontent had for a long time prevailed in the navy. The exciting causes were principally the low rate of pay (which had not been raised since the time of Charles II.), the unequal distribution of prize-money, and undue severity in the maintenance of discipline. These grounds of complaint, with others not less well founded, gave rise to a general conspiracy, which broke out (April 15) in the Channel fleet [at Spithead] under Lord Bridport. All the ships fell under the power of the insurgents; but they maintained perfect order, and memorialised the Admiralty and the Commons on their grievances: their demands being examined by government, and found to be reasonable, were granted; and on the 7th of May the fleet returned to its duty. But scarcely was the spirit of disaffection quelled in this quarter, when it broke out in a more alarming form (May 22) among the squadron at the Nore, which was soon after (June 6) joined by the force which had been cruising off the Texel under Lord Duncan. . . . This second mutiny caused dreadful consternation in London; but the firmness of the King remained unshaken, and he was nobly seconded by the parliament. . . . The sailors, finding the national feelings strongly arrayed against them, became gradually sensible that their enterprise was desperate. One by one the ships returned to their duty; and on 15th June all had submitted. Parker and several other ringleaders suffered death; but clemency was extended to the multitude. . . . Notwithstanding all these dissensions, the British navy was never more terrible to its enemies than during this eventful year. On the 14th of February, the [French and] Spanish fleet . . . which had put to sea for the purpose of raising the blockade of the French harbours, was encountered off Cape St. Vincent by Sir John Jervis [with half the number of ships]. . . . By the old manœuvre of breaking the line, 9 of the Spanish ships were cut off from the rest; and the admiral, while attempting to regain them by wearing round the rear of the British line, was boldly assailed by Nelson and Collingwood [who distinguished themselves by their daring captures]. The Spanish armament, thus routed by little more than half its own force, retired in the deepest dejection to Cadiz, which was shortly after insulted by a bombardment from the gallant Nelson. A more important victory than that of Sir John Jervis (created in consequence Earl St. Vincent) was never gained at sea, from the evident superiority of skill and seamanship which it demonstrated in the British navy. The battle of St. Vincent disconcerted the plans of Truguet for the naval campaign; but later in the season a second attempt to reach Brest was made by a Dutch fleet of 15 sail of the line and 11 frigates, under the command of De Winter, a man of tried courage and experience. The British blockading fleet, under Admiral Duncan, [later created Earl of Camperdown] . . . consisted of 16 ships and 3 frigates, and the battle was fought (Oct. 16) off Camperdown, about nine miles from the shore of Holland. The manœuvres

of the British Admiral were directed to cut off the enemy's retreat to his own shores; and this having been accomplished, the action commenced yard-arm to yard-arm, and continued with the utmost fury for more than three hours. The Dutch sailors fought with the most admirable skill and courage, and proved themselves worthy descendants of Van Tromp and De Ruyter; but the prowess of the British was irresistible. 12 sail of the line, including the flagship, two 56-gun ships, and 2 frigates, struck their colours; but the nearness of the shore enabled two of the prizes to escape, and one 74-gun ship foundered. The obstinacy of the conflict was evidenced by the nearly equal number of killed and wounded, which amounted to 1,040 English, and 1,160 Dutch. . . . The only remaining operations of the year were the capture of Trinidad in February, by a force which soon after was repulsed from before Porto Rico; and an abortive attempt at a descent in Pembroke Bay by about 1,400 French."—*Epitome of Alison's history of Europe*, sect. 190-196, v. 5, ch. 22.

ALSO IN: J. Adolphus, *History of England: Reign of George III*, v. 6, ch. 100-103.—R. Southey, *Life of Nelson*, ch. 4.—E. J. De La Gravière, *Sketches of the last naval war*, v. 1, pt. 2.—A. T. Mahan, *Influence of sea power on the French Revolution and empire*, v. 1, ch. 8 and 11.

1798 (August).—Nelson's victory in the battle of the Nile. See FRANCE: 1798 (May-August).

1798.—Second coalition against revolutionary France. See FRANCE: 1798-1799 (August-April).

1799 (April).—Final war with Tippu Sahib (third Mysore War). See INDIA: 1798-1805.

1799 (August-October).—Expedition against Holland.—Seizure of the Dutch fleet.—Ignominious ending of the enterprise.—Capitulation of the duke of York. See FRANCE: 1799 (April-September); (September-October).

1799-1807.—Interest in the Bosphorus. See BOSPORUS: 1774-1807.

1799-1817.—Relations with Persia. See PERSIA: 1799-1817.

19th century.—Popular education.—Voluntary and board schools.—Education of the poor. See EDUCATION: Modern: 19th century: England: Voluntary and board schools; Spread of popular education.

19th century.—Historiography.—Philosophic, political, nationalist, romantic and modern scientific historians. See HISTORY: 27 to 30; 32.

19th century.—Romanticism in literature. See ENGLISH LITERATURE: 1780-1830.

19th century.—Detailed outline of British expansion. See BRITISH EMPIRE: Expansion.

19th century.—Industrial development.—Legislation against trade unions.—Agricultural education. See INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: England: Mining inventions; AGRICULTURE: Modern: British Isles: Late 18th to early 19th centuries; LABOR LEGISLATION: 1800-1875; EDUCATION, AGRICULTURAL: England and Wales.

19th century.—Direct taxation. See TAXATION: Prussia, etc.

19th century.—Development of armored warships. See WARSHIPS: 1782-1860.

19th-20th centuries.—Development of evening school system. See EDUCATION: Modern developments: 20th century: Evening schools; England.

1800.—Coöperative movement of Robert Owen and the new Lanark mills. See COÖPERATION: England.

1800.—Events in Egypt.—Refusal to make peace with France. See FRANCE: 1800 (January-June).

1800.—Act of Union with Ireland. See IRELAND: 1799-1800.

1800.—Real beginning of census. See CENSUS: Modern European.

1800-1850.—Interest in Panama canal projects. See PANAMA CANAL: 1800-1850.

1801.—Act to restrict hours of labor. See LABOR LEGISLATION: 1801-1878.

1801-1802.—Significance of the treaty of Lunéville.—Bonaparte's preparations for conflict.—Retirement of Pitt.—Northern Maritime League and its summary annihilation at Copenhagen.—Expulsion of the French from Egypt.—Peace of Amiens. See FRANCE: 1801-1802.

1801-1806.—Pitt's promise to the Irish Catholics broken by the king.—His resignation.—Addington ministry.—Peace of Amiens.—War resumed.—Pitt at the helm again.—His death.—Ministry of "All the Talents."—"The union with Ireland introduced a new topic of party discussion, which quickly became only second to that of parliamentary reform. . . . The demand of the Catholics to be admitted to the common rights of citizens. Pitt, whose Toryism was rather the imperiousness of a haughty master, than the cautious cowardice of the miser of power, thought their complaints were just. In his private negotiations with the Irish popular leaders he probably promised that emancipation should be the sequel to the union. In his place in parliament he certainly gave an intimation, which from the mouth of a minister could receive no second interpretation. Pitt was not a minister who governed by petty stratagems, by ambiguous professions, and by skilful shuffles: he was at least an honourable enemy. He prepared to fulfil the pledge he had given, and to admit the Catholics within the pale of the constitution. It had been better for the character of George III. had he imitated the candour of his minister; had he told him that he had made a promise he would not be suffered to fulfil, before he had obtained the advantage to gain which that promise had been made. When Pitt proposed Catholic emancipation as one of the topics of the king's speech, for the session of 1801, the royal negative was at once interposed, and when Dundas persisted in his attempt to overcome his master's objections, the king abruptly terminated the conference, saying, 'Scotch metaphysics cannot destroy religious obligations.' Pitt immediately tendered his resignation. . . . All that was brilliant in Toryism passed from the cabinet with the late minister. When Pitt and Canning were withdrawn, with their satellites, nothing remained of the Tory party but the mere courtiers who lived upon the favour of the king, and the insipid lees of the party; men who voted upon every subject in accordance with their one ruling idea—the certain ruin which must follow the first particle of innovation. Yet from these relicts the king was obliged to form a new cabinet, for application to the Whigs was out of the question. These were more strenuous for emancipation than Pitt. Henry Addington, Pitt's speaker of the house of commons, was the person upon whom the king's choice fell; and he succeeded, with the assistance of the late premier, in filling up the offices at his disposal. . . . The peace of Amiens was the great work of this feeble administration [see FRANCE: 1801-1802], and formed a severe commentary upon the boastings of the Tories. 'Unless the monarchy of France be restored,' Pitt had said, eight years before, 'the monarchy of England is lost forever.' Eight years of warfare had succeeded, yet the monarchy of France was not restored, and the crusade was stayed. England had surrendered her conquests, France retained hers; the landmarks

of Europe had been in some degree restored; England, alone, remained burdened with the enduring consequences of the ruinous and useless strife. The peace was approved by the Whigs, who were glad of any respite from such a war, and by Pitt, who gave his support to the Addington administration. But he could not control his adherents. . . . As the instability of the peace grew manifest, the incompetency of the administration became generally acknowledged: with Pitt sometimes chiding, Windham and Canning, and Lords Spencer and Grenville continually attacking, and Fox and the Whigs only refraining from violent opposition from a knowledge that if Addington went out Pitt would be his successor, the conduct of the government was by no means an easy or a grateful task to a man destitute of commanding talents. When to these parliamentary difficulties were added a recommencement of the war [1803], and a popular panic at Bonaparte's threatened invasion, Addington's embarrassments became inextricable. He had performed the business which Pitt had assigned him; he had made an experimental peace, and had saved Pitt's honour with the Roman Catholics. The object of his appointment he had unconsciously completed, and no sooner did his predecessor manifest an intention of returning to office, than the ministerial majorities began to diminish, and Addington found himself without support. On the 12th of April [1804] it was announced that Mr. Addington had resigned, and Pitt appeared to resume his station as a matter of course. During his temporary retirement, Pitt had, however, lost one section of his supporters. The Grenville party and the Whigs had gradually approximated, and the former now refused to come into the new arrangements unless Fox was introduced into the cabinet. To this Pitt offered no objection, but the king was firm—or obstinate. . . . In the following year, Addington himself, now created Viscount Sidmouth, returned to office with the subordinate appointment of president of the council. The conflagration had again spread through Europe. . . . Pitt had the mortification to see his grand continental coalition [Russia, Austria and Great Britain], the produce of such immense expense and the object of such hope, shattered in one campaign ["Austerlitz"]. At home, Lord Melville, his most faithful political supporter, was attacked by a charge from which he could not defend him, and underwent the impeachment of the commons for malpractices in his office as treasurer of the navy. Lord Sidmouth and several others seceded from the cabinet, and Pitt, broken in health, and dispirited by reverses, had lost much of his wonted energy. Thus passed away the year 1805. On the 23d of January, 1806, Pitt expired. . . . The death of Pitt was the dissolution of his administration. The Tory party was scattered in divisions and subdivisions innumerable. Canning now recognised no political leader, but retained his old contempt for Sidmouth and his friends, and his hostility to the Grenvilles for their breach with Pitt. Castlereagh, William Dundas, Hawkesbury, or Barham, although sufficiently effective when Pitt was present to direct and to defend, would have made a hopeless figure without him in face of such an opposition as the house of commons now afforded. The administration, which was ironically designated by its opponents as 'All the Talents,' succeeded. Lord Grenville [leader of the aristocratic Whigs] was first lord of the treasury. Fox [leader of the popular Whigs] chose the office of secretary for foreign affairs with the hope of putting an end to the war. Windham was colonial secretary. Earl Spencer had the seals of the home department. Erskine was lord chancellor. Mr.

Grey was first lord of the admiralty. Sheridan, treasurer of the navy. Lord Sidmouth [leader of the Tories] was privy seal. Lord Henry Petty, who, although now only in his 26th year, had already acquired considerable distinction as an eloquent Whig speaker, was advanced to the post of chancellor of the exchequer, the vacant chair of Pitt. Such were the men who now assumed the reins under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty."—G. W. Cooke, *History of party*, v. 3, ch. 17-18.

ALSO IN: Lord Mahon, *Life of Pitt*, v. 3-4, ch. 29-44.—A. G. Stapleton, *George Canning and his times*, ch. 6-8.—Earl Russell, *Life and times of Charles James Fox*, v. 3, ch. 58-69.—G. Pellew, *Life and correspondence of Henry Addington*, 1st Viscount Sidmouth, v. 1-2, ch. 10-26.

1802.—First child labor law. See CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 1802-1847.



LORD NELSON

1802 (October).—Protest against Bonaparte's interference in Switzerland.—His extraordinary reply. See FRANCE: 1801-1803.

1802-1803.—Bonaparte's complaints and demands.—Peltier trial.—First consul's rage.—Declaration of war.—Napoleon's seizure of Hanover.—Cruel detention of all English people in France, Italy, Switzerland and the Netherlands. See FRANCE: 1802-1804.

1803.—Embargo against Dutch vessels. See EMBARGO: Definition.

1803.—Report on impressment of American seamen. See U. S. A.: 1803: Report on British impressment.

1804-1809.—Violations of international law.—Difficulties with the United States.—Questions of neutral rights.—Right of search and impressment.—American embargo. See INTERNATIONAL LAW: 1792-1885; U. S. A.: 1804-1809; 1808; RULE OF 1756.

1805 (January-April).—Third coalition against France. See FRANCE: 1805 (January-April).

1805.—Napoleon's threatened invasion.—Nelson's long pursuit of the French fleet.—His victory and death at Trafalgar.—Crushing of the coalition at Austerlitz. See FRANCE: 1805 (March-December).

1806.—Cession of Hanover to Prussia by Napoleon.—War with Prussia. See GERMANY: 1806 (January-August).

1806.—Attempted reinstatement of the de-throned king of Naples.—Battle of Maida. See FRANCE: 1805-1806 (December-September).

1806.—Death of Pitt.—Peace negotiations with Napoleon. See FRANCE: 1806 (January-October).

1806-1810.—Commercial warfare with Napoleon.—Orders in council.—Berlin and Milan decrees. See FRANCE: 1806-1810; also CONTINENTAL SYSTEM OF NAPOLEON.

1806-1812.—"Ministry of All the Talents."—Abolition of the slave trade.—Portland and Perceval ministries.—Confirmed insanity of George III.—Beginning of the regency of the prince of Wales.—Assassination of Perceval.—The "Ministry of All the Talents" is "remarkable solely for its mistakes, and is to be remembered chiefly for the death of Fox [September 13, 1806] and the abolition of the slave-trade. Fox was now destined at the close of his career to be disillusioned with regard to Napoleon. He at last thoroughly realized the insincerity of his hero. . . . The second great object of Fox's life he succeeded in attaining before his death;—this was the abolition of the slave-trade. For more than thirty years the question had been before the country, and a vigorous agitation had been conducted by Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Fox. Pitt was quite at one with them on this question, and had brought forward motions on the subject. The House of Lords, however, rejected all measures of this description during the Revolutionary War, under the influence of the Anti-Jacobin feeling. It was reserved for Fox to succeed in carrying a Bill inflicting heavy pecuniary punishments on the traffic in slaves. And yet this measure—the sole fruit of Fox's statesmanship—was wholly inadequate; nor was it till the slave-trade was made felony in 1811 that its final extinction was secured. [See also SLAVERY: 1792-1807.] The remaining acts of the Ministry were blunders. . . . Their financial system was a failure. They carried on the war so as to alienate their allies and to cover themselves with humiliation. Finally, they insisted on bringing forward a measure for the relief of the Catholics, though there was not the slightest hope of carrying it, and it could only cause a disruption of the Government. . . . The king and the Pittites were determined to oppose it, and so the Ministry agreed to drop the question under protest. George insisted on their withdrawing the protest, and as this was refused he dismissed them. . . . This then was the final triumph of George III. He had successfully dismissed this Ministry; he had maintained the principle that every Ministry is bound to withdraw any project displeasing to the king. These principles were totally inconsistent with Constitutional Government, and they indirectly precipitated Reform by rendering it absolutely necessary in order to curb the royal influence. . . . The Duke of Portland's sole claims to form a Ministry were his high rank, and the length of his previous services. His talents were never very great, and they were weakened by age and disease. The real leader was Mr. Perceval, the

Chancellor of the Exchequer, a dexterous debater and a patriotic statesman. This Government, being formed on the closest Tory basis and on the king's influence, was pledged to pursue a retrograde policy and to oppose all measures of Reform. The one really high-minded statesman in the Cabinet was Canning, the Foreign Minister. His advanced views, however, continually brought him into collision with Castlereagh, the War Minister, a man of much inferior talents and the narrowest Tory views. Quarrels inevitably arose between the two, and there was no real Prime Minister to hold them strongly under control. . . . At last the ill-feeling ended in a duel, which was followed by a mutual resignation on the ground that neither could serve with the other. This was followed by the resignation of Portland, who felt himself wholly unequal to the arduous task of managing the Ministry any longer. The leadership now devolved on Perceval, who found himself in an apparently hopeless condition. His only supporters were Lords Liverpool, Eldon, Palmerston, and Wellesley. Neither Canning, Castlereagh, nor Sidmouth (Addington) would join him. The miserable expedition to Walcheren [see below: 1809 (July-December)] had just ended in ignominy. The campaign in the Peninsula was regarded as a chimerical enterprise, got up mainly for the benefit of a Tory commander. Certainly the most capable man in the Cabinet was Lord Wellesley [brother of the famous general, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington], the Foreign Minister, but he was continually thwarted by the incapable men he had to deal with. However, as long as he remained at the Foreign Office, he supported the Peninsular War with vigour, and enabled his brother to carry out more effectually his plans with regard to the defence of Portugal. In November, 1810, the king was again seized with insanity, nor did he ever recover the use of his faculties during the rest of his life. The Ministry determined to bring forward Pitt's old Bill of 1788 in a somewhat more modified form, February, 1811. The Prince of Wales requested Grey and Grenville to criticize this, but, regarding their reply as lukewarm, he began to entertain an ill-will for them. At this moment the judicious flattery of his family brought him over from the Whigs, and he decided to continue Perceval in office. Wellesley, however, took the opportunity to resign, and was succeeded by Castlereagh, February, 1812. In May Perceval was assassinated by Mr. Bellingham, a lunatic, and his Ministry at once fell to pieces." —B. C. Skottowe, *Our Hanoverian kings*, bk. 10, ch. 3.

Also in: F. H. Hill, *George Canning*, ch. 13-17. —S. Walpole, *Life of Spencer Perceval*, v. 2. —R. I. and S. Wilberforce, *Life of William Wilberforce*, v. 3, ch. 20.

1807.—Act for the abolition of the slave-trade. See SLAVERY: 1702-1807.

1807 (February-September).—Operations in support of the Russians against the Turks and French.—Bold naval attack on Constantinople and humiliating failure.—Disastrous expedition to Egypt. See TURKEY: 1806-1807.

1807 (June-July).—Alliance formed at Tilsit between Napoleon and Alexander I of Russia. See GERMANY: 1807 (June-July).

1807 (August-November).—Offer of alliance to Denmark refused.—Bombardment of Copenhagen and seizure of the Danish fleet. See FRANCE: 1807 (July-December); 1807-1808 (August-November).

1807 (October - November).—Submission of Portugal to Napoleon under English advice.

Flight of the house of Braganza to Brazil. See PORTUGAL: 1807.

1808 (May).—Ineffectual attempt to aid Sweden.—Expedition of Sir John Moore. See SWEDEN: 1807-1810.

1808 (July).—Peace and alliance with the Spanish people against the new Napoleonic monarchy.—Opening of the Peninsular War.—Arrival of the English forces.—See SPAIN: 1808 (May-September).

1808.—Expulsion of English forces from Capri. See ITALY (Southern): 1808-1809.

1808-1809.—Wellington's first campaign in the Peninsula.—Convention of Cintra.—Evacuation of Portugal by the French.—Sir John Moore's advance into Spain and his retreat.—His death at Corunna. See SPAIN: 1808-1809 (August-January).

1808-1810.—Substitution of non-intercourse for embargo by United States. See U. S. A.: 1808-1810.

1809 (February-July).—Wellington sent to the Peninsula.—Passage of the Douro and the battle of Talavera. See SPAIN: 1809 (February-July).

1809 (July-December).—Walcheren expedition.—“Three times before, during the war, it had occurred to one or another, connected with the government, that it would be a good thing to hold Antwerp, and command the Scheldt, seize the French ships in the river, and get possession of their arsenals and dockyards. On each occasion, men of military science and experience had been consulted; and invariably they had pronounced against the scheme. Now, however, what Mr. Pitt had considered impracticable, Lord Castlereagh [minister of war in the Portland cabinet], with the rashness of incapacity, resolved should be done: and, in order not to be hindered, he avoided consulting with those who would have objected to the enterprise. Though the scene of action was to be the swamps at the mouths of the Scheldt, he consulted no physician. Having himself neither naval, military, nor medical knowledge, he assumed the responsibility—except such as the King and the Duke of York chose to share. . . . It was May, 1809, before any stir was apparent which could lead men outside the Cabinet to infer that an expedition for the Scheldt was in contemplation; but so early as the beginning of April (it is now known), Mr. Canning signified that he could not share in the responsibility of an enterprise which must so involve his own office. . . . The fleet that rode in the channel consisted of 30 ships of the line, and 36 frigates, and a due proportion of small vessels: in all, 245 vessels of war; and 400 transports carried 40,000 soldiers. Only one hospital ship was provided for the whole expedition, though the Surgeon General implored the grant of two more. He gave his reasons, but was refused. . . . The naval commander was Sir Richard J. Strachan, whose title to the responsibility no one could perceive, while many who had more experience were unemployed. The military command was given (as the selection of the present Cabinet had been) to Lord Chatham [John Pitt, second Earl of Chatham], for no better reason than that he was a favourite with the King and Queen, who liked his gentle and courtly manners, and his easy and amiable temper. . . . The fatal mistake was made of not defining the respective authorities of the two commanders; and both being inexperienced or apathetic, each relied upon the other first, and cast the blame of failure upon him afterwards. In the autumn, an epigram of unknown origin was in every body's mouth, all over England:

'Lord Chatham, with his sword undrawn,
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham.'

The fleet set sail on the 28th of July, and was on the coast of Holland the next day. The first discovery was that there were not boats enough to land the troops and the ordnance. The next was that no plan had been formed about how to proceed. The most experienced officers were for pushing on to Antwerp, 45 miles off, and taking it before it could be prepared for defence; but the commanders determined to take Flushing first. They set about it so slowly that a fortnight was consumed in preparations. In two days more, the 15th of August, Flushing was taken. After this, Lord Chatham paused to consider what he should do next; and it was the 21st before he began to propose to go on to Antwerp. Then came the next discovery, that, by this time two intermediate places had been so strengthened that there must be some fighting on the way. So he did nothing more but take possession of two small islands near Flushing. Not another blow was struck; not another league was traversed by this magnificent expedition. But the most important discovery of all now disclosed itself. The army had been brought into the swamps at the beginning of the sickly season. Fever sprang up under their feet, and 3,000 men were in hospital in a few days, just when it became necessary to reduce the rations, because provisions were falling short. On the 27th of August, Lord Chatham led a council of war to resolve that 'it was not advisable to pursue further operations.' But, if they could not proceed, neither could they remain where they were. The enemy had more spirit than their invaders. On the 30th and 31st, such a fire was opened from both banks of the river, that the ships were obliged to retire. Flushing was given up, and everything else except the island of Walcheren, which it was fatal to hold at this season. On the 4th of September, most of the ships were at home again; and Lord Chatham appeared on the 14th. Eleven thousand men were by that time in the fever, and he brought home as many as he could. Sir Eyre Coote, whom he left in command, was dismayed to see all the rest sinking down in disease at the rate of hundreds in a day. Though the men had been working in the swamps, up to the waist in marsh water, and the roofs of their sleeping places had been carried off by bombardment, so that they slept under a canopy of autumn fog, it was supposed that a supply of Thames water to drink would stop the sickness; and a supply of 500 tons per week was transmitted. At last, at the end of October, a hundred English bricklayers, with tools, bricks, and mortar, were sent over to mend the roofs; but they immediately dropped into the hospitals. Then the patients were to be accommodated in the towns; but to spare the inhabitants, the soldiers were laid down in damp churches; and their bedding had from the beginning been insufficient for their need. At last, government desired the chief officers of the army Medical Board to repair to Walcheren, and see what was the precise nature of the fever, and what could be done. The Surgeon-General and the Physician-General threw the duty upon each other. Government appointed it to the Physician-General, Sir Lucas Pepys; but he refused to go. Both officers were dismissed, and the medical department of the army was reorganized and greatly improved. The deaths were at this time from 200 to 300 a week. When Walcheren was evacuated, on the 23rd of December, nearly half the force sent out five months be-

fore were dead or missing; and of those who returned, 35,000 were admitted into the hospitals of England before the next 1st of June. Twenty millions sterling were spent on this expedition. It was the purchase money of tens of thousands of deaths, and of ineffaceable national disgrace."—H. Martineau, *History of England, 1800-1815, bk. 2, ch. 2.*

ALSO IN: C. Knight, *Popular history of England, v. 7, ch. 29.*

1809 (August-December).—Difficulties of Wellington's campaign in the Peninsula.—His retreat into Portugal. See SPAIN: 1809 (August-November); (August-December).

1809-1814.—Coalitions against Napoleon. See AUSTRIA: 1809-1814.

1810-1812.—War in the Peninsula.—Wellington's lines of Torres Vedras.—French retreat.—English advance into Spain.—Map of campaign. See SPAIN: 1809-1810 (October-September); 1810-1812.

1811-1812.—Desertion of Napoleon's continental system by Russia and Sweden.—Reopening of their ports to British commerce. See FRANCE: 1810-1812.

1811-1829.—Affairs in Ireland. See IRELAND: 1811-1829.

1812.—Extent of Napoleonic empire in Europe.—Napoleon's campaign. See EUROPE: Modern; Map of central Europe.

1812 (June-August).—Peninsular War.—Wellington's victory at Salamanca and advance to Madrid. See SPAIN: 1812 (June-August).

1812-1813.—Liverpool ministry.—Business depression and bad harvests.—Distress and rioting.—Luddites.—"Again there was much negotiation, and an attempt to introduce Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning to the ministry. Of course they could not serve with Castlereagh; they were then asked to form a ministry with Grenville and Grey, but these Lords objected to the Peninsular War, to which Wellesley was pledged. Grenville and Grey then attempted a ministry of their own but quarrelled with Lord Moira on the appointments to the Household; and as an American war was threatening, and the ministry had already given up their Orders in Council (one of the chief causes of their unpopularity), the Regent rather than remain longer without a ministry, intrusted Lord Liverpool with the Premiership [from 1812-1827], with Castlereagh as his Foreign Secretary, and the old ministry remained in office. Before the day of triumph of this ministry arrived, while Napoleon was still at the height of his power, and the success of Wellington as yet uncertain, England had drifted into war with America. It is difficult to believe that this useless war might not have been avoided had the ministers been men of ability. It arose from the obstinate manner in which the Government clung to the execution of their retaliatory measures against France, regardless of the practical injury they were inflicting upon all neutrals. . . . The same motive of class aggrandizement which detracts from the virtue of the foreign policy of this ministry underlay the whole administration of home affairs. There was an incapacity to look at public affairs from any but a class or aristocratic point of view. The natural consequence was a constantly increasing mass of discontent among the lower orders, only kept in restraint by an overmastering fear felt by all those higher in rank of the possible revolutionary tendencies of any attempt at change. Much of the discontent was of course the inevitable consequence of the circumstances in which England was placed, and for which the Government was only answerable in so far as it created those circumstances. At the same time it is im-

possible not to blame the complacent manner in which the misery was ignored and the occasional success of individual merchants and contractors regarded as evidences of national prosperity. . . . A plentiful harvest in 1813, and the opening of many continental ports, did much to revive both trade and manufactures; but it was accompanied by a fall in the price of corn from 171s. to 75s. The consequence was widespread distress among the agriculturists, which involved the country banks, so that in the two following years 240 of them stopped payment. So great a crash could not fail to affect the manufacturing interest also; apparently, for the instant, the very restoration of peace brought widespread ruin. . . . Before the end of the year 1811, wages had sunk to 7s. 6d. a week. The manufacturing operatives were therefore in a state of absolute misery. Petitions signed by 40,000 or 50,000 men urged upon Parliament that they were starving; but there was another class which fared still worse. Machinery had by no means superseded hand-work. In thousands of hamlets and cottages handlooms still existed. The work was neither so good nor so rapid as work done by machinery; even at the best of times used chiefly as an auxiliary to agriculture, this hand labour could now scarcely find employment at all. Not unnaturally, without work and without food, these hand workers were very ready to believe that it was the machinery which caused their ruin, and so in fact it was; the change, though on the whole beneficial, had brought much individual misery. The people were not wise enough to see this. They rose in riots in many parts of England, chiefly about Nottingham, calling themselves Luddites (from the name of a certain idiot lad who some 30 years before had broken stocking-frames), gathered round them many of the disbanded soldiery with whom the country was thronged, and with a very perfect secret organization, carried out their object of machine-breaking. The unexpected thronging of the village at nightfall, a crowd of men with blackened faces, armed sentinels holding every approach, silence on all sides, the village inhabitants cowering behind closed doors, an hour or two's work of smashing and burning, and the disappearance of the crowd as rapidly as it had arrived—such were the incidents of the night riots."—J. F. Bright, *History of England, period 3*, pp. 1325-1332.—See also INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: England; Mining inventions.

ALSO IN: C. Knight, *Popular history of England*, v. 7, ch. 30.—*Pictorial history of England*, v. 8, ch. 4 (*Reign of George III*, v. 4).

1812-1815.—War with the United States. See U. S. A.: 1804-1809; 1808; 1810-1812, to 1815 (January); REVENUE-CUTTER SERVICE, UNITED STATES.

1813.—Allied victory at Leipzig. See GERMANY: 1813 (October).

1813 (June).—Joined with the new European coalition against Napoleon. See GERMANY: 1813 (May-August).

1813-1814.—Wellington's victorious and final campaigns in the Peninsular War. See SPAIN: 1812-1814.

1814.—Allies in France and in possession of Paris.—Fall of Napoleon. See FRANCE: 1814 (January-March); (March-April).

1814.—Affairs in Italy. See ITALY: 1814.

1814 (May-June).—Treaty of Paris.—Acquisition of Malta, the Isle of France and the Cape of Good Hope. See FRANCE: 1814 (April-June).

1814 (December).—Treaty of Ghent, terminating war with the United States. See ARBITRA-

TION, INTERNATIONAL: Modern: 1814; U. S. A.: 1814 (December); OREGON: 1808-1826.

1814-1815.—Congress of Vienna and its revision of the map of Europe. See VIENNA, CONGRESS OF; BRITISH EMPIRE: Treaties promoting expansion: 1815.

1815 (March).—Corn Law. See TARIFF: 1815-1828.

1815 (June).—Waterloo campaign.—Defeat and final overthrow of Napoleon. See FRANCE: 1815 (June).

1815 (July-August).—Surrender of Napoleon.—Confinement on the island of St. Helena. See FRANCE: 1815 (June-August).

1815 (July-November).—Wellington's army in Paris.—Second treaty. See FRANCE: 1815 (July-November).

1815 (July-November).—Quadruple alliance. See FRANCE: 1815 (July-November).

1816.—Domestic conditions at the close of the war.—"While the stupendous drama of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars and, later, the activities of [the peace] congresses were in progress, events of quite equally great moment to herself were taking place within the boundaries of Great Britain. An extraordinary transformation which, despite its fairly gradual character, is popularly known, and with sufficient accuracy, as the Industrial Revolution, had come over the country. In a relatively very brief space of time the novel phenomena appeared of the factory system, the *entrepreneur* class, the industrial towns of the north. The capitalist loomed large as never before, and the cleavage between Capital on the one side and Labour on the other became an essential feature of the industrial organization. With the rapid improvement in transit and the congregation of large masses in the towns, the old isolation of the countryside came to be broken down. Population became much less evenly scattered. At the same time it prodigiously increased: a fact which gave Mr Malthus and many others seriously, and often very gloomily, to think. In short, a great social as well as a great economic change was taking place. Changes of that order must inevitably produce corresponding political results. The Industrial Revolution almost immediately brought in its train all manner of abuses, wrongs and problems, taking men unawares almost, before they had acquired the habit of thinking of such things as problems at all, and when, accordingly, there existed no machinery by which to deal with them. The grievance of the early victims of the remorseless monster-mechanism of modern industrialism inevitably, justly, endeavoured to make itself heard [see also above: 1812-1813]. But the fear of revolution gripped the plenipotentiaries at the continental congresses. To the ears of both there seemed no difference between the loud outcry of the anarchic demagogue and the groanings of men driven into protest by the grim pressure of a system which seemed like a relentless machine. The fears of propagandist France had driven England into panic measures, suspension of Habeas Corpus, Seditious Meetings and Treasonable Practices Acts, the 'Six Acts,' press prosecutions innumerable, transportations, executions. Even after the French terror had gone there stood like a nerveless mass the deadweight of Tory reaction, the belief in simple repression as the mainstay of state policy. For the oppressed workers in the towns all forms of concerted action—to talk, to write, to meet—were equally seditious."—A. S. Turberville and F. W. Howe, *Great Britain in the latest age*, pp. 6-7.—See also INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: England. Underlying causes, to Mining inventions; AGRICULTURE: Modern: British Isles: Late 18th

to early 19th centuries; EUROPE: Modern; Revolutionary movement for self-government.

1816.—Exmouth's successful expedition against Algeria. See BARBARY STATES: 1816.

1816-1820.—Agitation for parliamentary reform.—Hampden clubs.—Spencean philanthropists.—Trials of William Hone.—The Spa-fields meeting and riot.—March of the blanketeers.—Massacre of Peterloo.—Six Acts.—Death of George III.—Accession of George IV.—Aside from failures of crops and the changes wrought by the industrial revolution, the long continental wars, the wastefulness of the government and the extravagance of the regent, produced alarming and distressing conditions in England. The period from 1816-1820 saw the rise of every sort of radicalism from that of sincere and sane reformers to that of violent and unprincipled agitators. The narrow Tory ministry made no attempt to better matters, but sought instead to stifle the voice of discontent by repressive measures of extreme severity. "From this time the name of Parliamentary Reform became, for the most part, a name of terror to the Government. . . . It passed away from the patronage of a few aristocratic lovers of popularity, to be advocated by writers of 'two-penny trash,' and to be discussed and organized by 'Hampden Clubs' of hungering philanthropists and unemployed 'weaver-boys.' Samuel Bamford, who thought it no disgrace to call himself 'a Radical' . . . says, 'at this time (1816) the writings of William Cobbett suddenly became of great authority; they were read on nearly every cottage hearth in the manufacturing districts of South Lancashire, in those of Leicester, Derby, and Nottingham; also in many of the Scottish manufacturing towns. Their influence was speedily visible.' Cobbett advocated Parliamentary Reform as the corrective of whatever miseries the lower classes suffered. A new order of politicians was called into action: 'The Sunday-schools of the preceding thirty years had produced many working men of sufficient talent to become readers, writers, and speakers in the village meetings for Parliamentary Reform; some also were found to possess a rude poetic talent, which rendered their effusions popular, and bestowed an additional charm on their assemblages; and by such various means, anxious listeners at first, and then zealous proselytes, were drawn from the cottages of quiet nooks and dingles to the weekly readings and discussions of the Hampden Clubs.' . . . In a Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, presented on the 10th of February, 1817, the Hampden Clubs are described as 'associated professedly for the purpose of Parliamentary Reform, upon the most extended principle of universal suffrage and annual parliaments; but that 'in far the greater number of them . . . nothing short of a Revolution is the object expected and avowed.' The testimony of Samuel Bamford shows that, in this early period of their history, the Hampden Clubs limited their object to the attainment of Parliamentary Reform. . . . Bamford, at the beginning of 1817, came to London as a delegate from the Middleton Club, to attend a great meeting of delegates to be assembled in London. . . . The Middleton delegate was introduced, amidst the reeking tobacco-fog of a low tavern, to the leading members of a society called the 'Spencean Philanthropists.' They derived their name from that of a Mr. Spence, a schoolmaster in Yorkshire, who had conceived a plan for making the nation happy, by causing all the lands of the country to become the property of the State, which State should divide all the produce for the support of the people. . . . The Committee of the Spenceans openly med-

dled with sundry grave questions besides that of a community in land; and, amongst other notable projects, petitioned Parliament to do away with machinery. Amongst these fanatics some dangerous men had established themselves, such as Thistlewood, who subsequently paid the penalty of five years of maniacal plotting." A meeting held at Spa-fields on the 2d of December, 1816, in the interest of the Spencean Philanthropists, terminated in a senseless outbreak of riot, led by a young fanatic named Watson. The mob plundered some gunsmiths' shops, shot one gentleman who remonstrated, and set out to seize the Tower; but was dispersed by a few resolute magistrates and constables. "It is difficult to imagine a more degraded and dangerous position than that in which every political writer was placed during the year 1817. In the first place, he was subject, by a Secretary of State's warrant, to be imprisoned upon suspicion, under the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Secondly, he was open to an ex-officio information, under which he would be compelled to find bail, or be imprisoned. The power of ex-officio information had been extended so as to compel bail, by an Act of 1808; but from 1808 to 1811, during which three years forty such informations were laid, only one person was held to bail. In 1817 numerous ex-officio informations were filed, and the almost invariable practice then was to hold the alleged offender to bail, or, in default, to commit to prison. Under this Act Mr. Hone and others were committed to prison during this year. . . . The entire course of these proceedings was a signal failure. There was only one solitary instance of success—William Cobbett ran away. On the 28th of March he fled to America, suspending the publication of his 'Register' for four months. On the 12th of May earl Grey mentioned in the House of Lords that a Mr. Hone was proceeded against for publishing some blasphemous parody; but he had read one of the same nature, written, printed, and published, some years ago, by other people, without any notice having been officially taken of it. The parody to which earl Grey alluded, and a portion of which he recited, was Canning's famous parody, 'Praise Lepaux'; and he asked whether the authors, be they in the cabinet or in any other place, would also be found out and visited with the penalties of the law? This hint to the obscure publisher against whom these ex-officio informations had been filed for blasphemous and seditious parodies, was effectually worked out by him in the solitude of his prison, and in the poor dwelling where he had surrounded himself, as he had done from his earliest years, with a collection of odd and curious books. From these he had gathered an abundance of knowledge that was destined to perplex the technical acquirements of the Attorney-General, to whom the sword and buckler of his precedents would be wholly useless, and to change the determination of the boldest judge in the land [Lord Ellenborough] to convict at any rate, into the prostration of helpless despair. Altogether, the three trials of William Hone are amongst the most remarkable in our constitutional history. They produced more distinct effects upon the temper of the country than any public proceedings of that time. They taught the Government a lesson which has never been forgotten, and to which, as much as to any other cause, we owe the prodigious improvement as to the law of libel itself, and the use of the law, in our own day,—an improvement which leaves what is dangerous in the press to be corrected by the remedial power of the press itself; and which, instead of lamenting over the newly-acquired ability of the masses to read seditious and irreligious works,

depends upon the general diffusion of this ability as the surest corrective of the evils that are incident even to the best gift of heaven,—that of knowledge.”—C. Knight, *Popular history of England*, v. 8, ch. 5.—In 1817 “there was widespread distress. There were riots in the counties of England arising out of the distress. There were riots in various parts of London. Secret Committees were appointed by both Houses of the Legislature to inquire into the alleged disaffection of part of the people. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. The march of the Blanketeers from Manchester [March, 1817] caused panic and consternation through various circles in London. The march of the Blanketeers was a very simple and harmless project. A large number of the working-men in Manchester conceived the idea of walking to London to lay an account of their distress before the heads of the Government, and to ask that some remedy might be found, and also to appeal for the granting of Parliamentary reform. It was part of their arrangement that each man should carry a blanket with him, as they would, necessarily, have to sleep at many places along the way, and they were not exactly in funds to pay for first-class hotel accommodation. The nickname of Blanketeers was given to them because of their portable sleeping-arrangements. The whole project was simple, was touching in its simplicity. Even at this distance of time one cannot read about it without being moved by its pathetic childishness. These poor men thought they had nothing to do but to walk to London, and get to speech of Lord Liverpool, and justice would be done to them and their claims. The Government of Lord Liverpool dealt very roundly, and in a very different way, with the Blanketeers. If the poor man had been marching on London with pikes, muskets and swords, they could not have created a greater fury of panic and of passion in official circles. The Government, availing itself of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, had the leaders of the movement captured and sent to prison, stopped the march by military force, and dispersed those who were taking part in it. . . . The ‘Massacre of Peterloo,’ as it is not inappropriately called, took place not long after. A great public meeting was held [August 16, 1819] at St. Peter’s Field, then on the outskirts of Manchester, now the site of the Free Trade Hall, which many years later rang so often to the thrilling tones of John Bright. The meeting was called to petition for Parliamentary reform. It should be remembered that in those days Manchester, Birmingham, and other great cities were without any manner of representation in Parliament. It was a vast meeting—some 80,000 men and women are stated to have been present. The yeomanry [a mounted militia force], for some reason impossible to understand; endeavoured to disperse the meeting, and actually dashed in upon the crowd, spurring their horses and flourishing their sabres. Eleven persons were killed, and several hundreds were wounded. [The latest authorities have reduced this number to five or six killed and about fifty wounded.] The Government brought in, as their panacea for popular trouble and discontent, the famous Six Acts. These Acts were simply measures to render it more easy for the authorities to put down or disperse meetings which they considered objectionable, and to suppress any manner of publication which they chose to call seditious. But among them were some Bills to prevent training and drilling, and the collection and use of arms. These measures show what the panic of the Government was. It was the conviction of the ruling classes that the poor and the working-classes of England were preparing a revo-

lution. . . . During all this time, the few genuine Radicals in the House of Commons were bringing on motion after motion for Parliamentary reform, just as Grattan and his friends were bringing forward motion after motion for Catholic Emancipation. In 1818, a motion by Sir Francis Burdett for annual Parliaments and universal suffrage was lost by a majority of 106 to nobody. . . . The motion had only two supporters—Burdett himself, and his colleague, Lord Cochrane. . . . The forms of the House require two tellers on either side, and a compliance with this inevitable rule took up the whole strength of Burdett’s party. . . . On January 20, 1820, the long reign of George III. came to an end. The life of the King closed in darkness of eyes and mind. Stone-blind, stone-deaf, and, except for rare lucid intervals, wholly out of his senses, the poor old King wandered from room to room of his palace, a touching picture, with his long, white, flowing beard, now repeating to himself the awful words of Milton—the ‘dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon—irrecoverably dark’—now, in a happier mood, announcing himself to be in the companionship of angels. George, the Prince Regent, succeeded, of course, to the throne; and George IV. at once announced his willingness to retain the services of the Ministry of Lord Liverpool. The Whigs had at one time expected much from the coming of George IV. to the throne, but their hopes had begun to be chilled of late.”—J. McCarthy, *Sir Robert Peel*, ch. 3.—See also **TARIFF: 1815-1828.**

ALSO IN: J. Routledge, *Chapters in the history of popular progress*, ch. 12-19.—H. Martineau, *History of the Thirty Years’ Peace*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 5-17.—E. Smith, *William Cobbett*, v. 2, ch. 21-23.

1817.—Treaty with Madagascar. See **MADAGASCAR.**

1817-1848.—Tariff policy.—Development of free trade. See **TARIFF: 1817-1848.**

1818.—Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle. See **AIX-LA-CHAPELLE: Congresses: 3.**

1818-1845.—Development of Indian policy. See **INDIA: 1818-1845.**

1818-1853.—Extension of poor laws.—Creation of Charitable Board. See **CHARITIES: England: 1818-1919.**

1819-1848.—Explorations in the Arctic and Antarctic regions. See **ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1819-1838; ARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1819-1848.**

1819-1860.—Woman suffrage question. See **SUFFRAGE, WOMAN: England: 1819-1860.**

1820.—Accession of King George IV.

1820-1822.—Congresses of Troppau, Laibach and Verona.—Projects of the Holy Alliance.—English protests.—Canning’s policy towards Spain and the Spanish-American colonies. See **VERONA, CONGRESS OF.**

1820-1827.—Cato Street conspiracy.—Trial of Queen Caroline.—Canning in the foreign office.—Commercial crisis of 1825.—Canning as premier.—His death.—“Riot and social misery had, during the Regency, heralded the Reign. They did not cease to afflict the country. At once we are plunged into the wretched details of a conspiracy. Secret intelligence reached the Home Office to the effect that a man named Thistlewood, who had been a year in jail for challenging Lord Sidmouth, had with several accomplices laid a plot to murder the Ministers during a Cabinet dinner, which was to come off at Lord Harrowby’s. The guests did not go, and the police pounced on the gang, arming themselves in a stable in Cato Street, off the Edge-ware Road. Thistlewood blew out the candle, having first stabbed a policeman to the heart. For that night he got off; but, being taken next day, he was soon hanged, with his four leading associates. This

is called the Cato Street Conspiracy. . . . George IV., almost as soon as the crown became his own, began to stir in the matter of getting a divorce from his wife. He had married this poor Princess Caroline of Brunswick in 1795, merely for the purpose of getting his debts paid. Their first interview disappointed both. After some time of semi-banishment to Blackheath she had gone abroad to live chiefly in Italy, and had been made the subject of more than one 'delicate investigation' for the purpose of procuring evidence of infidelity against her. She now came to England (June 6, 1820), and passed from Dover to London through joyous and sympathizing crowds. [Because of the notoriously evil life of the king, the public was roused in her behalf.] The King sent a royal message to the Lords, asking for an inquiry into her conduct. Lord Liverpool and Lord Castlereagh laid before the Lords and Commons a green bag, stuffed with indecent and disgusting accusations against the Queen. Happily for her she had two champions, whose names shall not readily lose the lustre gained in her defence—Henry Brougham and Thomas Denman, her Attorney-General and Solicitor-General. After the failure of a negotiation, in which the Queen demanded two things that the Ministers refused—the insertion of her name in the Liturgy; [it is customary, on the accession of a monarch, to insert in the Book of Common Prayer, the names of the new king and his queen] and a proper reception at some foreign court—Lord Liverpool brought into the Upper House a 'Bill of Pains and Penalties,' which aimed at her degradation from the throne and the dissolution of her marriage. Through the fever-heat of a scorching summer the case went on, counsel and witnesses playing their respective parts before the Lords. . . . At length the Bill, carried on its third reading by a majority of only nine, was abandoned by the Ministry (November 10). And the country broke out into cheers and flaming windows. Had she rested content with the vindication of her fair fame, it would have been better for her own peace. But she went in public procession to St. Paul's to return thanks for her victory. And more rashly still in the following year she tried to force her way into Westminster Abbey during the Coronation of her husband (July 10, 1821). But mercy came a few days later from the King of kings. The people, true to her even in death, insisted that the hearse containing her remains should pass through the city; and in spite of bullets from the carbines of dragoons they gained their point, the Lord Mayor heading the procession till it had cleared the streets. . . . George Canning had resigned his office rather than take any part with the Liverpool Cabinet in supporting the 'Bill of Pains and Penalties,' and had gone to the Continent for the summer of the trial year. [Just as the position of the cabinet seemed more unbending and hopelessly reactionary than ever, a series of events changed the character of the Liverpool ministry.] Early in 1822 Lord Sidmouth . . . resigned the Home Office. He was succeeded by Robert Peel, a statesman destined to achieve eminence. Canning about the same time was offered the post of Governor-General of India," and accepted it; but this arrangement was suddenly changed by the death of Castlereagh, who committed suicide in August. Canning then became Foreign Secretary. "The spirit of Canning's foreign policy was diametrically opposed to that of Londonderry [Castlereagh]. . . . Refusing to interfere in Spanish affairs, he yet acknowledged the new-won freedom of the South American States, which had lately shaken off the Spanish yoke. To preserve peace and yet cut England loose from the Holy Alliance were the con-

flicting aims, which the genius of Canning enabled him to reconcile [see VERONA, CONGRESS OF]."—W. F. Collier, *History of England*, pp. 526-529.—"It became evident that the ministry would have to strengthen itself from the ranks of the moderate Conservatives, [among whom were Peel and Canning] . . . and in 1823 Huskisson also joined the ministry. The Cabinet at once adopted a more liberal policy. Peel began the reform of the criminal law, Huskisson introduced valuable improvements in the province of trade and finance—all in the direction of Free Trade,—and Canning infused a new spirit into our foreign policy."—A. Hassall, *Making of the British empire*, no. 6, p. 134.—"During the years 1824-25, the country, drunk with unusual prosperity, took that speculation fever which has afflicted her more than once during the last century and a half. . . . A crop of fungus companies sprang up temptingly from the heated soil of the Stock Exchange. . . . Shares were bought and gambled in. The winter passed; but spring shone on glutted markets, depreciated stock, no buyers, and no returns from the shadowy and distant investments in South America, which had absorbed so much capital. Then the crashing began—the weak broke first, the strong next, until banks went down by dozens, and commerce for the time was paralyzed. By causing the issue of one and two pound notes, by coining in great haste a new supply of sovereigns, and by inducing the Bank of England to lend money upon the security of goods—in fact to begin the pawnbroking business—the Government met the crisis, allayed the panic, and to some extent restored commercial credit. Apoplexy having struck down Lord Liverpool early in 1827, it became necessary to select a new Premier. Canning was the chosen man." He formed a cabinet with difficulty in April, Wellington, Peel, Eldon, and others of his former colleagues refusing to take office with him. His administration was brought abruptly to an end in August by his sudden death.—W. F. Collier, *History of England*, pp. 526-529.—"But before Navarino had been fought [between the English and Turks in the Greek war for independence], Canning, who on the death of Lord Liverpool (Feb. 17) had become Prime Minister on April 10, 1827, was dead. He had seen great improvements effected in commerce by the adoption of Mr. Huskisson's views [Huskisson, the genius of his age in finance and commerce, improved the conditions of colonial and foreign trade, and made great strides in clearing up the fiscal tangle at home], he had taken part in fresh endeavours to procure the abolition of slavery, he had realized the necessity of adopting measures for the lowering of the price of corn. Though opposed to the introduction of any scheme of parliamentary reform and to the relaxation of the Test and Corporation Acts, he was an advocate of Catholic Emancipation, the settlement of which question had become an absolute necessity. In Ireland a Catholic association had been formed in 1823, and in March, 1826, Sir Francis Burdett brought forward a Catholic Relief Bill, which passed the Commons, but was rejected by the House of Lords. During his short ministry, from April to August, 1827, Canning was supported by the moderate Tories and many Whigs. His liberal tendencies on such questions as Catholic Emancipation and the repeal of the Corn Laws were well known, and men like Wellington, Eldon, and Melville refused to join him. On August 8 he died, having restored England's position on the Continent, having inaugurated a system of non-intervention, and having broken up the Holy Alliance."—A. Hassall, *Making of the British empire*, no. 6, p. 136.

ALSO IN: Lord Brougham, *Life and times, by himself*, v. 2, ch. 12-18.—A. G. Stapleton, *George Canning and his times*, ch. 18-34.—Idem, *Some official correspondence of George Canning*, 2 v.—F. H. Hill, *George Canning*, ch. 19-22.—T. Martin, *Life of Lord Lyndhurst*, ch. 7.—C. Abington, *Twenty years*.

1820-1870.—Rule in Ireland. See IRELAND: 1820-1870.

1821-1845.—Emigration to Australia. See AUSTRALIA: 1821-1845.

1824.—Labor legislation. See ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION, INDUSTRIAL: Great Britain: 1562-1806.

1825.—Recognition of independence of South American republics. See LATIN AMERICA: 1825-1833.

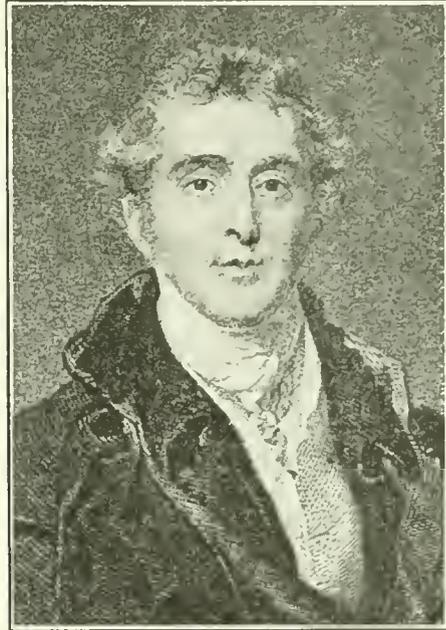
1825-1881.—Period of railway development.—Local companies. See RAILROADS: 1750-1881.

1827-1828.—Removal of disabilities from the Dissenters.—Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.—“Early in 1827 a private member, of little influence, unexpectedly raised a dormant question. For the best part of a century the Dissenters had passively submitted to the anomalous position in which they had been placed by the Legislature [see above: 1662-1665; 1672-1673; 1711-1714]. Nominally unable to hold any office under the Crown, they were annually ‘whitewashed’ for their infringement of the law by the passage of an Indemnity Act. The Dissenters had hitherto been assenting parties to this policy. They fancied that the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts would logically lead to the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, and they preferred remaining under a disability themselves to running the risk of conceding relief to others. The tacit understanding, which thus existed between the Church on one side and Dissent on the other, was maintained unbroken and almost unchallenged till 1827. It was challenged in that year by William Smith, the member for Norwich. Smith was a London banker; he was a Dissenter; and he felt keenly the ‘hard, unjust, and unnecessary’ law which disabled him from holding ‘any office, however insignificant, under the Crown,’ and from sitting ‘as a magistrate in any corporation without violating his conscience.’ Smith took the opportunity which the annual Indemnity Act afforded him of stating these views in the House of Commons. As he spoke the scales fell from the eyes of the Liberal members. The moment he sat down Harvey, the member for Colchester, twitted the Opposition with disregarding ‘the substantial claims of the Dissenters,’ while those of the Catholics were urged year after year ‘with the vehemence of party,’ and supported by ‘the mightiest powers of energy and eloquence.’ The taunt called up Lord John Russell, and elicited from him the declaration that he would bring forward a motion on the Test and Corporation Acts, ‘if the Protestant Dissenters should think it to their interest that he should do so.’ A year afterwards on the 26th of February, 1828—Lord John Russell [who later became one of the Whig leaders] rose to redeem the promise which he thus gave.” His motion “was carried by 237 votes to 193. The Ministry had sustained a crushing and unexpected reverse. For the moment it was doubtful whether it could continue in office. It was saved from the necessity of resigning by the moderation and dexterity of Peel. Peel considered that nothing could be more unfortunate for the Church than to involve the House of Commons in a conflict with the House of Lords on a religious question. . . . On his advice the Bishops consented to substitute a formal declaration for the test hitherto in force. The declaration, which con-

tained a promise that the maker of it would ‘never exert any power or any influence to injure or subvert the Protestant’ Established Church, was to be taken by the members of every corporation, and, at the pleasure of the Crown, by the holder of every office. Russell, though he disliked the declaration, assented to it for the sake of securing the success of his measure.” The bill was modified accordingly and passed both houses, though strenuously resisted by all the Tories of the old school.—S. Walpole, *History of England from 1815*, v. 2, ch. 10.

ALSO IN: J. Stoughton, *Religion in England from 1800 to 1850*, v. 1, ch. 2.—H. S. Skeats, *History of the free churches of England*, ch. 9.

1827-1828.—Administration of Lord Goderich.—Advent of the Wellington ministry.—“The death of Mr. Canning placed Lord Goderich at the head of the government. The composition of the Cabinet was slightly altered. Mr. Huskisson became



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Colonial Secretary, Mr. Herries Chancellor of the Exchequer. The government was generally considered to be weak, and not calculated for a long endurance. . . . The differences upon financial measures between Mr. Herries . . . and Mr. Huskisson . . . could not be reconciled by Lord Goderich, and he therefore tendered his resignation to the king on the 6th of January, 1828. His majesty immediately sent to lord Lyndhurst to desire that he and the duke of Wellington should come to Windsor. The king told the duke that he wished him to form a government of which he should be the head. . . . It was understood that lord Lyndhurst was to continue in office. The duke of Wellington immediately applied to Mr. Peel, who, returning to his post of Secretary of State for the Home Department, saw the impossibility of re-uniting in this administration those who had formed the Cabinet of lord Liverpool. He desired to strengthen the government of the duke of Wellington by the introduction of some of the more important of Mr. Canning’s friends into the Cabinet and to fill some of the

lessor offices. The earl of Dudley, Mr. Huskisson, lord Palmerston, and Mr. Charles Grant, became members of the new administration. Mr. William Lamb, afterwards lord Melbourne, was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland. The ultra-Tories were greatly indignant at these arrangements. They groaned and reviled as if the world was unchanged."—C. Knight, *Popular history of England*, v. 8, ch. 13.

ALSO IN: T. Martin, *Life of Lord Lyndhurst*.—W. M. Torrens, *Life of Viscount Melbourne*.

1827-1829.—Intervention on behalf of Greece.—Battle of Navarino. See GREECE: 1821-1829; ADRIANOPLE, TREATY OF.

1828.—Corn Law amended.—Sliding scale. See TARIFF: 1815-1828.

1829.—Catholic emancipation. See IRELAND: 1811-1829.

1829.—Origin of modern city police system. See MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT: Police defined.

1830.—Reform movement.—Parliamentary representation before reform.—Unfair basis of representation.—Borough system.—Bribery.—The history of electoral reform goes back over a hundred and fifty years. "Sovereigns as far back as Elizabeth and James I had admitted the existence of . . . divers abuses in the electoral system. Each of these sovereigns had urged their correction. A partial and temporary correction was made during the Commonwealth by Cromwell: a reform which even so strong a royalist as Clarendon described as 'a warrantable alteration and fit to be made in better times.' A permanent correction was urged at the Restoration; again at the Revolution of 1688; again at the union of Scotland with England in 1707; and once more in 1800, at the union of Ireland with Great Britain. From the time of Elizabeth, when Wylson, Her Majesty's Secretary of State, in refusing the request of the Earl of Rutland for the Parliamentary enfranchisement of Newark, wrote 'it is thought that there are overmany (burgesses) already, and there will be a device hereafter to lessen the number for the decayed towns,' and from the time of James I . . . the question of the reform of the House of Commons had never long been at rest. . . . Until the eve of the Reform Act additions continued to be made to the code disqualifying office-holders. . . . [The] code . . . survived the Reform Act of 1832, and those of 1867 and 1884 [and] exists almost in its entirety to-day. The exclusions established by this voluminous code . . . [may be divided] into four groups. . . . Persons connected with the administration of justice, such as judges, recorders, registrars, and stipendiary magistrates; . . . persons representing the Crown as colonial governors, court officials, or subordinate members of the civil service; . . . persons connected with the collection of revenue or audit of public accounts; . . . persons connected with the administration of property for public purposes. . . . With the enactment of these laws, control of the House of Commons such as was exercised by George III at the time of the American Revolution, ceased to be possible. In the two centuries and a quarter which had intervened between the proclamation of 1604, in which James I charged sheriffs not to direct writs to decayed boroughs for elections of members of the House of Commons, and the drafting of the preamble of the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832, the electoral system in England had undergone but little organic change."—E. and A. G. Porritt, *Unreformed House of Commons*, v. 1, pp. 220-221.—"In 1782 a number of friends of reform met at the house of the Duke of Richmond, decided that the moment had

come to raise the question in the House of Commons, and persuaded [the younger] Pitt to be their spokesman. On 7th of May he moved that 'a Committee be appointed to enquire into the present State of the Representation of the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament . . . but, to the great disappointment of the reformers, his resolution was defeated by twenty votes. . . . In July [1782] the Society for Constitutional Information issued an address 'to the people of Great Britain of all denominations, but particularly to those who subsist by honest industry.' . . . Reform, now and for some time to come, was demanded, not by the tradesman and the artisan, but by the country squire and the professional man. In this address we see them reaching downward in the social scale for encouragement and support. The 'mechanic' is told that he ought to share in political power; 'therefore, let your condition be ever so humble, when any one tells you that you should mind your own business and not meddle with State affairs, be assured he is either a knave or a fool. It is entirely owing to your negligence in the past that you have so much dirty work to inspect.' . . . [In May, 1783, Pitt] brought forward three resolutions for the prevention of bribery; the disfranchisement of corrupt boroughs . . . and an addition to the representation of London and the counties. But . . . the House of Commons refused even to vote directly upon the resolutions. . . . In December, 1784, Pitt gave Wyvill to understand that he would 'put forth his whole power and credit as a Man and as a Minister, honestly and boldly to carry a plan of Reform, by which our liberties will be placed on a footing of permanent security.' The hopes of leading reformers began to rise. . . . In April, 1785, Pitt asked leave to introduce a Reform Bill. . . . Leave to introduce the Bill was refused . . . [and] Pitt never again risked his power and credit as a man and a minister in the cause of parliamentary reform. . . . Henry Flood, one of the greatest of Irish orators, took up the cause which Pitt had abandoned, and moved that 'Leave be given to bring in a Bill for amending the Representation of the People in Parliament.'"—G. S. Veitch, *Genesis of parliamentary reform*, pp. 84, 87-88, 95-96, 99, 113.—Public opinion had not yet been educated up to the point of parliamentary reform, and outside of parliament there was no general agitation or expressed desire upon the subject, and Pitt's energies were turned toward reform in India, and in Ireland. It needed the French Revolution to awaken the minds of the nation at large, and during the revolutionary years all reform movements fell into disrepute. "In the last months of 1792 the democratic movement had been in most places suppressed, and everywhere dominated, by very practical demonstrations of aristocratic and popular displeasure. . . . [Courage was required in those days to enable a man to stand out as a friend of reform.] Prosecution of Reformers, dissenting ministers, and editors lend a sinister interest to several volumes of . . . 'State Trials.' In Scotland there was neither justice nor mercy. In England one man here and another there escaped by Erskine's wit and eloquence, but the greater number of those accused were ruined. . . . When . . . Scottish Democrats . . . began to hold meetings in favour of popular representation in Parliament, and to form associations to spread the demand . . . they were regarded as rebels, treated as such, . . . [and some even transported to Botany Bay]. In 1794, Pitt's attorney-general, Sir John Scott, better known . . . [as] Lord Eldon, tried to get Thomas Hardy, the founder of the Corresponding Society, condemned to death for

high treason on the ground that the object of the Corresponding Society was 'to form a representative government in this country'—*a representative government the direct contrary of the government which is established here.* (*Creevey Papers*, Nov. 4, 1834).—G. M. Trevelyan, *Lord Grey of the Reform Bill*, pp. 77, 79, 39-41, 121-note.—"Thomas Hardy's Corresponding Society was the first political and educational club of working men. It supplied the natural leaders of that class with the opportunity to emerge and lead; with the means of study and debate, and with an embryo organisation. . . . At the general election of July, 1802 Grey made a strong pronouncement at Alnwick for reform of Parliament as being 'indispensable.'"—*Ibid.*

RISE OF POPULAR OPINION.—"In 1807 Francis Place revived democratic politics by organising the Westminster electorate, Fox's old constituency, to bring in Sir Francis Burdett, a Radical. . . . In Parliament Burdett showed bitter dislike and contempt for the orthodox Whigs, and the failure of his motion for household suffrage and equal electoral divisions was all that he could expect. The official demand for Reform was made by Grey, who expressly limited himself to moderate proposals. . . . Two other motions in the Commons for moderate Reform . . . excited little interest. . . . High rents and profits combined with patriotic fervour to disincline the country for innovation. Desire for constitutional change seemed almost treasonable while . . . the Constitution was waging a struggle of life and death against the Republic or the Empire. . . . [In 1812], however, the advanced Reformers . . . thought it safe to emerge from their retirement, and the Union and Hampden clubs were founded to propagate Reform. . . . The rise of the great manufacturers . . . challenged the power of the old aristocracy, and even their despised operatives were making themselves felt. . . . In 1815 the final peace settlement transferred the tension from foreign to home affairs, and a complete change of spirit took place. . . . In the course of the next few years it [Reform] was vehemently canvassed . . . with a zeal, a bitterness, and a passionate sense of reality, such as it had never aroused before. The temporary distress . . . was aggravated by a succession of bad harvests. The general dissatisfaction meant a revival of strength to the powers opposed to Government. In 1816 began a popular agitation for Radical Reform which in three years almost rose to revolution point, and then subsided as suddenly as it had sprung up. . . . The misery of 1816 awoke in . . . [Cobbett] indignation against the governing class and a keen desire for Parliamentary Reform as a root of blessings to the poor. He proceeded to tour the country, urging his hearers to petition for Reform, and in November lowered the price of his 'Register' to twopence. The effect of this at a time when ordinary newspapers cost not less than sevenpence was most startling. The Middlesex election [see above 1768-1774] had shown one latent force in English politics; the agitation aroused by Cobbett revealed another not less full of possibilities. 'The labouring classes,' he wrote, 'seemed as if they had never heard a word on politics before.' By March, 1817, he had made the country too hot to hold him, and left for America, a fugitive from the combined terrors of the laws of sedition and of debt. . . . [See above: 1816-1820.] In May, 1821, Russell followed up . . . [a] sweeping measure [by John Lambton] with a proposal to transfer members to large towns from convicted boroughs. This was lost by only 31 votes; but when, next April, in view of 'the

present state of external peace and internal tranquillity,' and fortified by numerous petitions, Russell presumed to suggest to disfranchise 100 small boroughs partially and give their members to counties and large towns, he was beaten by 105. It is a telling sign of the new spirit that, whereas Pitt had proposed in 1785 to divide the available members between London and the counties, Russell assigned two-fifths of them to the towns. On this occasion he at least succeeded in drawing a clear statement of the case against Reform from its arch-enemy. In a Burke-like speech, whose eloquence long sounded in the ears of Parliament, [George] Canning declared that Reform on principle, other than the remedy of definite grievances, would destroy the Constitution; to establish one uniform right would be to exclude some important interests. He went further: 'I do not believe that to increase the power of the people—or rather to bring that power into more direct, immediate, and incessant operation upon the House—would enable the House to discharge its functions more usefully than it discharges them at present.' It was felt that Canning's speech had sealed the fate of Reform for some years. Only the disfranchisement of Gram-pound [a pocket borough], for notorious corruption, broke the charmed security of the old system. . . . Russell himself realised that the Commons were only reflecting the apathy of the country, and complained that some of the Whig leaders had succumbed to its deadening weight. . . . The financial crisis of 1825, preceded by the strikes which attended the repeal of the Combination Acts, and followed by distress in manufacturing districts, created an atmosphere of unrest contrasting strongly with the optimism . . . [which had prevailed during the previous] years. On the one hand Tories, strengthened by Canning's assertion that his opposition to Reform was based not on temporary circumstances but on unalterable principle, might plead the folly of mooted such a question at a time of disturbance; while Hobhouse, speaking to a motion introduced by Russell just before the dissolution of 1826, found in 'the reverses of the present day' strong proof of the financial incapacity of an unreformed House of Commons. But he saw no hope of carrying such a measure from the Opposition benches. The general election of this year, fought mainly on the subjects of Corn and Catholic Emancipation, made little change in party strength. Vastly different was the effect of the change brought about by Canning's promotion, in the spring of 1827, to the place so long filled by Lord Liverpool. The arrangements made broke up both great parties and left politics in a fluid condition in which anything might happen."—J. R. M. Butler, *Passing of Great Reform Bill*, pp. 25, 27, 28, 40, 41, 43.

INFLUENCE OF COBBETT.—"Cobbett and the Radicals were first in the field. Even while the excitement over the Catholic question was at its height, which indeed was never very great outside the parliamentary classes, Cobbett gave the need for Reform a foremost place in the doctrines of class antagonism he was now preaching. 'Great numbers of the people, in the labouring and middle rank of life, trace all the degradation and suffering of the country to a want of Parliamentary Reform; they cannot, if my Lord Grey can, perceive that the House of Commons is sufficiently under public opinion.' . . . If the distress would bring Reform, he hoped it would continue. 'In short, the game is up unless the aristocracy hasten forward and conciliate the people.' . . . No administration, no party, is guilty of the present misery; the nation is divided into two castes, alien

in interests, habits, and sympathies. Of the rich all interests are represented—the Land, Commerce, Shipping, East India merchants and West India planters, Brewers, 'Saints,' Sport, and Science. The people alone has no representation, and as a result the country is on the verge of beggary. The Reform movement among the working classes [began and continued as a demand for social revolution], ignoring any distinction between the aristocratic parties. . . . By the beginning of 1830 Reform had become a familiar topic to the minds of the middle classes; the discontent following on the bad winter was likely to make it practical. Cobbett, who beyond question had a wider influence in the country at this time than any other single man, had delivered a course of lectures at the Mechanics' Institute in London. In December he started on his Northern Tour, with a view to collecting information as to the real state of the people, besides addressing meetings and urging his hearers to agitate for Reform. . . . The London papers were taking the same line. One Whig journal, finding the question raised in *Blackwood's Magazine* whether education is calculated to make the lower classes better subjects, supplied the paraphrase: is it 'calculated to add to their affection for rotten boroughs, licensing, game and corn laws,' and the other results of an unreformed Parliament?'—*Ibid.*, pp. 56, 57, 58, 59.

STATE OF FRANCHISE BEFORE PASSAGE OF REFORM BILL.—"Holding the modern view of representation, which is largely the result of the historical success of Lord John Russell's bill, we smile in a superior way over the story of Old Sarum with its bare fields and two members, contrasted with unrepresented Manchester's rising population of 180,000. Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Wolverhampton, Huddersfield, Gateshead, were also voteless, while eight members sat for the whole of London. The twenty-three northern counties of England included only seventy-four of the two hundred and three parliamentary boroughs in the country, in spite of the fact that the centre of gravity had been rapidly shifting northwards since the industrial revolution. The south coast, on the other hand, was dotted with boroughs, while Cornwall alone returned forty-four members, one less than the whole of Scotland. And, in view of the patron's influence, acquired, as the case might be, by money or hereditary connection, only a portion of the enfranchised boroughs could be said to return the members that sat for them."—*Ibid.*, p. 236.—"As far back as February 1793, while the country was resounding with preparations for the war in Flanders, the Friends of the People [had] brought out . . . [a] Report on the State of Parliamentary Representation. Its accuracy was not challenged, though it contained a printed list of the 'proprietors' [or "patrons"] of all the rotten boroughs of Great Britain; and Hardy tells us that it 'gave the people more information about the partial and corrupt state of the representation than any other publication at that time.' The tables showed that more than 300 out of the 513 representatives for England and Wales owed their return to individual 'proprietors': half a dozen were put in by the Lords of the Treasury; 88 were absolutely nominated by Peers, and 72 had their election secured by the influence of Peers; 82 were absolutely nominated by individuals below the rank of the peerage, and 57 had their election secured by the influence of such individuals [hence nomination was looked upon as synonymous with election]. The proprietors themselves numbered 71 Lords and 91 Commoners. The meagre number of 11,075 voters

returned a clear majority of the Members for England and Wales; 51 constituencies had less than fifty voters each. . . . Seats were openly advertised for sale in newspapers; if the proprietor became bankrupt, his borough influence was set down as a saleable asset. The price of a seat in Parliament, it was said, was better known than the price of a horse."—G. M. Trevelyan, *Lord Grey of the Reform Bill*, p. 74.—"£5000 had been left by will for the purchase of a seat in Parliament; . . . a seat had been reckoned amongst the saleable assets of a bankrupt. . . . This distortion of the representation by sale and purchase was rendered possible by the state of the 203 English parliamentary boroughs which returned the majority of the members of the House of Commons. With a few exceptions they were alike in returning two members, but . . . no uniform rule fixed the constitution of the boroughs or the franchise of the electors. . . . [Generally speaking the boroughs fell into four main classes: the scot and lot and potwalloper boroughs, freeman boroughs, burgh boroughs, and close corporation boroughs. In the first of these groups, which come more nearly than any other to manhood suffrage, every resident or household not a pauper had a vote but voters in a potwalloper borough had to show a separate doorway to his dwelling, and a fireplace. In the scot and lot boroughs the electors paid scot and lot, church and poor rates.] In 59 boroughs—populous places like Preston and Westminster, Southwark and Northampton, mere clusters of dwellings like Gatton, decayed towns like Gramppound,— . . . members were elected by the potwallopers, by the payers of scot and lot, or in accordance with some analogous custom. . . . [In the freeman boroughs (62) the suffrage was obtained by inheritance, apprenticeship, marriage with a freeman's daughter, or gift of the corporation, who might at any time create a sufficient number of non-resident freemen to turn a contested election.] Least popular of all was the constitution of the 43 boroughs . . . a close corporation elected the members. Tiverton, for instance, with its 5,000 inhabitants, had no say in the election of its representatives, who were chosen by the 25 members of the self-elected corporation."—G. S. Veitch, *Genesis of parliamentary reform*, pp. 3-7.—The classic example of the burghage or "rotten" borough is "Old Sarum, which James I would gladly have seen disfranchised in 1624. . . . On the site of what had once been Old Salisbury there remained, in 1776, one house; . . . but in 1792 this last remnant of a habitation had been demolished, and it was necessary to erect a tent to shelter the returning officer whilst he took the votes of the seven burghage-holders. . . . Tiny electorates like those described were manifestly easy to control. It was estimated in 1793 that 71 peers . . . [the Lords of the Treasury and 91 Commoners . . . could . . . nominate 306 members]. Control of a borough might be obtained either by purchase or by influence, and probably no single politician would have doubted, at the accession of George III, that influence, at any rate over what were called family boroughs, was perfectly legitimate. . . . Huge sums were spent on a single election. A contest at Lincoln in 1808 is said to have cost £25,000 or £30,000, and it is on record that a single candidate spent £30,000 during an election at Liverpool. In some places votes were sold at a fixed market price, varying from five guineas at Boston to forty guineas at Wallingford. But in times of special excitement the market rose. 'What,' says Shelburne, for instance, 'can you say to a blacksmith or to a common labouring man

who is offered seven hundred pounds for his vote."—*Ibid.*, pp. 8, 10, 11, 13.—"The representation of the counties was smaller—there were only 92 county members in England and Wales—but it was purer, and the first reformers set their hopes upon it. Early schemes of parliamentary reform all included an addition to the representation of the counties. . . . The representation of the counties was better than the representation of the boroughs, but it was not without faults. It was unequal, because a small county like Rutland had the same number of members as a large county like Lancashire; it was inequitable, because, whilst the freeholder voted, the copyholder, whose tenure differed only in form, did not."—E. and A. G. Porritt, *Unreformed House of Commons*, v. 1, p. 15.

1830.—Death of George IV.—Accession of William IV.—Fall of Wellington's ministry.—"On June 26, 1830, George IV died [and was succeeded by his brother, the duke of Clarence, who took the title of William IV]. Parliament was dissolved on July 24. It was a time of growing political excitement in England. The last memorable event of the dissolved Parliament had been the rejection of a proposal of Lord John Russell, the Whig leader, to enfranchise Leeds, Birmingham and Manchester. In Birmingham a new association, the Birmingham Political Union, originally formed for the purpose of advocating the free use of paper money, had postponed its original object in order first to carry Parliamentary Reform. Thomas Attwood was the leader of this movement, and he was working in close association with Francis Place and the Westminster Radicals. The rapidity with which this body grew, and the influence it exerted, appeared to Conservatives to bear a most disquieting similarity to the record of the Catholic Association. Meanwhile events were occurring across the Channel which stirred the friends of constitutional government into enthusiasm. On July 27 a revolution broke out in Paris, . . . and on August 7, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was proclaimed King of the French. At the same time the people of Belgium . . . rebelled and succeeded in establishing their independence [of Holland]. . . . [The success of the revolutions in] France and in Belgium, with but very little bloodshed, had the effect of rousing a common enthusiasm [in England] among Whigs and Radicals . . . [who] effected a partial fusion, and the Liberal Party of the nineteenth century was the result. Meanwhile the Tory Party was torn by dissension; . . . [but though the] Liberal candidates had a series of remarkable successes in the big constituencies, . . . the Tory Party had a nominal majority in the House of Commons, and the Duke of Wellington remained Prime Minister. In a very curious way the issues of Home and Foreign politics were blended. The King's Speech deplored the events in Belgium, and it was feared that war was contemplated in order to re-establish Dutch rule. Earl Grey called upon the House of Lords to prevent the danger of war by reforming Parliament. On the other hand the Duke of Wellington made his historic declaration [November 3] in favour of the Constitution as it was, declaring that if he 'had the task of creating a new Constitution he could not hope to create such perfection at once, but his great endeavour would be to form some description of Legislature which would produce the same results.' . . . [On November 9] the Ministers feared to allow the King and Queen to attend the Lord Mayor's Banquet. The danger feared was only partially connected with the agitation for

reform. The main cause for excitement was the unpopularity of the new force of Metropolitan Police that had just been created . . . as a necessary part of the policy of reform of the Criminal Law, . . . [by Sir Robert Peel who had] taken up the work . . . of substituting for the . . . nominal death penalties for innumerable offences moderate penalties which could actually be carried out, combined with an efficient police. . . . On November 15 the Ministry was defeated in the House of Commons and resigned."—G. Slater, *Making of modern England*, pp. 86, 87, 88.—See also EUROPE: Modern period: Revolutionary movement for self-government.

ALSO IN: A. Paul, *History of reform*, ch. 1-6.—W. Bagehot, *Essays on parliamentary reform*, essay 2.—H. Cox, *Ancient parliamentary elections*.—S. Walpole, *Electorate and the legislature*, ch. 4.—E. A. Freeman, *Decayed boroughs (Historical Essays, 4th series)*.—W. L. Mathieson, *England in transition, 1789-1832: A study of movements*.

1830-1832.—Ministry of Earl Grey.—Struggle over passage of Reform Bill.—Reform Act of 1832.—"Earl Grey, leader of the Whigs in the House of Lords, was induced to undertake the task of forming a Cabinet. It was a Ministry partly of Whigs and partly of Canningites. Lord Althorp, the heir to a peerage, was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Melbourne Home Secretary. Lord Palmerston, an Irish Peer sitting in the House of Commons, Foreign Secretary, the other chief members being Lord Russell, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Durham, Lord Goderich and Sir J. Graham. It was perhaps the most aristocratic Cabinet of the nineteenth century. The great difficulty in its formation was Henry Brougham, the one prominent man associated with the Whig Party who had displayed the qualities of a popular leader. He had been elected with enthusiasm by the freeholders of Yorkshire without even visiting the county. . . . He was made a Peer and given the Woolsack. [made lord chancellor] There he ceased in effect to be a political influence, and busied himself in wiping off the great accumulation of appeals which had been left to him by his predecessors. . . . Such was the Cabinet which had to deal with the great problem of drafting a Reform Bill sufficiently bold and comprehensive to win the enthusiasm of the more advanced reformers, and yet mild enough to secure the endorsement of a sufficient body of moderate opinion. In this effort they were extraordinarily successful."—G. Slater, *Making of modern England*, p. 88.—"The first announcement of the premier was that the government would take into immediate consideration the state of the representation, with a view to the correction of those defects which have been occasioned in it, by the operation of time; and with a view to the re-establishment of that confidence upon the part of the people, which he was afraid Parliament did not at present enjoy, to the full extent that is essential for the welfare and safety of the country, and the preservation of the government.' The government were now pledged to a measure of parliamentary reform; and during the Christmas recess were occupied in preparing it. Meanwhile, the cause was eagerly supported by the people. . . . So great were the difficulties with which the government had to contend, that they needed all the encouragement that the people could give. They had to encounter the reluctance of the king,—the interests of the proprietors of boroughs, which Mr. Pitt, unable to overcome, had sought to purchase,—the opposition of two thirds of the House of Lords, and perhaps of a majority of the House

of Commons,—and above all, the strong Tory spirit of the country. . . . On the 3d February, when Parliament reassembled, Lord Grey announced that the government had succeeded in framing 'a measure which would be effective, without exceeding the bounds of a just and well-advised moderation,' and which 'had received the unanimous consent of the whole government.' . . . On the 1st March, this measure was brought forward in the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, to whom,—though not in the cabinet,—this honorable duty had been justly confided. . . . On the 22d March, the second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of one only, in a House of 608,—probably the greatest number which, up to that time, had ever been assembled at a division. On the 10th of April, on going into committee, ministers found themselves in a minority of eight, on a resolution proposed by General Gascoyne, that the number of members returned for England ought not to be diminished. On the 21st, ministers announced that it was not their intention to proceed with the bill. On that same night, they were again defeated on a question of adjournment, by a majority of twenty-two. This last vote was decisive. The very next day, Parliament was prorogued by the king in person, 'with a view to its immediate dissolution.' It was one of the most critical days in the history of our country. . . . The people were now to decide the question;—and they decided it. A triumphant body of reformers was returned, pledged to carry the reform bill; and on the 6th July, the second reading of the renewed measure was agreed to, by a majority of 136. The most tedious and irritating discussions ensued in committee,—night after night; and the bill was not disposed of until the 21st September, when it was passed by a majority of 109. That the peers were still adverse to the bill was certain; but whether, at such a crisis, they would venture to oppose the national will, was doubtful. On the 7th October, after a debate of five nights,—one of the most memorable by which that House has ever been distinguished, and itself a great event in history,—the bill was rejected on the second reading, by a majority of forty-one. The battle was to be fought again. Ministers were too far pledged to the people to think of resigning; and on the motion of Lord Ebrington, they were immediately supported by a vote of confidence from the House of Commons. On the 20th October, Parliament was prorogued; and after a short interval of excitement, turbulence, and danger [see BRISTOL: 1831], met again on the 6th December. A third reform bill was immediately brought in,—changed in many respects,—and much improved by reason of the recent census, and other statistical investigations. Amongst other changes, the total number of members was no longer proposed to be reduced. This bill was read a second time on Sunday morning, the 18th of December, by a majority of 162. On the 23d March, it was passed by the House of Commons, and once more was before the House of Lords. Here the peril of again rejecting it could not be concealed,—the courage of some was shaken,—the patriotism of others aroused; and after a debate of four nights, the second reading was affirmed by the narrow majority of nine. But danger still awaited it. The peers who would no longer venture to reject such a bill, were preparing to change its essential character by amendments. Meanwhile the agitation of the people was becoming dangerous. . . . The time had come, when either the Lords must be coerced, or the ministers must resign. This alternative

was submitted to the king. He refused to create peers: the ministers resigned, and their resignation was accepted. Again the Commons came to the rescue of the bill and the reform ministry. On the motion of Lord Ebrington, an address was immediately voted by them, renewing their expressions of unaltered confidence in the late ministers, and imploring his Majesty 'to call to his councils such persons only as will carry into effect, unimpaired in all its essential provisions, that bill for reforming the representation of the people, which has recently passed this House.' . . . The public excitement was greater than ever; and the government and the people were in imminent danger of a bloody collision, when Earl Grey was recalled to the councils of his sovereign. The bill was now secure. The peers averted the threatened addition to their numbers by abstaining from further opposition; and the bill,—the Great Charter of 1832,—at length received the Royal Assent."—T. E. May, *Constitutional history of England, 1760-1860, v. 1, ch. 6.*—"The Reform Act of 1832 cracked the power of the aristocracy in elections in two ways: First by a redistribution of seats. Fifty-six of the least important boroughs lost their individual representation in the House of Commons and were merged in the surrounding county constituencies. Thirty other boroughs were deprived of one member apiece. These disfranchised boroughs were almost without exception of the 'Rotten' or 'pocket' variety, in each of which the electoral influence of an aristocratic or plutocratic patron had been complete. The seats thus rendered available were given to the more populous industrial districts. Sixty-five went to the larger towns, of which Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield had hitherto possessed no individual representation. Sixty-five were given to the more industrial counties. The remaining thirteen went to Scotland and Ireland. The system of nomination was attacked in another way, for a new electoral franchise was introduced which increased the number of voters and thus made it more difficult for any electoral patron to control them. In boroughs the new franchise gave the vote to all house-holders who owned or rented a building worth ten pounds a year. In the county constituencies the Reform Act enfranchised tenants-at-will of land worth fifty pounds a year and copyholders or leaseholders of land worth ten pounds a year. The old freehold qualifications for county voters was left undisturbed; but all the old borough franchises, except that of the freemen, were abolished, although existing electors might continue to exercise their qualifications during their lives. For the first time in British electoral history a system of registration was introduced. Before being recognized as a voter, a qualified person must prove his qualification and have his name entered upon the electoral lists. To the leading politicians of the day there is little doubt but that the Reform Act seemed like a constitutional revolution. The Tories did not spare their prognostications of the anarchy that was sure to follow and even some of the reformers feared the disastrous effects of what they regarded as the new democracy. The Radicals, however, and the working-class leaders looked upon the reform as merely the first step. The latter felt that the advantage won was purely in the interests of the middle class and they looked forward to a further extension of the franchise which would make the electoral system really democratic. Francis Place, who understood and sympathized with the democratic reformers, believed that the new franchises were important not so much for

themselves as for what they promised for the future; they were, he said, the 'commencement of the breaking up of the old rotten system.' It is with this estimate that the opinion of posterity will probably concur. The Reform Act did not bring electoral power into the hands of the democracy; it did not even break the control of the middle classes. [It even took away the franchise from some who had had the constitutional right to use it.] But, as Mill put it, it did break the spell that had kept men bound to the fear of change, and although the democratic tide rose slowly, it proved, after 1832, to be irresistible. One reason why the Reform Act did not prove to have results immediately favorable to democracy, was that the new franchises did not increase the total electorate nearly as much as had been generally anticipated, either by the friends or the foes of parliamentary reform. Lord John Russell had estimated that the electorate would be doubled; but as a matter of fact the net increase in the number of electors in England and Wales was only some 200,000, or a gain of about fifty per cent.—C. Seymour and D. P. Frary, *How the world votes*, v. 1, pp. 116-118.—See also CABINET: English: Position during 19th century; SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: British empire: 1832-1885.

ALSO IN: W. N. Molesworth, *History of the reform bill of 1832*.—W. Jones, *Biographical sketches of the reform ministers*.—Lord Brougham, *Life and times, by himself*, ch. 21-22.—S. Walpole, *History of England, from 1815, v. 2, ch. 11*.—S. J. Reid, *Life of Lord John Russell*.

1831.—First assumption of the name Conservatives by the Tories. See CONSERVATIVE PARTY, ENGLAND.

1831-1832.—Intervention in the Netherlands.—Creation of the kingdom of Belgium.—War with Holland. See BELGIUM: 1830-1832.

1831-1847.—Child welfare legislation.—Night work prohibited.—Ten Hour Bill. See CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 1802-1847.

1832-1833.—Abolition of slavery in the West Indies.—Trade monopoly of the East India Company withdrawn.—Factory bill.—Irish tithes.—"The period which succeeded the passing of the Reform Bill was one of immense activity and earnestness in legislation. . . . The first great reform was the complete abolition of the system of slavery in the British colonies. The slave trade had itself been suppressed so far as we could suppress it long before that time, [1807] but now the whole system of West Indian slavery was brought to an end [see SLAVERY: 1834-1838]. . . . A long agitation of the small but energetic anti-slavery party brought about this practical result in 1833. . . . Granville Sharpe, Zachary Macaulay, father of the historian and statesman, Thomas Fowell Buxton, Wilberforce, Brougham, and many others, had for a long time been striving hard to rouse up public opinion to the abolition of the slave system." The bill which passed Parliament gave immediate freedom to all children subsequently born, and to all those who were then under six years of age; while it determined for all other slaves a period of apprenticeship, lasting five years in one class and seven years in another, after which they attained absolute freedom. It appropriated £20,000,000 for the compensation of the slave-owners. "Another reform of no small importance was accomplished when the charter of the East India Company came to be renewed in 1833. The clause giving them a commercial monopoly of the trade of the East was abolished, and the trade thrown open to the merchants of the world [see INDIA: 1823-1833]. There were

other slaves in those days as well as the negro. There were slaves at home, slaves to all intents and purposes, who were condemned to a servitude as rigorous as that of the negro, and who, as far as personal treatment went, suffered more severely than negroes in the better class plantations. We speak now of the workers in the great mines and factories. No law up to this time regulated with anything like reasonable stringency the hours of labour in factories. . . . A commission was appointed to investigate the condition of those who worked in the factories. Lord Ashley, since everywhere known as the Earl of Shaftesbury, . . . brought forward the motion which ended in the appointment of the commission. The commission quickly brought together an immense amount of evidence to show the terrible effect, moral and physical, of the overworking of women and children, and an agitation set in for the purpose of limiting by law the duration of the hours of labour. . . . The principle of legislative interference to protect children working in factories was established by an Act passed in 1833, limiting the work of children to eight hours a day, and that of young persons under eighteen to 60 hours a week [see LABOR LEGISLATION: 1801-1878; SOCIAL INSURANCE: Details for various countries: Great Britain: 1833-1911]. The agitation then set on foot and led by Lord Ashley was engaged for years after in endeavouring to give that principle a more extended application. . . . Irish tithes were one of the grievances which came under the energetic action of this period of reform. The people of Ireland complained with justice of having to pay tithes for the maintenance of the church establishment in which they did not believe, and under whose roofs they never bent in worship." In 1832, committees of both Houses of Parliament reported in favor of the extinction of tithes; but the Government undertook temporarily a scheme whereby it made advances to the Irish clergy and assumed the collection of tithes among its own functions. It only succeeded in making matters worse, and several years passed before the adoption (in 1838) of a bill which "converted the tithe composition into a rent charge."—J. McCarthy, *Epoch of reform*, ch. 7-8.—When this church temporalities bill of 1833 was passed, its most popular features had been omitted, and it was accompanied by a coercion bill giving the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland drastic powers over counties that he considered to be in a state of disturbance.

ALSO IN: C. Knight, *Popular history of England*, v. 8, ch. 17.—H. Martineau, *History of the Thirty Years' Peace*, v. 2-3, bk. 4, ch. 6-9.

1832-1880.—Literature of Victorian era: Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold, Tennyson, Browning, etc. See ENGLISH LITERATURE: 1832-1880.

1833-1840.—Turko-Egyptian question and its settlement. See TURKEY: 1831-1840.

1833-1909.—Oxford, or Tractarian, movement.—Work of Keble, Newman, Rossetti, Morris, Swinburne.—Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood. See ENGLISH LITERATURE: 1833-1900; OXFORD, OR TRACTARIAN, MOVEMENT.

1833-1911.—Social insurance. See SOCIAL INSURANCE: Details for various countries: Great Britain: 1833-1911.

1834-1837.—Resignation of Lord Grey and the reform ministry.—First Melbourne administration.—Peel's first ministry and Melbourne's second.—Death of William IV.—Accession of Queen Victoria.—In the reform Parliament of 1833 there was a large majority of Whigs, who were far from being united. The Opposition was also divided, a more liberal section of Tories, under

the leadership of Peel, adopting the name of "Conservatives." Although this Parliament had distinguished itself in abolishing slavery in the colonies and in passing the factory act, it was hopelessly split after the passage of the Irish church temporalities bill. A revival of the famous "appropriation clause" which had been omitted from the bill in its final form caused the downfall of Grey's ministry. Resolutions were brought forward in 1834 "that the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland much exceeded the spiritual wants of the Protestant population; that it was the right of the State, and of Parliament, to distribute church property, and that the temporal possessions of the Irish church ought to be reduced. The ministers determined to adopt a middle course and appoint a commission of inquiry. . . . While the negotiations were going on, news was received of the resignation of four of the most conservative members of the Cabinet, who regarded any interference with church property with abhorrence; they were Mr. Stanley, Sir James Graham, the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Ripon. . . . Owing to the difference of opinion in the Cabinet on the Irish coercion bill, on July 9, 1834, Earl Grey placed his resignation as Prime Minister in the hands of the king [the king, failing to unite Melbourne and Peel, resigned himself to a Whig ministry]. . . . On the 14th, Viscount Melbourne stated in the House of Lords that his Majesty had honored him with his commands for the formation of a ministry. He had undertaken the task, but it was not yet completed. There was very little change in the Cabinet. . . . The Irish Church Bill was again brought forward, and although it passed the Commons, was defeated in the Lords, August 1st. The king much disliked the church policy of the Whigs, and dreaded reform. [Personal differences in the Cabinet soon forced Melbourne out.] . . . On Sir Robert Peel's return from Italy, whence he had been called, he waited upon the king and accepted the office of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer [November 1834]. . . . Prevented from forming a moderate Conservative ministry, he was reduced to fill his places with men of more pronounced opinions, which promised ill for any advance in reform. . . . The Foreign, Home, War, and Colonial offices were filled by Wellington, Goulburn, Herries, and Aberdeen; Lord Lyndhurst was Lord Chancellor; Harding, Secretary for Ireland; and Lord Wharcliffe, Privy Seal. With this ministry Peel had to meet a hostile House of Commons. . . . The Prime Minister therefore thought it necessary to dissolve Parliament, and took the opportunity [in what was called the 'Tamworth manifesto'] of declaring his policy. He declared his acceptance of the Reform Bill as a final settlement of the question. . . . The elections, [Jan. 1835] though they returned a House, as is generally the case, more favorable to the existing government than that which had been dissolved, still gave a considerable majority to the Liberals."—A. H. McCalman, *Abridged history of England*, pp. 565-570.—"The prime minister, abandoning his usual reserve, definitely pledged himself not only 'to advance, soberly and cautiously, in the path of progressive improvement,' but to bring forward specific measures. . . . On March 17, he brought in a bill to relieve dissenters from disabilities in respect of marriage, which met with general approval. . . . Still more important, as examples of conservative reform, were Peel's efforts to purge the established Church of abuses, and to introduce a voluntary commutation of tithes. . . . But the whig-radical allies of 1835 had not the smallest

intention of giving Peel a fair trial; nor indeed had they any other object beyond the recovery of power. . . . Peel had long been conscious of the hopelessness of his position and impatient of maintaining the struggle. . . . He firmly resolved to resign. On doing so [April 1835] he received from the whole conservative party, of which he was the creator, a most cordial address of thanks and confidence. Though his short administration had consolidated the whig forces for the moment, and given them a new lease of power, it showed him to be the foremost statesman in the country, and paved the way for his triumphant return to office. As Guizot said, he had proved himself 'the most liberal of conservatives, the most conservative of liberals, and the most capable man of all in both parties.' . . . [The King's] first idea was to fall back on Grey, who had already betrayed his growing mistrust of radicalism, but Grey declined to enter the lists again. There was no recourse but to recall Melbourne, whom the king personally liked. . . . The session of 1835, however, was rendered memorable by the enactment of one beneficent measure of the first magnitude. This measure—the municipal corporations act—was preceded, like the new poor law [Grey's ministry, 1834], by a thorough and exhaustive inquiry. . . . All were agreed on the necessity of sweeping away or expurgating the existing Irish corporations, but the whole strength of the conservative party in both houses was enlisted against the experiment of elective town councils. . . . Happily the commutation of tithes in England presented no political difficulties of the same nature. . . . An equally valuable and permanent legacy of this session is contained in two cognate acts regulating marriages and registration in England. . . . If the marriage act relieved a large class of the community from vexatious disabilities, the whole community assuredly owes the second reformed parliament a debt of gratitude for the registration act. . . . A bill was now passed, for the first time allowing prisoners on trial for felony to be defended by counsel. . . . A still more notable contribution to social improvement was made by Spring Rice, the chancellor of the exchequer, in consolidating the paper duties on a reduced scale, and lowering the stamp duty on newspapers from fourpence to one penny."—G. C. Brodrick and J. K. Fotheringham, *Political history of England*, v. xi, pp. 354-369.—"On June 9, 1837, a bulletin issued from Windsor Castle informing a loyal and really affectionate people that the king was ill. From the 12th they were regularly issued until the 10th, when the malady, inflammation of the lungs, had greatly increased. . . . On Tuesday, June 20th, the last of these official documents was issued. His Majesty had expired that morning at 2 o'clock. William died in the seventy-second year of his age and seventh year of his reign, leaving no legitimate issue. He was succeeded by his niece, Alexandrina Victoria."—A. H. McCalman, *Abridged history of England*, pp. 565-570.

Also in: W. C. Taylor, *Life and times of Sir Robert Peel*, v. 2, ch. 10-12.—W. M. Torrens, *Memoirs of Viscount Melbourne*, v. 2, ch. 1-8.—J. W. Croker, *Correspondence and diaries*, v. 2, ch. 18-20.

1834-1839.—Poor law reform.—Amelioration of criminal laws.—Municipal Reform Act.—Education Act.—"The next great reform to follow the Reform Act was that of the Poor Law, resulting from the investigations of Blomfield, Sumner, and Nassau Senior. The Poor Law of 1834 was a great advance on its predecessor, and it has had no successor. A workable, efficient

system was evolved; the scandalous conditions of indiscriminate outdoor relief prevailing, amounting to pauperisation, were swept away. And the new workhouses were not over-full. They were the workhouses we know from *Oliver Twist*, often more dreaded than the gaols. The humanitarian instinct is not apparent in the Poor Law of 1834. [See also CHARITIES: England: 1834.] It was, however, the inspiration of some other reforms of the period—the abolition of capital punishment for such offences as forgery, coining, sacrilege, horse-stealing, and sheep-stealing. [See CRIMINAL LAW: 1832-1860.] The other most significant reforms of the thirties must be added to this enumeration, the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 [see MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT: Development of the city as a local business unit] and the Education Act of 1839, which first established a central department for education and introduced the principle of compulsion. [See also EDUCATION: Modern: 19th century: England.]—A. S. Turberville, and F. W. Howe, *Great Britain in the latest age*, pp. 10, 11.—See also CIVIL SERVICE REFORM: Great Britain: 1834-1841.

1836-1839.—Beginning of the anti-Corn-Law agitation. See TARIFF: 1836-1841.

1837.—Separation of Hanover. See HANOVER: 1837.

1837-1839.—Opening of the reign of Queen Victoria.—End of personal rule.—Beginning of purely constitutional government.—Peel and the bedchamber question.—“The Duke of Wellington thought the accession of a woman to the sovereign's place would be fatal to the present hopes of the Tories [who were then expecting a turn of events in their favor, as against the Whig administration of Lord Melbourne]. ‘Peel,’ he said, ‘has no manners, and I have no small talk.’ He seemed to take it for granted that the new sovereign would choose her Ministers as a school-girl chooses her companions. He did not know, did not foresee, that with the accession of Queen Victoria the real reign of constitutional government in these islands was to begin. The late King had advanced somewhat on the ways of his predecessors, but his rule was still, to all intents and purposes, a personal rule. With the accession of Victoria the system of personal rule came to an end. The elections which at that time were necessary on the coming of a new sovereign went slightly in favour of the Tories. The Whigs had many troubles. They were not reformers enough for the great body of their supporters. . . . The Radicals had split off from them. They could not manage O’Connell. The Chartist fire was already burning. There was many a serious crisis in foreign policy—in China and in Egypt, for example. The Canadian Rebellion and the mission of Lord Durham involved the Whigs in fresh anxieties, and laid them open to new attacks from their enemies. On the top of all came some disturbances, of a legislative rather than an insurrectionary kind, in Jamaica, and the Government felt called upon to bring in a Bill to suspend for five years the Constitution of the island. A Liberal and reforming Ministry bringing in a Bill to suspend a Constitution is in a highly awkward and dangerous position. Peel saw his opportunity and opposed the Bill. The Government won by a majority of only 5. Lord Melbourne accepted the situation, and resigned [May 7, 1830]. The Queen sent for the Duke of Wellington, and he, of course, advised her to send for Peel. When Peel came, the young Queen told him with all the frankness of a girl that she was sorry to part with her late Ministers, and that she did not disapprove of their conduct,

but that she felt bound to act in accord with constitutional usages. Peel accepted the task of forming an Administration. And then came the famous dispute known as the ‘Bedchamber Question’—the ‘question de jupons.’ The Queen wished to retain her ladies-in-waiting; Peel insisted that there must be some change. Two of these ladies were closely related to Whig statesmen whose policy was diametrically opposed to that of Peel on no less important a question than the Government of Ireland. Peel insisted that he could not undertake to govern under such conditions. The Queen, acting on the advice of her late Ministers, would not give way. The whole dispute created immense excitement at the time. There was a good deal of misunderstanding on both sides. It was quietly settled, soon after, by a compromise which the . . . Prince Consort suggested, and which admitted that Peel had been in the right. . . . Its importance to us now is that, as Peel would not give way, the Whigs [under Melbourne] had to come back again, and they came back discredited and damaged, having, as Mr. Molesworth puts it, got back ‘behind the petticoats of the ladies-in-waiting.’—J. McCarthy, *Sir Robert Peel*, ch. 12.

ALSO IN: W. N. Molesworth, *History of England*, 1830-1874, v. 2, ch. 1.—H. Dunckley, *Lord Melbourne*, ch. 11.

1838.—Investigation of conditions in Canada by Durham. See CANADA: 1838-1843.

1838-1842.—Chartist agitation.—“When the Parliament was opened by the Queen on the 5th of February, 1830, a passage in the Royal Speech had reference to a state of domestic affairs which presented an unhappy contrast to the universal loyalty which marked the period of the Coronation. Her Majesty said: ‘I have observed with pain the persevering efforts which have been made in some parts of the country to excite my subjects to disobedience and resistance to the law, and to recommend dangerous and illegal practices.’ Chartism, which for ten subsequent years occasionally agitated the country, had then begun to take root. On the previous 12th of December a proclamation had been issued against illegal Chartist assemblies, several of which had been held, says the proclamation, ‘after sunset by torch-light.’ The persons attending these meetings were armed with guns and pikes; and demagogues, such as Feargus O’Connor and the Rev. Mr. Stephens at Bury, addressed the people in the most inflammatory language. . . . The document called ‘The People’s Charter,’ which was embodied in the form of a bill in 1838, comprised six points:—universal suffrage, excluding, however, women; division of the United Kingdom into equal electoral districts; vote by ballot; annual parliaments; no property qualification for members; and a payment to every member for his legislative services. These principles so quickly recommended themselves to the working-classes that in the session of 1830 the number of signatures to a petition presented to Parliament was upwards of a million and a quarter. The middle classes almost universally looked with extreme jealousy and apprehension upon any attempt for an extension of the franchise. The upper classes for the most part regarded the proceedings of the Chartists with a contempt which scarcely concealed their fears. This large section of the working population very soon became divided into what were called physical-force Chartists and moral-force Chartists. As a natural consequence, the principles and acts of the physical-force Chartists disgusted every supporter of order and of the rights of property.”—C. Knight, *Popu-*

lar history of England, v. 8, ch. 23.—“Nothing can be more unjust than to represent the leaders and promoters of the movement as mere factious and self-seeking demagogues. Some of them were men of great ability and eloquence; some were impassioned young poets, drawn from the class whom Kingsley has described in his ‘Alton Locke’; some were men of education; many were earnest and devoted fanatics; and, so far as we can judge, all, or nearly all, were sincere. Even the man who did the movement most harm, and who made himself most odious to all reasonable outsiders, the once famous, now forgotten, Feargus O’Connor, appears to have been sincere, and to have personally lost more than he gained by his Chartism. . . . He was of commanding presence, great stature, and almost gigantic strength. He had education; he had mixed in good society; he belonged to an old family. . . . There were many men in the movement of a nobler moral nature than poor, huge, wild Feargus O’Connor. There were men like Thomas Cooper, . . . devoted, impassioned, full of poetic aspiration, and no scant measure of poetic inspiration as well. Henry Vincent was a man of unimpeachable character. . . . Ernest Jones was as sincere and self-sacrificing a man as ever joined a sinking cause. . . . It is necessary to read such a book as Thomas Cooper’s Autobiography to understand how genuine was the poetic and political enthusiasm which was at the heart of the Chartist movement, and how bitter was the suffering which drove into its ranks so many thousands of stout working men who, in a country like England, might well have expected to be able to live by the hard work they were only too willing to do. One must read the Anti-Corn-Law Rhymes of Ebenezer Elliott to understand how the ‘bread tax’ became identified in the minds of the very best of the working class, and identified justly, with the system of political and economical legislation which was undoubtedly kept up, although not of conscious purpose, for the benefit of a class. . . . A whole literature of Chartist newspapers sprang up to advocate the cause. The *Northern Star*, owned and conducted by Feargus O’Connor, was the most popular and influential of them; but every great town had its Chartist press. Meetings were held at which sometimes very violent language was employed. . . . A formidable riot took place in Birmingham, where the authorities endeavoured to put down a Chartist meeting. . . . Efforts were made at times to bring about a compromise with the middle-class Liberals and the Anti-Corn-Law leaders; but all such attempts proved failures. The Chartists would not give up their Charter; many of them would not renounce the hope of seeing it carried by force. The Government began to prosecute some of the orators and leaders of the Charter movement; and some of these were convicted, imprisoned and treated with great severity. Henry Vincent’s imprisonment at Newport, in Wales, was the occasion of an attempt at rescue [November 4, 1830] which bore a very close resemblance indeed to a scheme of organised and armed rebellion.” A conflict occurred in which ten of the Chartists were killed, and some 50 were wounded. Three of the leaders, named Frost, Williams, and Jones, were tried and convicted on the charge of high treason, and were sentenced to death; but the sentence was commuted to one of transportation. “The trial and conviction of Frost, Williams, and Jones, did not put a stop to the Chartist agitation. On the contrary, that agitation seemed rather to wax and strengthen and grow broader because of the attempt at Newport and its consequences. . . .

There was no lack of what were called energetic measures on the part of the Government. The leading Chartists all over the country were prosecuted and tried, literally by hundreds. In most cases they were convicted and sentenced to terms of imprisonment. . . . The working classes grew more and more bitter against the Whigs, who they said had professed Liberalism only to gain their own ends. There was a profound distrust of the middle class and their leaders,” and it was for that reason that the Chartists would not join hands with the Anti-Corn-Law movement, then in full progress. “It is clear that at that time the Chartists, who represented the bulk of the artisan class in most of the large towns, did in their very hearts believe that England was ruled for the benefit of aristocrats and millionaires who were absolutely indifferent to the sufferings of the poor. It is equally clear that most of what are called the ruling class did really believe the English working men who joined the Chartist movement to be a race of fierce, unmanageable, and selfish communists, who, if they were allowed their own way for a moment, would prove themselves determined to overthrow throne, altar, and all established securities of society.”—J. McCarthy, *History of our own times*, v. 1, ch. 5.—Among the measures of coercion advocated in the councils of the Chartists was that of appointing and observing what was to be called a “sacred month,” during which the working classes throughout the whole kingdom were to abstain from every kind of labour, in the hope of compelling the governing classes to concede the charter.”—W. N. Molesworth, *History of England*, 1830-1874, v. 2, ch. 5.

ALSO IN: T. Cooper, *Life, by himself*, ch. 14-23.—W. Lovett, *Life and struggles*, ch. 8-15.—T. Frost, *Forty years’ recollections*, ch. 3-11.—H. Jephson, *Platform*, pt. 4, v. 2, ch. 17 and 19.

1839-1842.—Opium War with China. See CHINA: 1839-1842; ASIA: 1500-1900; OPIUM PROBLEM: 1840.

1839-1845.—Explorations in the Pacific. See ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1839-1845.

1840.—Adoption of penny-postage.—“In 1837 Mr. Rowland Hill had published his plan of a cheap and uniform postage. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1837, which continued its inquiries throughout the session of 1838, and arrived at the conviction that the plan was feasible, and deserving of a trial under legislative sanction. After much discussion, and the experiment of a varying charge, the uniform rate for a letter not weighing more than half an ounce became, by order of the Treasury, one penny. This great reform came into operation on the 10th of January, 1840. Its final accomplishment is mainly due to the sagacity and perseverance of the man who first conceived the scheme.”—C. Knight, *Crown history of England*, p. 883.—“Up to this time the rates of postage on letters were very heavy, and varied according to the distance. For instance, a single letter conveyed from one part of a town to another cost 2d.; a letter from Reading, to London 7d.; from Brighton, 8d.; from Aberdeen, 1s. 3½d.; from Belfast, 1s. 4d. If the letter was written on more than a single sheet, the rate of postage was much higher.”—W. N. Molesworth, *History of England*, 1830-1874, v. 2, ch. 1.—See also POSTAL SYSTEM: 1803-1914.

ALSO IN: G. B. Hill, *Life of Sir Rowland Hill*.

1840.—Queen’s marriage.—“On January 16, 1840, the Queen, opening Parliament in person, announced her intention to marry her cousin,

Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha—a step which she trusted would be 'conducive to the interests of my people as well as to my own domestic happiness.' . . . It was indeed a marriage founded on affection. . . . The Queen had for a long time loved her cousin. He was nearly her own age, the Queen being the elder by three months and two or three days. Francis Charles Augustus Albert Emmanuel was the full name of the young Prince. He was the second son of Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, and of his wife Louisa, daughter of Augustus, Duke of Saxe-Gotha-Altenberg. Prince Albert was born at the Rosenau, one of his father's residences, near Coburg, on August 26, 1819. . . . A marriage between the Princess Victoria and Prince Albert had been thought of as desirable among the families on both sides, but it was always wisely resolved that nothing should be said to the young Princess on the subject unless she herself showed a distinct liking for her cousin. In 1836, Prince Albert was brought by his father to England, and made the personal acquaintance of the Princess, and she seems at once to have been drawn toward him in the manner which her family and friends would most have desired. . . . The marriage of the Queen and the Prince took place on February 10, 1840."—J. McCarthy, *History of our own times*, v. 1, ch. 7.

1840.—Queen Victoria instructs Palmerston to maintain peace of England. See FRANCE: 1841-1848.

1840-1841.—McLeod case. See CANADA: 1840-1841.

1840-1845.—Government regulation of railroads.—Act of 1845. See RAILROADS: 1838-1873.

1840-1872.—Reforms in voting system. See AUSTRALIAN BALLOT.

1841-1842.—Interference in Afghanistan.—First Afghan War. See AFGHANISTAN: 1803-1838; 1838-1842; 1842-1860.

1841-1842.—Fall of the Melbourne ministry.—Opening of the second administration of Sir Robert Peel.—In 1841, the Whig Ministry (Melbourne's) determined "to do something for freedom of trade. . . . Colonial timber and sugar were charged with a duty lighter than was imposed on foreign timber and sugar; and foreign sugar paid a lighter or a heavier duty according as it was imported from countries of slave labour or countries of free labour. It was resolved to raise the duty on colonial timber, but to lower the duty on foreign timber and foreign sugar, and at the same time to replace the sliding scale of the Corn Laws then in force [see TARIFF: 1815-1828] with a fixed duty of 8s. per quarter. . . . The concessions offered by the Ministry, too small to excite the enthusiasm of the free traders, were enough to rally all the threatened interests around Peel. Baring's revision of the sugar duties was rejected by a majority of 36. Everybody expected the Ministers to resign upon this defeat; but they merely announced the continuance of the former duties. Then Peel gave notice of a vote of want of confidence, and carried it on the 4th of June by a single vote in a House of 623 members. Instead of resigning, the Ministers appealed to the country. The elections went on through the last days of June and the whole of July. When the new Parliament was complete, it appeared that the Conservatives could count upon 367 votes in the House of Commons. The Ministry met Parliament on the 24th of August. Peel in the House of Commons and Ripon in the House of Lords moved amendments to the Address, which were carried by majorities of 91 and 72 respectively." The Ministry resigned and a Conservative Gov-

ernment was formed, with Peel at its head, as First Lord of the Treasury. "Wellington entered the Cabinet without office, and Lyndhurst assumed for the third time the honours of Lord Chancellor." Among the lesser members of the Administration—not in the Cabinet—was Mr. Gladstone, who became Vice-President of the Board of Trade. "This time Peel experienced no difficulty with regard to the Queen's Household. It had been previously arranged that in the case of Lord Melbourne's resignation three Whig Ladies, the Duchess of Bedford, the Duchess of Sutherland, and Lady Normanby, should resign of their own accord. One or two other changes in the Household contented Peel, and these the Queen accorded with a frankness which placed him entirely at his ease. . . . During the recess Peel took a wide survey of the ills affecting the commonwealth, and of the possible remedies. To supply the deficiency in the revenue without laying new burthens upon the humbler class; [to avert a financial crisis by a banking reform]; to revive our fainting manufactures by encouraging the importation of raw material; to assuage distress by making the price of provisions lower and more regular, without taking away that protection which he still believed essential to British agriculture: these were the tasks which Peel now bent his mind to compass. . . . Having solved [the problems] to his own satisfaction, he had to persuade his colleagues that they were right. Only one proved obstinate. The Duke of Buckingham would bear of no change in the degree of protection afforded to agriculture. He surrendered the Privy Seal, which was given to the Duke of Buccleugh. . . . The Queen's Speech recommended Parliament to consider the state of the laws affecting the importation of corn and other commodities. It announced the beginning of a revolution which few persons in England thought possible, although it was to be completed in little more than ten years."—F. C. Montague, *Life of Sir Robert Peel*, ch. 7-8.—See also TARIFF: 1842.

ALSO IN: J. R. Thursfield, *Peel*, ch. 7-8.—W. C. Taylor, *Life and times of Sir Robert Peel*, v. 3, ch. 3-5.—J. W. Croker, *Correspondence and diaries*, v. 2, ch. 22.

1842.—Possession of Hong Kong. See HONG KONG.

1843-1848.—English policy in Ireland. See IRELAND: 1843-1848.

1843-1894.—Trade unions. See LABOR ORGANIZATION: 1843-1894.

1844.—Bank Charter Act. See MONEY AND BANKING: Modern: 1844.

1844.—Coöperation started by Rochdale pioneers. See COÖPERATION: Origin; England.

1845.—Railroad Regulation Act. See RAILROADS: 1838-1873.

1845-1846.—Repeal of the corn laws. See TARIFF: 1845-1846.

1846.—Vengeance of the Tory-Protectionists.—Overthrow of Peel.—Advent of Disraeli.—Ministry of Lord John Russell.—"Strange to say, the day when the Bill [extinguishing the duties on corn] was read in the House of Lords for the third time [June 25] saw the fall of Peel's Ministry. The fall was due to the state of Ireland. The Government had been bringing in a Coercion Bill for Ireland. It was introduced while the Corn Bill was yet passing through the House of Commons. The situation was critical. All the Irish followers of Mr. O'Connell would be sure to oppose the Coercion Bill. The Liberal party, at least when out of office, had usually made it their principle to oppose Coercion Bills, if they were not

attended with some promises of legislative reform. The English Radical members, led by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright [leaders of the anti-corn law movement], were certain to oppose coercion. If the protectionists should join with these other opponents of the Coercion Bill, the fate of the measure was assured, and with it the fate of the Government. This was exactly what happened. Eighty Protectionists followed Lord George Bentinck into the lobby against the Bill, in combination with the Free Traders, the Whigs, and the Irish Catholic and national members. The division took place on the second reading of the Bill on Thursday, June 25, and there was a majority of 73 against the Ministry."—J. McCarthy, *Epoch of reform*, p. 183.—Peel never again came back into office, but his work was an enduring monument to his greatness and entitles him to the rank of the foremost statesman of his generation. The revengeful Tory-Protectionist attack on Peel was led by Sir George Bentinck and Benjamin Disraeli, then just making himself felt in the House of Commons. It was distinctly grounded upon no objection in principle to the Irish Coercion bill, but on the declaration that they could "no longer trust Peel, and, 'must therefore refuse to give him unconstitutional powers.' . . . He had twice betrayed the party who had trusted his promises. . . . 'The gentlemen of England,' of whom it had once been Sir Robert's proudest boast to be the leader, declared against him. He was beaten by an overpowering majority, and his career as an English minister was closed. Disraeli's had been the hand which dethroned him, and to Disraeli himself, after three years of anarchy and uncertainty, descended the task of again building together the shattered ruins of the Conservative party. Very unwillingly they submitted to the unwelcome necessity. Canning and the elder Pitt had both been called adventurers, but they had birth and connection, and they were at least Englishmen. Disraeli had risen out of a despised race; he had never sued for their favours; he had voted and spoken as he pleased, whether they liked it or not. . . . He was without Court favour, and had hardly a powerful friend except Lord Lyndhurst. He had never been tried on the lower steps of the official ladder. He was young, too—only 42—after all the stir that he had made. There was no example of a rise so sudden under such conditions. But the Tory party had accepted and cheered his services, and he stood out alone among them as a debater of superior power. Their own trained men had all deserted them. Lord George remained for a year or two as nominal chief: but Lord George died; the conservatives could only consolidate themselves under a real leader, and Disraeli was the single person that they had who was equal to the situation. . . . He had overthrown Peel and succeeded to Peel's honours."—J. A. Froude, *Lord Beaconsfield*, ch. 9.—Although the Tory-Protectionists had accomplished the overthrow of Peel, they were not prepared to take the government into their own hands. The new ministry was formed under Lord John Russell, as first lord of the treasury, with Lord Palmerston in the foreign office, Sir George Grey in the home department, Earl Grey colonial secretary, Sir C. Wood chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Macaulay paymaster-general.—W. C. Taylor, *Life and times of Sir Robert Peel*, v. 3, ch. 11.—The most important enactment of the Coercion Bill "(which subsequently gave it the name of the Curfew Act) was that which conferred on the executive Government the power in proclaimed districts of forbidding persons to be out of their

dwellings between sunset and sunrise. The right of proclaiming a district as a disturbed district was placed in the hands of the Lord-Lieutenant, who might station additional constabulary there, the whole expense of which was to be borne by the district."—J. F. Bright, *History of England*, period 4, p. 137.

ALSO IN: S. Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell*, v. 1, ch. 16.—B. Disraeli, *Lord George Bentinck*, ch. 14-16.

1846—Difference with France on the Spanish marriages. See FRANCE: 1842-1848.

1846-1858.—Removal of restrictions against Jews. See JEWS: England: 1846-1858.

1847-1860.—Troubles in Ireland.—Land question.—Irish tenant league. See IRELAND: 1847-1860.

1848.—Last Chartist demonstration.—"The more violent Chartists had broken from the Radical reformers, and had themselves divided into two sections; for their nominal leader, Feargus O'Connor, was at bitter enmity with more thoroughgoing and earnest leaders such as O'Brien and Cooper. O'Connor had not proved a very efficient guide. He had entered into a land scheme of a somewhat doubtful character. . . . He had also injudiciously taken up a position of active hostility to the free-traders, and while thus appearing as the champion of a falling cause had alienated many of his supporters. Yet the Parliament elected in 1846 contained several representatives of the Chartist principles, and O'Connor himself had been returned for Nottingham by a large majority over Hobhouse, a member of the new Ministry. The revolution in France gave a sudden and enormous impulse to the agitation. The country was filled with meetings at which violent speeches were uttered and hints, not obscure, dropped of the forcible establishment of a republic in England. A new Convention was summoned for the 6th of April, a vast petition was prepared, and a meeting, at which it was believed that half a million of people would have been present, was summoned to meet on Kennington Common on the 10th of April for the purpose of carrying the petition to the House in procession. The alarm felt in London was very great. It was thought necessary to swear in special constables, and the wealthier classes came forward in vast numbers to be enrolled. There are said to have been no less than 170,000 special constables. The military arrangements were entrusted to the Duke of Wellington; the public offices were guarded and fortified; public vehicles were forbidden to pass the streets lest they should be employed for barricades; and measures were taken to prevent the procession from crossing the bridges. . . . Such a display of determination seemed almost ridiculous when compared with what actually occurred. But it was in fact the cause of the harmless nature of the meeting. Instead of half a million, about 30,000 men assembled on Kennington Common. Feargus O'Connor was there; Mr. Maine, the Commissioner of Police, called him aside, told him he might hold his meeting, but that the procession would be stopped, and that he would be held personally responsible for any disorder that might occur. His heart had already begun to fail him, and he . . . used all his influence to put an end to the procession. His prudent advice was followed, and no disturbance of any importance took place. . . . The air of ridicule thrown over the Chartist movement by the abortive close of a demonstration which had been heralded with so much violent talk was increased by the disclosures attending the presentation of the petition." There were found to be only 2,000,000 names appended to the document, in-

stead of 5,000,000 as claimed, and great numbers of them were manifestly spurious. "This failure proved a death-blow to Chartism."—J. F. Bright, *History of England, period 4*, pp. 176-178.

ALSO IN: S. Walpole, *History of England from 1815*, v. 4, ch. 20.—P. W. SlOSSon, *Decline of the Chartist movement in England*.—M. Hovell, *Chartist movement*.

1848-1856.—Policy in India. See INDIA: 1848-1856.

1849.—Repeal of the navigation laws. See NAVIGATION LAWS: 1849.

1849-1850.—Don Pacifico affair.—Lord Palmerston's speech.—The little difficulty with Greece which came to a crisis in the last weeks of 1849 and the first of 1850 (see GREECE: 1840-1850), and which was commonly called the Don Pacifico affair, gave occasion for a memorable speech in Parliament by Lord Palmerston, defending his foreign policy against attacks. The speech (June 24, 1850), which occupied five hours, "from the dusk of one day till the dawn of another," was greatly admired, and proved immensely effective in raising the speaker's reputation. "The Don Pacifico debate was unquestionably an important landmark in the life of Lord Palmerston. Hitherto his merits had been known only to a select few; for the British public does not read Blue Books, and as a rule troubles itself very little about foreign politics at all. . . . But the Pacifico speech caught the ear of the nation, and was received with a universal verdict of approval. From that hour Lord Palmerston became the man of the people, and his rise to the premiership only a question of time."—L. C. Sanders, *Life of Viscount Palmerston*, ch. 8.

ALSO IN: Marquis of Lorne, *Viscount Palmerston*, ch. 7.—J. McCarthy, *History of our own times*, v. 2, ch. 19.—J. Morley, *Life of Cobden*, v. 2, ch. 3.—T. Martin, *Life of the Prince Consort*, v. 2, ch. 38.

1850.—Lord Brougham's Woman Suffrage Act. See SUFFRAGE, WOMAN: England: 1810-1860.

1850.—Clayton-Bulwer treaty with the United States, establishing a joint protectorate over the projected Nicaragua canal. See NICARAGUA: 1850.

1850.—Restoration of the Roman episcopate.—Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. See PAPACY: 1850; IRELAND: 1847-1860.

1850-1852.—London protocol and treaty on the Schleswig-Holstein question. See DENMARK: 1848-1862.

1850-1883.—Explorations in the Arctic. See ARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1850-1883.

1851.—Great exhibition.—"The first of May, 1851, will always be memorable as the day on which the Great Exhibition was opened in Hyde Park. . . . Many exhibitions of a similar kind have taken place since. Some of these far surpassed that of Hyde Park in the splendour and variety of the collections brought together. Two of them at least—those of Paris in 1867 and 1878—were infinitely superior in the array and display of the products, the dresses, the inhabitants of far-divided countries. But the impression which the Hyde Park Exhibition made upon the ordinary mind was like that of the boy's first visit to the play—an impression never to be equalled. . . . The Hyde Park Exhibition was often described as the festival to open the long reign of Peace. It might, as a mere matter of chronology, be called without any impropriety the festival to celebrate the close of the short reign of Peace. From that year, 1851, it may be said fairly enough that the world has hardly known a week of peace. . . . The first idea of the Exhibition was conceived by Prince Albert; and it was his

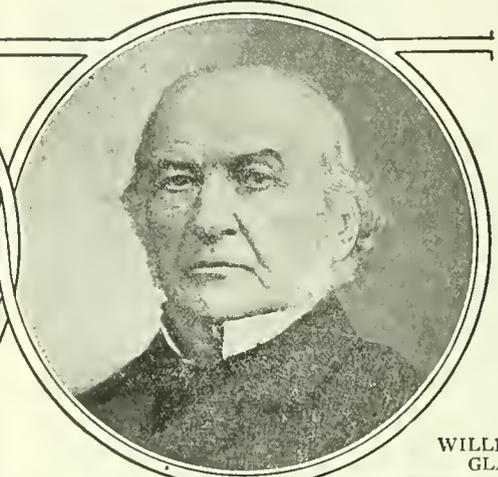
energy and influence which succeeded in carrying the idea into practical execution. . . . Many persons were disposed to sneer at it; many were sceptical about its doing any good; not a few still regarded Prince Albert as a foreigner and a pedant, and were slow to believe that anything really practical was likely to be developed under his impulse and protection. . . . There was a great deal of difficulty in selecting a plan for the building. . . . Happily, a sudden inspiration struck Mr. (afterward Sir Joseph) Paxton, who was then in charge of the duke of Devonshire's superb grounds at Chatsworth. Why not try glass and iron? he asked himself. . . . Mr. Paxton sketched out his plan hastily, and the idea was eagerly accepted by the Royal Commissioners. He made many improvements afterwards in his design; but the palace of glass and iron arose within the specified time on the green turf of Hyde Park."—J. McCarthy, *History of our own times*, v. 2, ch. 21.

ALSO IN: T. Martin, *Life of the Prince Consort*, v. 2, ch. 33-36, 39, 42-43.

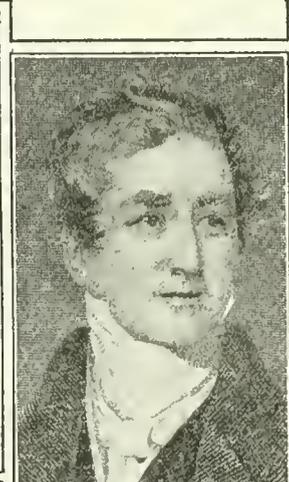
1851-1852.—Coup d'état in France and Lord Palmerston's dismissal from the cabinet.—Defeat and resignation of Lord John Russell.—First Derby-Disraeli ministry and the Aberdeen coalition ministry.—The "coup d'état" of December 2, 1851, by which Louis Napoleon made himself master of France (see FRANCE: 1851) brought about the dismissal of Lord Palmerston from the British ministry, followed quickly by the overthrow of the ministry which expelled him. "Lord Palmerston not only expressed privately to Count Walewski [the French ambassador] his approval of the 'coup d'état,' but on the 16th of December wrote a despatch to Lord Normanby, our [the British] representative in Paris, expressing in strong terms his satisfaction at the success of the French President's arbitrary action. This despatch was not submitted either to the Prime Minister or to the Queen, and of course the offence was of too serious a character to be passed over. A great deal of correspondence ensued, and as Palmerston's explanations were not deemed satisfactory, and he had clearly broken the undertaking he gave some time previously, he was dismissed from office. [Because of Palmerston's aggressive meddling, and his habit of carrying on his foreign correspondence over the Queen's head, she had found it necessary to rebuke him and had forbidden him to do anything without her knowledge, on pain of dismissal. He readily promised to follow her wishes, then proceeded to conduct himself as before.] . . . There were some who thought him irretrievably crushed from this time forward; but a very short time only elapsed before he retrieved his fortunes and was as powerful as ever. In February, 1852, Lord John Russell brought in a Militia Bill which was intended to develop a local militia for the defence of the country. Lord Palmerston strongly disapproved of the scope of the measure, and in committee moved an amendment to omit the word 'local,' so as to constitute a regular militia, which should be legally transportable all over the kingdom, and thus be always ready for any emergency. The Government were defeated by eleven votes, and as the Administration had been very weak for some time, Lord John resigned. Lord Derby formed a Ministry, and invited the co-operation of Palmerston, but the offer was declined, as the two statesmen differed on the question of imposing a duty on the importation of corn, and other matters."—G. B. Smith, *Prime ministers of Queen Victoria*, pp. 264-265.—"The new Ministry [in which Disraeli became chancellor of the exchequer] took their seats on the 27th of February, but it was

understood that a dissolution of Parliament would take place in the summer, by which the fate of the new Government would be decided, and that in the meantime the Opposition should hold its hand. The raw troops [of the Tory Party in the House of Commons], notwithstanding their inexperience, acquitted themselves with credit, and some good Bills were passed, the Militia Bill among the number, while a considerable addition to the strength of the Navy was effected by the Duke of Northumberland. No doubt, when the general election be-

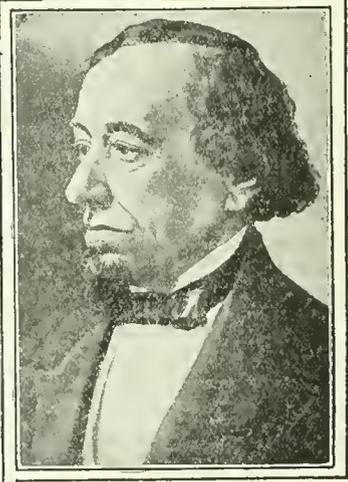
Gladstone and Mr. Sidney Herbert were willing to join if Lord Palmerston might lead in the House of Commons. But the Queen put her veto on this arrangement, which accordingly fell to the ground; and Lord Derby had to meet the Opposition attack without any reinforcements. . . . On the 16th of December, . . . being defeated on the Budget by a majority of 19, Lord Derby at once resigned."—T. E. Keibel, *Life of the Earl of Derby*, ch. 6.—"The new Government [which succeeded that of Derby] was a coalition of Whigs and Peelites, with Sir

LORD
PALMERSTONWILLIAM EWART
GLADSTONE

GEORGE CANNING



SIR ROBERT PEEL

BENJAMIN DISRAELI,
EARL OF BEACONSFIELD

gan, the party had raised itself considerably in public estimation. But for one consideration the country would probably have been quite willing to entrust its destinies to their hands. But that one consideration was all important. . . . The Government was obliged to go to the country, to some extent, on Protectionist principles. It was known that a Derbyite majority meant a moderate import duty; and the consequence was that Lord Derby just lost the battle, though by a very narrow majority. When Parliament met in November, Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli had a very difficult game to play. . . . Negotiations were again opened with Palmerston and the Peelites, and on this occasion

William Molesworth thrown in to represent the Radicals. Lord Aberdeen became Prime Minister, and Mr. Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer. The other Peelites in the Cabinet were the Duke of Newcastle, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert."—G. W. E. Russell, *Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone*, ch. 5.

1852-1853.—Abandonment of protection by the Conservatives.—Further progress in free trade. See TARIFF: 1846-1879.

1853.—Last charter to East India Company. See INDIA: 1853.

1853-1856.—Crimean War.—"In February, 1854, the long peace after Waterloo ended with the

despatch of an ultimatum from Britain and France to St. Petersburg, and the Crimean War began. . . . The original cause of friction between France and Russia lay in a dispute over the guardianship of the rights of Christian pilgrims at Jerusalem; but a more important ground of difference rose from the pressure exercised by the Czar upon Turkey on behalf of the Christian provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, which were desirous of forming themselves into the single principality of Roumania; [France was supported by Great Britain, as a means of checking the Russian advance on India.] Behind any arguments that could be raised for war there was a curious condition of the public mind, excited by the memories of the victories of Nelson and Wellington, forgetful of the sufferings of the war period, entirely ignorant of the evil reaction of war upon the national life, but comparatively awake to the injuries arising from internal political conflict. . . . The country plunged into war with blind enthusiasm."—G. Slater, *Making of modern England*, pp. 174, 175.—See also RUSSIA: 1853-1854; 1854-1856.

1853-1870.—Removal of taxes on newspapers.—Penny papers.—Rise of provincial daily press. See PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1853-1870.

1855.—Popular discontent with the management of the war.—Fall of the Aberdeen ministry.—Palmerston's first premiership.—Brightening of prospects.—"Our army system entirely broke down [in the Crimea], and Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Newcastle were made the scapegoats of the popular indignation. . . . But England was not only suffering from unpreparedness and want of administrative power in the War department; there were dissensions in the Cabinet. . . . Lord John Russell gave so much trouble, that Lord Aberdeen, after one of the numerous quarrels and reconciliations which occurred at this juncture, wrote to the Queen that nothing but a sense of public duty and the necessity for avoiding the scandal of a rupture kept him at his post. . . . At a little later stage . . . the difficulties were renewed. Mr. Roebuck gave notice of his motion for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the condition of the army before Sebastopol, and Lord John definitively resigned. The Ministry remained in office to await the fate of Mr. Roebuck's motion, which was carried against them by the very large majority of 157." Lord Aberdeen now placed the resignation of the Cabinet in the hands of the Queen [January 31, 1855]. . . . Thus fell the Coalition Cabinet of Lord Aberdeen. In talent and parliamentary influence it was apparently one of the strongest Governments ever seen, but it suffered from a fatal want of cohesion."—G. B. Smith, *Prime ministers of Queen Victoria*, pp. 227-230.—In its short career, this ministry accomplished much that was excellent. Gladstone's budgets stamped him as the greatest financier of the century; the penalty of transportation was made to apply to fewer cases, and a civil service system was started. "Lord Palmerston had passed his 70th year when the Premiership came to him for the first time. On the fall of the Coalition Government the Queen sent for Lord Derby, and upon his failure for Lord John Russell. Palmerston was willing at the express request of her Majesty to serve once more under his old chief, but Clarendon and many of the Whigs not unnaturally positively refused to do so. Palmerston finally undertook and successfully achieved the task of forming a Government out of the somewhat heterogeneous elements at his command. Lord Clarendon continued at the Foreign Office, and Gladstone was still Chancellor of the Exchequer. The War Department [owing to the

mismanagement of the Crimean war, and the findings of the Roebuck Committee] was reorganised, the office of Secretary at War disappearing, and being finally merged in that of Secretary of State for War [whose department was concentrated in the hands of the secretary of war and the commander-in-chief]. Although Palmerston objected to Roebuck's Committee, he was practically compelled to accept it, and this led to the resignation of Gladstone, Graham and Herbert; their places being taken by Sir G. C. Lewis, Sir Charles Wood, and Lord John Russell."—Marquis of Lorne, *Viscount Palmerston*, ch. 10.—"It was a dark hour in the history of the nation when Lord Palmerston essayed the task which had been abandoned by the tried wisdom of Derby, Lansdowne, and John Russell. Far away in the Crimea the war was dragging on without much hope of a creditable solution, though the winter of discontent and mismanagement was happily over. The existence of the European concert was merely nominal. The Allies had discovered, many months previously, that, though Austria was staunch, Prussia was a faithless friend. . . . Between the belligerent powers the cloud of suspicion and distrust grew thicker; for [the Sultan] Abd-el-Medjid was known to be freely squandering his war loans on seraglios and palaces while Kars was starving; and though there was no reason for distrusting the present good faith of the Emperor of the French, his policy was straightforward only as long as he kept himself free from the influence of the gang of stock-jobbers and adventurers who composed his Ministry. Nor was the horizon much brighter on the side of England. A series of weak cabinets, and the absence of questions of organic reform, had completely relaxed the bonds of Party. If there was no regular Opposition, still less was there a regular majority. . . . And the hand that was to restore order out of chaos was not so steady as of yore. . . . Lord Palmerston was not himself during the first weeks of his leadership. But the prospect speedily brightened. Though Palmerston was considerably over seventy, he still retained a wonderful vigour of constitution. He was soon restored to health, and was always to be found at his post. . . . His generalship secured ample majorities for the Government in every division during the session. Of the energy which Lord Palmerston inspired into the operations against Sebastopol, there can hardly be two opinions."—L. C. Sanders, *Life of Viscount Palmerston*, ch. 10.

1856.—Relation to European commission of the Danube. See DANUBE: 1850-1860.

1856-1860.—War with China.—French alliance in the war.—Capture of Canton.—Entrance into Peking.—Destruction of the Summer Palace. See CHINA: 1856-1860.

1858.—Assumption of the government of India by the crown.—End of the rule of the East India Company. See INDIA: 1858-1863.

1858.—Commercial treaty with Japan. See JAPAN: 1857-1862.

1858-1859.—Conspiracy Bill.—Fall of Palmerston's government.—Second ministry of Derby and Disraeli.—Lord Palmerston again premier.—"On January 14, 1858, an attempt was made to assassinate Napoleon III. by a gang of desperadoes, headed by Orsini, whose head-quarters had previously been in London. Not without some reason it was felt in France that such men ought not to be able to find shelter in this country, and the French Minister was ordered to make representations to that effect. Lord Palmerston, always anxious to cultivate the good feeling of the French nation, desired to pass a measure which should give to the British Government the

power to banish from England any foreigner conspiring in Britain against the life of a foreign sovereign. . . . An unfortunate outburst of vituperation against England in the French press, and the repetition of such language by officers of the French army who were received by the Emperor when they waited on him as a deputation, aroused very angry English feeling. Lord Palmerston had already introduced the Bill he desired to pass, and it had been read the first time by a majority of 200. But the foolish action of the French papers changed entirely the current of popular opinion. Lord Derby saw his advantage. An amendment to the second reading, which was practically a vote of censure, was carried against Lord Palmerston, and to his own surprise no less than to that of the country, he was obliged to resign. Lord Derby succeeded to Palmerston's vacant office. . . . Lord Derby's second Ministry was wrecked upon the fatal rock of Reform early in 1859 [but not before he had brought relief to the Jews who had been excluded from Parliament, even after the repeal of the Test Act], and at once appealed to the country. . . . The election of 1859 failed to give the Conservatives a majority, and soon after the opening of the session they were defeated upon a vote of want of confidence moved by Lord Hartington. Earl Granville was commissioned by the Queen to form a Ministry, because her Majesty felt that 'to make so marked a distinction as is implied in the choice of one or other as Prime Minister of two statesmen so full of years and honour as Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell would be a very invidious and unwelcome task.' Each of these veterans was willing to serve under the other, but neither would follow the lead of a third. And so Granville failed, and to Palmerston was entrusted the task. . . . Russell went to the Foreign Office and Gladstone to the Exchequer."—Marquis of Lorne, *Viscount Palmerston*, ch. 10-11.

ALSO IN: T. Martin, *Life of the Prince Consort*, v. 4, ch. 82-84, 91-92, and 94.—T. E. Kebbel, *Life of the Earl of Derby*, ch. 7.

1860.—Cobden-Chevalier Commercial Treaty with France. See FRANCE: 1860; TARIFF: 1860.

1861.—Postal savings banks. See POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS: 1861.

1861 (May).—Queen's proclamation of neutrality with reference to the American Civil War.—Protest of United States. See U. S. A.: 1861 (April-May).

1861 (October).—Allied intervention in Mexico. See MEXICO: 1861-1867.

1861 (November).—Trent affair.—Seizure of Mason and Slidell. See TRENT AFFAIR; U. S. A.: 1861 (November).

1861-1865.—Cotton famine.—"Upon a population, containing half a million of cotton operatives, in a career of rapid prosperity, the profits of 1860 reaching in some instances from 30 to 40 per cent upon the capital engaged; and with wages also at the highest point which they had ever touched, came the news of the American war, with the probable stoppage of 85 per cent of the raw material of their manufacture, . . . but the great mass of traders refused to credit a report which neither suited their opinions nor their interests. . . . There was a four months' supply held on this side the water at Christmas (1860). . . . During the greater part of the year 1861 the market was dull, and prices scarcely moved upwards. But towards the end of the year the aspect of affairs began to change. . . . The Federals [The North] had declared a blockade of the Southern ports, and, although as yet it was pretty much a 'paper blockade,' yet the newly established Confederate gov-

ernment was doing its best to render it effective. They believed that cotton was king in England, and that the old country could not do without it, and would be forced, in order to secure its release, to side with those who kept it prisoner. Mills began to run short time or to close in the month of October. . . . The poor-law guardians in the various unions were aware that the increase [in applicants] was not of the usual character. . . . The recipients of relief were at this time [December 1861] 12,000 (or about 25 per cent) more than in the January previous. And now serious thoughts began to agitate many minds; cotton was very largely held by speculators for a rise; . . . [and] the blockade was no longer on paper alone. . . . [In 1862 the recipients of charity were] 105 per cent above the average for the same period of the year. But this average gives no idea of the pressure in particular localities. . . . In Ashton there were 3,197; in Stockport, 8,588; and in Preston, 9,488 persons absolutely foodless; and who nevertheless declined to go to the guardians. . . . Committees [for relief] arose almost simultaneously in Ashton, Stockport, and Preston. . . . In August the flood had become a deluge, at which the stoutest heart might stand appalled. The increased recipients of poor-law relief were in a single month 33,000, being nearly as many as the total number chargeable in the same month of the previous year, whilst a further addition of more than 34,000 became chargeable to the relief committees. . . . Most of the cotton on hand at this period was of Indian growth, and needed alterations of machinery to make it workable at all. . . . There were not wanting men who saw, or thought they saw, a short way out of the difficulty, viz., by a recognition on the part of the English government of the Southern confederacy in America. And meetings were called in various places to memorialise the government to this effect. Such meetings were always balanced by counter meetings, at which it was shown that simple recognition would be waste of words; that it would not bring to our shores a single shipload of cotton, unless followed up by an armed force to break the blockade, which course if adopted would be war. . . . These meetings and counter meetings perhaps helped to steady the action of the government (notwithstanding the sympathy of some of its members towards the South), to confirm them in the policy of the royal proclamation, and to determine them to enforce the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act against all offenders. . . . The maximum pressure upon the relief committees was reached early in December, 1862, but the tide had turned before the end of the month."—J. Watts, *Facts of the cotton famine*, ch. 8 and 12.

ALSO IN: R. A. Arnold, *History of the cotton famine*.—E. Waugh, *Factory folk during the cotton famine*.

1862 (July).—Fitting out of the Confederate cruiser Alabama at Liverpool. See ALABAMA CLAIMS: 1862-1864.

1863.—Shimonoseki affair. See JAPAN: 1863-1868.

1863-1864.—Aid to Chinese rebellion. See CHINA: 1850-1864.

1865.—Commercial treaty with Germany. See TARIFF: 1853-1870.

1865-1868.—Death of Palmerston.—Ministry of Lord John Russell.—Its unsatisfactory Reform bill and its resignation.—Triumph of the Adullamites.—Third administration of Derby and Disraeli, and its Reform bills.—"On the death of Lord Palmerston [which occurred October 18, 1865], the premiership was intrusted for the second time to Earl Russell [Lord John Russell

created Earl Russell in 1861], with Mr. Gladstone as leader in the House of Commons. The queen opened her seventh parliament (February 6, 1866), in person, for the first time since the prince consort's death [Dec. 14, 1861]. On March 12th Mr. Gladstone brought forward his scheme of reform."—A. H. McCalman, *Abridged history of England*, p. 603.—"The question of parliamentary reform was, in the 'fifties and 'sixties, almost entirely academic. It was raised by the *a priori* speculations of philosophical liberalism, rather than by democratic demand. The machine was, by general consent, working well. . . . But efficient machinery is not everything. Great urban populations were springing up, and little was being done for their education in citizenship. . . . Out of a total of 5,300,000 adult males in England and Wales only 000,000 enjoyed the parliamentary franchise. The new Reform Bill . . . introduced by Mr. Gladstone . . . dealt only with the franchise and was commended to the House as a simple and modest measure. It proposed to reduce the borough franchise to £7, estimated on the rental not the rateable value, and the county franchise to £14; to enfranchise lodgers, compound householders, and depositors in Saving Banks who had had £50 continuously to their credit for two years. Finally, it proposed to deal with a serious and increasing danger by the disfranchisement of Government employees in the dockyards. The estimate was that it would add 400,000 votes to the register. Moderate as the proposals appear in the light of later events, they were vehemently attacked at the time as dangerously democratic. It was Robert Lowe who, in Gladstone's phrase, 'really supplied the whole brains of the opposition.' During this year, indeed, 'and this year only he had such a command of the House as had never,' even in Gladstone's experience, 'been surpassed.' Lowe gathered round him a band of stalwart critics nicknamed by Bright the 'Adullamites'; and the 'Cave' proved formidable. Lord Grosvenor, one of the leaders of the 'Cave,' asked the House to decline to proceed with the franchise Bill until the scheme for redistribution was laid before it. In a House of 631 members the Ministry escaped defeat on Lord Grosvenor's amendment only by a majority of five (April 27th). On this point, therefore, the Government gave way and carried to a second reading a redistribution Bill. . . . [by which] the aggregate number of members would, . . . be unchanged. . . . The Government were beaten by 315 against 304 on an amendment moved by Lord Dunkellin, . . . [and] the Ministry at once tendered their resignation to the Queen. . . . [But,] on the very day on which Russell's Government was defeated, Prussia had declared war upon Austria and the German Bund [1866]. Central Europe was, in consequence, threatened with profound convulsion. . . . [The Queen] therefore urged her Ministers to reconsider their decision to resign. . . . Lord Russell acknowledged the force of the Queen's objections to a change of Ministry in the midst of a foreign crisis, but . . . ultimately persisted in resignation. . . . [And] the Queen called upon Lord Derby to form a Ministry. . . . He could not command, any more than he could in 1852 or 1858, a majority in the House of Commons, and he sought therefore, with complete constitutional propriety, to form a Ministry not exclusively Conservative in composition. Lord Clarendon and the Duke of Somerset, though strongly appealed to, declined to retain office, and the Adullamites would not serve under Lord Derby. . . . In the event, Lord Derby was compelled to rely entirely on his own party. . . . No sooner were the Whigs out and the Con-

servatives in than the people, . . . awoke to the fact that they were being defrauded of their political rights. Associations and leagues for the promotion of parliamentary reform sprang into existence. The most important of them—the Reform League—having held a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on July 2nd, announced its intention of organizing another demonstration in Hyde Park on July 23rd, . . . [but] when the procession arrived at the Park they found it closed against them. The leaders, . . . withdrew quietly to Trafalgar Square where the meeting was held, but, though the actual demonstrators departed, the mob lingered, broke down the railings, and swarmed into the Park itself, [and a] conflict ensued between the mob and the police: . . . During the autumn great meetings were held at Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and many other towns. In all, a thousand such meetings were held, and on every side there was a clamorous demand for 'reform.' . . . Meanwhile the Derby-Disraeli Ministry was anxiously considering its position and its policy. . . . The Cabinet decided to proceed not by Bill, but by resolutions, . . . [thirteen in number which were designed to secure the support of both parties. On February 25, 1867, Disraeli brought in a bill to give effect to these resolutions. This bill] was the more moderate of two schemes which the Cabinet had for some time past been considering. On February 23rd . . . the Cabinet had agreed to the larger scheme. . . . [But] Lord Cranborne had discovered that it was too large for his taste, and on February 25th he and Lord Carnarvon refused to proceed with it. . . . The Cabinet, therefore, was hastily summoned. Disraeli produced his 'smaller scheme'; the disruption of the Ministry was, for the moment averted, and the smaller scheme [including a redistribution scheme] was duly presented to the House. . . . It was coldly received by Parliament; the Conservative party professed a preference for the larger scheme. . . . The 'resolutions' were formally withdrawn on February 26th; . . . and on [March] 18th Disraeli expounded to the House of Commons the larger scheme which . . . was admittedly a scheme of 'checks and counterpoises.' The borough franchise was to be associated with the direct payment of rates; every householder paying rates and having resided for two years, . . . [and] every one who paid £1 in direct taxes (other than licenses) was to have a vote, if he were also a rate-paying householder he was to have two votes. Besides these qualifications there were to be three others: an education franchise, a second based upon the possession of funded property, a third on that of a deposit in a savings bank. It was estimated that more than 1,000,000 voters would in all be added to the borough constituencies. In counties the rating qualification was to be £15 in place of a £50 rental, which, together with the 'lateral' franchises, would add, it was estimated, 330,000 voters to the county register. The redistribution proposals were identical with those propounded on February 25th. . . . The later parliamentary career of this famous measure is extraordinarily complicated. . . . This much at least is certain: that the Radical leaders, Gladstone [who had succeeded to the leadership of the party in 1866 when Lord John Russell finally resigned from office] and Bright, were not at that time prepared for household suffrage. . . . Disraeli, on the contrary, was not in the least afraid of a leap into the darkness of household suffrage, provided he could carry with him a sufficient number of his own party. Before the House got into Committee on the Bill the Radical leaders decided

to move an Instruction to the Committee which would have had the effect of excluding Bright's *residuum* [a small class of the poorest householders] from the suffrage. Such a motion was in complete accord with their settled convictions, but it was a grave tactical blunder. A Radical 'cave'—known as the 'Tea-room party' [their first meeting was held in the tea room]—rapidly formed itself, and the Instruction had to be abandoned. But Mr. Gladstone was not to be moved from his set purpose. He tabled a series of amendments of which the two most important were: (1) to delete the distinction between direct and indirect ratepayers, and thus admit to the franchise 'compound householders'; and (2) to fix an inferior limit of £5 rating value and thus exclude all householders, whether ratepayers or not, of the very lowest class. . . . In the event, Gladstone was defeated on his first amendment by a majority of twenty-one. The result was a staggering blow to his personal prestige and was a conspicuous triumph for the tactics of his rival. But the irony of the situation was that the result was achieved merely by the action of the 'Tea-room party,' who defeated their leader's first amendment because they disliked his second. . . . The triumph of the Tories was short-lived. In the later stages of the Bill the Liberals had it all their own way. One by one the counterpoises went by the board; the dual vote and the lateral or fancy franchises [which would have given a member of a learned profession, or university graduate, or the possessor of personal property over a certain amount, the right of plural voting] were abandoned; the two years' qualifying residence was reduced to one; a lodger franchise was inserted; the rating qualification for the county franchise was reduced from £15 to £12; the voting paper device was deleted. One great difficulty remained; one barrier still stood between the Bill and household suffrage . . . the compound householder [whose rates were indirectly paid by his landlord]. This was the last remnant of Conservatism left in the Bill. . . . Mr. Hodgkinson . . . proposed to solve the difficulty by . . . [resting the franchise] upon the principle of personal rating. Nevertheless, the Bill had become a Bill for 'household suffrage, pure and simple,' and there was justice in the plaint of Lord Cranborne that it represented a negation of all the principles professed by his party. . . . [It gave] a third member to Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Glasgow, and Birmingham, and a proposal, made in the House of Lords by Lord Cairns, that in these boroughs and in the three-member counties electors should be permitted to vote only for two candidates was, despite the strong opposition of Mr. Bright, accepted by the Commons. . . . Taken in conjunction with the Reform Bills for Scotland and Ireland (1868) the net result was that 6 boroughs returning two members each, and 5 boroughs returning one, were totally disfranchised, and 35 other boroughs lost one member each. Thus 52 seats were set free for redistribution. Of these the boroughs got 22 additional members, the counties 27, London University 1, and the Scotch Universities 2. The aggregate numbers of the House remained therefore constant. The Representation of the People Bill received the Royal assent on August 15th, 1867. A word may be added as to the Scotch and Irish Reform Bills which became law in 1868. The Scotch Bill followed the same lines as the English, except that the occupation franchise for counties was fixed at £14 instead of £12. In Ireland the county qualification already stood at £12, and was not, therefore, altered in 1868; the qualification in boroughs was reduced from £8 to £4, the latter being the inferior limit of direct rate-

payers. Lodgers were admitted on the same terms as in England—£10 a year rental for unfurnished rooms. Such was the parliamentary reform legislation of 1867-1868. The magnitude of the change effected none can gainsay. In all some 1,080,000 persons were enfranchised. In the towns, notwithstanding the original disclaimer of the principle, the Act meant the adoption of 'household suffrage pure and simple.'—J. A. R. Marriott, *England since Waterloo*, pp. 343-345, 347-354.—See also CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 1873-1921; EUROPE: Modern period: Revolutionary movement, etc.

ALSO IN: W. Bagehot, *Essays on parliamentary reform*, 3.—B. C. Skottowe, *Short history of Parliament*, ch. 22.—G. B. Smith, *Life of Gladstone*, v. 2, ch. 17-18.—W. Robertson, *Life and times of John Bright*, ch. 39-40.

1865-1869.—Discussion of the Alabama Claims of the United States.—Johnson-Clarendon Treaty and its rejection. See ALABAMA CLAIMS: 1862-1869.

1866.—King George defeated in Hanover by General von Falkenstein. See GERMANY: 1866.

1866.—Torrens' Act for Laborers' Dwellings. See HOUSING: Great Britain: Legislation.

1866.—Commercial treaty with Germany. See TARIFF: 1853-1870.

1866-1877.—Interest in Rumanian independence. See RUMANIA: 1866-1914.

1866-1900.—Liberal party. See LIBERAL PARTY: 1866-1900.

1867.—Rise of feminist movement. See WOMAN'S RIGHTS: 1867-1921.

1867.—Diplomatic struggle with Luxemburg. See LUXEMBURG: 1780-1914.

1867.—Minority provision passed by Parliament.—Birmingham's use of caucus. See CAUCUS: England: Development of the caucus.

1867-1868.—Expedition to Abyssinia. See ABYSSINIA: 1854-1880.

1868-1870.—Disestablishment of the Irish church.—Retirement of the Derby-Disraeli ministry.—Gladstone in power.—Irish Land Bill.—"On March 16, 1868, a remarkable debate took place in the House of Commons. It had for its subject the condition of Ireland, and it was introduced by a series of resolutions which Mr. John Francis Maguire, an Irish member, proposed. . . . It was on the fourth night of the debate that the importance of the occasion became fully manifest. Then it was that Mr. Gladstone spoke, and declared that in his opinion the time had come when the Irish Church as a State institution must cease to exist. Then every man in the House knew that the end was near. Mr. Maguire withdrew his resolutions. The cause he had to serve was now in the hands of one who, though not surely more earnest for its success, had incomparably greater power to serve it. There was probably not a single Englishman capable of forming an opinion who did not know that from the moment when Mr. Gladstone made his declaration, the fall of the Irish State Church had become merely a question of time. Men only waited to see how Mr. Gladstone would proceed to procure its fall. Public expectation was not long kept in suspense. A few days after the debate on Mr. Maguire's motion, Mr. Gladstone gave notice of three resolutions on the subject of the Irish State Church. The first declared that in the opinion of the House of Commons it was necessary that the Established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an Establishment, due regard being had to all personal interests and to all individual rights of property. The second resolution pronounced it expedient to prevent the

creation of new personal interests by the exercise of any public patronage; and the third asked for an address to the Queen, praying that her Majesty would place at the disposal of Parliament her interest in the temporalities of the Irish Church. The object of these resolutions was simply to prepare for the actual disestablishment of the Church, by providing that no further appointments should be made, and that the action of patronage should be stayed, until Parliament should decide the fate of the whole institution. On March 30, 1868, Mr. Gladstone proposed his resolutions. Not many persons could have had much doubt as to the result of the debate. But if there were any such, their doubts must have begun to vanish when they read the notice of amendment to the resolutions which was given by Lord Stanley. The amendment proclaimed even more surely than the resolutions the impending fall of the Irish Church. Lord Stanley must have been supposed to speak in the name of the Government and the Conservative party; and his amendment merely declared that the House, while admitting that considerable modifications in the temporalities of the Church in Ireland might appear to be expedient, was of opinion 'that any proposition tending to the disestablishment or disendowment of the Church ought to be reserved for the decision of the new Parliament.' Lord Stanley's amendment asked only for delay. . . . The debate was one of great power and interest. . . . When the division was called there were 270 votes for the amendment, and 331 against it. The doom of the Irish Church was pronounced by a majority of 61. . . . Mr. Disraeli quietly observed that the Government must take some decisive step . . . and a few days afterwards it was announced that as soon as the necessary business could be got through, Parliament would be dissolved and an appeal made to the country. On the last day of July the dissolution took place, and the elections came on in November. Not for many years had there been so important a general election. The keenest anxiety prevailed as to its results. The new constituencies created by the Reform Bill were to give their votes for the first time. The question at issue was not merely the existence of the Irish State Church. It was a general struggle of advanced Liberalism against Toryism. . . . The new Parliament was to all appearance less marked in its Liberalism than that which had gone before it. But so far as mere numbers went the Liberal party was much stronger than it had been. In the new House of Commons it could count upon a majority of about 120, whereas in the late Parliament it had but 60. Mr. Gladstone it was clear would now have everything in his own hands, and the country might look for a career of energetic reform. . . . Mr. Disraeli did not meet the new Parliament as Prime Minister. He decided very properly that it would be a mere waste of public time to wait for the formal vote of the House of Commons, which would inevitably command him to surrender. He at once resigned his office, and Mr. Gladstone was immediately sent for by the Queen, and invited to form an Administration. Mr. Gladstone, it would seem, was only beginning his career. He was nearly sixty years of age, but there were scarcely any evidences of advancing years to be seen on his face. . . . The Government he formed was one of remarkable strength. . . . Mr. Gladstone went to work at once with his Irish policy. On March 1, 1869, the Prime Minister introduced his measure for the disestablishment and partial disendowment of the Irish State Church. The proposals of the Government were, that the Irish Church should almost at once cease to exist as a State Establishment, and

should pass into the condition of a free Episcopal Church. As a matter of course the Irish bishops were to lose their seats in the House of Lords. A synodal, or governing body, was to be elected from the clergy and laity of the Church and was to be recognised by the Government, and duly incorporated. The union between the Churches of England and Ireland was to be dissolved, and the Irish Ecclesiastical Courts were to be abolished. There were various and complicated arrangements for the protection of the life interests of those already holding positions in the Irish Church, and for the appropriation of the fund which would return to the possession of the State when all these interests had been fairly considered and dealt with. . . . Many amendments were introduced and discussed; and some of these led to a controversy between the two Houses of Parliament; but the controversy ended in compromise. On July 26, 1869, the measure for the disestablishment of the Irish Church received the royal assent. Lord Derby did not long survive the passing of the measure which he had opposed with such fervour and so much pathetic dignity. He died before the Irish State Church had ceased to live. . . . When the Irish Church had been disposed of, Mr. Gladstone at once directed his energies to the Irish land system. . . . In a speech delivered by him during his electioneering campaign in Lancashire, he had declared that the Irish upas-tree had three great branches: the State Church, the Land Tenure System, and the System of Education, and that he meant to hew them all down if he could. On February 15, 1870, Mr. Gladstone introduced his Irish Land Bill into the House of Commons. [See IRELAND: 1870.] . . . It recognised a certain property or partnership of the tenant in the land which he tilled. Mr. Gladstone took the Ulster tenant-right as he found it, and made it a legal institution. In places where the Ulster practice, or something analogous to it, did not exist, he threw upon the landlord the burden of proof as regarded the right of eviction. The tenant disturbed in the possession of his land could claim compensation for improvements, and the bill reversed the existing assumption of the law by presuming all improvements to be the property of the tenant, and leaving it to the landlord, if he could, to prove the contrary. The bill established a special judiciary machinery for carrying out its provisions. . . . It put an end to the reign of the landlord's absolute power; it reduced the landlord to the level of every other proprietor, of every other man in the country who had anything to sell or hire. . . . The bill passed without substantial alteration. On August 1, 1870, the bill received the Royal assent. The second branch of the upas-tree had been hewn down. . . . Mr. Gladstone had dealt with Church and land; he had yet to deal with university education. He had gone with Irish ideas thus far."—J. McCarthy. *Short history of our own times*, ch. 23.

ALSO IN: W. N. Molesworth, *History of England*, v. 3, ch. 6.—*Annual Register*, 1869, pt. 1: *English history*, ch. 2-3, and 1870, ch. 1-2.

1869.—**Founding of Charity Organization Society.** See CHARITIES: England: 1869.

1869-1870.—**Women given vote in municipal and school elections.** See SUFFRAGE, WOMAN: England: 1869-1905.

1870.—**Education Bill.** See EDUCATION: Modern: 19th century: England: Spread of popular education.

1870.—**Civil service reform.** See CIVIL SERVICE REFORM: Great Britain: 1869-1912.

1871.—**Abolition of army purchase and university religious tests.—Defeat of the Ballot**

Bill.—“The great measure of the Session [of 1871] was of course the Army Bill, which was introduced by Mr. Cardwell, on the 16th of February. It abolished the system by which rich men obtained by purchase commissions and promotion in the army, and provided £8,000,000 to buy all commissions, as they fell in. . . . In future, commissions were to be awarded either to those who won them by open competition, or who had served as sub-alterns in the Militia, or to deserving non-commissioned officers. . . . The debate, which seemed interminable, ended in an anti-climax that astonished the Tory Opposition. Mr. Disraeli threw over the advocates of Purchase, evidently dreading an appeal to the country. . . . The Army Regulation Bill thus passed the Second Reading without a division,” and finally, with some amendments passed the House. “In the House of Lords the Bill was again obstructed. . . . Mr. Gladstone met them with a bold stroke. By statute it was enacted that only such terms of Purchase could exist as her Majesty chose to permit by Royal Warrant. The Queen, therefore, acting on Mr. Gladstone’s advice, cancelled her warrant permitting Purchase, and thus the opposition of the Peers was crushed by what Mr. Disraeli indignantly termed ‘the high-handed though not illegal’ exercise of the Royal Prerogative. The rage of the Tory Peers knew no bounds.” They “carried a vote of censure on the Government, who ignored it, and then their Lordships passed the Army Regulation Bill without any alterations. . . . The Session of 1871 was also made memorable by the struggle over the Ballot Bill, in the course of which nearly all the devices of factious obstruction were exhausted. . . . When the Bill reached the House of Lords, the real motive which dictated the . . . obstruction of the Conservative Opposition in the House of Commons was quickly revealed. The Lords rejected the Bill on the 18th. of August, not merely because they disliked and dreaded it, but because it had come to them too late for proper consideration. Ministers were more successful with some other measures. In spite of much conservative opposition they passed a Bill abolishing religious tests in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and throwing open all academic distinctions and privileges except Divinity Degrees and Clerical Fellowships to students of all creeds and faiths.”—R. Wilson, *Life and times of Queen Victoria*, v. 2, ch. 16.

ALSO IN: G. W. E. Russell, *Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone*, ch. 9.

1871.—Explorations in Spitsbergen. See SPITSBERGEN: 1827-1898.

1871-1872.—Renewed negotiations with the United States.—Treaty of Washington and the Geneva award. See ALABAMA CLAIMS: 1869-1871; 1871-1872; ARBITRATION, INTERNATIONAL: Modern: 1871-1872.

1872.—Ballot Act. See AUSTRALIAN BALLOT: Origin; SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: British Empire: 1832-1885.

1873.—Appointment of railroad commission.—Rate question. See RAILROADS: 1838-1873.

1873.—Supreme Court of Judicature Act. See COURTS: England: Supreme Court of Judicature Act.

1873-1879.—Rise of the Irish Home Rule party and organization of the Land league. See IRELAND: 1873-1879.

1873-1880.—Decline and fall of the Gladstone government.—Disraeli’s ministry.—His rise to the peerage, as earl of Beaconsfield.—Eastern question.—Overthrow of the administration.—Second Gladstone ministry.—“One of the little wars in which we had to engage broke out with the Ashantees [Hinterland, north of the Gold

Coast], a misunderstanding resulting from our purchase of the Dutch possessions (1873) in their neighbourhood. Troops and marines under Wolseley . . . were sent out to West Africa. Crossing the Prah River, January 20th. 1874, he defeated the Ashantees on the last day of that month at a place called Amoafu, entered and burnt their capital, Coomassie, and made a treaty with their King, Koffee, by which he withdrew all claims of sovereignty over the tribes under our protection. . . . The many Liberal measures carried by the Ministry caused moderate men to wish for a halt. Some restrictions on the licensed vintners turned that powerful body against the Administration, which, on attempting to carry an Irish University Bill in 1873, became suddenly aware of its unpopularity, as the second reading was only carried by a majority of three. Resignation followed. The erratic, but astute, Disraeli declined to undertake the responsibility of governing the country with the House of Commons then existing, consequently Mr. Gladstone resumed office; yet Conservative reaction progressed. He in September became Chancellor of the Exchequer (still holding the Premiership) and 23rd January, 1874, he suddenly dissolved Parliament, promising in a letter to the electors of Greenwich the final abolition of the income tax, and a reduction in some other ‘imposts.’ The elections went against him. The ‘harassed’ interests overturned the Ministry (17th February, 1874). . . . On the accession of the Conservative Government under Mr. Disraeli (February, 1874), the budget showed a balance of six millions in favour of the reduction of taxation. Consequently the sugar duties were abolished and the income tax reduced to 2d. in the pound. This, the ninth Parliament of Queen Victoria, sat for a little over six years. . . . Mr. Disraeli, now the Earl of Beaconsfield, was fond of giving the country surprises. One of these consisted in the purchase of the interest of the Khedive of Egypt in the Suez Canal for four millions sterling (February, 1876). [See CANALS: Asiatic: Suez canal.] Another was the acquisition of the Turkish Island of Cyprus, handed over for the guarantee to Turkey of her Asiatic provinces in the event of any future Russian encroachments. . . . As war had broken out in several of the Turkish provinces (1876), and as Russia had entered the lists for the insurgents against the Sultan, whom England was bound to support by solemn treaties, we were treated to a third surprise by the conveyance, in anticipation of a breach with Russia, of 7,000 troops from India to Malta. The Earl of Derby, looking upon this manœuvre as a menace to that Power, resigned his office, which was filled by Lord Salisbury (1878). . . . The war proving disastrous to Turkey, the treaty of St. Stephano (February, 1878), was concluded with Russia, by which the latter acquired additional territory in Asia Minor in violation of the treaty of Paris (1856). Our Government strongly remonstrated, and war seemed imminent. Through the intercession, however, of Bismarck, the German Chancellor, war was averted, and a congress soon met in Berlin, at which Britain was represented by Lords Salisbury and Beaconsfield; the result being the sanction of the treaty already made, with the exception that the town of Erzeroum was handed back to Turkey. Our ambassadors returned home rather pompously, the Prime Minister loftily declaring, that they had brought back ‘peace with honour.’ . . . Our expenses had rapidly increased, the wealthy commercial people began to distrust a Prime Minister who had brought us to the brink of war, the Irish debates, Irish poverty, and Irish outrages had brought

with them more or less discredit on the Ministry. . . . The Parliament was dissolved March 24th, but the elections went so decisively in favour of the Liberals that Beaconsfield resigned (April 23rd). Early in the following year he appeared in his place in the House of Peers, but died April 10th. Though Mr. Gladstone had in 1875 relinquished the political leadership in favour of Lord Hartington yet the 'Bulgarian Atrocities' and other writings brought him again so prominent before the public that his leadership was universally acknowledged by the party. . . . He now resumed office, taking the two posts so frequently held before by Prime Ministers since the days of William Pitt, who also held them. . . . The result of the general election of 1880 was the return of more Liberals to Parliament than Conservatives and Home Rulers together. The farming interest continued depressed both in Great Britain and Ireland, resulting in thousands of acres being thrown on the landlords' hands in the former country, and numerous harsh evictions in the latter for non-payment of rent. Mr. Gladstone determined to legislate anew on the Irish Land Question: and (1881) carried through both Houses that admirable measure known as the Irish Land Act, which for the first time in the history of that country secured to the tenant remuneration for his own industry. A Land Commission Court was established to fix Fair Rents for a period of 15 years. After a time leaseholders were included in this beneficent legislation.—R. Johnston, *Short history of the Queen's reign*, pp. 49-57.—See also IRELAND: 1881; 1881-1882.

ALSO IN: W. F. Money Penny and G. E. Buckle, *Life of Disraeli*.—J. A. Froude, *Lord Beaconsfield*, ch. 16-17.—G. B. Smith, *Life of Gladstone*, v. 2, ch. 22-28.—H. Jephson, *Platform*, v. 2, ch. 21-22.

1876.—Interest in African colonization. See BELGIAN CONGO: 1876-1800.

1876.—Treaty with Baluchistan. See BALUCHISTAN: 1876-1887.

1877-1878.—Eastern question.—Bulgarian atrocities.—Treaty of San Stefano.—Congress of Berlin. See BALKAN STATES: 1878; BULGARIA: 1875-1878; TURKEY: 1878; BERLIN, CONGRESS OF; WORLD WAR: Causes: Indirect: d, 1.

1877-1881.—Annexation of the Transvaal.—Boer War. See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1806-1881.

1878.—Child Labor Law.—Age limit raised.—Improvement of safeguards. See CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 1874-1905.

1878-1880.—Second Afghan War. See AFGHANISTAN: 1869-1881.

1878-1881.—International conference on bi-metalism. See BIMETALISM; MONEY AND BANKING: Modern: 1867-1893.

1880-1881.—Breach between the Irish party and the English Liberals.—Coercion Bill and the Land Act. See IRELAND: 1880; 1881; 1881-1882.

1880.—Control of telephone system. See TELEGRAPHS AND TELEPHONES: 1880.

1881-1884.—Treaty of Pretoria.—London convention. See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1884-1894.

1881-1901.—Extent of immigration and emigration. See IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION: England: 1881-1901.

1882.—Women granted right to hold property. See WOMAN'S RIGHTS: 1870-1911.

1882.—War in Egypt. See EGYPT: 1875-1882; 1882-1883.

1883.—Act for prevention of corrupt and illegal practices at parliamentary elections.—Prior to the General Election of 1880 there were those who hoped and believed that Corrupt Practices at Elections were decreasing. These hopes were based upon the growth of the constituencies

and their increased political intelligence, and also upon the operation of the Ballot Act. The disclosures following the General Election proved to be the most sanguine that this belief was an error. Corrupt practices were found to be more prevalent than ever. If in olden times larger aggregate sums were expended in bribery and treating, never probably had so many persons been bribed and treated as at the General Election of 1880. After that election nineteen petitions against returns on the ground of corrupt practices were presented. In eight instances the Judges reported that those practices had extensively prevailed, and in respect of seven of these the reports of the Commissioners appointed under the Act of 1852 demonstrated the alarming extent to which corruption of all kinds had grown. . . . A most serious feature in the Commissioners' Reports was the proof they afforded that bribery was regarded as a meritorious not as a disgraceful act. Thirty magistrates were reported as guilty of corrupt practices and removed from the Commission of the Peace by the Lord Chancellor. Mayors, aldermen, town-councillors, solicitors, the agents of the candidates, and others of a like class were found to have dealt with bribery as if it were a part of the necessary machinery for conducting an election. Worst of all, some of these persons had actually attained municipal honours, not only after they had committed these practices, but even after their misdeeds had been exposed by public inquiry. The Reports also showed, and a Parliamentary Return furnished still more conclusive proof, that election expenses were extravagant even to absurdity, and moreover were on the increase. The lowest estimate of the expenditure during the General Election of 1880 amounts to the enormous sum of two and a half millions. With another Reform Bill in view, the prospects of future elections were indeed alarming. . . . The necessity for some change was self-evident. Public opinion insisted that the subject should be dealt with, and the evil encountered. . . . The Queen's speech of the 6th of January, 1881, announced that a measure 'for the repression of corrupt practices' would be submitted to Parliament, and on the following day the Attorney-General (Sir Henry James), in forcible and eloquent terms, moved for leave to introduce his Bill. His proposals (severe as they seemed) were received with general approval and sympathy, both inside and outside the House of Commons, at a time when members and constituents alike were ashamed of the excesses so recently brought to light. It is true that the two and a half years' delay that intervened between the introduction of the Bill and its finally becoming law (a delay caused by the necessities of Irish legislation), sufficed very considerably to cool the enthusiasm of Parliament and the public. Yet enough desire for reform remained to carry in July, 1883, the Bill of January, 1881, modified indeed in detail, but with its principles intact and its main provisions unaltered. The measure which has now become the Parliamentary Elections Act of 1883, was in its conception pervaded by two principles. The first was to strike hard and home at corrupt practices; the second was to prohibit by positive legislation any expenditure in the conduct of an election which was not absolutely necessary. Bribery, undue influence, and personation, had long been crimes for which a man could be fined and imprisoned. Treating was now added to the same class of offences, and the punishment for all rendered more deterrent by a liability to hard labour. . . . Besides punishment on conviction, incapacities of a serious character are to result from a person being reported guilty of corrupt practices by Elec-

tion Judges or Election Commissioners. . . . A candidate reported personally guilty of corrupt practices can never sit again for the same constituency, and is rendered incapable of being a member of the House of Commons for seven years. All persons, whether candidates or not, are, on being reported, rendered incapable of holding any public office or exercising any franchise for the same period. Moreover, if any persons so found guilty are magistrates, barristers, solicitors, or members of other honourable professions, they are to be reported to the Lord Chancellor, Inns of Court, High Court of Justice, or other authority controlling their profession, and dealt with as in the case of professional misconduct. Licensed victuallers are, in a similar manner, to be reported to the licensing justices, who may on the next occasion refuse to renew their licenses. . . . The employment of all paid assistants except a very limited number is forbidden; no conveyances are to be paid for, and only a restricted number of committee rooms are to be engaged. Unnecessary payments for the exhibition of bills and addresses, and for flags, bands, torches, and the like are declared illegal. But these prohibitions of specific objects were not considered sufficient. Had these alone been enacted, the money of wealthy and reckless candidates would have found other channels in which to flow. . . . And thus it was that the 'maximum scale' was adopted as at once the most direct and the most efficacious means of limiting expenditure. Whether by himself or his agents, by direct payment or by contract, the candidate is forbidden to spend more in 'the conduct and management of an election' than the sums permitted by the Act, sums which depend in each case on the numerical extent of the constituency."—H. Hobhouse, *Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act, 1883*, pp. 1-8.—See also SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: British empire: 1832-1885.

1884.—Berlin conference for the discussion of affairs in Africa. See BERLIN ACT.

1884-1885.—Third Reform Bill and the Redistribution Bill.—Existing qualifications and disqualifications of the suffrage.—"Soon after Mr. Gladstone came into power in 1880, Mr. Trevelyan became a member of his Administration. Already the Premier had secured the co-operation of two other men new to office—Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke. . . . It was understood from the first that, with such men as his coadjutors, Mr. Gladstone was pledged to a still further Reform. He was pledged already, in fact, by his speeches in Midlothian. . . . On the 17th of October, 1883, a great Conference . . . held at Leeds, . . . was attended by no fewer than 2,000 delegates, who represented upwards of 500 Liberal Associations. It was presided over by Mr. John Morley. . . . To a man the delegates agreed as to the imperative necessity of household suffrage being extended to the counties; and almost to a man they agreed also as to the necessity of the measure being no longer delayed. . . . When Parliament met on the 5th of the following February . . . a measure for 'the enlargement of the occupation franchise in Parliamentary Elections throughout the United Kingdom' was distinctly promised in the Royal Speech; and the same evening Mr. Gladstone gave notice that 'on the first available day,' he would move for leave to bring in the bill. So much was the House of Commons occupied with affairs in Egypt and the Soudan [rebellion of the Mahdists], however, that it was not till the 20th of February that the Premier was able to fulfill his pledge."—W. Heaton, *Three reforms of Parliament, ch. 6*.—"This bill passed through the House of Commons, but the Lords, on the motion of Lord Cairns, declined

to assent to 'a fundamental change in the electoral body' until they had before them the details of the promised scheme for the redistribution of seats. The action of the Lords aroused a violent agitation in the country and bitter attacks were made upon the Second Chamber. Their action had logic and reason behind it, yet the country resented delay."

—J. A. R. Marriott, *England since Waterloo, p. 491*.—"On the 21st of July, a great meeting was held in Hyde Park, attended, it was believed, by upwards of 100,000 persons. . . . On the 30th of July, a great meeting of delegates was held in St. James's Hall, London. . . . Mr. John Morley, who presided, used some words respecting the House that had rejected the bill which were instantly caught up by Reformers everywhere. 'Be sure,' he said, 'that no power on earth can separate henceforth the question of mending the House of Commons from the question of mending, or ending, the House of Lords.' On the 4th of August, Mr. Bright, speaking at Birmingham, referred to the Lords as 'many of them the spawn of the plunder and the wars and the corruption of the dark ages of our country'; and his colleague, Mr. Chamberlain, used even bolder words: 'During the last one hundred years the House of Lords has never contributed one iota to popular liberties or popular freedom, or done anything to advance the common weal; and during that time it has protected every abuse and sheltered every privilege. . . . It is irresponsible without independence, obstinate without courage, arbitrary without judgment, and arrogant without knowledge.'—W. Heaton, *Three reforms of parliament, ch. 6*.—"The case was eminently one for compromise; but an impartial arbitrator was needed to bring the parties together. Rarely in modern politics has the Crown played a more useful part than in making peace between the two Parties and the two Houses in the autumn of 1884. The Queen was greatly impressed by the gravity of the situation, and during the recess she laboured . . . [successfully] to bring the two sides together. . . . Mr. Gladstone met Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote, and discussed with them the details of the Redistribution Scheme. Satisfied on the main points, the Conservative Leaders allowed the Franchise Bill to pass, and in 1885 the Redistribution Act also became law. By the former the county was assimilated to the borough franchise, and some 2,000,000 voters were added to the electoral register. The latter went some way towards the principle of equal electoral areas."—J. A. R. Marriott, *England since Waterloo, pp. 491, 492*.

"That the Reform Act of 1884 was finally passed with the assent of both parties is not surprising. Whatever might be thought of the wisdom or unwisdom of the Act of 1867 no intelligible reason could be given for refusing to one section of the working classes the franchise which had been conceded to another. The reform was lateral and not vertical. Nor could the distinction any longer be drawn between the urban and rural householder, even if that distinction had been a sufficient reason for denying a vote to the latter, for a large proportion of the newly enfranchised voters lived in urban districts. No one was disfranchised by the bill. The property vote was retained, although constituting a violation of the uniformity of county and borough franchise aimed at by the Act; although, too, it might fairly have been contended that it was a mere survival of the old distinction between the property franchise in the counties and the occupation franchise in the boroughs, and that since occupation had become the qualification of the great majority of voters in counties as well as in boroughs the property vote was an anachronism.

No attempt was made to abolish plural voting. In order to satisfy a powerful Liberal opposition the Act of 1867, passed by a Conservative Government, went further than most Liberals desired; the same consideration, *mutatis mutandis*, caused the Act of 1884 to be drawn by a Liberal Government on Conservative lines. . . . By [the Redistribution] Act all boroughs with a population of less than 15,000 were disfranchised, and merged into their counties. These counties were subdivided into single-member districts, so that the voter who had lost his vote for the borough gained a vote for the electoral district of the county in which his borough was situated. Under this provision eighty boroughs were disfranchised in England, two in Scotland, and twenty-two in Ireland. All towns with a population under 50,000 were to be represented by one member only—a provision which deprived thirty-four boroughs in England and three in Ireland of one of their members. Macclesfield and Sandwich were disfranchised for corruption. Towns with a population of over 100,000 were divided into separate constituencies and received additional members in proportion to their population. The representation of the city of London was reduced to two, but greater London returned sixty-two members. Six additional members were given to England and twelve to Scotland, by which means the total number of members was raised from 652 to 670. Preferential treatment was accorded to Ireland; for whereas her population only entitled her to twenty-one, or at most to ninety-three, members she was allowed to retain the 105 members given her by the Reform Act of 1832. . . . The frequent differences between the two Houses during the Parliament of 1880, and the rejection of the first Franchise Bill by the Upper House, caused the powers and composition of that House to be much discussed during the general election of 1885, and proposals for its 'mending or ending' to be freely canvassed on Radical platforms. On the 5th of March, 1886, a resolution condemning the hereditary principle was moved by Mr. Labouchere in the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone resisted this motion on the ground that it was inopportune. He said that he had always refused to assent to an abstract resolution unless he was prepared to follow it up by action, and that the time for this had not yet come. The resolution was defeated by a majority of thirty-six."—F. Holland, *May's constitutional history of England*, v. 3, pp. 39, 40, 43.—"Until the passing of the Representation of the People Act, 1884, no householder was qualified to vote unless he not only occupied a dwelling house, but occupied it either as owner or as the tenant of the owner. And where residence in an official or other house was necessary, or conducive to the efficient discharge of a man's duty or service, and was either expressly or impliedly made a part of such duty or service then the relation of landlord or tenant was held not to be created. The consequence was that a large number of persons who as officials, as employes, or as servants are required to reside in public buildings, on the premises of their employers or in houses assigned to them by their masters were held not to be entitled to the franchise. The effect of the three Acts taken together is that the County franchises are as follows:—1. Owners of Land, &c., of the annual value of £5, after deducting feu duty, ground annual, or other considerations which an owner may be bound to pay or to give an account for as a condition of his right. 2. Leaseholders under a lease of not less than 57 years or for the life of the tenant of the clear yearly value of £10, or for a period of not less than 10 years when the clear yearly value is not less than £50, or the

tenant is in actual personal occupancy of the land. 3. Occupiers of land, &c., of the clear yearly value of £10. 4. Householders. 5. Lodgers. 6. The service franchise. Borough franchises.—1. Occupiers of land or tenements of the annual value of £10. 2. Householders. 3. Lodgers. 4. The service franchise. The qualification for these franchises is in all material respects the same as for the corresponding franchises in the Scotch counties, and in the counties and boroughs of England and Wales. . . . The Acts relating to the franchise in Ireland are 2 & 3 Will. IV., c. 88, 13 & 14 Vict., c. 69, the representation of the People (Ireland) Act, 1868, and the Representation of the People Act, 1884. Read together they give the following qualifications:—County franchises.—1. Owners of freeholds of inheritance or of freeholds for lives renewable for ever rated to the poor at the annual value of £5. 2. Freeholders and copyholders of a clear annual value of £10. 3. Leaseholders of various terms and value. 4. Occupiers of land or a tenement of the clear annual value of £10. 5. Householders. 6. The lodger franchise. 7. The service franchise. Borough franchises.—1. Occupiers of lands and tenements of the annual value of £10. 2. Householders. . . . 3. Lodgers. 4. The service franchise. 5. Freemen in certain boroughs. . . . [The only classes of persons without the franchise were, therefore, those who had no fixed abode, bachelors who paid no rent and domestic servants and women.] All the franchises we have described . . . are subject to this condition, that no one, however qualified, can be registered or vote in respect of them if he is subjected to any legal incapacity to become or act as elector. . . . No alien unless certificated or naturalised, no minor, no lunatic or idiot, nor any person in such a state of drunkenness as to be incapable—is entitled to vote. Police magistrates in London and Dublin, and police officers throughout the country, including the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, are disqualified from voting either generally or for constituencies within which their duties lie. In the case of the police the disqualification continues for six months after an officer has left the force. . . . Persons are disqualified who are convicted of treason or treason-felony, for which the sentence is death or penal servitude, or any term of imprisonment with hard labour or exceeding twelve months, until they have suffered their punishment (or such as may be substituted by competent authority), or until they receive a free pardon. Peers are disqualified from voting at the election of any member to serve in Parliament. A returning officer may not vote at any election for which he acts, unless the numbers are equal, when he may give a casting vote. No person is entitled to be registered in any year as a voter for any county or borough who has within twelve calendar months next previous to the last day of July in such year received parochial relief or other alms which by the law of Parliament disqualify from voting. Persons employed at an election for reward or payment are disqualified from voting thereat although they may be on the register. . . . The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, disqualifies a variety of offenders."—W. A. Holdsworth, *New reform act*, pp. 20-36.—See also SUFFRAGE, WOMAN: ENGLAND: 1860-1005.

ALSO IN: J. Murdoch, *History of constitutional reform in Great Britain and Ireland*, pp. 277-308.—H. Jephson, *The platform*, v. 2, ch. 23.—E. Porritt, *Barriers to democracy in English electoral system*.

1885.—Fall of the Gladstone government.—Brief first ministry of Lord Salisbury.—"Almost simultaneously with the assembling of Parliament [February 10, 1885] had come the news of the fall of Khartoum and the death of General

Gordon [see EGYPT: 1884-1885]. These terrible events sent a thrill of horror and indignation throughout the country, and the Government was severely condemned in many quarters for its procrastination. Mr. Gladstone, who was strongly moved by Gordon's death, rose to the situation, and announced that it was necessary to overthrow the Mahdi at Khartoum, to renew operations against Osman Digma, and to construct a railway from Suakim to Berber with a view to a campaign in the autumn. A royal proclamation was issued calling out the reserves. Sir Stafford Northcote, initiated a debate on the Soudan question with a motion affirming that the risks and sacrifices which the Government appeared to be ready to encounter could only be justified by a distinct recognition of our responsibility for Egypt, and those portions of the Soudan which are necessary to its security. Mr. John Morley introduced an amendment to the motion, waiving any judgment on the policy of the Ministry, but expressing regret at its decision to continue the conflict with the Mahdi. Mr. Gladstone skilfully dealt with both motion and amendment. Observing that it was impossible to give rigid pledges as to the future, he appealed to the Liberal party, if they had not made up their minds to condemn and punish the Government, to strengthen their hands by an unmistakable vote of confidence. The Government obtained a majority of 14, the votes being 302 in their favour with 288 against; but many of those who supported the Government had also voted for the amendment by Mr. Morley. . . . Financial questions were extremely embarrassing to the Government, and it was not until the 30th of April that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was ready with his financial statement. He was called upon to deal with a deficit of upwards of a million, with a greatly depressed revenue, and with an estimated expenditure for the current year—including the vote of credit—of no less than £100,000,000. Amongst Mr. Childers's proposals was one to levy upon land an amount of taxation proportioned to that levied on personal property. There was also an augmentation of the spirit duties and of the beer duty. The country members were dissatisfied and demanded that no new charges should be thrown on the land till the promised relief of local taxation had been carried out. The agricultural and the liquor interests were discontented, as well as the Scotch and Irish members with the whiskey duty. The Chancellor made some concessions, but they were not regarded as sufficient, and on the Monday after the Whitsun holidays, the Opposition joined battle on a motion by Sir M. Hicks Beach. . . . Mr. Gladstone stated at the close of the debate that the Government would resign if defeated. The amendment was carried against them by 264 to 252, and the Ministry went out. . . . Lord Salisbury became Premier. . . . The general election . . . [was] fixed for November, 1885."—G. B. Smith, *Prime ministers of Queen Victoria*, pp. 373-377.

1885-1886.—Gladstone's return to power.—Home Rule Bill for Ireland and Irish Land Bill.—Their defeat.—Division of the Liberal party.—Lord Salisbury's ministry.—"The House of Commons which had been elected in November and December, 1885, was the first House of Commons which represented the whole body of the householders and lodgers of the United Kingdom. The result of the appeal to new constituencies and an enlarged electorate had taken all parties by surprise. The Tories found themselves, by the help of their Irish allies, successful in the towns beyond all their hopes; the Liberals, disappointed in the boroughs, had found compensation in unexpected suc-

cesses in the counties; and the Irish Nationalists had almost swept the board. . . . The Irish representation had undergone a still more remarkable change; . . . 85 were Home Rulers and only 18 were Tories. . . . It was soon clear enough that the alliance between the Tory Ministers and the Irish Nationalists was at an end." On the 25th of January, 1886, the Government was defeated on an amendment to the address, and on the 28th it resigned. Mr. Gladstone was invited to form a Ministry and did so with Lord Herschell for Lord Chancellor, Sir William Harcourt for Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Childers for Home Secretary, Lord Granville for Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. John Morley for Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Chamberlain for President of the Local Government Board. On the 20th of March "Mr. Gladstone announced in the House of Commons that on the 8th of April he would ask for leave to bring in a bill 'to amend the provision for the future government of Ireland'; and that on the 15th he would ask leave to bring in a measure 'to make amended provision for the sale and purchase of land in Ireland.'" The same day Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan (Secretary for Ireland) resigned their seats in the Cabinet, and it was generally understood that differences of opinion on the Irish bills had arisen. On the 8th of April the House of Commons was densely crowded when Mr. Gladstone introduced his measure for giving Home Rule to Ireland. In a speech which lasted three hours and a half he set forth the details of his plan and the reasons on which they were based. The essential conditions observed in the framing of the measure, as he defined them, were these: "The unity of the Empire must not be placed in jeopardy; the minority must be protected; the political equality of the three countries must be maintained, and there must be an equitable distribution of Imperial burdens. He then discussed some proposals which had been made for the special treatment of Ulster. . . . The taxing power would be in the hands of the Irish legislature, but Customs and Excise duties connected with Customs would be solely in the control of the Imperial Parliament, Ireland's share in these being reserved for Ireland's use. . . . It was to consist of two orders, though not two Houses. It would be subject to all the prerogatives of the Crown; it would have nothing to do with Army or Navy, or with Foreign or Colonial relations. . . . Trade and navigation, coinage, currency, weights and measures, copyright, census, quarantine laws, and some other matters, were not to be within the powers of the Irish Parliament. . . . The Viceroyalty was to be left, but the Viceroy was not to quit office with an outgoing government, and no religious disability was to affect his appointment. He would have a Privy Council, and the executive would remain as at present, but might be changed by the action of the legislative body. . . . Judges, with the exception of two in the Court of Exchequer, would be appointed by the Irish government, and, like English judges, would hold their office during good behaviour. The Constabulary would remain under its present administration, Great Britain paying all charges over a million. Eventually, however, the whole police of Ireland would be under the Irish government. The civil servants would have two years' grace, with a choice of retirement on pension before passing under the Irish executive. Of the financial arrangements Mr. Gladstone spoke in careful and minute detail. He fixed the proportion of Imperial charges Ireland should pay at one-fifteenth, or in other words she would pay one part and Great Britain fourteen parts. . . ." On the 16th of April Mr. Gladstone

introduced his Irish Land Bill, connecting it with the Home Rule Bill as forming part of one great measure for the pacification of Ireland. In the meantime the opposition to his policy within the ranks of the Liberal party had been rapidly taking form. It was led by Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Trevelyan, Sir Henry James, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Courtney. It soon received the support of Mr. John Bright. The debate in the House, which lasted until the 3rd of June, was passionate and bitter. It ended in the defeat of the Government by a majority of 30 against the bill. The division was the largest which had ever been taken in the House of Commons, 657 members being present. The majority was made up of 249 Conservatives and 94 Liberals. The minority consisted of 228 Liberals and 85 Nationalists. Mr. Gladstone appealed to the country by a dissolution of Parliament. The elections were adverse to him. . . . Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues resigned and a new Ministry was formed under Lord Salisbury. The Liberals, in alliance with the Conservatives and giving their support to Lord Salisbury's Government, became organized as a distinct party under the leadership of Lord Hartington, and took the name of Liberal Unionists.—P. W. Clayden, *England under the coalition*, ch. 1-6.—See also IRELAND: 1885-1891; 1885-1903; LIBERAL PARTY: 1886-1905.

ALSO IN: H. D. Traill, *Marquis of Salisbury*, ch. 12.—*Annual Register*, 1885, 1886.

1886-1893.—Bering sea controversy and arbitration. See BERING SEA QUESTION; U. S. A.: 1889-1892.

1887.—Portugal's claim to Rhodesia. See RHODESIA: 1887.

1888.—Government regulation of railways.—Railway and canal commission. See RAILROADS: 1882-1905.

1889.—Act for the arbitration of labour troubles. See ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION, INDUSTRIAL: Great Britain: 1889-1920.

1889.—Extradition treaty with United States. See EXTRADITION.

1889-1900.—Hay-Pauncefote Treaty with United States. See PANAMA CANAL: 1889-1903.

1889-1900.—Printing as a fine art.—Work of William Morris.—Kelmseott press. See PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1889-1900.

1889-1920.—Legislation for industrial arbitration. See ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION, INDUSTRIAL: Great Britain: 1889-1920.

1890.—Housing of the Working Classes Act. See HOUSING: Great Britain: Legislation.

1890-1891.—Anglo-German and Anglo-Portuguese conventions on African affairs. See AFRICA: Modern European occupation: 1884-1899.

1891.—Free Education Bill.—Effect of taxation act on agricultural education. See EDUCATION: Modern: 19th century: England; EDUCATION, AGRICULTURAL: England and Wales.

1892-1893.—Fourth Gladstone ministry.—Passage of the Irish Home Rule Bill by the House of Commons.—Defeat by the Lords.—On June 28, 1892, Parliament was dissolved, having been in existence since 1886, and a new Parliament was summoned to meet on August 4. Great excitement prevailed in the ensuing elections, which turned almost entirely on the question of Home Rule for Ireland. The Liberal or Gladstone party, favouring Home Rule, won a majority of forty-two in the House of Commons; but in the representation of England alone there was a majority of seventy returned against it. In Ireland, the representation returned was 103 for Home Rule, and twenty-three against; in Scotland, fifty-one for and twenty-one

against; in Wales twenty-eight for and two against. Conservatives and Liberal Unionists (opposing Home Rule) lost little ground in the boroughs, as compared with the previous Parliament, but largely in the counties. As the result of the election, Lord Salisbury and his Ministry resigned August 12, and Gladstone was summoned to form a government. In the new cabinet, which was announced four days later, Earl Rosebery became foreign secretary; Baron Hirschell, lord chancellor; Sir William Vernon Harcourt, chancellor of the exchequer; Herbert H. Asquith, home secretary; and John Morley, chief secretary for Ireland. Although the new Parliament assembled in August, 1892, it was not until February 13 following that Gladstone introduced his bill to establish Home Rule in Ireland. The bill was under debate in the House of Commons until the night of September 1, 1893, when it passed that body by a vote of 301 to 267. "The bill provides for a Legislature for Ireland, consisting of the Queen and of two Houses—the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly. This Legislature, with certain restrictions, is authorized to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland in respect of matters exclusively relating to Ireland or some part thereof. The bill says that the powers of the Irish Legislature shall not extend to the making of any law respecting the establishment or endowment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or imposing any disability or conferring any privilege on account of religious belief, or whereby any person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or whereby private property may be taken without just compensation. According to the bill the executive power in Ireland shall continue vested in her Majesty the Queen, and the Lord Lieutenant, on behalf of her Majesty, shall exercise any prerogatives or other executive power of the Queen the exercise of which may be delegated to him by her Majesty, and shall in the Queen's name summon, prorogue and dissolve the Legislature. An Executive Committee of the Privy Council of Ireland is provided for, which 'shall aid and advise in the government of Ireland.' The Lord Lieutenant, with the advice and consent of the Executive Council, is authorized to give or withhold the assent of her Majesty to bills passed by the Houses of the Legislature. The Legislative Council by the terms of the bill shall consist of forty-eight Councillors. Every man shall be entitled to vote for a Councillor who owns or occupies any land or tenement of a ratable value of £20. The term of office of the Councillors is to be for eight years, which is not to be affected by dissolution, but one-half of the Councillors shall retire in every fourth year and their seats be filled by a new election. The Legislative Assembly is to consist of 103 members returned by the Parliamentary constituencies existing at present in Ireland. This Assembly, unless sooner dissolved, may exist for five years. The bill also provides for 80 Irish members in the House of Commons. In regard to finance, the bill provides that for the purposes of this act the public revenue shall be divided into general revenue and special revenue, and general revenue shall consist of the gross revenue collected in Ireland from taxes; the portion due to Ireland of the hereditary revenues of the crown which are managed by the Commissioners of Woods, an annual sum for the customs and excise duties collected in Great Britain on articles consumed in Ireland, provided that an annual sum of the customs and excise duties collected in Ireland on articles consumed in Great

Britain shall be deducted from the revenue collected in Ireland and treated as revenue collected in Great Britain; these annual sums to be determined by a committee appointed jointly by the Irish Government and the Imperial Treasury. It is also provided that one-third of the general revenue of Ireland and also that portion of any imperial miscellaneous revenue to which Ireland may claim to be entitled shall be paid into the Treasury of the United Kingdom as the contribution of Ireland to imperial liabilities and expenditures; this plan to continue for a term of six years, at the end of which time a new scheme of tax division shall be devised. The Legislature, in order to meet expenses of the public service, is authorized to impose taxes other than those now existing in Ireland. Ireland should also have charged up against her and be compelled to pay out of her own Treasury all salaries and pensions of Judges and liabilities of all kinds which Great Britain has assumed for her benefit. The bill further provides that appeal from courts in Ireland to the House of Lords shall cease and that all persons having the right of appeal shall have a like right to appeal to the Queen in council. The term of office of the Lord Lieutenant is fixed at six years. Ultimately the Royal Irish Constabulary shall cease to exist and no force other than the ordinary civil police shall be permitted to be formed. The Irish Legislature shall be summoned to meet on the first Tuesday in September, 1894, and the first election for members shall be held at such time before that day as may be fixed by her Majesty in council." In the House of Lords, the bill was defeated on September 8—the second reading postponed to a day six months from that date—by the overwhelming vote of 419 to forty-one.—See also IRELAND: 1885-1891.

1894.—Commandeering question with the South African republic. See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1894.

1894.—Revision of old commercial treaty with Japan. See JAPAN: 1895-1902.

1894-1895.—Protest against French control in Kiang-Hung. See CHINA: 1894-1895.

1894-1895 (March-September).—Retirement of Gladstone from public life.—Earl of Rosebery prime minister.—Speech on the "predominant member" and Home Rule.—Weakening and overthrow of the Liberal government.—Dissolution of Parliament.—Conservative and Unionist triumph.—Third ministry of Lord Salisbury.—Gladstone, who had passed his eighty-fourth year, whose health was failing, and who might justly consider that his public work was done, resigned his post as prime minister on March 2, 1894, and the earl of Rosebery, on his recommendation, was called by the queen to take his place. Slight changes, otherwise, were made in the cabinet, but the spirit in the Liberal government was no longer the same. The new premier soon signified that his disposition in the matter of Home Rule for Ireland was not quite what Mr. Gladstone's had been, by using the following language in a speech (March 13) in the House of Lords: "Before Irish Home Rule is conceded by the Imperial Parliament England, as the predominant member of the partnership of the three kingdoms, will have to be convinced of its justice. That may seem to be a considerable admission to make, because your lordships will know that the majority of English members of Parliament, elected from England proper, are hostile to Home Rule. But I believe that the conviction of England in regard to Home Rule depends on one point alone, and that is the conduct of Ireland herself. I believe that if we

can go on showing this comparative absence of agrarian crime; if we can point to the continued harmony of Ireland with the great Liberal party of this country; if we can go on giving proofs and pledges that Ireland is entitled to be granted that boon which she has never ceased to demand since the Act of Union was passed, I believe that the conversion of England will not be of a slow or difficult character. My lords, the question of Home Rule is one that I regard not from the point of view of Ireland only. It has for me a triple aspect. It has, in the first place, the aspect that I believe that Ireland will never be contented until this measure of Home Rule be granted to her; and that, though you may come in on other issues and succeed us who sit here, your policy of palliatives is bound to fail. In the second place, I believe that not merely have we in our Irish policy to satisfy those who live in the island of Ireland itself, encompassed, as Mr. Disraeli once said, by that melancholy ocean, we have not merely to satisfy the Irish themselves within Ireland, but, for the good of our Empire and for the continuity and solidarity of our relations with our brethren across the Atlantic, it is necessary that we should produce an Irish policy which shall satisfy the Irish people. And, lastly, I view it from the highest Imperial grounds, because I believe that the maintenance of this Empire depends, not on centralization, but on decentralization, and that if you once commence to tread this path, you will have to give satisfaction under the same conditions certainly to Scotland, and possibly to Wales, not in the same degree or possibly in the same way, but so as to relieve this groaning Imperial Parliament from the burden of legislation under which it labours."

His remarks seemed to show an intention to postpone the pressing of the measure. Distrust arose among the Irish and uncertainty was created in the mind of the Liberal party. It became evident very quickly that the Liberals, with the loss of their old leader, had lost heart and faith in the policy to which he had committed them, and that a serious weakening of the political energies of the party had been produced. No measures which raised troublesome issues were undertaken in Parliament during the year; but, at the session which opened in the following February (1895), the government brought forward a number of highly important bills.

The first to be introduced was a bill "to terminate the Establishment of the Church of England in Wales and Monmouth." The bill made provision for the creation of a representative church body, giving power to the bishops, clergy and laity to hold synods and to legislate on ecclesiastical matters. It entrusted ecclesiastical revenues to a commission; provided for the transfer of churches and parsonages to the representative body of the church, and of burial grounds and glebes to parish, district, and town councils; other property of the church to be vested in the commission before mentioned, which should also have the charge of cathedrals, to keep them in repair. The bill had its first reading on February 28 and its second on April 1, but went no further. It shared the fate of the other measures of the government, including the bill to establish local control of the liquor traffic, and others for the remedying of defects in the Irish land law, and for the abolition of plural voting, all of which were extinguished by the sudden and unexpected overthrow of the government on June 21. It was defeated on a motion to reduce the salary of the secretary for war, which was made for no pur-

pose but to start a question as to the adequacy of the provision of certain ammunition stored for use. When the vote was found to be against the government there was great surprise in both parties. But the ministry had been steadily losing support and was quite willing to resign, which it did the next day.

Lord Salisbury was sent for by the queen and accepted the task of forming a new government, with the understanding that Parliament should be dissolved as soon as practicable, and the will of the country ascertained. In the new government, Lord Salisbury filled the office of secretary of state for foreign affairs, with that of Prime Minister; A. J. Balfour became first lord of the treasury; Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, chancellor of the exchequer; Joseph Chamberlain, secretary of state for the colonies; G. J. Goschen, first lord of the admiralty. Before the dissolution of Parliament, which occurred on July 6, a bill for the amendment of the Factories Act, on which both parties agreed, was passed. The elections that followed, beginning July 13, resulted in the return of a majority of 152 in favor of the new ministry, which represented the coalition of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists. The majority of the popular vote on the same side in the three kingdoms was a little more than 30,000, in a total poll of 4,792,512; but in England the new government received a majority of some 300,000. In Ireland the vote went heavily against them, and in Wales and Scotland to a lighter extent. Of the Irish members elected, twelve were of the Parnell faction and sixty-nine Anti-Parnell. The new Parliament came together August 12, and, after a brief session, at which little was done, was prorogued September 5.

1895.—Agreement with Austria and Italy over Eastern question. See ITALY: 1895-1896.

1895 (March-July).—Agreement with Russia concerning the northern Afghan frontier and spheres of influence in the Pamir region. See ARGHANISTAN: 1895.

1896.—Report on old-age pensions.—The question of the practicability and expediency of a national system of pensions for old age, which had been agitated in England for some years, and which a royal commission, appointed in 1893, had already examined with great thoroughness and no definite result, was referred in 1896 to a committee of financial experts, with Lord Rothschild at their head. This committee reported that it could recommend no scheme as satisfactory, though it put forward that of Sir Spencer Walpole as open to less objection than others. The scheme in question was as follows: "1. Any person at 65 having an assured income of not less than 2s. 6d. and not more than 5s. may apply for a pension. 2. If the pensioning authority is satisfied as to the income a pension may be granted. 3. The applicant must not be physically or mentally infirm. 4. To an income of 2s. 6d. 2s. 6d. is to be added. To an income of 3s. od. 2s. od. is to be added. To an income of 4s. od. 1s. od. is to be added. 5. 'Assured income' includes real estate, leasehold property, securities, or annuities (Government, friendly society, or insurance office), but not out-relief. 6. The guardians are to be the pensioning authority. 7. Not more than half of the pension is to be paid out of Imperial taxation, the remainder out of local rates. 8. The pension is not to involve disenfranchisement."

The committee, however, pointed out some very strong objections to this scheme, which they roughly estimated as likely to apply to 443,333 persons, and to cost £2,300,000 a year. On the whole, while they regarded the Walpole scheme as

the best suggested, the Rothschild committee held that, like the rest, its inherent disadvantages outweighed its merits. In effect, they pronounced the establishment of old-age pensions to be impracticable.—See also SOCIAL INSURANCE: Details for various countries: Great Britain: 1833-1911.

1896.—Report of royal commission on financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland. See IRELAND: 1896-1902.

1896 (January).—Agreement with France concerning Siam. See SIAM: 1896-1899.

1896.—Venezuela boundary question and settlement. See VENEZUELA: 1896-1899.

1896 (February).—New treaty with United States for arbitration of Bering sea claims. See BERING SEA QUESTION.

1896 (May).—New radical party.—A new radical party, under the leadership of Sir Charles Dilke and Henry Labouchere, issued a statement of its policy (May 19), setting forth as its chief aim "the democratisation and devolution of Parliament."

1896 (June).—Agricultural Land Act.—Among the measures brought forward in Parliament this year and carried by the Conservative government was one which aroused bitter feeling and was sharply denounced, as being legislation in the interest of the landholding class, at the expense of the community at large. A ground of justice for it was found by its supporters, however, in the extreme agricultural depression of the time. This agricultural land bill, as it was styled, provided that, in the case of every rate to which it applied, agricultural land should be assessed in future on half its ratable value, while houses and buildings would still be assessed on the whole of their ratable value. The bill passed the Commons near the end of June, and went speedily through the House of Lords.

1896 (July).—Parliamentary movement to investigate British South Africa Company. See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1896 (July).

1896 (September).—Papal Bull declaring Anglican orders invalid. See PAPACY: 1896 (September).

1896-1897.—"Voluntary Schools Act" and "Elementary Education Act."—The Conservative ministry of Lord Salisbury came to power, in England, in 1895, under pledges to the church that it would revise the educational system in the interest of the "voluntary schools" (mostly church schools), as against the secular or non-sectarian "board schools," which were steadily gaining ground from the former, and proving superior efficiency. A bill to that end, for England and Wales, was introduced at the end of March, 1896. In support of the bill it was stated that, in the previous year, the voluntary schools educated 2,445,812 children, as against 1,879,218 educated in the board schools, though the voluntary schools were, as a rule, "understaffed," had less qualified teachers, and labored generally under financial difficulties; but that a large proportion of the members of the Church of England, as well as Roman Catholics, made it a point of conscience that their children should be educated by teachers of their own denomination, and could not be forced to send them to board schools without a gross exercise of religious intolerance; that, finally, it would cost £25,345,635 to replace the voluntary schools, and £2,250,000 yearly to maintain board schools in their place, if they were not kept up. Therefore, it was contended that they should receive a more liberal allowance of state aid by parliamentary grant, to keep them alive and improve their efficiency. Connected with provisions

to that effect were others which would completely reorganize the system of school administration and control. They proposed to take the administration to a great extent from the committee of council on education, where it had been centralized, and to place it in the county councils, to be exercised by statutory educational committees appointed by each council. By what was called a "conscience clause," the bill required separate religious instruction to be given to children in schools (board or voluntary) wherever a "reasonable number of parents" required it. The measure was strenuously opposed on the ground that its aim was the extinction of the board schools; that it would give them only £17,000 out of £500,000, and give it, said Lord Rosebery, "without any vestige of control, so that in 8,000 places where only Church of England schools existed the Non-conformists would have only the vague protection of the conscience clause." So much debate was provoked by the bill, and so much time was being consumed by it, that the government was forced to drop the measure in June, in order to save the other business of the session from being spoiled,—promising, however, to bring it forward again the next January. The promise was redeemed, on the convening of Parliament in January, 1897, in so far that a new education bill was brought forward by the government; but the measure was very different from that of the previous session. It was addressed solely to the end of strengthening the voluntary or church schools against the board schools, firstly by increasing the aid to them from public funds, and secondly by uniting them in organized associations, under stronger governing bodies. The main provisions of the bill were:

"(1.) For aiding voluntary schools there shall be annually paid out of moneys provided by Parliament an aid grant, not exceeding in the aggregate five shillings per scholar for the whole number of scholars in those schools.

"(2.) The aid grant shall be distributed by the Education Department to such voluntary schools and in such manner and amounts, as the Department think best for the purpose of helping necessitous schools and increasing their efficiency, due regard being had to the maintenance of voluntary subscriptions.

"(3.) If associations of schools are constituted in such manner in such areas and with such governing bodies representative of the managers as are approved by the Education Department, there shall be allotted to each association while so approved, (a) a share of the aid grant to be computed according to the number of scholars in the schools of the association at the rate of five shillings per scholar, or, if the Department fix different rates for town and country schools respectively (which they are hereby empowered to do) then at those rates; and (b) a corresponding share of any sum which may be available out of the aid grant after distribution has been made to unassociated schools.

"(4.) The share so allotted to each such association shall be distributed as aforesaid by the Education Department after consulting the governing body of the association, and in accordance with any scheme prepared by that body which the Department for the time being approve.

"(5.) The Education Department may exclude a school from any share of the aid grant which it might otherwise receive, if, in the opinion of the Department, it unreasonably refuses or fails to join such an association, but the refusal or failure shall not be deemed unreasonable if the majority of the schools in the association belong to a re-

ligious denomination to which the school in question does not itself belong.

"(6.) The Education Department may require, as a condition of a school receiving a share of the aid grant, that the accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the school shall be annually audited in accordance with the regulations of the Department.

"(7.) The decision of the Education Department upon any question relating to the distribution or allotment of the aid grant, including the question whether an association is or is not in conformity with this Act, and whether a school is a town or a country school, shall be final."

The passage of the bill was resisted strenuously by the Liberals in the House of Commons. "Whether they regarded the bill from an educational, a constitutional, a parliamentary, or a social aspect," said Mr. John Morley, in his concluding speech in the debate, "he and his friends regarded it as a mischievous and reactionary measure." But the opposition was of no avail. The bill passed its third reading in the House of Commons, on the 25th of March, with a majority of 200 in its favor, the Irish Nationalists giving it their support. In the House of Lords it was ruled to be a money bill, which their lordships could not amend, and they passed it with little debate. In April, the government brought forward a second school bill, which increased the parliamentary grant to Board schools by £110,000. The sum was so trivial that it excited the scorn of the friends of the Board schools, and did nothing towards conciliating them. It became a law on the 3d of June.

1897.—Commissioner's report on sugar industry in West Indies. See WEST INDIES: 1897.

1897.—Prince of Wales (Edward VII) Hospital fund. See CHARITIES: England: 1897-1918.

1897 (January-May).—Arbitration treaty with United States defeated in the United States Senate. See U. S. A.: 1897 (January-May).

1897 (February).—Indemnity for Jameson Raid claimed by South African republic. See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1897 (February).

1897 (February).—Loan for national defense.—Purchase of sixty square miles on Salisbury plain.—A bill which authorized a loan of £5,458,000 for purposes of national defense was passed rapidly through both Houses of Parliament in February. It included an item of £450,000 for the purchase of 40,000 acres (60 square miles) on Salisbury Plain, for military manœuvres.

1897 (February-July).—Parliamentary investigation of Jameson raid. See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1897 (February-July).

1897 (May).—Treaty with Menelek of Abyssinia. See ABYSSINIA: 1896-1897.

1897 (May-June).—New cessions and concessions from China. See CHINA: 1897 (May-June).

1897 (May-July).—Workmen's Compensation Act.—A subject which had grown urgent, in England, for parliamentary attention, was that of a better provision in law for securing proper compensation to workmen for accidental injuries suffered in the course of their employment. The measure was not one that a Conservative government would be likely, under ordinary circumstances, to take up; since the class of large employers of labor, from which opposition to it came, were mostly in the Conservative ranks. But the Liberal Unionists, now in parliamentary coalition with the Conservatives, were called upon to favor such a piece of legislation by their creed, and rumor said that they bargained for it with their political partners, in exchange for the support they gave unwillingly to the Voluntary Schools Bill. At all

events, a bill which was first called the Employers' Liability bill, but finally named the Workmen's Compensation bill, was brought in to the House of Commons, by the government, in May, and was carried, after much debate, through both houses in July.—For text of the Act, see SOCIAL INSURANCE: Details for various countries: Great Britain: 1833-1911.

1897 (June).—Diamond jubilee of Queen Victoria.—The sixtieth anniversary of the coronation of Queen Victoria was celebrated in London on June 20, by religious services of great solemnity and impressiveness, and, two days later, by pageants of extraordinary pomp and magnificence, in which representatives of every people who acknowledge the queen's supremacy bore a part. Numerous functions and ceremonies followed to many of which the aged sovereign was able to lend her presence.

1897 (June-July).—Conference of colonial premiers with the secretary of state for the colonies. See BRITISH EMPIRE: Colonial and imperial conferences: 1897.

1897 (August).—Report on condition and prospects of West India colonies, and parliamentary action. See WEST INDIES: 1897.

1898.—Preference granted in Canadian tariff. See TARIFF: 1897-1898.

1898.—Imperial penny postage. See BRITISH EMPIRE: Imperial and colonial conferences: 1898.

1898 (February).—British troops fighting in eight regions of the world.—“We are a people of peaceful traders—shopkeepers, our rivals of the Continent affirm—and are consequently at war on only eight points of the globe, with forces which in the aggregate only just exceed sixty thousand men. There are thirty-five thousand on the Indian Frontier fighting the clansmen of the Northern Himalayas, who, according to the Afridi sub-officers interrogated by Sir Henry Havelock-Allan, are all eager to enter our service; twenty-five thousand about to defeat the Khalifa at Omdurman; a thousand doing sentry duty in Crete; four hundred putting down an outbreak in Mekran; three hundred crushing a mutiny in Uganda; and some hundreds more restoring order in Lagos, Borneo and Basutoland. All these troops, though of different nationalities—Englishmen, Sikhs, Ghoorkas, Rajpoots, Malays, Egyptians, Soudanese, Haussas, and Wagandas—are under British officers, are paid from funds under British control, and are engaged in the self-same work, that of solidifying the ‘Pax Britannica,’ so that a commercial civilisation may have a fair chance to grow.”—*Spectator (London)*, Feb. 5, 1898.

1898 (May).—Death of Gladstone.—After a long and painful illness, the great statesman and leader of the Liberal party in England, William Ewart Gladstone, died on May 19. His death drew [eloquent] tributes in Parliament from his political opponents. It was said by Lord Salisbury that “the most distinguished political name of the century had been withdrawn from the roll of Englishmen.” Mr. Balfour described him as “the greatest member of the greatest deliberative assembly that the world had yet seen”; and expressed the belief that “they would never again have in that assembly any man who could reproduce what Mr. Gladstone was to his contemporaries.”

Lord Rosebery paid an eloquent tribute to the dead statesman. “This country,” he said, “this nation, loves brave men. Mr. Gladstone was the bravest of the brave. There was no cause so hopeless that he was afraid to undertake it; there was no amount of opposition that would cower him when once he had undertaken it.” With the con-

sent of Mrs. Gladstone and family, a public funeral was voted by Parliament, and the body of the great leader was laid in Westminster Abbey, on May 28.

ALSO IN: J. Morley, *Life of Gladstone*.

1898 (June).—Sugar conference at Brussels. See SUGAR BOUNTIES.

1898 (July).—Local Government Act for Ireland. See IRELAND: 1898.

1898 (September-November).—Nile question with France.—Marchand's expedition at Fashoda. See EGYPT: 1898 (September-November).

1898-1899.—Relations with China.—Battle of Concessions.—Lease of territory opposite Hong Kong.—Protest at French demands. See CHINA: 1898 (February); (February-December); (April-August); 1898-1899.

1899.—Formation of the Labor party. See LABOR PARTIES: 1868-1910.

1899.—Windsor Treaty with Portugal over African settlement. See WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 71, xi.



QUEEN VICTORIA

1899 (March-April).—Agreement with Russia concerning railway interests in China. See CHINA: 1899 (March-April).

1899 (May-July).—First Hague conference. See HAGUE CONFERENCES: 1899: Constitution.

1899 (August).—Board of Education Act.—An act of Parliament which became law on August 9, 1899, and operative on April 1, 1900, created a national board of education, “charged with the superintendance of matters relating to education in England and Wales,” and taking the place of the committee of the privy council on education, by which that function had previously been performed. The act provided that the board “shall consist of a President, and of the Lord President of the Council (unless he is appointed President of the Board), Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, the First Commissioner of Her Majesty's Treasury, and the Chancellor of Her Majesty's Exchequer. . . . The President of the Board shall be appointed by Her Majesty, and shall hold office during Her Majesty's pleasure.” The act provided further for the creation by her majesty in council of “a Consultative Committee consisting, as to not less than two-thirds, of persons qualified to represent the views of Universities and other bodies interested in education, for the purpose of—(a) framing, with the approval of the Board of Edu-

cation, regulations for a register of teachers. . . with an entry in respect to each teacher showing the date of his registration, and giving a brief record of his qualifications and experience; and (b) advising the Board of Education on any matter referred to the committee by the Board."—62 & 63 *Victoria*, ch. 33.

1899 (September-October).—Preparations for war in South Africa.—Boer ultimatum (October 9). See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1899 (September-October).

1899 (October - November).—Beginning of hostilities in South Africa. See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1899 (October-November); (October-December).

1899 (November).—Adhesion to "Open Door" commercial policy in China. See CHINA: 1899-1900 (September-February); BOXER RISING AND THE "OPEN DOOR."

1899-1900.—Renewed investigation of old-age pension question.—On the initiative of the government, a fresh investigation of the question of old-age pensions was opened in 1899 by a select committee of the House of Commons, under the chairmanship of Mr. Chaplin. A test census was taken to show approximately the number of persons who would come under the terms of a pension law, and permit an estimate of the yearly cost. On this census a report was made but legislative action was not taken until 1908.

1899-1908.—Alarm at German aggression in the East. See BAGDAD RAILWAY: Plan.

20th century.—Detailed outline of British expansion. See BRITISH EMPIRE: Expansion.

20th century.—State control over cities.—Short ballot and public spirit. See MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT: State control; Short ballot, etc.

20th century.—Primary and secondary education.—Commercial education. See EDUCATION: Modern developments: 20th century: General education: England: Primary and secondary.

20th century.—Agriculture. See AGRICULTURE: Modern period: British Isles: 20th century.

1900.—Child welfare legislation compared with that of Spain. See CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 1874-1905.

1900.—Comparative statement of consumption of liquor. See LIQUOR PROBLEM: England, etc.

1900.—Hay's correspondence showing American attitude towards the Boer War. See U. S. A.: 1900 (June-August).

1900 (January - March).—Outbreak of the "Boxers" in northern China. See CHINA: 1900; BOXER RISING AND THE "OPEN DOOR."

1900 (February).—School age raised.—A bill introduced in Parliament by a private member unsupported by the government, providing that the earliest date at which a child should be permitted to leave school should be raised from eleven to twelve years, was passed, only one member of the cabinet voting for it.

1900 (March).—Overtures of peace from the Boer presidents.—Reply of Lord Salisbury. See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1900 (March).

1900 (May).—Annexation of Orange Free State. See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1900 (May).

1900 (July 9).—Passage of "Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act," federating the Australian colonies. See AUSTRALIA: 1900: Federation; also AUSTRALIA, CONSTITUTION OF; BRITISH EMPIRE: Colonial federation: Authority of imperial conference.

1900 (September).—Proclamation of Commonwealth of Australia. See AUSTRALIA: 1900 (September-December).

1900 (September-October).—Dissolution of Parliament.—Election of a new Parliament.—Victory for Conservatives and Liberal Unionists.—By royal proclamation, September 17, the existing Parliament was dissolved and order given for the issue of writs calling a new Parliament, the elections for which were held in October, concluding on the 24th of that month. The state of parties in the House of Commons resulting from the election was as follows: Conservatives, 334, Liberal Unionists, sixty-eight; total supporters of the Unionist Ministry, 402. Liberals and Labor members, 186, Nationalists (Irish), eighty-two; total opposition, 268. Unionist majority, 134, against 128 in the preceding Parliament. The issues in the election were those growing out of the South African War. Although most of the Liberals upheld the war, and the annexation of the South African republics, they sharply criticised the prior dealings of the colonial secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, with the Transvaal Boers, and the general conduct of the war. A number of the leading Liberals, particularly David Lloyd George, were uncompromising in condemnation of the war, of the policy which caused it, and of the proposed extinction of Boer independence. The sentiment of the country was shown by the election to be strongly against all questioning of the righteousness of the war or of the use to be made of victory in it.

1900 (November-December).—Fourth ministry of Lord Salisbury.—Brief session of Parliament.—For the fourth time, Lord Salisbury was called to the lead in government, and formed his ministry anew, making considerable changes. He relieved himself of the conduct of foreign affairs (which was transferred to the Marquess of Lansdowne), and took, with the office of prime minister, that of lord privy seal. St. John Brodrick (later created Lord Midleton), who had been an under-secretary, succeeded Lord Lansdowne as secretary of state for war. Mr. Balfour continued to be first lord of the treasury, and leader of the House; Mr. Chamberlain remained in the colonial office. Mr. Goschen retired and was created Viscount Goschen.

Parliament met on December 6 for the purpose set forth in a brief "Queen's Speech," as follows: "My Lords, and Gentlemen, It has become necessary to make further provision for the expenses incurred by the operations of my armies in South Africa and China. I have summoned you to hold a Special Session in order that you may give your sanction to the enactments required for this purpose. I will not enter upon other public matters requiring your attention until the ordinary meeting of Parliament in the spring." The estimates of the war office called for £16,000,000, and it was voted after a few days of debate, in which the causes and conduct of the war were criticised and defended by the two parties, and, on the 15th, Parliament was prorogued to February 14, 1901, by the queen's command.

1900-1903.—Friendly attitude toward Japan against Russia. See JAPAN: 1895-1902.

1900-1907.—Treaty with Russia in regard to Persian Gulf. See PERSIAN GULF.

1900-1915.—Naval expenditures. See WAR, PREPARATION FOR: 1900-1915.

1901 (January).—Death of Queen Victoria.—Accession of Edward VII.—On January 22, 1901, the long reign of Queen Victoria ended. She was eighty-two years old and had begun the sixty-fourth year of her reign, one of the longest in all European annals. The queen died at Osborne, Isle of Wight. The funeral, which took place on February 1, was, in accordance with her command,

DESCENDANTS OF QUEEN VICTORIA

And of the Prince Consort, Albert, second son of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (b. 1819), whom she married February 10, 1840, and who died December 14, 1861.
The queen died January 22, 1901.

CHILDREN	GRANDCHILDREN	GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN	CHILDREN	GRANDCHILDREN	GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN																																																
<p>VICTORIA (1840-1901), m. 1858, to Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards German Emperor (1888)</p>	<p>WILLIAM II (b. 1859), German Emperor (1888-1918), m. 1881, Augusta Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg</p>	<p>FREDERICK WILLIAM (b. 1882), m. 1905, Princess Cecille of Mecklenburg-Schwerin</p> <p>EITEL-FREDERICK (b. 1883), m. 1909, Sophie of Oldenburg</p> <p>ADALBERT (b. 1884), m. 1914, Adelhild of Sachsen-Meinlingen</p> <p>ARGUMENT (b. 1887), m. 1908, Alexandra of Schleswig-Holstein</p> <p>OSCAR (b. 1888), m. 1914, Countess Ina Bassowitz</p> <p>JOACHIM (1890-1920), m. 1916, Marie of Anhalt</p> <p>VICTORIA LUISE (b. 1892), m. 1913, to the Duke of Brunswick</p>	<p>ALICE—Continued</p>	<p>IRENE * (b. 1866), m. 1888, to Prince Henry of Prussia</p> <p>JERNEST LOUIS * (b. 1898), m. 1894, Victoria of Edinburgh</p> <p>FREDERICK WILLIAM (1870-1873)</p> <p>ALIX VICTORIA (1872-1918), m. 1894, to Nicholas II of Russia</p> <p>MARIA (1874-1878)</p>	<p>Two sons</p> <p>ELIZABETH (b. 1895)</p> <p>OLGA (1895-1918)</p> <p>TATIANA (1897-1918)</p> <p>MARIE (1899-1918)</p> <p>ANASTASIA (1901-1918)</p> <p>ALEXIS (1904-1918)</p>																																																
						<p>VICTORIA (1840-1901), m. 1858, to Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards German Emperor (1888)</p>	<p>CHARLOTTE (b. 1860), m. 1878, to Duke of Saxe-Meinlingen</p>	<p>One daughter</p>	<p>ALFRED (1844-1900), Duke of Edinburgh, afterwards Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, m. 1874, Grand Duchess Marie of Russia</p>	<p>ALFRED (1874-1899)</p>	<p>CAROL (b. 1893), m. 1921, Helene of Greece</p> <p>ELIZABETH (b. 1894), m. 1921, to Prince George, afterwards King of Greece</p> <p>MARIA (b. 1900), m. 1922, to King Alexander of Jugoslavia</p> <p>NICHOLAS (b. 1903)</p> <p>HELANA (b. 1903)</p>																																										
												<p>VICTORIA (1840-1901), m. 1858, to Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards German Emperor (1888)</p>	<p>HENRY * (b. 1862), m. 1888, Princess Irene of Hesse</p>	<p>Three sons</p>	<p>HELENA (b. 1846), m. 1866, to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein</p>	<p>MARIE (b. 1875), m. 1893, to Prince Ferdinand, afterwards King of Rumania</p>	<p>VICTORIA MELITA * (b. 1876), m. 1894, to Ernest Louis of Hesse</p>																																				
																		<p>VICTORIA (1840-1901), m. 1858, to Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards German Emperor (1888)</p>	<p>FRANCIS FREDERICK SIGISMUND (1864-1866)</p>	<p>GEORGE (b. 1890), King of Greece (1923-)</p> <p>ALEXANDER (1893-1920), King of Greece (1917-1920)</p> <p>HELENE (b. 1896)</p> <p>PAUL (b. 1901)</p> <p>IRENE (b. 1904)</p> <p>CATHERINE (b. 1913)</p>	<p>LOUISE (b. 1848), m. 1871, to Marquis of Lorne, 9th Duke of Argyle</p>	<p>VICTORIA MELITA * (b. 1876), m. 1894, to Ernest Louis of Hesse</p>	<p>One son</p> <p>One daughter</p>																														
																								<p>VICTORIA (1840-1901), m. 1858, to Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards German Emperor (1888)</p>	<p>VICTORIA (b. 1866), m. 1890, to Prince Adolph of Schaumburg-Lippe</p>	<p>WALDEMAR (1869-1879)</p>	<p>HELENA (b. 1846), m. 1866, to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein</p>	<p>ALFRED (1844-1900), Duke of Edinburgh, afterwards Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, m. 1874, Grand Duchess Marie of Russia</p>	<p>ALIX VICTORIA (1872-1918), m. 1894, to Nicholas II of Russia</p>																								
																														<p>VICTORIA (1840-1901), m. 1858, to Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards German Emperor (1888)</p>	<p>SOPHIE (b. 1870), m. 1889, to Crown Prince Constantine, afterwards King of Greece (1913-1917, 1920-1922)</p>	<p>MARGARETHA (b. 1872), m. 1893, to Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse</p>	<p>LOUISE (b. 1848), m. 1871, to Marquis of Lorne, 9th Duke of Argyle</p>	<p>VICTORIA MELITA * (b. 1876), m. 1894, to Ernest Louis of Hesse</p>	<p>One son</p> <p>One daughter</p>																		
																																				<p>VICTORIA (1840-1901), m. 1858, to Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards German Emperor (1888)</p>	<p>ALBERT VICTOR (1864-1892), Duke of Clarence</p>	<p>EDWARD ALBERT (b. 1894), Prince of Wales</p> <p>ALBERT FREDERICK (b. 1893)</p> <p>VICTORIA MARY (b. 1897), m. 1922, to Viscount Lascelles</p> <p>HENRY WILLIAM (b. 1900)</p> <p>GEORGE EDWARD (b. 1902)</p> <p>JOHN CHARLES (1905-1919)</p>	<p>ARTHUR (b. 1850), Duke of Connaught, m. 1879, Princess Margaret of Prussia</p>	<p>MARGARET VICTORIA (1882-1920), m. 1905, to Gustaf Adolf of Sweden</p>	<p>GUSTAF ADOLF (b. 1906)</p> <p>SIGVARD (b. 1907)</p> <p>INGRID (b. 1910)</p> <p>BERTIL (b. 1912)</p> <p>CARL JOHAN (b. 1916)</p>												
																																										<p>VICTORIA (1840-1901), m. 1858, to Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards German Emperor (1888)</p>	<p>GEORGE (b. 1865), Duke of York, succeeded Edward VII (1910) as George V, King of Great Britain and Ireland, m. 1893, Princess Victoria Mary of Teck</p>	<p>LOUISE (b. 1867), m. 1889, to the Duke of Fife</p>	<p>ARTHUR (b. 1850), Duke of Connaught, m. 1879, Princess Margaret of Prussia</p>	<p>ARTHUR PATRICK (b. 1883), m. 1913, Alexandra, Duchess of Fife</p>	<p>VICTORIA PATRICIA (b. 1886), m. 1919, to Alexander Ramsay</p>						
																																																<p>VICTORIA (1840-1901), m. 1858, to Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards German Emperor (1888)</p>	<p>VICTORIA (b. 1868)</p>	<p>MAUD (b. 1869), m. 1896, to Prince Carl of Denmark, afterwards King Haakon VII of Norway</p>	<p>LEOPOLD * (1853-1884), Duke of Albany, m. 1882, Helene of Waldeck-Pyrmunt</p>	<p>VICTORIA PATRICIA (b. 1886), m. 1919, to Alexander Ramsay</p>	<p>One son</p>
<p>VICTORIA (1840-1901), m. 1858, to Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards German Emperor (1888)</p>	<p>ALICE (b. 1885)</p> <p>LOUISE (b. 1889)</p> <p>GEORGE (b. 1892), 2d Marquis of Milford Haven, m. 1916, Nadejda, d of Grand Duke Michael of Russia</p> <p>ALBERT (b. 1900)</p>	<p>ALICE MARY (b. 1883), m. 1904, to Alexander, Earl of Athlone</p>	<p>ALEXANDER ALBERT (b. 1886), Marquis of Carisbrooke, m. 1917, Irene Denison</p>	<p>ALICE MARY (b. 1883), m. 1904, to Alexander, Earl of Athlone</p>	<p>One son</p> <p>One daughter</p>																																																
						<p>VICTORIA (1840-1901), m. 1858, to Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards German Emperor (1888)</p>	<p>ELIZABETH (b. 1864), m. 1884, to Grand Duke Sergius of Russia</p>	<p>OLAF (b. 1903), Crown Prince of Norway</p>	<p>BEATRICE (b. 1857), m. 1885, to Prince Henry of Battenberg</p>	<p>VICTORIA EUGENIE (b. 1887), m. 1906, to Alfonso XIII, King of Spain</p>	<p>ALFONSO (b. 1907)</p> <p>JAIMÉ (b. 1908)</p> <p>BEATRIZ (b. 1909)</p> <p>MARIA (b. 1911)</p> <p>JUAN (b. 1913)</p> <p>GONZALO (b. 1914)</p>																																										
												<p>VICTORIA (1840-1901), m. 1858, to Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards German Emperor (1888)</p>	<p>ALICE (b. 1885)</p> <p>LOUISE (b. 1889)</p> <p>GEORGE (b. 1892), 2d Marquis of Milford Haven, m. 1916, Nadejda, d of Grand Duke Michael of Russia</p> <p>ALBERT (b. 1900)</p>	<p>LEOPOLD * (1853-1884), Duke of Albany, m. 1882, Helene of Waldeck-Pyrmunt</p>	<p>LEOPOLD (b. 1889), Lord Mountbatten</p>	<p>VICTORIA EUGENIE (b. 1887), m. 1906, to Alfonso XIII, King of Spain</p>	<p>ALFONSO (b. 1907)</p> <p>JAIMÉ (b. 1908)</p> <p>BEATRIZ (b. 1909)</p> <p>MARIA (b. 1911)</p> <p>JUAN (b. 1913)</p> <p>GONZALO (b. 1914)</p>																																				
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* These are marriages of first cousins.

a military one, and members of all the royal families of Europe were in the procession. In the afternoon, the funeral service was held at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and on February 4, the coffin was privately removed to the mausoleum at Frogmore, in which the remains of the prince-consort already lay. "The demonstration of her people's sorrow testified to the spirit of loyalty to her person and position which had been evoked by her length of life and reign, her personal sorrows, and her recent manifestations of sympathy with her subjects' welfare. But the vital strength and popularity, which the grief at the Queen's death proved the monarchy to enjoy, were only in part due to her personal character and the conditions of her personal career. A force of circumstances which was not subject to any individual control largely contributed to the intense respect and affection on the part of the people of the Empire, which encircled her crown when her rule ended. The pas-



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sion of loyalty with which she inspired her people during her last ten years was a comparatively late growth. . . . It was largely the outcome of the new conception of the British monarchy which sprang from the development of the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain, and the sudden strengthening of the sense of unity between them and the mother-country. The crown after 1880 became the living symbol of imperial unity, and every year events deepened the impression that the Queen in her own person typified the common interest and the common sympathy which spread a feeling of brotherhood through the territories that formed the British Empire."—S. Lee, *Queen Victoria*, pp. 540-542.—On January 24, the queen's eldest son Albert Edward, prince of Wales, was proclaimed king under the title of Edward VII.

ALSO IN: G. M. Trevelyan, *British history in the nineteenth century* (1782-1901).—L. Strachey, *Queen Victoria*.

1901 (February).—Opening of Parliament by Edward VII.—Parliament, reassembling on February 14, was formally opened by the king in person, with a degree of pomp and ceremony which

had been made strange by half a century of disuse.

Having submitted to the old test of a Protestant qualification for the throne, the king read his speech to Parliament, briefly stating the general posture of public affairs and setting forth the business which the two houses were asked by government to consider. The king was voted a civil list of £470,000 by the House of Commons, though this step, with its increase of £85,000 over that voted to Queen Victoria, was opposed by the Radicals, Laborites and Irish Nationalists, the last in retaliation for the refusal of the Lords to alter the declaration against transubstantiation taken by the king at the opening of Parliament. In this session the Demise of the Crown Bill was passed, rendering unnecessary reappointments to office upon the accession of a new ruler.

1901 (February).—Attitude of Liberal party towards the South African War.—At the annual meeting of the general committee of the National Liberal Federation, held at Rugby, February 27, 1901, more than 400 affiliated Liberal associations in England and Wales being represented by about 500 delegates, including many eminent men, the following resolution was adopted: "That this committee records its profound conviction that the long continuance of the deplorable war in South Africa, declared for electioneering purposes to be over last September, is due to the policy of demanding unconditional surrender and to a want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment on the part of the Government, who have neither demonstrated effectively to the Boers the military supremacy of Great Britain, nor so conducted the war as to induce them to lay down their arms; this committee bitterly laments the slaughter of thousands of brave men on both sides, the terrible loss of life from disease, owing in no small degree to the scandalous inadequacy of sanitary and hospital arrangements provided for our forces, and the enormous waste of resources in actual expenditure upon the war, in the devastation of territory, and in the economic embarrassments which must inevitably follow; the committee calls upon the Government to announce forthwith, and to carry out, on the cessation of hostilities, a policy for the settlement of South African affairs which will secure equal rights to the white races, just and humane treatment of natives, and such a measure of self-government as can honourably be accepted by a brave and high-spirited people."

1901 (February-April).—Views of Sir Alfred Milner on situation in South Africa. See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1001 (February-April).

1901 (April).—Census statistics.—Relative numbers of males and females.—Agricultural industry.—Different kinds of areas.—The eleventh census of the population of England and Wales was taken April 1, 1901, "ascertaining the required information relating to the persons returned as living at midnight on Sunday, March 31st." The number enumerated in England and Wales, as finally revised at the census office, was 35,527,843; showing an increase of 3,525,318, or a decennial rate of increase of 12.17 per cent. upon the number returned at the preceding enumeration in April, 1801. Of the persons enumerated in England and Wales in 1001, 15,728,613 were males and 16,799,230 were females, the latter exceeding the former by 1,070,617. This, however, does not represent the relative numbers of the two sexes that belong to the population of the country; "for there are always men temporarily absent abroad as soldiers or seamen or for business purposes"; while, on the other hand, "the

enumerated population temporarily includes some soldiers and sailors who were born in Scotland and Ireland, as well as foreign sailors and business representatives." Making reckonings for these, "the population belonging to England and Wales at the date of the census may be estimated at 32,805,040 persons, of whom 16,005,810 were males, and 16,799,230 were females." During the ten years prior to 1901 the recorded male births in England exceeded the female births by 100,087, while the recorded deaths of males exceeded the deaths of females by 155,363. This would have about evened their numbers in the population of 1901; hence the existing excess of females is due, in the main, to the more extensive emigration or temporary absence of males.

Of the population of England and Wales less than 4 per cent. was born outside of those two divisions of the United Kingdom; not quite 1 per cent. was born in Scotland; a little more than 1.3 per cent. was born in Ireland; a trifle more than 1 per cent. in foreign countries, and an insignificant fraction in British colonies and dependencies. England, it will be seen, is troubled very slightly with problems arising from a mixed population.

The census of Scotland and Ireland, taken simultaneously with that of England and Wales, gave the former a population of 4,472,103, and the latter 4,458,775. Scotland had gained 46,456 since 1891; Ireland had lost in the same period 245,975. In the sixty years since 1841 Ireland had lost more than 3,700,000. The total of population in the United Kingdom, at midnight, March 31, 1901, was found to be 41,458,721; and the females exceeded the males in number by 1,253,905. The excess was least in Ireland.

Judged by the numbers engaged therein, the agricultural industry is still the most important in the United Kingdom; but, since 1881, it had been reduced from 2,362,331 males to 2,109,812 in 1901. The decline was far less in Ireland than in England, Scotland, or Wales. In England and Wales, the whole area of land, amounting to 37,129,162 acres, or 58,014 square miles, is divided by the census report into areas as follows:

	Acres.
Corn crops	5,886,052
Green crops	2,511,744
Clover and grasses under rotation	3,262,926
Flax, hops, small fruit	120,683
Bare fallow	336,884
Permanent pasture or grass	15,399,025
Mountain and heath land used for grazing	3,556,636
Woods, plantations, nursery grounds, houses, streets, roads, railways, waste grounds, &c.	6,055,212
Total land area of England and Wales	37,129,162

The enumeration of "different kinds of areas," in England and Wales, as set forth in the census report, is interesting in some particulars—such as these: Fifty-four ancient counties; sixty-two administrative counties; 468 parliamentary areas; two ecclesiastical provinces; thirty-five ecclesiastical dioceses; 14,080 ecclesiastical parishes; 14,000 civil parishes; sixty-seven county boroughs; twenty-eight metropolitan boroughs with their wards; fifty-four county court circuits; 500 county court districts; 1122 urban districts (including 316 county or municipal boroughs) with the wards of those which are so subdivided; 664 rural districts.—*Census of England and Wales,*

1901. *General report (Parliamentary Papers, 1904, Cd. 2174).*

1901 (April).—Cost of South African War. See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1901 (April).

1901-1909.—Antarctic exploration under Ross, Scott and Shackleton. See ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1901-1909.

1901-1918.—Labor legislation. See LABOR LEGISLATION: 1901-1918.

1902.—Last year of South African War.—Peace preliminaries.—Text of treaty concluded. See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1901-1902.

1902.—Licensing Bill. See LIQUOR PROBLEM: England: 1902.

1902.—Sugar bounty conference. See SUGAR BOUNTY CONFERENCE.

1902 (January).—Anglo-Japanese alliance. See JAPAN: 1895-1902.

1902 (March-November).—Education Act. See EDUCATION: Modern developments: 20th century: General education: England: Primary and secondary schools.

1902 (May).—Treaty with Abyssinia. See ABYSSINIA: 1902.

1902 (June-August).—Illness and deferred coronation of King Edward VII.—While England was preparing, in the last half of June, 1902, for the coronation of Edward VII, appointed to take place on the 26th, the king was stricken with appendicitis. After a successful operation, at the end of seven weeks he had recovered so fully as to be able to bear the fatigues and the strain of a trying ceremony, and on August 6 the king and queen were crowned in Westminster Abbey with less magnificence of public show than had been prepared for June 26, but nevertheless with regal pomp.

1902 (June-August).—Conference with prime ministers of self-governing colonies. See BRITISH EMPIRE: Colonial and imperial conferences: 1902.

1902 (July).—Resignation of Lord Salisbury.—Balfour's succession to premiership.—New ministry.—Failing health compelled the marquis of Salisbury to ask, on July 11, for relief from the cares of the office of prime minister. His resignation was accepted, and Arthur J. Balfour, first lord of the treasury in Lord Salisbury's ministry, was invited by the king to the vacant place. Some changes in the cabinet followed, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach retiring from the chancellorship of the exchequer, and being succeeded by C. T. Ritchie; A. Akers-Douglas entering the cabinet as home secretary; George Wyndham continuing in the office of chief secretary for Ireland, but coming into the cabinet; Austen Chamberlain, son of Joseph Chamberlain, also receiving a cabinet seat as postmaster-general.

1902 (September).—Arrangements of government with Cunard Company and International Mercantile Marine Company. See TRUSTS: International.

1902-1904.—Coercive proceedings against Venezuela concerted with Germany and Italy.—Settlement of claims secured.—Reference to The Hague.—Court of Arbitration. See VENEZUELA: 1902-1904.

1902-1904.—Mission of Colonel Younghusband to Tibet.—Its advance in force to Lhasa.—Treaty secured. See TIBET: 1902-1904.

1902-1905.—Relations with Japan.—Russo-Japanese War. See JAPAN: 1902-1905.

1902-1905.—Anti-Semitic feeling.—Aliens Bill. See JEWS: England: 1885-1905.

1903.—Passage of Land Purchase Act for Ireland. See IRELAND: 1903.

1903.—Agreement with United States regarding Alaskan boundary. See ALASKAN BOUNDARY QUESTION: 1903.

1903 (March).—Debate in Parliament on South African labor question. See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1903-1904.

1903 (May).—Celebration of Empire day.—A Canadian custom of celebrating Queen Victoria's birthday, May 24, as Empire day, was taken up in Great Britain in 1903, and "the movement," says the *London Times*, "has spread with striking rapidity." In the schools, the morning of the day is given over to patriotic exercises, addresses on citizenship and the Empire, and to the singing of national songs, while the afternoon is a half-holiday.

1903 (May-September).—Chamberlain's tariff reform campaign.—In June, 1902, when, as secretary of state for the colonies, Joseph Chamberlain addressed the conference of prime ministers from the self-governing British colonies (see BRITISH EMPIRE: Colonial and imperial conferences: 1902), his mind was manifestly not prepared to accept as a practicable proposition their request that the United Kingdom would grant "preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the Colonies." "Preferential treatment" meant an imperial protective-tariff policy, with discrimination of duties in favor of imports from British colonies. As the products of the colonies were mostly food stuffs and raw materials for manufacture, it meant a taxing of the supplies of these to British tables and British industries from every source outside the colonies. It meant an artificial higher pricing in the market of the British Isles for everything in which cost bears hardest on the livelihood and the living of their people. He had not yet been persuaded that the mother could afford to expend quite so much as this of her own well-being on premiums for the allegiance of her offspring.

In the course of the next year, however, the colonial secretary spent some weeks in South Africa, and seems to have been remarkably intensified in his imperialistic aims by what he saw and learned. He came home filled with the conviction that England must, for the sake of a really unified and incorporated empire, abandon the free opening of her markets, which gave her people the cheapest food and the cheapest materials for labor that the world at large could furnish, and must wall them and gate them, with differing keys to the locks, so that her own colonists might be given the "preferential" admission they claim. If he had arrived at that conviction before going to South Africa he had made no sign of it; but it was proclaimed soon after his return, in a speech to his constituents at Birmingham, on May 15, which shook England as no sudden development in politics had done for many years. The time had come, he declared, when the country must decide for or against a deliberate policy of imperial unification, which required it to reciprocate the preferential tariffs which the colonies had adopted or were offering to adopt. Canada had given Great Britain a preference in her tariff, first of 25 per cent., afterwards increased to 33⅓ per cent., and was ready to go farther if the British government would reciprocate, in allowing a drawback on the shilling corn duty (a duty which had then been levied for a year, and was about to be removed). At the colonial conference of the previous year the representatives of Australia and New Zealand had expressed readiness to act on the same line. A conference of the British colonies in South Africa

had recommended the legislatures of those colonies to give the mother country a similar preference on all dutiable goods of 25 per cent. Whether this policy of the colonies should be developed in the future or withdrawn depended now on the treatment given to it by the people of Great Britain.

Naturally this speech, from a minister as important and influential in the government and in his party as Chamberlain, caused an immense political commotion. It had suddenly injected a new issue into the politics of the United Kingdom, involving some reconstruction of the party in possession of power, and a fundamental readjustment of principles in some part of it.

Meantime the head of the government, Arthur J. Balfour, was acting like a faithful adherent to the English principle of freedom in trade, by advocating a repeal of the incongruous corn duty levied the year before, but speaking, at the same time, like a man of open mind on the question of preferential trade, treating it as one that demanded careful thought. "If foreign countries," he said, "should take the view that our self-governing colonies could be treated as separate nations we must resist their policy by fiscal retaliation. There must be a weapon to our hands with which to meet those who might attempt to disintegrate the empire by fiscal means. The question whether we should be justified in raising revenue with the object of drawing the different portions of the empire more closely together was certainly well worth consideration."

All that he said in these months conveyed the impression that he was in an undetermined, waiting state of mind on the question, not yet convinced that his colleague should be supported in the new policy proposed, but quite likely to be. That, however, was not the attitude in which he could hold the two coalesced parties, Conservative and Liberal Union, that were behind him in the government, the issue dividing both. The premier could suppress debate on it in Parliament, as he did, but everywhere else in the kingdom the rage of controversy gathered heat, and party lines on the side of the government were rapidly confused. Two members of the cabinet resigned, while Chamberlain kept his place in it until September 9, when he offered his resignation.

Chamberlain left the cabinet, therefore, and went out to preach the gospel of commercial imperialism, under the more carefully chosen name of "fiscal reform." His co-laborer, who stayed at the helm of state, was so favored by circumstances as to hold it for somewhat more than another year. But the propagandism made no satisfying progress in that year; it seems doubtful, indeed, if Chamberlain won as many disciples as he lost from his first following.—See also TARIFF: 1903-1906.

1903 (August).—Child Labor Regulation Act.—Provisions. See CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 1903-1920.

1903 (August).—Communication to powers that were parties to the Berlin Act of 1884-1885, relative to administration of Congo State. See BELGIAN CONGO: 1903-1905.

1903-1908.—Anti-Indian agitation. See RACE PROBLEMS: 1903-1906.

1904 (April).—Agreements of the entente cordiale with France. See ENTENTE CORDIALE; FRANCE: 1904-1906.

1904 (April-August).—Agitation over the licensing bill, which passed Parliament after much bitter debate. See LIQUOR PROBLEM: England: 1904.

1905.—Action with other powers in forcing financial reforms in Macedonia on Turkey. See TURKEY: 1903-1908.

1905 (April).—Treaty with Nicaragua concerning Mosquito territory. See NICARAGUA: 1894-1905.

1905 (August).—New defensive agreement with Japan. See JAPAN: 1905-1914.

1905-1906.—Resignation of Balfour ministry.—Liberal party in power.—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman prime minister.—The Education Act of 1902, the apostasy of Chamberlain and his Conservative Unionist followers from British free trade principles, proclaimed in 1903, and the Licensing Act of 1904, had each, in turn, been productive of bitter disagreements and ruptures which rapidly lowered the strength of the party in power. It had been in control of the government since 1895, when its opposition to Irish Home Rule was endorsed by a large majority. The next election, in 1900, during the war in South Africa, reinforced its parliamentary support, and it could count, during the two years following, on more than 400 votes in the House of Commons, against about 268. Meanwhile a small band of clever, if not brilliant, members of the Liberal party began to attract public notice. The older ranks contained several famous men, such as James Bryce, John Morley, Sir William Harcourt, while to the younger generation belonged H. H. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, David Lloyd George, Winston Churchill (who had gone over from the opposite camp), John Burns, the labor leader, and a few others. These found ample party ammunition to be expended against the Conservative and Liberal Unionists over the cause and conduct of the South African war, the introduction of Chinese labor into South Africa after that war, over sectarian education bills, veto powers of the Lords, unsatisfactory labor and housing conditions and discontent among the farmers. Most of these questions appealed strongly to the popular mind and gained for the Liberals growing support in the country. From the revival of the vexed tariff reform controversy by Chamberlain, and the prospect that the country's long-cherished "Free Trade" policy would be abandoned, the Conservative party was doomed. It was now their turn to suffer a "split." While perhaps most of them favored a return to the protectionist policy as pursued by Great Britain up to 1846, not a few held fast to free trade principles, notwithstanding the obvious fact that it was merely free imports and not free reciprocal trade at all that the country enjoyed. The opposing factions divided into "dumpers" and "anti-dumpers." During Mr. Balfour's three years' premiership the country was unable to gather exactly how he stood on the question. The Liberals paraded the "high price of food" danger, while the others painted the danger of extinction for home industries by permitting the free "dumping" of foreign goods on British soil. The high tariff wall encircling the United States was frequently held up as the root cause of the high wages and general prosperity which obtained in that country, but the British workman was frightened by the dear food theory and the Liberals won his unqualified support. It is also true that a vast number of hardened, life-long Conservatives turned to the Liberal party for salvation from the threatened innovation. But all these influences were not alone in strengthening the hold of Liberalism upon the electors. The party in power was suffering from "senile decay," as it was generally expressed; it had outlived its

mandate and its usefulness; it was challenged again and again to give the country an opportunity to express its feeling in the matter, by a dissolution of Parliament, without waiting for any nearer approach to the end of the term. This it would not do; but, on December 4, 1905, the premier, Mr. Balfour, surprised the country, and likewise his own cabinet, it was said, by placing his resignation in the hands of the king.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was invited by the king to form a ministry, and accepted the commission. The organization of his cabinet was completed within the week following Mr. Balfour's resignation, and it took office at once. Parliament was dissolved on January 8, 1906, and a new Parliament was summoned to meet on February 13. Elections began on January 12 and were finished for the most part by the 19th. In their total result, they returned 375 Liberals to the House of Commons, fifty-five Labor representatives, who would act on most questions with the Liberals, and eighty-three Irish Nationalists, whose attitude towards the new ministry would depend upon its attitude on Irish questions, and seemed more likely to be friendly than otherwise. Against this array on the side of Sir Henry and his colleagues, of pledged partisans and conditional allies, the Conservative Unionists had secured an opposition in the House that numbered only 157. The political overturn was one of the most remarkable that the United Kingdom has ever known; the Conservatives plus Liberal-Unionists were literally swamped, almost to extinction.

1905-1906.—Sudden German hostility to the Anglo-French agreement concerning Morocco.—Demand for an international conference.—Algeiras conference. See MOROCCO: 1905-1906; U. S. A.: 1005-1006.

1905-1907.—Fulfillment of promises made in the Vereeniging Treaty.—Representative government restored to Boer states. See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1905-1907.

1905-1908.—Investigation into conditions of the poor. See CHARITIES: England: 1800-1900.

1905-1909.—Aliens Act.—New policy of restriction on the admission of aliens. See IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION: England: 1005-1009; JEWS: England: 1885-1005.

1906.—Prevention of Corruption Act. See CRIMINAL LAW: 1006.

1906.—Amicable relations with Italy. See ITALY: 1006; Part of Italy at Algeiras.

1906.—Treaty with Abyssinia. See ABYSSINIA: 1906.

1906 (February 10).—First dreadnought launched, revolutionizing naval warfare. See WAR, PREPARATION FOR: 1000-1000; WARSHIPS: 1803-1914.

1906 (April).—Convention for determining Alaskan boundary line. See ALASKAN BOUNDARY QUESTION: 1000-1014.

1906 (April-December).—Education Bill, passed by Commons and killed by amendments in House of Lords.—Resolution of Commons, contemplating a change in legislative powers of House of Lords.—When the Education Bill brought forward by the government in April and passed by the Commons in December (see EDUCATION: Modern developments: 20th century: General education: England: Primary and secondary) had been killed by destructive amendments in the House of Lords, the prime minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, proposed to the House of Commons a resolution, which was adopted, declaring that "the power of the other house to alter or reject bills passed by this house should be so

restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the House of Commons shall prevail." In plainer words, this proposed an amendment of what has been, since 1832, an unwritten but understood rule of the British constitution, namely, that the House of Lords cannot defeat a measure which has been passed by the Commons in successive parliaments, and thus certified, by an intervening election, as being the embodiment of a popular demand. The proposed amendment was to give the force of law to a repeated enactment of the House of Commons, even "within the limits of a single Parliament," and without the intervention of an election. See below: 1907-1908.

1906 (December).—**Workmen's Compensation Act.**—In 1906, the Liberal Parliament extended the compensation provided for in the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897 to all industries. "By the Act of 1906 the workman received from his employer a sum not exceeding \$5.00 a week in case he was disabled by accident; in case of mortal injury the family of the workman received a lump sum of from \$750 to \$1500. It is an interesting fact that in the 23 years from 1884 to 1907, twenty other countries adopted similar measures for the compensation of workmen."—C. J. H. Hayes, *Modern Europe*, v. 2, p. 312.—See also SOCIAL INSURANCE: Details for various countries: Great Britain: 1906.

1906-1912.—**Labor legislation.**—Democratic tendencies. See DEMOCRACY: Progress in the early part of the 20th century.

1906-1914.—**Militant suffrage movement.** See SUFFRAGE, WOMAN: England: 1906-1914.

1907.—**Sugar bounty conference.** See SUGAR BOUNTY CONFERENCE.

1907.—**Second Hague conference.** See HAGUE CONFERENCES: 1907.

1907 (April-May).—**Conference of imperial and colonial ministers at London.**—Discussion of preferential trade, imperial defence, and other subjects.—Resolutions adopted. See BRITISH EMPIRE: Colonial and imperial conferences: 1907.

1907 (May).—**Proposed Councils Bill for Ireland rejected by Irish Nationalist party.** See IRELAND: 1907.

1907 (July).—**Capture of MacLean in Morocco for ransom, by Raisuli.** See MOROCCO: 1904-1909.

1907 (August).—**Probation of Offenders Act.** See PRISON REFORM: England.

1907 (August).—**Convention with Russia containing arrangements on subject of Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet.** See ANGLO-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT; WORLD WAR: Causes: Indirect: c.

1907 (August).—**Establishment of a court of criminal appeal.** See COURTS: England: Supreme Court of Judicature Act.

1907 (August).—**Patents and Designs Act.** See PATENTS OF INVENTION: Great Britain: 1907.

1907 (September).—**Convention with France regarding commercial relations with Canada.** See CANADA: 1907-1909.

1907 (November).—**Treaty with France, Germany, Norway, and Russia guaranteeing integrity of Norway.** See NORWAY: 1907-1908.

1907-1908.—**Proposals in House of Lords of reform in its constitution.**—Consequent, no doubt, on the increase of popular hostility to the House of Lords which it had provoked by its dealing with the Education Bill of 1906, and the serious threatenings of an undertaking in the House of Commons to "end or mend" it as a branch of Parliament, the Lords, in 1907, gave thought

among themselves to the expediency of a constitutional reformation of their House. In February, a bill was proposed to them by Lord Newton which provided in its first two articles as follows:

"1.—(1) Alter the termination of the present session of Parliament a writ of summons to attend and to sit and vote in the House of Lords shall not be issued to any temporal peer of the peerage of England entitled by descent to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords (in this Act referred to as an hereditary peer), unless he is a representative or a qualified hereditary peer within the meaning of this Act, nor to any lord spiritual, unless he is a representative lord spiritual within the meaning of this Act."

"2. For the purpose of this Act the expression 'qualified hereditary peer' means an hereditary peer who possesses any of the qualifications specified in the First Schedule to this Act."

The schedule referred to was as follows: "QUALIFICATIONS ENTITLING AN HEREDITARY PEER TO A WRIT OF SUMMONS: I. The holding at any time of any of the following Offices:—1. High judicial office, within the meaning of the Appellate Jurisdiction Acts, 1876 and 1887. 2. The office of First Lord of the Treasury, Secretary of State, Chancellor of the Exchequer, President of the Council, or Head (not being a permanent Civil Servant) of any other Government Department. 3. The office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. 4. Office of Viceroy of India, or a Governor of the Presidency of Madras or Bombay, or of Lieutenant-Governor of any Province of India. 5. Office of Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada or of the Commonwealth of Australia, or of High Commissioner of South Africa, or of Governor of any Colony. 6. The Office of Parliamentary Under Secretary, Parliamentary Secretary, or permanent Under Secretary, in any Government Department. 7. Office of Lord of the Admiralty or member of the Army Council. 8. Office of Minister plenipotentiary, or any higher office, in His Majesty's Diplomatic Service. 9. Office of Vice-Admiral, or any higher office, in His Majesty's Naval Forces, or of Lieutenant-General, or any higher office, in His Majesty's Land Forces.

"II. Election to serve in the House of Commons on not less than two occasions before succeeding to the peerage."

In addition to the hereditary peers thus qualified to sit in the House of Lords as proposed to be reformed, the bill provided for the election by the peers, from their own number, of representatives, to the extent of one-fourth of their whole number; and likewise for the election by the lords spiritual, from their ranks, of representatives in the same proportion of number; such representatives to form part of the House of Lords in Parliament. It authorized, further, the appointment by the king of peers for life, to be "peers of Parliament," these never to exceed one hundred in number.

Debate on the bill in May resulted in the substitution for it of a resolution, that "a Select Committee be appointed to consider the suggestions which have from time to time been made for increasing the efficiency of the House of Lords in matters affecting legislation, and to report as to the desirability of adopting them, either in their original or in some modified form." The report of the committee (twenty-five in number, having Lord Rosebery for its elected chairman) was not brought in until near the close of the following year. Its recommendations were considerably on the lines of the bill described above. It sug-

gested that the reformed House of Lords should be made up of three classes of members, namely, hereditary peers who had held certain high public offices—much the same as those scheduled in Lord Newton's bill; two hundred representative "Peers of Parliament," elected from the whole body of the peerage, not for life, but for a single Parliament, and ten lords spiritual, to include the two archbishops and eight bishops to be elected. The self-governing colonies, in the judgment of the committee, should be represented in the House of Lords, and twenty years of service in the House of Commons should entitle an Irish peer to a seat in it. The plan submitted by the committee would reduce the House from 617 members to about 350. No action was taken on the report.

1907-1908.—*Small Holdings Act*.—*First year of its operation*.—*Housing proposed*.—In 1907 an act passed Parliament which provided for the acquisition by local authorities of land to be divided into small holdings for sale or lease to buyers or tenants who could not otherwise be placed on it for self-support. The results from the first year's operation of the act was reported in September, 1909, by the board of agriculture and fisheries, which administers the law. The following are statements from the report of the board: "Stated shortly, the result, so far as small holdings are concerned, of the first year's work since the *Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1907*, came into operation has been that 23,285 applications have been received by county councils for 373,601 acres, that 13,202 applicants have been approved provisionally as suitable, that the estimated quantity of land required for the suitable applicants is 185,098 acres, that 214,417 acres have been acquired by county councils, of which 11,346 acres have been purchased for £370,965, and 10,071 acres leased for total rents amounting to £11,209, that the land acquired will provide for about 1,500 of the applicants, and that 504 of them were in actual possession of their holdings on December 31, 1908.

"It may seem at first sight that the progress that has been made in satisfying the keen demand for small holdings which the Act has disclosed has been small, but the figures do not give at all an adequate idea of the amount of work that has been actually done. It must be remembered that practically the whole of the first six months of the year were occupied in the preliminary work of constituting committees, issuing forms, receiving and tabulating applications and holding local inquiries, and that until this work was completed little progress could be made in the acquisition of land. . . . The rate at which land is being acquired is now increasing rapidly, and we have little doubt that by Michaelmas, 1909, not less than 50,000 acres will have been obtained. In addition to the holdings which have been provided by county councils, the returns we have obtained show that over 700 applicants have been supplied with holdings by landowners direct, mainly through the intervention of the councils.

"In considering the results already accomplished it must also be borne in mind that the problem is to fit particular men to particular land, and not merely to acquire whatever land may be in the market and to offer it in small holdings. The great majority of the applicants desire land in close proximity to their homes, and it is obviously more difficult to acquire a large number of detached plots than to take a whole farm or estate and divide it into a number of small holdings. . . .

"A striking feature of the applications made

under the Act has been the small extent to which the applicants desire to purchase their holdings. Out of the 23,295 applications received during the year, only 629, or 2.7 per cent., expressed a desire to purchase. . . . The Act imposes no direct obligation on councils to provide houses, but we are of opinion that where an applicant desires a holding to which he will devote his whole time and from which he will get his whole living councils should be prepared to erect a house and the necessary buildings."

1907-1909.—*Relations with Venezuela*. See VENEZUELA: 1907-1909.

1907-1909.—*Army reorganization*.—*Institution of a territorial force*—Esher Army Commission and its report. See WAR, PREPARATION FOR: 1907-1909: British army reorganization; British territorial force.

1908.—*Estimate of King Edward VII as a diplomatist*.—Mr. Isaac N. Ford, the American newspaper correspondent in London, had much well-informed opinion in Europe and America to support him in the following estimate of the diplomatic influence exerted by King Edward, which he expressed in January, 1908: "At the opening of King Edward's reign Berlin was the center of European diplomacy, as Paris had been when Bismarck entered upon his series of machinations and triumphs. The personal ascendancy of the German Emperor was unchallenged in Europe. . . . In the course of seven years conditions have been transformed. London is now the diplomatic capital of Europe. Resentful enemies like France have been reconciled; friendships with America, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Spain have been strengthened; strained relations with Russia and Germany have been eased; and by the alliance with Japan forces have been readjusted for the maintenance of existing order in the Pacific. A new balance of power has been established in Europe, and the diplomatic resources of the British Empire have been reinvigorated and enlarged. While there have been eminent statesmen in the British Foreign Office—Lord Lansdowne and Sir Edward Grey—these transformations have been mainly King Edward's work. Fifty years hence there may be a true sense of proportion, so that his services as an empire-builder and a peace-maker can be judged aright."

1908.—*Consolidation of railway lines*. See RAILROADS: 1900-1913.

1908.—*Liberal Licensing Bill rejected by House of Lords*. See LIQUOR PROBLEM: England: 1908.

1908 (March).—*Communication to Belgian government respecting obligations involved in its proposed annexation of Congo state*. See BELGIAN CONGO: 1906-1909.

1908 (April).—*Resignation and death of prime minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman*.—*Succession of Herbert H. Asquith*.—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was forced by ill-health to resign the premiership on April 5, 1908 and his death occurred on the 22nd of the same month. He was succeeded as head of the government by Mr. Herbert H. Asquith, previously chancellor of the exchequer, whose place in the latter office was now filled by Mr. David Lloyd George. Mr. Lloyd George had been president of the board of trade, and that office now fell to Mr. Winston Churchill, while Mr. Reginald McKenna became first lord of the admiralty.

1908 (April).—*Treaty with Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden for maintenance of status quo on the North Sea*. See NORTH SEA: 1907-1908.

1908 (September).—Revision of Conciliation Act of 1896. See *ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION, INDUSTRIAL: Great Britain.*

1908 (October).—Protocol with Russia over Persian affairs. See *PERSIA: 1908 (October).*

1908-1909.—Indian Councils Bill.—Provisions for popular representation in the legislative councils of India. See *INDIA: 1908-1909.*

1908-1911.—Child labor regulation.—Children Act.—Mines Regulation Act. See *CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 1903-1920.*

1909.—Treaty with Siam. See *SIAM: 1909.*

1909.—Board of Trade Act. See *LABOR LEGISLATION: 1909-1918.*

1909.—Arguments for proportional representation.—Ideas of Lord Hugh Cecil. See *PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION: England.*

1909.—Speeches of Lord Rosebery and Sir Edward Grey on European situation. See *WAR, PREPARATION FOR: 1909-1913: Anticipation of World War.*

1909.—Housing and Town-planning Act. See *HOUSING: England: Legislation.*

1909 (February).—Debate in Parliament on annexation of Congo state by Belgium.—Recognition of annexation dependent on reforms. See *BELGIAN CONGO: 1906-1909; 1909.*

1909 (February).—International Opium Commission at Shanghai. See *OPIUM PROBLEM: 1909 (February).*

1909 (March).—Representation of the People Bill.—Proposed universal suffrage, including women.—Its second reading.—On the 20th of March, 1909, the second reading of a bill described as "the Representation of the People Bill" was moved and seconded in the House of Commons. Its provisions were substantially for universal suffrage, including women. In explaining the measure, the member who moved the second reading—a representative of the Labor party, Mr. Howard—said: "It was difficult, if not almost impossible, to deal with a reform of the franchise without at the same time dealing with woman suffrage, and it was difficult to deal with woman enfranchisement without at the same time making some alteration in the existing franchise law which should meet the condition of the new elements proposed to be placed on the register. The House must face the situation as a whole and handle the two reforms in one scheme, because by a coordinated Bill there would be a better chance of getting nearer a settlement. In the Bill that he submitted to the House there was no abolition of any old franchise. It proposed to create a residential franchise in order to do away with the hardships which any one with a knowledge of registration knew to exist in connexion with the occupation vote of men. The second clause provided for a restriction of plural voting, and the third clause related to the removal of the sex disqualification." Before debate began another member presented a monster petition against the political enfranchisement of women, said to contain 243,000 signatures. The attitude of the Government toward the bill was explained by Premier Asquith. It was well known, he said, that on the issue whether women should be granted the suffrage ministers were not of one mind. But they were strongly in favour of a wide reform of the existing suffrage. They desired the abolition of plural voting, the disappearance of the artificial distinctions between occupiers and lodgers, the material shortening of the period of qualification, and an effective simplification of the machinery of registration. But any measure to bring about these reforms ought,

in his opinion, if it was to take its place on the Statute-book, to proceed from the responsible Government of the day, and to be carefully remoulded in the light of prolonged parliamentary discussion. For these reasons he thought it was not necessary that the members of the government should vote for the second reading of the bill under consideration. After some hours of debate the closure was moved and the second reading of the bill was carried by 157 votes against 122.

1909 (April).—National debt of the United Kingdom.—The following official statement of the national debt of the United Kingdom was published in April, 1909: "On the 1st April, 1908, the aggregate gross liabilities of the State amounted to £762,326,051. On the 1st April, 1909, the corresponding figure was £754,121,309, showing a reduction of £8,204,742."

1909 (April-December).—Lloyd George's "War against Poverty" Budget.—Denounced as Socialistic.—Adopted by Commons and rejected by Lords.—As a formulated "Finance Bill," the budget was not submitted to the House of Commons and to the public in print until May 28. It was then entitled "A Bill to grant certain Duties of Customs and Inland Revenue (including Excise), to alter other Duties, and to amend the Law relating to Customs and Inland Revenue (including Excise), and the National Debt, and to make other provisions for the Financial Arrangements of the Year." Until then its provisions were known only from the statement of them made four weeks before by the chancellor of the exchequer, David Lloyd George, in a speech extended through several hours, which even his opponents characterized as "a wonderful effort." The chancellor's explanation of the budget rested primarily on the fact that an anticipated deficit of £15,762,000 required to be filled from new sources of revenue. Of the main causes of the deficit he said: "What is the increase of expenditure due to? It is very well known that it must be placed to the credit of two items, and practically two items alone. One is the navy, and the other is old-age pensions."

Proceeding next to survey the "inevitable expansion" of future expenditure to which he had referred at the outset, and which could be foreseen in connection with the navy and with social reform, the chancellor dealt at length on the demands that were pressing from the latter side and would not be postponed. He then began to unfold his plans for raising the means with which to deal with all these augmented demands on the government, and started them with a schedule of increased taxes on automobiles. Turning to an increase of the income-tax and of the estate duty, he proposed that for earned incomes under £2,000 the tax should remain at 9d. but that between £2,000 and £3,000 it should be 1s., and that all other incomes now liable to the shilling tax should pay 1s. 2d. Holding that the family man was entitled to more relief than the bachelor, he proposed that on all incomes under £500, in addition to existing abatements, a special abatement should be allowed of £10 for every child under 16 years of age. He hoped to get £160,000 by the partial restoration of the shilling duty and £3,000,000 from the additional 2d. on the higher incomes. There would also be a super-tax on incomes exceeding £5,000, to be levied on the amount by which such incomes exceeded £3,000. The tax would be at the rate of 6d. in the pound. Exclamations of disapproval arose from the Unionist benches when this was announced. The

yield from this super-tax, Lloyd George explained, would be in a full year £2,300,000; but for the current year not more than £500,000. He next came to the death duties. There would be no change in the case of estates up to £5,000, but between this limit and the limit of two millions graduation would be steepened. The duty on estates between £5,000 and £10,000 would be 4 per cent.; between £10,000 and £20,000, 5 per cent.; £20,000 to £40,000, 6 per cent.; £40,000 to £70,000, 7 per cent.; £70,000 to £100,000, 8 per cent.; £100,000 to £150,000, 9 per cent.; £150,000 to £200,000, 10 per cent.; £200,000 to £400,000, 11 per cent.; £400,000 to £600,000, 12 per cent.; £600,000 to £800,000, 13 per cent.; £800,000 to £1,000,000, 14 per cent., and above £1,000,000, 15 per cent. This new scale was estimated to yield £2,550,000 that year, £4,200,000 next year, and afterwards £4,400,000. The settled Estate duty he raised from 1 per cent. to 2 per cent. From this source he hoped to get £500,000 that year and £375,000 in 1910-1911. The Legacy and Succession duty was to be raised in some cases from 3 per cent. to 5 per cent., and in all others to 10 per cent. The yield from this in the next year would be £1,300,000, and would increase in the course of time to £2,150,000. Property alienated *inter vivos* within five years from death was to be liable to duty. Objects of national and scientific interest would only be chargeable for duty when they were actually sold. There were to be increased duties in bonds to bearer and in stock and share transfers. The estimated yield from the increased Stamp Duties would be for that year £650,000. Then he turned to land, drawing a marked distinction between the agricultural landowner and the urban landowner, of whom he spoke with some scorn. He proposed to levy a tax on the value accruing to land in the future through the enterprise of the community, taking the land apart from buildings and other improvements. This duty of 20 per cent. on unearned increment would be payable on two occasions—when land was sold and when land passed at death. A preliminary valuation of the land at the price which it might be expected to fetch at the present time would be necessary; and as the tax was to be imposed only on the unearned increment subsequently accruing on that valuation, the yield would probably be only £50,000 in 1909, but in future years it should prove a fruitful source of revenue. It was further proposed to levy an annual duty of one halfpenny in the pound on the capital value of undeveloped land and undeveloped minerals. Until the proposed valuation of the land of the United Kingdom on a capital basis was completed, it would be impossible to estimate the yield of this duty, but till then the duty would be calculated on the declarations of the owners, and in the current year he expected it to bring in £350,000. A 10 per cent. reversion duty was to be imposed on any benefit accruing to a lessor on the termination of a lease, and from this source a yield of £100,000 was anticipated. The three land taxes were, accordingly, calculated to produce £500,000 in the current year.

With regard to indirect taxation, he proposed to raise the present duty on spirits by 3s. od. per gallon. The yield, during the current year, he estimated at £1,600,000. He also proposed to increase the duty on unmanufactured tobacco from 3s. to 3s. 8d. per lb., with equivalent additions to the rates for cigars, cigarettes, and manufactured tobacco. The total estimated revenue was £162,590,000 and the total estimated expenditure

£162,102,000, leaving a margin of £488,000 for contingencies. In conclusion, anticipating the charge that he was imposing very heavy taxation for a time of peace, he declared it was a war budget. The government had declared implacable war against poverty. That Lloyd George's budget was a gage of battle and that the fight over it would be fierce was known to everybody, for the din of the conflict penetrated to every corner of every land. The key-note of the outcry against it was sounded in *The Times* of next morning, which opened its editorial comment with these words: "One general impression will be very widely made by the complicated and portentous Budget which Mr. Lloyd George expounded at enormous length yesterday. That is that the huge deficit of nearly sixteen millions is to be raised almost exclusively at the cost of the wealthy and the fairly well-to-do. They are struck at in all sorts of ways, through the income-tax, the legacy duties, the estate duties, the stamps upon their investments, their land, their royalties, their brewery dividends, and their motor-cars." So it was branded by its opponents as a "Socialist Budget" and its authors as allies of Socialism, throughout the campaign. This denunciation was applied especially to the tax on unearned increments of value in land, as such increments should occur hereafter. It was not until November 4, that the Finance Bill was brought to its third reading in the House of Commons, and was passed, by the heavy majority of 370 to 149. From the beginning it was known, of course, that the measure had few friends in the House of Lords, and would go down in defeat there if the peers ventured to assume the right to negative a money bill. For many generations they had not disputed the claim of the Commons to exclusive control of revenue legislation; but a theory had now been mooted, that Mr. Lloyd George's Budget Bill differed from a mere money bill by carrying Socialistic implications tacked on to it, which the House of Lords was under no obligation to accept. Whether the Lords would or would not be bold enough to act on this theory and throw down the bill, as they had thrown down so much of the non-financial legislation of the Liberal government, had been a serious question throughout the debates. Very soon after the bill had been passed over to the House of Lords it was known that the Conservative leaders had consented to its death in that body. What may be called the death sentence was pronounced on November 22, when Lord Lansdowne moved the following amendment to a motion for the second reading of the bill: "That this House is not justified in giving its consent to this bill until it has been submitted to the judgment of the country."

The archbishop of Canterbury and the spiritual lords generally refrained from taking sides on what they regarded as a political question; but the archbishop of York construed his duty differently, and added his voice to the remonstrance against Lord Lansdowne's motion. Close upon midnight, November 30, the House divided on that motion and it was carried, rejecting the Finance Bill, by a vote of 350 to 75. So big a vote—such a swarming of titled legislators to record it—had not been known within the memory of living men. Three days later, on December 3 the premier, Mr. Asquith, rose in the House of Commons and moved the adoption of the following declaration: "That the action of the House of Lords in refusing to pass into law the financial provision made by this House for the service of the year is a breach of the Constitution and a

usurpation of the rights of the Commons." After a short debate, the house divided on the motion, and it was adopted by 349 against 134. "The very principle of representative government was at stake. For if the Lords possessed the right they had assumed the situation was exactly this: that when the voters elected a majority of Conservatives to the Commons then the Conservatives would control the legislation; that, when they elected a majority of Liberals, the Conservatives would still control by being able to block all legislation they disliked by the veto of the House of Lords, always and permanently a body adhering to the Conservative party. An hereditary body, not subject to the people, could veto the people's wishes as expressed by the body that was representative, the House of Commons. In other words the aristocratic element in the state was really more powerful than the democratic, the house representing a class was more powerful than the house representing the people. The question of the budget and the question of the proper position and the future of the Upper Chamber were thus linked together. As these questions were of exceptional gravity the ministry resolved to seek the opinion of the voters."—C. D. Hazen, *Modern Europe*, p. 555.

1909 (May).—Majority vote in Commons for removing disabilities from Roman Catholics.—A bill for the removal of remaining disabilities from Roman Catholics passed its second reading in the House of Commons on May 14, by a vote of 133 to 123. Not being a government measure, the crowded program of business for the session gave no hope that it could be carried into law; but the vote was an encouragement.

1909 (June).—Imperial press conference. See BRITISH EMPIRE; Colonial and imperial conferences: 1909 (June).

1909 (July-August).—Imperial defence conference.—Conclusions and agreements. See WAR, PREPARATION FOR: 1909.

1909 (July-December).—Osborne judgment: Decision against the right of trade unions to pay salaries to members of Parliament.—On July 23, 1909, an appeal from an order of the court of appeal was argued before five legal members of the House of Lords, on the question whether the payment of members of Parliament chosen to represent the interests of a trade union was a lawful application of the funds of such union. The complainant in the case, a station porter named Osborne, had sued the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, of which he had been a member since 1892, to have it declared that one of the rules of the society, (which provides, amongst other things, for parliamentary representation and the enforced levy of contributions from the plaintiff and other members of the society, towards the payment of salaries, or maintenance allowance, to members of Parliament pledged to observe and fulfil the conditions imposed by the constitution of the Labor party therein referred to), is *ultra vires* and void, and that the society may be restrained from enforcing it. And in the alternative that it may be declared that a certain amendment or addition made to the rules in 1906 be declared to be illegal and void. The added rule, thus complained of, was as follows: "All candidates shall sign and accept the conditions of the Labour Party and be subject to their Whip."

The judgment of the Lords, rendered on December 21, sustained the order from the court below, dismissing the appeal. Their decision rested mainly on considerations relating to the rule quoted above, and stated briefly by one of their bench,

Lord James, as follows: "The effect of this rule and others that exist is that a member of the trade union is compelled to contribute to the support of a member of Parliament, who is compelled to answer the Whip of the Labour Party." I construe this condition as meaning that the member undertakes to forego his own judgment, and to vote in Parliament in accordance with the opinions of some person or persons acting on behalf of the Labour Party. And such vote would have to be given in respect of all matters, including those of a most general character—such as confidence in a Ministry or the policy of a Budget—matters unconnected directly at least with the interests of labour. Therefore I am of opinion that the application of money to the maintenance of a member whose action is so regulated is not within the powers of a trade union. If your Lordships decide on this branch of the case that the respondent is entitled to judgment, it is unnecessary that any opinion should be expressed upon the very broad constitutional question raised for the first time in the Court of Appeal affecting the general support of members."—See also below: 1911 (August): Payment of members of Parliament.

1909 (August).—Prevention of Crimes Act brought into force.—Borstal system. See PRISON REFORM: England.

1909 (Sept. 20).—South Africa Act, constituting the Union of South Africa. See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1908-1909.

1909-1911.—Agrarian interests in Ireland. See IRELAND: 1909-1911.

1909-1913.—Naval questions.—Dreadnought building.—Distrust of Germany.—Territorial force.—Debates, etc. See WAR, PREPARATION FOR: 1909; British Navy War Council; also 1909-1913.

1910.—Two parliamentary elections in one year.—Death of Edward VII.—Accession of George V (May 6).—The Lords' veto.—Parliament was dissolved by royal proclamation early in January, and new elections commanded, the first of which took place on January 15, and the last on February 14. The result was generally disappointing, because wholly indecisive. The new House of Commons was found to be made up of 275 Liberals, 273 Unionists, seventy-one Nationalists (Irish), eleven Independent Nationalists, and forty Labor members. Neither of the political parties arrayed on the main issues involved had won a majority. The people had rendered no recognizable verdict on the budget, or on the tariff question, or on the abolition of the veto power claimed by the House of Lords.

Even with the support of the Labor members the Asquith ministry was in a minority. The balance was held by the Irish members; and it was only by compromise with them that either Liberals or Unionists could do anything.

"In the new Parliament the budget which had been thrown out the previous year was introduced again, without serious change. Again it passed the House of Commons and went to the Lords. That House yielded this time and passed the budget with all its so-called revolutionary and socialistic provisions. The Liberals now turned their attention to this question of the 'Lords' Veto,' or of the position proper for an hereditary, aristocratic chamber in a nation that pretended to be democratic, as did England.—the issue stated nearly twenty years before by Gladstone in his last speech in Parliament had now arrived at the crucial stage. What should be the relations between a deliberative assembly elected by the votes of more than six million voters and an hereditary body? The question was vehemently discussed inside Parlia-

ment and outside. Various suggestions for reform of the House of Lords were made by the members of that House itself, justly apprehensive for their future. The death of the popular King Edward VII (May 6, 1910), and the accession of George V, occurring in the midst of this passionate campaign, somewhat sobered the combatants, though only temporarily. Attempts were made to see if some compromise regarding the future of the House of Lords might not be worked out by the two parties. But the attempts were futile, the issue being too deep and too far-reaching. . . . The concrete form in which the deadlock presented itself was the radical bill of the Parliament Act, which had been introduced in April, by the government, passed by the House of Commons and rejected by the House of Lords. The ministry, wishing the opinion of the people on this new question, dissolved the House of Commons again and ordered new elections, the second within a single year (December, 1910). The result was that the parties came back each with practically the same number of members as before. The Government's majority was undiminished."—C. D. Hazen, *Modern Europe*, p. 556.

1910.—Decisions of Hague tribunal regarding Newfoundland. See NEWFOUNDLAND: 1910.

1910.—Trade union statistics. See LABOR ORGANIZATION: 1910-1910.

1910-1913.—Explorations in the South Pacific. See ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1910-1913.

1910-1918.—Clearing away of undemocratic survivals in British franchise.—Registry bill of 1916. See SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: British empire: 1910-1918.

1911.—Dock strike.—Railroad strike.—Coal strike.—Minimum Wage Bill.—The Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Bill, introduced on March 19, was a temporary measure, covering a period of three years. It created twenty-one district boards, representing both miners and employers, which were to fix the minimum wage for their districts. See LABOR STRIKES AND BOYCOTTS: 1911.

1911.—Attitude towards Morocco question.—Concessions received in the Congo. See FRANCE: 1910-1912.

1911.—Member of Consortium to give financial aid to China. See RAILROADS: 1905-1921.

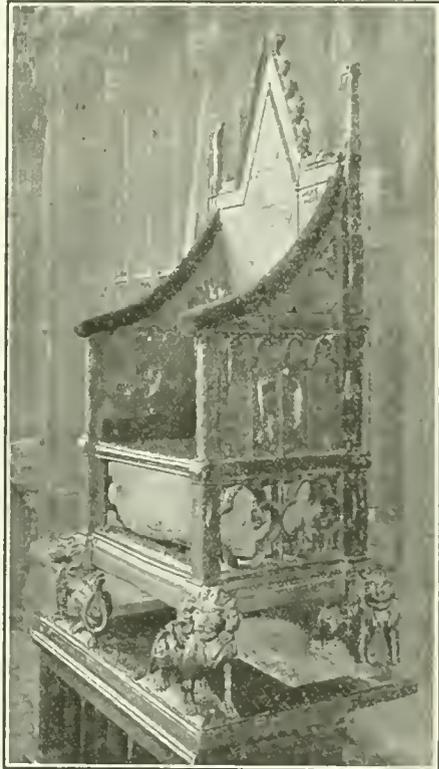
1911.—Claim against Haiti. See HAITI, REPUBLIC OF: 1911-1916.

1911 (May).—Returns of the decennial census.—The total population of the United Kingdom was 45,216,665. The population of England and Wales was 36,075,260, showing an increase of 10.91 per cent., the lowest rate on record.

1911 (July).—Revision of Anglo-Japanese alliance. See ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE.

1911 (August).—Payment of members of Parliament.—"The members of the House of Commons were originally paid by the counties or boroughs that they represented; but during the Stuart period so many capable men seemed willing to serve in Parliament without remuneration that the practice of paying members died out. During the past half-century, however, many of the less wealthy representatives have been paid out of the campaign funds of the parties to which they belonged. The Irish members were supported largely by the contributions of Irish-Americans. The Laborites were paid by the contributions of the unions. Finally one Osborne, a railway employee in London, brought suit against a labor union [Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants] to prevent it from using its funds for political purposes. The case was taken to the House of Lords, and the law lords sustained Osborne's contention

(1909). This was a severe blow to the labor party, as its representatives could not afford to serve in Parliament without financial aid in some form. To break the force of the Osborne judgment, Parliament passed a bill for the payment of members [of the House of Commons only], the salary being fixed at £400 per year [beginning April 1]."—L. M. Larson, *Short history of England and the British empire*, p. 629.—But members, receiving salaries as officers of the House, or of the king's household, and as members of the ministry are excluded from this compensation.



CORONATION CHAIR OF ENGLAND'S KINGS

Beneath the seat is the famous Stone of Destiny, said to have been used as a pillow by the patriarch, Jacob, and taken to Tara in Ireland by early tribes. Upon this the Irish kings were inaugurated, until it was removed to Scotland and used for the coronation of the Scottish kings. It was taken to Westminster Abbey for the coronation of James VI as James I of England, and since used for all English kings.

1911 (August 18).—Passage of the Parliament Act.—Government dependence upon Irish and labor votes.—"The Asquith ministry now passed through the House of Commons a Parliament Bill restricting the power of the House of Lords in several important particulars and providing that the House of Commons should in last resort have its way in any controversy with the other chamber. This bill passed the House of Commons by a large majority. How could it be got through the House of Lords? Would the Lords be likely to vote in favor of the recognition of their inferiority to the other House, would they consent to the withdrawal from them of powers they had hitherto exercised, would they acquiesce in this

altered and reduced situation at the hands of a chamber whose measures they had been freely blocking for several years? Of course they would not if they could help it. But there is a way in which the opposition of the House of Lords can be overcome, no matter however overwhelming. The King can create new peers—as many as he likes—enough to overcome the majority against the measure in question. This supreme weapon the King, which of course in fact meant the Asquith ministry, was now prepared to use. Asquith announced that he had the consent of George V to create enough peers to secure the passage of the bill in case it was necessary. The threat was sufficient. The Lords on August 18, 1911, passed the Parliament Act which so profoundly altered their own status, power, and prestige. This measure established new processes of law-making. If the Lords withhold their assent from a money bill,

Commons are henceforth chosen for five, not seven years. . . . Thus the veto power of the House of Lords is gone entirely for all financial legislation, and for all other legislation its veto is merely suspensive. The Commons can have their way in the end. They may be delayed two years."—C. D. Hazen, *Modern European history*, pp. 481-482.—See also PARLIAMENT, ENGLISH: 1911.

1911 (December).—National Insurance Act. See SOCIAL INSURANCE: Details for various countries: Great Britain: 1911-1913.

1911-1912.—Agreement with United States, Russia and Japan over seal fishing. See FISHERIES: 1911-1912.

1911-1913.—Unemployment insurance. See SOCIAL INSURANCE: Details for various countries: Great Britain: 1911-1913.

1911-1914.—Attempts to suppress nationalist agitation in India. See INDIA: 1911-1914.



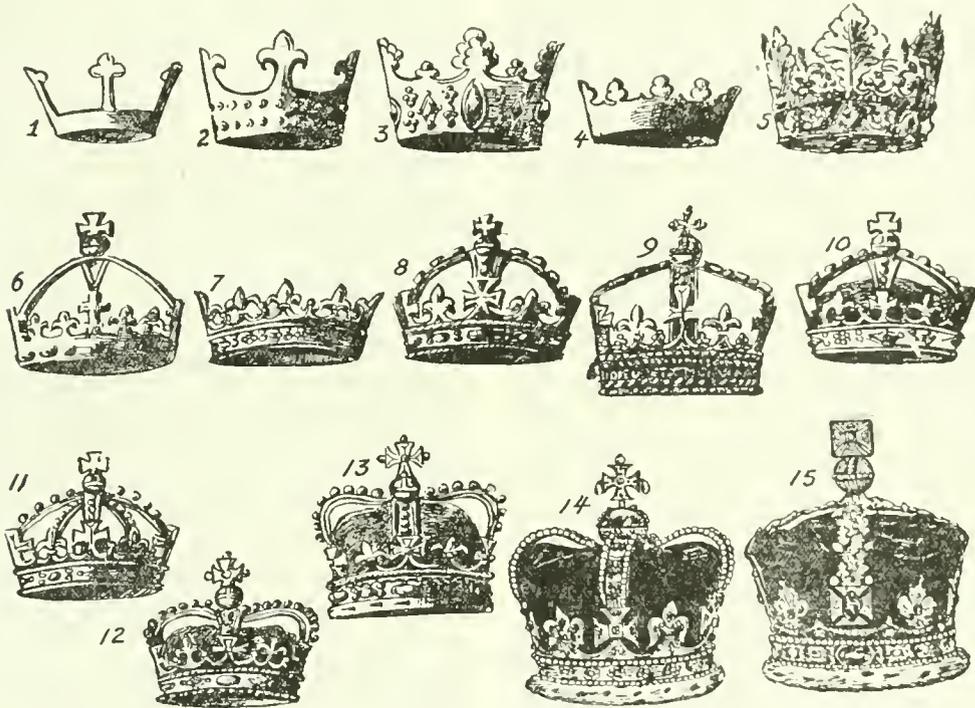
KING GEORGE V AND QUEEN MARY

that is, any bill raising taxes or making appropriations, for more than one month after it has passed the House of Commons, the bill may be presented for the King's signature and on receiving it becomes law without the consent of the Lords. If a bill other than a money bill is passed by the Commons in three successive sessions, whether of the same Parliament or not, and is rejected by the Lords, it may on a third rejection by them be presented for the King's assent and on receiving that assent will become a law, notwithstanding the fact that the House of Lords has not consented to the bill—provided that two years have elapsed between the second reading of the bill in the first of those sessions and the date on which it passes the Commons for the third time [in the third session]. This Parliament or Veto Bill contained another important provision, substituting five years for seven as the maximum duration of a Parliament; that is, members of the

1912.—Foreign policy from commencement of reign of Edward VII.—Anglo-German and Anglo-French relations.—Lord Salisbury held the double office of premier and foreign minister from 1895 until 1900, when he handed the latter portfolio to Lord Lansdowne, who was succeeded, after the resignation of the Balfour administration in December, 1905, by Sir Edward Grey. It was under Lansdowne and Grey that Great Britain abandoned her policy of "splendid isolation" by concluding the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 (see JAPAN: 1895-1902), the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904 (see ENTENTE CORDIALE), and the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 (see ANGLO-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT). England had learned that her vital nerves lay in the seapaths to the overseas dominions, particularly to her West Indian dependency, but also to the self-governing dominions—Canada and the Australian Commonwealth, New Zealand and (soon) the Union of

South Africa, from which her subsistence was largely drawn. To consolidate and safeguard these paths was the core of her policy, and her relations with the powers were affected less by the internal European questions than by the general scramble of France, Italy, Germany and Russia for colonies and for expansion in Asia, Africa and the islands of the Pacific Ocean, with the possibility of any of these powers being able to cut communications between England and the far-scattered component parts of the British empire. Giving the German point of view of this policy, Prince von Bülow, who was German chancellor from 1897 to 1909, said: "Up to quite recent times England's greatest and most important acquisitions in the wider world

their alliance with France and the complications in the East, Russia has often supported the Anglo-French *entente*, so that we are justified in speaking of a Triple *entente* as a counterpart to the Triple Alliance. . . . English leadership has sometimes made our life difficult, but just as often it has had a soothing and sobering effect on France, and has done excellent work for the preservation of peace in Europe."—*Ibid.*, p. 108.—See also TRIPLE ALLIANCE; WORLD WAR: Causes: Indirect: c.—"British policy has followed invariably a single principle, the security of her colonial and maritime empire, and in the first years of the new century British diplomats remained true to this principle. So long as Germany remained a land power they could



HISTORIC CROWNS OF ENGLAND

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|--------------------------|-----------------|--|
| 1. William the Conqueror | 6. Henry V. | 11. James I. |
| 2. Henry I. | 7. Edward IV. | 12. Charles II. |
| 3. Henry II. | 8. Richard III. | 13. William IV. |
| 4. Henry III. | 9. Henry VII. | 14. St. Edward's Crown,
after the Restoration |
| 5. Henry IV. | 10. Henry VIII. | 15. Imperial Crown. |

were made at the expense of France; this was the case in the Sudan, and earlier in Further India. But for France overseas politics are not vital, and therefore she was at liberty to subordinate her international interests to England's, thereby circumscribing Franco-British differences for the sake of an Anglo-French agreement. France paid this high price for England's friendship after she had been disappointed in her hopes of the Dual Alliance [France and Russia]. . . . At times Russian statesmen have even given France to understand that Russia was not willing to serve the cause of the French policy of revenge. . . . [The French] found compensation in the Anglo-French *entente* which at times seems a greater menace to us [Germany] than the Dual Alliance."—Prince von Bülow, *Imperial Germany*, pp. 83, 84.—"Owing to

afford to be indifferent to German diplomatic hegemony on the Continent. But with Germany menacing their maritime empire, it was imperative that the continental balance of power should be restored. The obvious method of restoration was an understanding with France. Splendid isolation was no longer even dignified, and it threatened to become perilous in the extreme.

"To Edward VII must go much of the credit for the successful termination of England's ancient quarrel with France. The efforts of the diplomats were greatly facilitated, it is true, by the eagerness of the commercial interests as well as by the new friendship of France and Italy; but it was the King who paved the way for serious negotiations by his visit to Paris. . . . Negotiations lasted eight months, and on April 8, 1904, the agreement was

signed."—C. Seymour, *Diplomatic background of the World War*, pp. 155-156.—"The differences which had divided the two countries, some of them serious, were swept away. The old dispute about the Newfoundland fisheries was settled by the French rights being bought out; spheres of influence were mapped out in Siam; agreements were come to as regards boundaries in Guinea and on the Gambia, and as regards tariffs in Madagascar. But the really important decision in the treaty of 1904, the kernel of the whole understanding, was that France recognized our position in Egypt and we recognized hers in Morocco. Each country was to have a free hand, as far as the other was concerned, in a portion of Northern Africa—ours to the east, France's in the west. Morocco has been a fateful word in the history of the events leading up to the Great War; and its significance was to be shown almost immediately. Germany had certain commercial interests in Morocco; but her real object on the north-west coast of Africa was a coaling-station. She was extremely badly off for such stations, and her possessions in South-west Africa suffered in consequence. She cast a covetous eye at the Moroccan ports of Agadir and Mogador. But the importance of the Morocco question has been, most of all, due to the fact that Germany used it as a touchstone whereby to test the strength of the forces opposed to her aggrandizement."—A. S. Turberville and F. A. Howe, *Great Britain in the latest age*, p. 60.—See also MOROCCO: 1907-1909; GERMANY: 1905-1906; 1911: Morocco crisis; WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 71, i.—"If we look at the history of Anglo-German relations before the war the inference is irresistible that it was not the object of developing in a peaceful atmosphere German commerce and industry that England objected to. Such a development might have been formidable for . . . [Great Britain]. It would have compelled great efforts on our part to improve the education of our people and our organization for peaceful enterprises. But it would have been legitimate. The objection of . . . [Great Britain] was directed against quite other things that were being done by Germany in order to attain her purpose. The essence of these was the attempt to get her way by creating armaments which should in effect place her neighbors at her mercy. We who live on islands, and are dependent for our food and our raw materials on our being able to protect their transport and with it ourselves from invasion, could not permit the sea-protection which had been recognized from generation to generation as a necessity for our preservation to be threatened by the creation of naval forces intended to make it precarious. As the navies of Europe were growing, not only those of France and Russia, but the navy of Italy also, we had to look, in the interests of our security, to friendly relations with these countries. We aimed at establishing such friendly relations, and our method was to get rid of all causes of friction, in Newfoundland, in Egypt, in the East, and in the Mediterranean. That was the policy which was implied in our Ententes. We were not willing to enter into military alliances and we did not do so. Our policy was purely a business policy, and everything else was consequential on this, including the growing sense of common interests and of the desire for the maintenance of peace. . . . It was only in order to preserve the general peace that we had entered the Entente, and the method of the Entente policy, the getting rid of all specific causes of difference, was one which had nothing objectionable in it. We urged Germany also to enter upon this path with us. We offered to

help her in her progress toward the attainment of a 'place in the sun.'"—R. B. Haldane, *Before the war*, pp. 105-106, 162.—The state of tension between England and Germany, to relieve which the diplomacy of Sir Edward Grey was addressed, had been kept up by the Moroccan crises of 1906 and 1911, particularly the latter when England manifested a friendship in behalf of France, which confirmed the French in the belief that British diplomatic support would strengthen into armed support in case of unprovoked German aggression; but gradually Anglo-German relations became more conciliatory. While the Triple Entente was strengthened as against the Triple Alliance, Italy, a member of the latter, increased her importance in 1912 by taking over the sovereignty of Tripoli and Cyrenaica from Turkey. The latter country then becoming involved in the First Balkan War with Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece, Sir Edward Grey brought about an improved situation among the Great Powers by their agreement to "localize hostilities" and by his proposal that they hold informal and non-committal consultations on the points on which Europe must agree in the final settlement of Balkan peace. London was the place of meeting both of the peace delegates from the Balkan states and of the ambassadors of the Powers. Thus, Sir Edward Grey, who had stated on November 27, 1911, in the House of Commons debate on foreign policy that "the wise policy for this country [England] is to expand as little as possible," was striving also to avert a general conflagration, which would inevitably result if the squabbles of small Balkan peoples were communicated to Austria and Russia, mutually antagonistic members of the respective Triple Alliance and Triple Entente. Almost simultaneously with the Second Balkan War, which broke out before the ink was dry on the Treaty of London, Winston Churchill, British first lord of admiralty, proposed a "naval holiday" which the German Admiral Tirpitz refused (see NAVAL HOLIDAY); yet England reduced her "two-power standard" at sea, and notwithstanding her *entente cordiale* with France, contented herself with rather inadequate land forces. Lord Haldane was then war secretary. The terms of the English obligations to France were reduced to writing by Sir Edward Grey, in a letter addressed by him to M. Paul Cambon, under date of November 22, 1912. Almost two years later, he (Sir Edward) revealed them to Parliament, on the eve of the World War, August 3, 1914. See WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 56.

1912.—Protest against Panama Canal Act. See U. S. A.: 1912 (August).

1912.—Putumayo atrocities.—Investigation by Sir Roger Casement. See PERU: 1912-1913.

1912-1913.—Desire for agreement with Germany regarding colonies in Africa and Asia Minor. See WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 71 (ii); (xii); (xiv).

1912-1913.—Lord Haldane's visit to Berlin.—German bid for British neutrality.—British and German naval increases.—"In February, at the request of the German emperor, Lord Haldane, then lord high chancellor of Great Britain, journeyed to Berlin to discuss Anglo-German relations with the German government. . . . If any one British statesman could have effected an Anglo-German understanding, that person was Lord Haldane. Educated in Germany and unusually appreciative of German culture, he was *persona grata* to the court of Berlin, without being any the less a staunch British patriot. The navy law of 1912 was under consideration when he arrived

in Berlin on February 9, 1912. In the course of his visit he saw the emperor and the leading German statesmen."—B. E. Schmitt, *England and Germany, 1740-1914*, pp. 346-347.—"My first interview was one with Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor. . . . I told him of certain dangers quite frankly, and he listened and replied with what seemed to be a full understanding of our position. I said that the increasing action of Germany in piling up magnificent armaments was, of course, within the unfettered rights of the German people. But the policy had an inevitable consequence in the drawing together of other nations in the interests of their own security. This was what was happening. I told him frankly that we had made naval and military preparations, but only such as defense required, and as would be considered in Germany matter of routine. I went on to observe that our faces were set against aggression by any nation, and I told him, what seemed to relieve his mind, that we had no secret military treaties. But, I added, if France were attacked and an attempt made to occupy her territory, our neutrality must not be reckoned on by Germany. For one thing, it was obvious that our position as an island protected by the sea would be affected seriously if Germany had possession of the Channel ports on the northern shores of France. Again, we were under treaty obligation to come to the aid of Belgium in case of invasion, just as we were bound to defend Portugal and Japan in certain eventualities. In the third place, owing to our dependence on freedom of sea-communications for food and raw materials, we could not sit still if Germany elected to develop her fleet to such an extent as to imperil our naval protection. She might build more ships, but we should in that case lay down two keels for each one she laid down. . . . He [the chancellor, at the final interview on February 10] suggested that we might agree on the following formula:

"1. The High Contracting Powers assure each other mutually of their desire for peace and friendship.

"2. They will not, either of them, make any combination, or join in any combination, which is directed against the other. They expressly declare that they are not bound by any such combination.

"3. If either of the High Contracting Parties become entangled in a war with one or more other powers, the other of the High Contracting Parties will at least observe toward the power so entangled a benevolent neutrality, and use its utmost endeavor for the localization of the conflict. . . .

"4. The duty of neutrality which arises from the preceding article has no application in so far as it may not be reconcilable with existing agreements which the High Contracting Parties have already made.

"5. The making of new agreements which make it impossible for either of the Contracting Parties to observe neutrality toward the other beyond what is provided by the preceding limitations is excluded in conformity with the provisions contained in Article 2. . . .

"Anxious as I was to agree with the Chancellor, who seemed as keen as I was to meet me with expressions which I might take back to England for friendly consideration, I was unable to hold out to him the least prospect that we could accept the draft formula which he had just proposed. . . . He and I then sat down and redrafted what

he had prepared, on this basis, but without his committing himself to the view that it would be sufficient."—R. B. Haldane, *Before the war*, pp. 72-74, 79-80.—See also GERMANY: 1898-1914.—On the return of Lord Haldane to England, the attitude of the German chancellor lost something of its sincere desire for friendly relations. The copy of the fleet law presented to the English office showed unexpectedly large increases in the German navy. Hence restriction of both navies was out of the question, and England began quietly to strengthen and concentrate her navy under the guidance of Winston Churchill and Reginald McKenna.—See also WAR, PREPARATION FOR: 1912-1913; WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 71, x. ALSO IN: G. P. Gooch and J. H. B. Masterman, *Century of British foreign policy*, pp. 99, 100.

1912-1914.—Government of Ireland Bill (third home rule measure).—Its passage and suspension.—Welsh Disestablishment Bill passed and suspended.—"It was possible finally to pass a Home Rule Bill, to the principle of which the Liberal party had been committed for a quarter of a century. On April 11, 1912, Asquith introduced the third Home Rule Bill, granting Ireland a Parliament of her own, consisting of a Senate of forty members and a House of Commons of 164. If the two houses should disagree, then they were to sit and vote together. On certain subjects the Irish Parliament should not have the right to legislate, on peace or war, naval or military affairs, treaties, currency, foreign commerce. It could not establish or endow any religion or impose any religious disabilities. The Irish were to be represented in the Parliament in London by forty-two members instead of the previous number, 103. This measure was passionately opposed by the Conservative party and particularly by the Ulster party, Ulster being that province of Ireland in which the Protestants are strong. They went so far in their opposition as to threaten civil war in case Ulster were not exempted from the operation of this law. During the next two years the battle raged about this point, in conferences between political leaders, in discussions in parliament and the press. Attempts at compromise failed as the Home rule party would not consent to the exemption of a quarter of Ireland from the jurisdiction of the proposed Irish parliament. The bill was, however, passed and was immediately vetoed by the House of Lords. At the next session it was passed again and again vetoed by the Lords. Finally on May 25, 1914, it was passed a third time by the House of Commons by a vote of 351 to 274, a majority of 77. The bill was later rejected by the Lords. It might now become a law without their consent, in conformity with the Parliament Act of 1911. Only the formal assent of the King was necessary. But the ministry was so impressed with the vehemence and the determination of the 'Ulster party,' which went so far as to organize an army and establish a sort of provisional government, that it decided to continue discussions in order to see whether some compromise might not be arranged. These discussions were interrupted by the outbreak of the European war.

"Meanwhile, a bill disestablishing the Anglican Church in Wales had gone through the same process; had thrice been passed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords. Like the Home Rule Bill, it only awaited the signature of the sovereign. Finally that signature was given to both bills on September 18, 1914, but Parliament passed on that same day a bill suspending these laws from operation until the close of the war. England

now had far more serious things to consider and she wisely swept the deck clean of contentious domestic matters until a more convenient season."

—C. D. Hazen, *Fifty years of Europe*, pp. 164-165.—See also IRELAND: 1912-1914.

ALSO IN: A. L. Cross, *Shorter history of England and greater Britain*, pp. 757-760, 882-890.

1913.—Recognition of Belgium's annexation of Congo. See BELGIAN CONGO: 1910-1913.

1913 (May).—Treaty of London ending the war between Turkey and Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro signed at St. James's Palace. See BALKAN STATES: 1913.

1913-1921.—Triple industrial alliance. See LABOR ORGANIZATION: 1913-1921.

1914.—Nationality and status of Aliens Act. See BRITISH EMPIRE: Citizenship and naturalization.

1914.—Curragh incident in Ireland. See CURRAGH INCIDENT.

1914.—Second protest against Panama Canal Act. See U. S. A.: 1914 (March-June).

1914.—Political situation at the outbreak of the World War.—Reasons for entering the war.—Internal conditions. See WORLD WAR: 1914: XI. Political situation: a; Causes: Indirect: k; l.

1914.—Diplomatic attempts to arbitrate.—Sir Edward Grey's proposals.—Diplomatic letter from German chancellor on Austro-Serbian relations.—Advice to Serbia.—Protests at Austrian aggression in Serbia.—German neutrality proposal.—Bethmann-Hollweg's review of events preceding the World War. See WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 21; 16; 18; 20; 27; 71, xxiii; 32; 34; 40; 41; 62; 77.

1914.—Strength of the army, navy and aircraft at the outbreak of the World War. See MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 21; 32; WORLD WAR: 1914: IX. Naval operations: a; f, 3; X. War in the air: a.

1914.—Relief work in Serbia. See INTERNATIONAL RELIEF: Serbian relief.

1914.—Attitude of nation during the "twelve days" (July 24-Aug. 4).—"From July 24, when Russia first asked for British support, to the 2nd August, when a conditional promise of naval assistance was given to France, Sir E. Grey had consistently declined to give any promise of support to either of our present allies. He maintained that the position of Great Britain was that of a disinterested party whose influence for peace at Berlin and Vienna would be enhanced by the knowledge that we were not committed absolutely to either side in the existing dispute. He refused to believe that the best road to European peace lay through a show of force. We took no mobilization measures except to keep our fleet assembled and we confined ourselves to indicating clearly to Austria on the 27th July, and to Germany on the 29th July, that we could not engage to remain neutral if a European conflagration took place. We gave no pledge to our present allies, but to Germany we gave three times—on the 30th July, the 31st July, and the 1st August—a clear warning of the effect which would be produced on our attitude and on the sentiment of the British people by a violation of the neutrality of Belgium."—*Times documentary history of the war*, v. 1, *Introd. British Blue Book*.—"As late as August 1st very few people in Great Britain believed that the country would be drawn into the war. They regarded the conflict as a Balkan question in which they had no concern. One may almost say that the nation as a whole was very strongly opposed to the notion of intervening in any European war. . . . It may safely be affirmed that as

late as August 1st the British public was opposed to war, and the British government saw no reason for promising to intervene in any other than a diplomatic sense. But the current of events glided suddenly into a cataract sweeping along the government and nation alike with bewildering velocity. Saturday and Sunday, August 1st and 2nd, have been called the 'fateful days of the century.' They will pass into British history as a memorable week-end. They were days of intense suspense and mental conflict. On Saturday came the news of Germany's ultimatum to Russia, and of her message to France which, if not strictly an ultimatum, was an almost certain indication that war between Germany and France was inevitable. Contradictory impulses surged to and fro in the popular imagination. Antagonistic views with regard to public policy were sustained with passionate conviction. A monster peace meeting was held in Trafalgar Square on Sunday. . . . Cabinet meetings were held throughout the greater part of the day, and dissension threatened to disrupt the ministry, so that a coalition cabinet would have to be created in its place."—G. H. Allen, and others, *Great War*, v. 2, pp. 146, 155, 156.—See also WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 71, xxii.

1914 (July-August).—Mobilization of the fleet.—"As long ago as March, 1914, a test mobilization of the Home fleets, instead of the usual maneuvers, had been ordered to take place between the 16th and 23rd July. . . . On July 23 the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia was launched with the kaiser's vehement approval. [See WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 18; 20; 27; 71, xxiii.] On the 24th it was communicated to the British fleet, and Sir George Callaghan, the commander-in-chief, immediately reminded the Admiralty that he was under orders to disperse his fleet on the 27th. On the 26th the Serbian reply to Austria was rejected, and the Admiralty countermanded the dispersal of the fleet. . . . On the 27th the British fleet was concentrated and supplementary precautions ordered. . . . At 5 o'clock that evening [July 28] the British First fleet was ordered to Scapa Flow. . . . [On August 3rd] Sir George Callaghan, whose period of command had really terminated a year before, struck his flag and handed over to Sir John Jellicoe the fleet he had so admirably trained."—H. Newbolt, *Naval history of the war, 1914-1918*, pp. 27-29.—"During the two following days [after the 24th] conferences took place at the Admiralty as to the disposition of the Fleet . . . and, in view of the threatening political situation, the work of demobilization after the king's inspection at Spithead and the subsequent short fleet exercises was suspended, pending further developments. . . . We were very fortunate in having the Fleet concentrated at the outbreak of the war. People had often pictured war with Germany coming as a bolt from the blue, and even naval officers feared that when the occasion did arise, it would be found . . . that fear of precipitating a conflict had led the Government to delay concentration with the result that our squadrons would be separated when war was actually declared. Fortunately, the Admiralty in the last days of July, 1914, placed us at once in a strong strategic position. For this action the nation should be grateful to the First Lord [Winston Churchill] and First Sea Lord [Prince Louis of Battenberg]."—J. R. Jellicoe, *Grand fleet, 1914-1916*, pp. 3, 38.—See also WORLD WAR: 1914: IX. Naval operations: a.

1914 (August 3).—Meeting of Parliament.—Sir Edward Grey's speech.—Preparations for war.—Resignation of opposing cabinet mem-

bers.—“The center of interest lay in the Commons, and Sir Edward Grey’s speech practically served for both Houses. He said that ministers, then as always, had worked for peace, but in vain. As to British obligations he had told the Russian foreign minister in 1908 that he could promise no more than diplomatic support, and in the existing crisis, till the day before, he had promised nothing more. During the general election of 1906, at the crisis which led to the Algeiras Conference, he had been asked if, should a Franco-German war break out, Great Britain would give armed support; he had replied that he could promise nothing which would not be fully supported by public opinion, but if war were forced on France through the Anglo-French *entente* regarding Morocco, British public opinion would rally to her support. . . . In the Agadir crisis [1911] he took the same line, and on November 22, 1912, he exchanged letters with the French ambassador to this effect, but agreeing that if either Great Britain or France had grave reason to expect an attack by a third power of a menace to the general peace, both Governments should consult whether they should cooperate and what measures they should take in common. But the British government remained perfectly free to decide whether it should intervene. In the Morocco question, however, it was pledged to diplomatic support; in the existing crisis France was involved because of its obligation of honor to Russia, which did not apply to Great Britain, a power which did not even know the terms of the Franco-Russian alliance. But in view of the Anglo-French friendship, let every man look into his own heart and construe the extent of the British obligation for himself. In view of that friendship, the French fleet was concentrated in the Mediterranean, and if, in a war which France had not sought, her unprotected coasts were bombarded, he felt that Great Britain could not stand aside. And, from the point of view of British interests, suppose the French fleet withdrawn from the Mediterranean and Italy involved in the war, Great Britain, if she now stood aside, might be exposed to appalling risks. He had, therefore, on the previous afternoon given the French ambassador an authorised assurance that, if a hostile German fleet came into the Channel or [through the] North Sea the British government [fleet] would give France all the assistance in its power. He had just heard that the German government would be prepared, were Great Britain pledged to neutrality, to agree that the German fleet should not attack the northern coast of France, but that was far too narrow an engagement. There was also the question, hourly becoming more serious, of the neutrality of Belgium. In 1870, Prince Bismarck had acknowledged the sanctity of the Treaty of 1839, and the government could not take a narrower view of its obligations than Mr. Gladstone’s government took in 1870. He had asked in the previous week the French and German governments whether they were prepared to respect that neutrality; and he quoted the replies: France had promised to do so, Germany had delayed replying, Belgium had promised neutrality. But Germany had sent Belgium an ultimatum; and the British government had been asked in the past week whether an assurance would satisfy it that Belgian integrity would be preserved after the war. It had replied, refusing to barter away its interests or obligations in Belgian neutrality. The king of the Belgians had that day telegraphed to King George, appealing to the British government to safeguard the integrity of Belgium. Great Britain had great and vital interests in the independence

of Belgium, and integrity was the least part of that independence. Compliance [on Belgium’s part] with the ultimatum would be fatal to that independence, and that of Holland would then perish also. [See also *WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 35; 37.*] If Great Britain stood aside, ran away from her obligations, and merely intervened at the end of the war, her material force would be of little value, in view of the respect she would have lost. She would suffer terribly in the war in any case, but if she stood aside, she would be in no position after it to prevent Europe falling under the domination of one Power, and her moral position would be such as to have lost her all respect. The fleet was mobilized, the army was mobilizing, but no engagement had yet been taken to send abroad an expeditionary force. The one bright spot was Ireland. The feeling there made the Irish question a consideration that need not be taken into account. Unconditional neutrality was precluded by the commitment to France and the consideration of Belgium. To stand aside would be to sacrifice the good name of Great Britain without escaping the most serious economic consequences. The forces of the Crown were never more ready or more efficient; the government had worked for peace to the last moment, and beyond it; when the country realized the situation, they would have its united support. Mr. Bonar Law promised emphatically the full and unhesitating support of the Opposition, mentioning also, as another bright spot, the certainty of that of the Dominions. Mr. John Redmond, in a speech that made a profound sensation, declared that the events of recent years had completely altered the Nationalist feeling towards Great Britain. He recalled the support given by Catholics to the Irish Volunteers in the eighteenth century, and said that the government might withdraw all its troops from Ireland: her coasts would be defended by her armed sons, and the Nationalist Volunteers would gladly join in doing so with their brethren of the north [Ulster]. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (Laborite) contended that the Foreign minister had not shown that the country was in danger, the Crimean and South African wars were fought on the plea of British honor; and the conflict could not be confined to the neutrality of Belgium. The Labor party wanted to know what would happen to Russia, and the annihilation of France was impossible. He admitted that the feeling of the House was against his followers, but they held that Great Britain should have remained neutral. . . . Meanwhile the Government prepared actively for war in other ways. It assumed the control of the railways, vesting it in a committee of general managers under the Board of Trade; it took over the two *Dreadnoughts* completed and nearly completed in Great Britain for Turkey, and the two destroyer leaders building for Chile; Field-Marshal Sir John French was appointed Inspector-General of the Forces, and it was understood that he was to command the Expeditionary Force; and Admiral Sir John Jellicoe was appointed to the supreme command of the Home Fleets, with Rear Admiral C. E. Madden as his Chief of Staff. . . . In the country generally the action of Germany and Sir Edward Grey’s statement had driven the great mass of the Liberal and Labor parties to agree that war was inevitable and just. In the Ministry some members were still unconvinced. On Monday, August 3, four members of the Cabinet, it was said, still advocated peace; by next day there were but two, Lord Morley of Blackburn, Lord President of the Council, and Mr. John Burns, President of the

Board of Trade. They, however, resigned office; but it was stated that they had decided to do so independently and at different stages of the controversy, and largely to avoid hampering the freedom of the Cabinet in a great emergency. Their example was followed by Mr. Charles Trevelyan, . . . Secretary of the Board of Education. These three were replaced respectively by Earl Beauchamp, Mr. Runciman and Dr. Addison."—*Annual Register*, 1914, pp. 170-174.

ALSO IN: E. R. Jones, *Selected speeches on British foreign policy*.

"Alone of European statesmen, the Foreign secretary [Sir Edward Grey] worked day and night in the preservation of peace; but he was handicapped by the undefined character of our friendship with France. . . . It is not necessarily a condemnation of the policy of limited liability, though it suggests grave doubts as to its wisdom, that everyone was at liberty to 'construe' it for himself; that the Cabinet was divided at a critical moment; that France counted on naval and military aid as a debt of honor [see *WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 49*]; that Russia believed we should be dragged in, and that Germany expected us to stand out. Nor has the time yet come for a judicial verdict on the whole policy of Continental commitments, unaccompanied as they were by an army of Continental dimensions, or by a frank explanation to Parliament and the nation of their contingent liabilities. . . . We may with some confidence anticipate that British policy throughout the period covered by this chapter [from Agadir to Serajevo] was free from the slightest desire for territorial aggrandizement, and that the dearest wish of the British people was to maintain peace and promote goodwill among the nations of the earth."—G. P. Gooch and J. H. B. Masterman, *Century of British foreign policy*.—See also *WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 56*; *BULGARIA: 1914*.

ALSO IN: G. Murray, *Foreign policy of Sir Edward Grey, 1906-1915*.

1914 (August 4).—Ultimatum to Germany.—Rupture of diplomatic relations.—"When the news of the German declaration of war against Belgium and the violation of Belgian territory reached London, Sir Edward Grey dispatched a second telegram to Sir Edward Goschen [British ambassador at Berlin], which concluded thus: 'In these circumstances, and in view of the fact that Germany declined to give the same assurance respecting Belgium as France gave last week in reply to our request made simultaneously at Berlin and Paris, we must repeat that request, and ask that a satisfactory reply to it, and to my telegram of this morning, be received here by 12 o'clock to-night. If not, you are instructed to ask for your passports, and to say that His Majesty's Government feel bound to take all steps in their power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a treaty to which Germany is as much a party as ourselves.' It was after presenting this ultimatum that Sir Edward Goschen had his historic interview with the Imperial chancellor. . . . That night the mob broke the windows of the British embassy; but otherwise Sir Edward Goschen and his staff escaped the puerile indignities to which M. Cambon [French ambassador at Berlin] was subjected in leaving the country. It is pleasant to record that Herr von Jagow, whom we have not hitherto seen reason to regard with much respect, conducted himself like a perfect gentleman—which is more than can be said of his Imperial master."—W. Archer, *The thirteen days*, pp. 200-201.

1914 (August).—Effect of invasion of Luxemburg.—Breaking of treaty guaranteeing neutrality. See *WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 50*; *LUXEMBURG: 1914-1918*.

1914 (August).—Guarantees aid to Belgium in defense of her neutrality.—Protests against German invasion. See *WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 53*; *58*; *59*; *60*; *61*.

1914 (August-December).—World War: Campaigns on the western front.—Battles of Mons, Marne, Aisne, Lys, Ypres-Armentières. See *WORLD WAR: 1914: I. Western front*.

1914 (August-December).—World War: Naval operations.—German submarine warfare. See *WORLD WAR: 1914: IX. Naval operations: b*; *d*; *e*; *f*, *4*.

1914 (September-December).—World War: Campaign in Mesopotamia.—Occupation of Basra.—Attempt to force the Dardanelles. See *WORLD WAR: 1914: IV. Turkey: i*; *j*; *BOSPORUS: 1914-1918*.

1914 (Dec. 16 and 24).—German air-raids.—"One of the factors which agitated public opinion in Great Britain was the raiding of the east coast by a German naval squadron in December, when 110 civilians were killed by the bombardment at Hartlepool, seventeen at Scarborough, and two at Whitby, many women and children being included among the slain. The German authorities were probably actuated by the belief that a palpable demonstration of the vulnerability of Great Britain would profoundly influence opinion both in the British Isles and in neutral countries. . . . It is hardly too much to say that the raid was a failure, except as an opportunity for practice, and that the results were incommensurate with the risks. The chief effect seems to have been to intensify the belligerent spirit in England."—G. H. Allen, H. C. Whitehead, and F. E. Chadwick, *Great War*, v. 3, pp. 392-393.—See also *WORLD WAR: 1915: X. War in the air*.

1914-1915.—Contraband and restraint of trade. See *WORLD WAR: 1914: XII. Neutral nations: b*; *U. S. A.: 1915 (February): Contraband of war*.

1914-1918.—Aid of India in World War. See *INDIA: 1914-1918*.

1914-1918.—Defense of the Realm Acts.—Extensive war powers exercised.—Trials by courts martial of offenders against the regulations.—"Perhaps of even more significance than the measures for the development of the combatant forces has been the far-reaching expansion of governmental authority in Great Britain for the maintenance of internal order, the suppression and prevention of acts at home which might interfere with the successful conduct of the war, and the regulation of business. Under the common law and statutes in force before the outbreak of war, a series of defensive measures was authorized and taken. But these were promptly followed by additional legislation conferring more and more extensive powers on the executive authorities; and these have been steadily amended and enlarged. Under these emergency acts there have been issued long series of regulations by Orders in Council, and orders by government departments and officials, establishing an intensive system of police control, affecting private property and personal liberty. To enforce these, new and summary methods of procedure have been devised, which limit or take away many of the former legal safeguards for the protection of individual rights. . . . Much more sweeping was the Royal Proclamation of August 4 (the date of the declaration of war against Germany), authorizing the Admiralty, the

Army Council or other officers to issue instructions and regulations for the public safety and the defense of the realm. This proclamation is of special significance because, issued in the name of the King, as an act of the Royal prerogative, without the formal approval of the Privy Council or the authority of any Act of Parliament, it asserted the prerogative power to take all measures necessary for securing the public safety and defense of the realm; nor were any limitations laid down as to the instructions or regulations which might be issued under the proclamation. . . . Much wider powers were conferred by the Defense of the Realm Act of August 8. This was supplemented by another act of August 28; and was further amended and revised by the Defense of the Realm Consolidation Act of November 27. Further modifications were made by later acts in 1915 and 1916. This legislation authorized regulations by Order in Council, for securing the public safety and defense of the realm; and for the trial and punishment of offenders against such regulations, and in particular against provisions to prevent communications with the enemy; to secure the safety of troops and ships, the means of communication and railways, ports and harbors; to prevent the spread of false and dangerous rumors; to secure the navigation of vessels in accordance with Admiralty directions; or to prevent assistance being given to the enemy or danger to the successful prosecution of the war. The original Defense of the Realm Act authorized the trial of offenders against the regulations by court-martial; or in the case of minor offenses, by courts of summary jurisdiction. The consolidation act of November was even more drastic, authorizing the death penalty in the case of offenses 'committed with the intention of assisting the enemy.' Opposition was raised in the House of Lords (by ex-Chancellor Lord Halsbury, Lord Parmoor and Viscount Bryce) to thus authorizing, for the first time in more than two centuries, a civilian to be sentenced to death without trial by jury; but the revision was enacted as proposed."—J. A. Fairlie, *British war administration*, pp. 120-123.

1914-1918.—Taxation policy.—Credit loans.—Budgets.—Revenue.—National debt.—"The foundation of English financial policy in the conduct of war has been and is, despite the criticisms implying the contrary, the system of taxation. The current expenses of government must be maintained and the interest and sinking fund of the public debt be paid by taxation. In the final analysis a war is financed from savings which may be brought into government hands by loans or taxation. The economic effects of the two methods differ, but no nation can finance its wars by taxes alone or by savings alone; hence the policy of taxation, supplemented by loans, becomes the fixed national policy. From the date of the opening of the war to April 30, 1918, four great budgets have been presented by three Chancellors of the Exchequer. The peace budget for the year 1914-15 was left standing as it was when introduced May, 1914. Using this as a basis the first war budget providing for increase of taxation was introduced November 16, 1914, for the period ending March 31, 1915. The second war budget was introduced September 21, 1915; the third, April 7, 1916; and the fourth, May 2, 1917. . . . Taking the tax revenues for the four financial years April 1, 1914, to April 1, 1918, there is an amount including arrears of possibly £200,000,000, a tax income of £1,800,000,000, which, with income from other sources, brings the total of income for the above mentioned period to £2,100,000,000. Con-

fining the time to the war period alone, the total aggregate revenue received amounts to £1,789,000,000 of which £1,543,000,000 was from taxes. The total expenses during the war period, August 1, 1914, to April 1, 1918, were £6,961,000,000. From this sum certain assets in the form of advances to Allies and Dominions, munition plants, shipping, etc., have been deducted by the Chancellor, leaving the amount at £5,000,000,000. If this is the case, 40 per cent of the war cost to Great Britain has been paid from revenue and 35 per cent from taxes [*Times* (London) Apr. 2, 1918]. In this estimate, however, an allowance of nearly £300,000,000 is made for taxes in arrears, and deductions of generous amounts for payments to Allies and Dominions are taken from the total expenditure. It is difficult in view of the many factors involved to reduce payments to a percentage that means very much. If the advances to Allies and Dominions are retained as a part of the war cost so far as Great Britain is concerned, the actual amount raised by taxation is practically one-fourth of the amount expended during the war. The extent to which the vote of credit has been carried as the means of securing authority for the financial conduct of the war is only realizable when the full facts have been clearly grasped. Beginning with a vote of £100,000,000 on August 6, 1914, the amounts reached as high as £650,000,000 on July 25, 1917. For the eight months ending March 31, 1915, the total of votes for that period were £362,000,000. In 1915-16 the votes amounted to £1,420,000,000, reaching £2,010,000,000 in the fiscal year 1916-17 and touching £2,800,000,000 or many millions beyond this last amount, in the fiscal year closing March 31, 1918. The total of these votes, including the last one of £550,000,000 on December 13, 1917, is £6,592,000,000. . . . All told there have been four great loans since the war started, though the last one did not have a fixed subscription period for the sale of bonds, as did the first three. The first loan was offered to the public in November, 1914, when £350,000,000 were subscribed, the second raised £616,000,000 in June, 1915, the third, £800,000,000 in January, 1917, and the last one was offered in October and November, 1917. The first three loans produced £1,800,000,000, the figures for the last loan show weekly sales varying from £9,000,000 to £40,000,000, though the average is in the neighborhood of £18,000,000. These offerings were not the only forms of borrowings undertaken; since the Treasury offered at the same time Exchequer bonds, Treasury bills, war expense certificates and savings stamp certificates. . . . The borrowing transactions of the English Government may be grouped: (1) subscribed loans; (2) forced loans; and (3) negotiable loans. The first consists of the various offerings for subscriptions made to the public in the form of bonds, stamps, certificates and Treasury bills; the second of currency note issues and the American dollar security scheme by which foreign bonds were brought into the possession of the Treasury for collateral uses. . . . The third class consists of the loans negotiated abroad.

"In September, 1917, the government changed its policy of fixed subscription periods for the sale of bonds and began the experiment of financing the war by a continuous issue of national war bonds. The experiment opened well with an average of about eighteen millions a week for three weeks and dropped to £10,000,000 a week by the last of November. . . . What began as an experiment has hardened into a policy in that it has been two years since the government called for a loan of

a fixed amount. The continuous loan from week to week had at least the advantage of drawing from the savings of the people the funds for war purposes, and avoided the necessity of negotiating extensive advances from the banks."—F. L. MacVey, *Financial history of Great Britain, 1914-1918*, pp. 26, 37-41, 49-51, 55-56, 68.—The invitation for a loan of a fixed amount was again made in 1921. "On April 1st, 1914, the National Debt of the United Kingdom was £708,000,000. The actual expenditure during the period [1915-1919] was £9,592,000,000. Deducting the expenditure which would have taken place if there had been no war, we find that the war expenditure during the five years ending March 31st, 1919, amounted to £8,492,000,000. The revenue raised during the same period, exclusive of all borrowing, amounted to £2,733,000,000. . . . In the ordinary way, if there had been no war, the revenue would have been adjusted to meet the expenditure, so we can assume that the revenue during the whole period would have been £11,100,000,000, and thus the amount of additional war taxation raised was £1,633,000,000. . . . If the pre-war National Debt be added to the net amount of cash borrowed we get a total of £7,567,000,000, while actually the nominal amount on March 31st, 1919, was £7,435,000,000 [assuming that national war bonds and war savings certificates were taken at their issue, not redemption price]. If the price of redemption were taken, the figure would be £7,552,000,000. . . . Of this total £1,350,000,000 is held abroad, and the balance £6,202,000,000, is held in this country."—H. G. Williams, *Britain's financial and economic position*, pp. 7-9.—On 1 Feb., 1919, the National Debt was stated to be £7,334,000,000 (\$36,670,000,000). "So far as we [England] are concerned, the cost of the war has been stated, in round figures, at £7,520,078,000,—made up, roughly, as follows: £1,278,714,000 borrowed from abroad (America), £1,000,000,000 realized by sales of British holdings in foreign investments, and £5,241,364,000 raised at home (of which £1,731,100,000 has been lent to our Allies, and £140,500,000 to the Dominions and India)."—H. D. Funnell, *Great rebuilding*, p. 197.—See also MONEY AND BANKING: Modern: 1914-1916: Financial protective measures; TAXATION: World War; DEBTS, PUBLIC: World War and after.

1914-1918.—Government control of railroads.—War uses. See RAILROADS: 1914-1918.

1914-1918.—Government control of foods.—Royal commission on wheat supplies. See FOOD REGULATION: 1914-1918; PRICE CONTROL: 1914-1918: World War: Great Britain.

1914-1918.—Censorship of the press. See WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: III. Press reports and censorship: a, 1; PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1914-1920.

1914-1919.—Alien restriction bills. See IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION: England: 1914-1919.

1914-1921.—Shipping during the World War. See COMMERCE: Commercial Age: 1914-1921.

1915.—Controversy with Chile. See CHILE: 1915.

1915.—Munitions fabrication and the labor problem.—Treasury conference.—"What we stint in materials we squander in life; that is the one great lesson of munitions," said Mr. Lloyd George. For the first year of war the question of men seemed to present comparatively little difficulty. England's manhood came flocking to the banner of Lord Kitchener, but this war was clearly from the first "a struggle of machinery," as Kitchener repeated to the American iron-master, Charles M. Schwab, who with others in the United States and elsewhere, received large orders to furnish ord-

nance and ordnance supplies, since England had at the start only three government factories for their manufacture, and munitions for her army were hitherto contracted for from about a dozen large private British companies. The Navy indeed almost monopolized existing British resources. Already the richest industrial regions of Northern France and Belgium were in German possession, and in 1915 two-thirds of the Russian steel-producing area were added to German resources. To meet this situation the Ordnance bureau faced unparalleled difficulties of material and labor. It was still detached from great civilian industries, cut off from important sources of raw ingredients for explosives for the making of mines and shells, lack of which at the front became intolerable. Even the letting of subcontracts, during the first winter, to 3,000 establishments, which undertook to transform their works into munition plants, proved inadequate. Kitchener admitted that there had been "undoubtedly considerable delay in producing the material." As for labor the new conditions produced a great upheaval. The increase in the cost of living, suddenly occurring when the crisis caused the shutting down of many peace industries and the throwing men out of work at their accustomed occupations, the transformation of other factories into war-supplies establishments "stealing" skilled employes from one another by pyramiding offers of higher wages to labor and thereby making it at once independent and slack, the absorption of many skilled workers in Kitchener's army—these circumstances combined to suspend the former "laws of supply and demand." Besides, workmen at this time were naturally jealous of recently won privileges and inclined to push their advantages to the utmost, especially in view of evident profiteering on the part of many employes. Drinking and idleness were rife among them, strikes more frequent and extensive.—See also LIQUOR PROBLEM: England: 1914-1918.

During the early part of the year there was constant industrial unrest in the country. The constant and urgent demand for the utmost effort of working capacity was not, in the opinion of the workers, being met by a fair share of the employers' profits. There was a strike of engineers on the Clyde, involving about 10,000 men; trouble was brewing among the shipyard laborers both on the Clyde and at Southampton. On March 17, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain decided to ask for a twenty per cent increase in wages. "Under such circumstances a conference of representatives of thirty-five trade unions was called to meet the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the President of the Board of Trade at the Treasury on March 17. Mr. Lloyd George, in opening the conference, said that they did not wish to consider any particular trade dispute, but the general position in reference to maintaining the necessary output of munitions. . . . The Conference was concluded two days later, when a memorandum was issued containing the proposals which the workmen's representatives agreed to recommend to their members. The following were its chief points:—During the war period there should in no case be any stoppage of work upon munitions and equipments of war; all differences on wages or conditions of employment should be the subject of conferences between the parties. In all cases of failure to reach a settlement of disputes by the parties directly concerned or their representatives, the matter in dispute should be dealt with under any one of the three following alternatives—(a) the Committee on Production; (b) a single arbitrator agreed upon by the parties or appointed by the Board of

Trade; (c) a Court of Arbitration upon which labor is represented equally with the employers. An advisory committee representative of the workers engaged in production for [the] government requirements was to be appointed by the government. During the war period the present trade practices should be relaxed; and the relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions or the admission of semi-skilled or female labour should not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the work."—*Annual Register*, 1915, pp. 87, 88.—These terms were embodied in the Munitions of War Act in July.—See also LABOR ORGANIZATION: 1913-1921; LABOR STRIKES AND BOYCOTTS: 1915; ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION, INDUSTRIAL; Great Britain: 1880-1920.

1915.—Colliery recruiting courts.—National Registration Act.—"In the spring of 1915 a scheme of colliery recruiting courts was established by the Home secretary; and in June a committee was appointed to consider the readjustment of conditions of employment in the distributing trades in Scotland so as to release men for enlistment or other national services. . . . Recruiting was also promoted by entrusting the raising of local units to county and municipal committees, cooperating with officers appointed by the War Office. In some places this plan was a pronounced success. But the need for other measures became more urgent. On May 18, the age limit was increased to 40 years, and the height standard reduced to 5 feet, 2 inches. On the formation of the coalition cabinet, steps were taken for a more systematic canvass of the population. On June 29, 1915, a national registration bill was introduced and rapidly enacted into law. The purpose of this act was to form a comprehensive register of the population between the ages of 16 and 65 (with certain exceptions), and their occupations, and to ascertain whether they were able and willing to perform other work. Men between the ages of 19 and 41 were listed on special blanks, and men engaged in government work or in essential war industries were starred."—J. A. Fairlie, *British war administration*, p. 85.

1915.—Novel legislative and administrative measures.—Extension of term of Parliament.—Coalition cabinet.—Ministry of munitions.—Defects of the Asquith régime.—"During the sessions of 1915, some fifty war emergency Acts of Parliament were passed. The most important, as involving novel legislative principles and administrative agencies, were those establishing [in May] the new Ministry of Munitions, regulating the production of munitions of war, providing for a general system of national registration [June 20], limiting the price of coal, and restricting the increase of rent and mortgage interest. In addition there were statutes amending, revising and supplementing the previous legislation relating to the defense of the realm (including the control of the liquor traffic), the control of foreign trade, trading with enemy, the system of compensation and pensions for men in the armed forces, the national insurance system, and war loans and other financial measures. The laws relating to the exemption of trusts and evidence were amended; and emergency powers were given to universities and colleges. Moreover, the duration of the House of Commons (which should have expired under the Parliament Act of 1911 in 1915) was extended; the reelection of ministers after changes in the Cabinet was dispensed with, and local elections were postponed. . . . As the session of 1915 continued, evidence of uneasiness and dissatisfaction appeared both inside and outside of Parliament. The Cab-

inet still received general support, and there was no open attempt to force its retirement. But the policy of the Cabinet lacked stability and certainty. 'Where the people looked for leadership, they found the old inclination to wait and see.' . . . The resignation of Lord Fisher as First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, on May 15, brought to light the internal difficulties of the government; and helped to precipitate the crisis. No formal action in Parliament preceded the change of government; and what took place in private and informal conferences will not be fully known for some time. But it has been understood that the Unionist leaders informed Mr. Asquith that they could no longer maintain their attitude of restraining criticism unless important changes were made. As an outcome, a reorganization of the Cabinet was agreed to, Mr. Asquith remaining as Prime Minister, but with the admission of a number of Unionist and Labor members, forming a Coalition Cabinet. The Irish nationalists were also offered representation; but declined to serve so long as Home Rule for Ireland was not put into effect. When formally constituted the new coalition Cabinet consisted of twelve liberals, eight unionists, one labor member and Lord Kitchener, a total of twenty-two members, an increase of two over the old cabinet. The new positions were the newly created minister of munitions [Lloyd George, who was later succeeded by Reginald McKenna as chancellor of the exchequer] and Lord Lansdowne, as minister without portfolio. . . . [Lord Haldane retired with seven other Liberals.] A coalition cabinet of this kind was something new in British political history. There have been Coalition Cabinets before; but they had been only partial, and none had gone to the extent of absorbing nearly all the chief political leaders of the different parties, representing eighty-eight per cent. of the House of Commons and thus eliminating the organized opposition. . . . [While] the Coalition Cabinet promptly gave evidence of a more energetic policy, in measures for the creation of the new Ministry of Munitions and the Munitions of War Act, and in the administrative conduct of the war, disappointments as to the successful progress of both military and diplomatic affairs led to gradually increasing dissatisfaction and criticism. Paradoxically the disappearance of any formally organized opposition was followed by more openly expressed opposing, not enough to be formidable, but troublesome guerilla attacks, from a small group of doctrinaire Radicals and avowed Socialists. Moreover the growing feeling of unrest was much broader than the avowed opposition. It was urged that the Coalition Government was defective because of the size of the Cabinet, its composition, and the character of the Prime Minister. Members of all parties acknowledged that the Cabinet was too large for the most effective action. 'A body of twenty-three men of very unequal ability, tired by their departmental labors, and meeting every few days for a couple of hours, was, indeed, an impossible machinery for making war.' As early as September, 1915, the *London Times* advocated a smaller Cabinet, meeting every day, and relieved from departmental detail. In fact the traditional working of the British Cabinet system had already been altered in important respects. The public suspected that specific problems were referred formally to Cabinet committees and that the active direction of affairs was in the hands of a small group within the Cabinet. But there was no definite knowledge of the extent of the control of the Cabinet over its committees or over the de

facto directing group."—J. A. Fairlie, *British war administration*, pp. 33-36.

1915.—Interallied labor conference at London.—Attitude toward conscription.—War aims. See LABOR PARTIES: 1868-1910.

1915.—Clyde shipyard strike. See LABOR STRIKES AND BOYCOTTS: 1915.

1915.—Ministry of munitions.—Appeals to labor and to women.—Gas masks.—"The little group of men whom Mr. Lloyd George assembled round him at No. 6, Whitehall Gardens, during the Whit-week of 1915, certainly seemed to have no easy task before them. A new Ministry had been founded, and a Bill to define its functions was being drawn up. But the Ministry possessed neither buildings nor staff, neither furniture nor office paper. . . . How this new Department of State was gradually built up; how picked men from all over the country, and from the Civil Service, were gathered to the side of the new Min-

istry of those Civil Servants who came into the Munition Service should receive extra pay for extra work. Second division clerks raised to higher posts still continued to receive the old salaries; so great was the eagerness to save the country that men worked overtime without complaint. . . . It was precisely the combination of the best Civil Servants with the best commercial men that gave to the Ministry of Munitions such a marvellous touch of efficiency. Manufacturers coming up from the provinces were now pleasantly surprised to find a new swiftness of despatch in the conduct of their business. . . . At the same time the country as a whole found itself provided at last with a capable machinery for using its services. The whole of the United Kingdom was mapped out and in every district there sat a Committee who formed a careful estimate of the resources of that area. . . . On the basis of that estimate there now began to grow up, as if by magic, that vast net-



SOCIETY WOMEN WORKING IN MUNITION FACTORY DURING THE WORLD WAR

istry; how buildings were secured from day to day for the work of administration; how excessive hours were worked and excessive risks were run by old as well as young, and women as well as men,—this story has already been largely told in the Parliamentary statements of the Munition Ministers. . . . The British commercial classes were not, in the period before the war, particularly attached to Mr. Lloyd George. They had some 'bones to pick' with him. But it must be said, to their eternal credit, that when they realized the need of their country the old hatchet was at once put underground. They came in hundreds to help him. Many of them came without price, leaving their own factories and workshops, putting aside their chance of personal profit, and content to live on such salaries as their business could afford them. It is true that many of them have risen to high honour in this service. It is well that it should be so. . . . The Civil Servants also volunteered from all branches of the Service to undertake increased responsibility without additional gain. It was laid down from the beginning that

work of new war factories which saved the armies in France. . . . It was also part of the great stress of this crisis that the State must be sure of its labour and that it must be able to draw from that labour the utmost power of effort, sustained and continued through a prolonged period of time. . . . The policy finally agreed upon took shape in the first Munitions Act and the subsequent amending measures. Round those measures a great strife afterwards arose, and it may be worth while to say something as to their origin and justification. It was absolutely necessary, if the armies were to be properly supplied with the immense mass of munitions required, that the workers should both consent to the limitation of their freedom of movement and should also suspend a number of those limitations and conditions of toil which had been won in the course of the long conflict between Capital and Labour. It was desirable to come to a bargain; and with that view the Trade Unions were consulted at every point. If the Government must trust Labour, Labour must also trust the Government. Labour must have assurance that a

temporary suspension of conditions should not prejudice the position in time of peace. That assurance had been already given, and was now formally embodied in the Munitions Act. . . . Certainly the restrictions were very formidable. No workman or workwoman could leave their employment in the war factory without a special 'leaving certificate.' All rules or customs restricting labour were suspended; no strikes were allowed; and all questions of wages and hours were to be settled by compulsory arbitration. To administer these rules Munition Tribunals were set up in every district; and they had powers of inflicting heavy fines. Such provisions must depend largely on the good faith and good-will of employers; and there must always be some who will not 'play the game.' Hence the chronic movements of revolt—the rise of the shop stewards, the engineers' strike, the war-weariness of so many industrial districts in the summer of 1917. In the autumn of 1917 Mr. Winston Churchill, the new Minister of Munitions, found it possible to suspend the leaving certificate and to slacken some of these conditions. But there could be no doubt as to their necessity up to that time. . . . Mr. Lloyd George ventured on a bold appeal. He asked the women to come from their pleasures and their comforts; he asked them to save the lives of their brothers, their sweet-hearts, and their husbands. They came in multitudes. They filled the ranks, and they filled the shells. They silenced their sourest critics, even in their own sex. They worked by day and they worked by night. They earned for themselves a new position in the State. They showed that women could be patriots themselves, as well as the wives and mothers of patriots. [According to the War Cabinet Committee's report, by January, 1918, 7,000,000 women had directly replaced men in industry.] Not easily will England forget those splendid women of 1915-18. . . . Nothing was left undone. To fill up the ranks, unskilled men were trained to do the work of skilled. The Board of Trade organised a special army of Munition Volunteers. In the autumn of 1915 there was a great effort, in conjunction with the War Office, to bring back from the front some thousands of those numerous munition workers, iron-workers, and miners who had been allowed to recruit in the first fine flush of the recruiting enthusiasm in 1914 [which constituted 'Kitchener's Army']. Mr. Lloyd George gave his whole mind to this one question—the making of war material. . . . Above all he studied the German inventions. After a short while, thanks to the labors of our young scientists from the Universities, he was able to provide our soldiers with gas-masks that enabled them to face unshaken the worst deviltry of the enemy, and with gas that was a fit reply to theirs. [See POISON GAS: First employment at Ypres; Protected shelters.] He provided our men with flame-throwers which made them a fair match when they faced the flame-throwers of the Teuton. . . . Meanwhile, the soldiers at the front grew more confident and serene. They felt the support of the great working nation behind them. They grew more confident of supremacy. They knew that even the womenkind were 'doing their bit.' In each great battle, as the shells swept over their heads, they felt a new power at work in their favor. They 'went over the top' with the knowledge that the mailed fist of Prussia was to be met with the iron hammer of England."—H. Spender, *Prime minister [David Lloyd George]*, pp. 218-230.—See also ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION, INDUSTRIAL: Great Britain: 1880-1920.

1915.—German blockade of Great Britain.—

English counter-blockade.—"The course of the present war has supplied a new and forceful demonstration that England's independent existence rests upon her ability to maintain control of the sea. Unable to nourish her population from her own soil, it has been the prime object of the German submarine campaign to cut the life-line which the British navy has maintained with the world's granaries. It has been fully realized on both sides that once this line should be severed, Britain's doom would be sealed; and every other consideration has been made subordinate to the one object,—of Germany to destroy England's commerce, and of Britain to conserve it."—W. H. Hobbs, *World War and its consequences*, pp. 294-295.—"Simultaneously with the declaration of war came the announcement that Great Britain would observe the rules of the Declaration of London in maritime war, and the British navy instituted its blockade of the German Empire. The great force of British sea power immediately became operant, and Germany found herself a besieged fortress. . . . Prior to February, 1915, foodstuffs had been permitted to enter Germany through the blockade, but on January 26, 1915, the *Bundesrath*, or Federal Council, announced that the German government would assume control of all stocks of flour and grain in the country. Arguing, therefore, that these commodities when imported into Germany would be commandeered and pass . . . to the military authorities, the British government placed them on the list of absolute contraband. . . . Seeking for a means of reply to British sea power, as exerted through the blockade, Germany found it in the submarine. . . . [and] on February 4, 1915, Admiral von Pohl, Chief of the Admiralty Staff of the German Navy, issued a statement involving a new form of naval warfare, declaring . . . the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, . . . to be [a] war zone. . . . That the policy outlined in this proclamation had no foundation in international law is tacitly acknowledged in the . . . memorandum, [which accompanied it] for it states that the action is taken in retaliation for the British blockade. It was, in essence, a notification to the world that German submarines would sink enemy and neutral vessels under conditions that rendered it impossible to provide for the safety of passengers and crews. . . . The doctrine of reprisals, however, is one that can be adopted by both sides in a controversy, and the British government soon indicated that it was thoroughly awake to its opportunities. Hence, on March 1, 1915, the British Premier made a statement in the House of Commons foreshadowing a still more rigid application of the blockade. . . . What was it that Germany hoped to gain by the adoption of this policy, and what was her justification? The main objective, of course, was the stoppage of men and supplies to the Allied forces and to compel Great Britain to relax the pressure of her blockade. These ends were to be achieved not only through the destruction of ships of the Allies but also by the methods adopted in their destruction. It was clearly Germany's policy to establish such a reign of terror on the sea that the morale of British and neutral seamen would be so broken down that all shipping would disappear from the seas. This plan was not a bad one, and had it not been for a certain streak of obstinacy in the British and their Allies it might have met with better success. The immediate result, therefore, was that the challenge of Germany was accepted, the blockade was still more rigidly applied under the doctrine of reprisals and the Allies' fleets set to work

to hunt submarines."—G. H. Allen, *Great War*, v. 4, pp. 368, 372, 373, 375, 376, 377, 382.—See also WORLD WAR: 1915: XI. Politics and diplomacy: b.

1915.—Military situation at opening of the year. See WORLD WAR: 1915: I. Military situation.

1915.—World War: Operations in Southwest Africa, German East Africa and the Cameroons. See WORLD WAR: 1915: VIII. Africa.

1915.—World War: War in Egypt. See WORLD WAR: 1915: VI. Turkey: b.

1915.—World War: Aerial operations.—German air raids. See WORLD WAR: 1915: X. War in the air.

1915.—World War: Operations in the North sea. See WORLD WAR: 1915: IX. Naval operations: a.

1915 (January - November). — Negotiations with Greece regarding her entrance into the World War as an ally. See GREECE: 1915 (January-February); (February-June); (June-November).

1915 (February).—Sir Edward Grey's reply to American protest regarding the treatment of neutral ships. See WORLD WAR: 1915: XI. Politics and diplomacy: a, 1.

1915 (February-March).—United States note regarding mines in neutral waters.—Protest against blockade of German commerce. See U. S. A.: 1915 (February): Germany begins submarine campaign; 1915 (March): Blockade of German commerce.

1915 (February - October). — World War: Operations around the Dardanelles.—Mesopotamia and the Balkans.—Battles of Kut-el-Amara and Ctesiphon. See WORLD WAR: 1915: VI. Turkey: a; c; V. Balkans: b, 6; c, 3, i and iii; FRANCE: 1915 (October).

1915 (April).—Treaty of London. See LONDON, TREATY OR PACT OF; ADRIATIC QUESTION: Treaty of London; ITALY: 1915: Italy declares war.

1915 (April-October).—World War: Campaigns on western front.—Battles of Ypres, Festubert, Neuve Chapelle.—Sir John French's dispatches. See WORLD WAR: 1915: II. Western front: a, 4; a, 7; b; c; c, 13; e; i; j, 1 and 3.

1915 (May).—Sinking of the Lusitania.—Investigation. See WORLD WAR: 1915: XI. Politics and diplomacy: c; LUSITANIA CASE; U. S. A.: 1915 (March-May).

1915 (Oct. 21).—New recruiting scheme.—Lord Derby, having assumed direction of recruiting on the invitation of the war office inaugurated "the last effort on behalf of voluntary service," by a personal canvass throughout the country of every man between the ages of eighteen and forty, excluding only a certain number whose present employments were of greater use than their services as soldiers (chiefly munition workers). Divided into forty-six groups, the unmarried men according to their ages, formed the first twenty-three groups to be enlisted and married men thereafter twenty-three more groups; the latter were to be called when the unmarried groups were exhausted. Men who were induced to enlist would not necessarily be required all at once, and a great boom in recruiting made it appear probable for a time that compulsory service would be avoided. This hope faded toward the close of the year. December 12 was the last day of the scheme, upon the expiration of which enlistment for immediate service was the only course left open. But the number of unmarried men who were not attested was then figured at 650,000 and compulsion was deemed necessary.

1916.—Declaration of London in regard to naval warfare. See WORLD WAR: 1916: XII. Political conditions in belligerent countries: c.

1916.—Commercial blacklist.—Correspondence with United States relative to it. See BLACKLIST, COMMERCIAL: British; U. S. A.: 1916 (October): Correspondence with Great Britain.

1916.—Legislation reducing hours of labor.—Social insurance.—Old age pensions, etc. See LABOR LEGISLATION: 1901-1918; SOCIAL INSURANCE: Details for various countries; Great Britain: 1916-1920.

1916.—Migratory Bird Treaty with United States. See TREATIES: Making and termination of: Treaty-making power.

1916.—Relations with Arabia.—Her part in the World War. See ARABIA: 1916 (June).

1916.—World War: Campaigns in East Africa. See WORLD WAR: 1916: VII. African theater: a.

1916.—World War: Naval operations.—Battle of Jutland. See WORLD WAR: 1916: IX. Naval operations: a.

1916.—World War: Campaigns in Balkans, Mesopotamia and Egypt. See WORLD WAR: 1916: V. Balkan theater: b, 1 and 2; VI. Turkish theater: a; a, 1, iii; b; b, 2, i; c, 2, vii; c, 3.

1916.—World War: Summary of campaigns on western front.—Battle of Somme.—Haig's dispatch. See WORLD WAR: 1916: II. Western front: a; c; d, 1 and 2.

1916.—Appam Case. See APPAM; U. S. A.: 1916 (February-October); WORLD WAR: 1916: IX. Naval operations: c.

1916 (January).—Conference of the labor party.—On January 25, a conference of the Labor party was held at Bristol. "While the conference of delegates representing more than 2,000,000 British trade unionists . . . was not, strictly speaking, a socialist gathering, it faithfully reflected the sentiment of the British labor socialist movement when it adopted two resolutions of a highly patriotic nature. The first, pledging the conference to assist the government as far as possible to carry the war to a victorious conclusion, was carried by a vote of 1,502,000 against 602,000. The second entirely approved the action of the parliamentary labor party in cooperating with other parties in the recruiting campaign by 1,847,000 against 206,000."—*New York Times Current History*, v. 6, p. 1068.

1916 (April).—Insurrection in Ireland.—Events leading up to it.—Sir Roger Casement's affair.—Suppression of revolt and executions. See IRELAND: 1913-1916; 1916 (April); (May-July); (June-August).

1916 (May).—Sykes-Picot agreement. See SYRIA: 1908-1921.

1916 (June 5).—Death of Lord Kitchener.—Lord Kitchener, while on a mission to Russia, was drowned on board H.M.S. Hampshire, which struck a drifting mine off the Shetland Isles. Lloyd George passed from the ministry of munitions to the war office, July 6, with Lord Derby as under-secretary.

1916 (June).—Allied Economic Conference at Paris. See WORLD WAR: 1916: XII. Political conditions in the belligerent countries: a; TARIFF: 1916.

1916 (September).—Agreement with France to withdraw troops from Syria and Cilicia. See SYRIA: 1908-1921.

1916 (December).—President Wilson's peace note.—German proposal for peace conference. See U. S. A.: 1916 (December); WORLD WAR: 1916: XI. Peace proposals: b, 2 and 3.

1916 (December).—Ministerial crisis.—Ascendancy of Lloyd George.—Reconstruction of ministry and the war cabinet.—Criticism of the government was rife in the later part of 1916. The country was war weary and captiously critical of the conduct of the war. There was much popular discontent, and this was made the occasion of a newspaper attack upon the cabinet, which had now grown to the number of twenty-three, rather an unwieldy size for the rapid decisions required for action in the great struggle. "The difficulties involved in the attempt to conduct war upon a scale of magnitude unprecedented in history by means of a cabinet of the old type, consisting of twenty-odd political leaders, whose time was divided between departmental, parliamentary and cabinet business, soon began to attract public attention. A number of committees were formed within the cabinet but these by no means solved the problem. The lead in 'educating' public opinion to a realization of the inadequacies of the existing system, and the need of more effective control of policy and co-ordination of administration was taken by the Northcliffe press. As early as September 1915, the Times urged the formation of a small War Cabinet."—P. L. Schuyler, *British war cabinet* (*Political Science Quarterly*, v. 33, no. 3, p. 380).—In an attack upon the government "the London 'Daily Mail,' one of Lord Northcliffe's papers, . . . [had] described the Government as consisting of 'twenty-three men who can never make up their minds.' . . . [An editorial in the London 'Daily Mail' charged that] 'the country, despite the fact that it knows very little of the truth, is exasperated [by the record of the cabinet]. In every direction it is the same. But exasperation is not enough. The waste of time, which means waste of life and all that is dearest to us, can only be ended if the nation ends this "Government." . . . Mr. Lloyd George alone shows foresight and courage. We, the nation, look to him to end this tragedy, for it is a tragedy that these appalling blunders should be in control of our affairs at this time.'"—*New York Times Current History*, v. 5, Jan., 1917, p. 618.—"For some time . . . the Cabinet had discussed the possibility of the formation of a smaller War Council. On November 18 [1916] Mr. Bonar Law had proposed that this Council should consist of himself, Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Lloyd George—a scheme which was rejected by Mr. Asquith. A week later Mr. Bonar Law had suggested, as an alternative, that a small body of Cabinet Ministers, of which Mr. Asquith should be President, and Mr. Lloyd George Acting Chairman and President in Mr. Asquith's absence, should sit daily in consultation with their naval, military, and other experts, and concern themselves entirely with the conduct of the war. It would seem that Mr. Asquith rejected this scheme also, and further, that it did not commend itself to Mr. Bonar Law's Unionist colleagues, who suggested that two councils should be formed, one charged with naval and military, and the other with civilian administration. Thus, by the end of November the whole question of the reconstruction of the War Council was still undecided."—W. Roch, *Mr. Lloyd George and the war*, pp. 170, 171.—"On December 1, 1916, Mr. Lloyd George finally touched off the fuse to the bomb that was to wreck Mr. Asquith's coalition government. The conduct of the war was at that time entrusted to a 'War Committee' of the cabinet, consisting of Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Balfour, Mr. McKenna, Lord Curzon and Mr. Montagu. It appears, however, that this

committee had expanded, reckoning in its official advisers and regular ministerial visitors, into a body almost as unwieldy as the full cabinet. 'We have in fact almost reached the position,' remarked the *Times*, 'of seeing two cabinets sitting side by side and taking a hand in the war.' Lloyd George notified the prime minister that he could not remain in the government unless radical changes were made in the conduct of the war, and proposed that the War Committee should be limited to four members. His slate, moreover, did not include Mr. Asquith."—*Political Science Quarterly*, v. 33, no. 3, p. 381.—"Mr. Asquith remaining decided not to adopt their proposals, Lloyd George and Bonar Law resigned, as did the other Unionist Ministers. Mr. Asquith then held a meeting of the Liberal Ministers, and with their approval tendered his resignation to the King and advised that Bonar Law be commissioned to form a new Administration. At this stage King George took the unusual step of intervening by calling a conference of party leaders. Mr. Asquith and Lloyd George of the Liberals, Bonar Law and Mr. Balfour of the Unionists, and Mr. Henderson of the Labor Party were summoned to Buckingham Palace, where, it is said, the King tried to arrange a reconciliation. After the conference Bonar Law saw the King alone and declined to undertake the formation of a new Ministry. The King then sent for Lloyd George, and the same night . . . it was officially announced that he, with the co-operation of Bonar Law, had undertaken to form a new Government. Lloyd George's task was no easy one. He had no definite party following of his own; . . . the Labor Party was hostile, while the Irish Nationalists were against every Government that was not pledged to home rule. Only the Unionists, a minority of the whole House, could be depended upon. Nevertheless, the former War Secretary sat to work."—*New York Times Current History*, v. 5, Jan., 1917, p. 620.—"It is probable that when Mr. Asquith resigned he felt that he would nevertheless be . . . asked to form an Administration. He possessed a majority in the House of Commons. He had received friendly assurances from his Unionist colleagues. . . . He had added to his difficulties by his loyal support of Mr. Balfour. And yet, so strange are the inner workings of politics, so curious the psychology of politicians, that it was Mr. Balfour . . . who made possible the formation of Mr. Lloyd George's Government. On December 6 the King summoned a conference . . . and as a result of this conference Mr. Lloyd George undertook to endeavor to form an Administration, with the co-operation of Mr. Bonar Law. The support of the Labour Party was easily secured. A few vague promises with regard to the nationalisation of shipping and of mines, a few offices placed at their disposal, an appeal to patriotism, and the thing was done. With the exception of a few of Mr. Asquith's old colleagues, . . . most of the Liberals felt that the King's Government had to be carried on and were ready to help in any capacity. The Unionists presented a more difficult problem. For while a large section of the Unionist party were with Mr. Lloyd George, heart and soul, many of the Unionist members of the Cabinet were not pleased with Mr. Lloyd George's treatment of Mr. Asquith, . . . in addition to which, they had grave doubts of the stability of any Government he might form. However, on the way back from the Conference at Buckingham Palace Mr. Bonar Law . . . induced Mr. Balfour to serve as Foreign Secretary in Mr. Lloyd George's new Administration. This was decisive, for loyalty to Mr. Balfour

retained the services of Lord Robert Cecil. And every Unionist who was wanted was ready to rush in where both Mr. Balfour and Lord Robert Cecil were not unwilling to tread. On December 11 Mr. Lloyd George's Government was announced as follows: The War Cabinet: Mr. D. Lloyd George, Prime Minister; Lord Curzon, Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Lords; Mr. Henderson, Without portfolio; Lord Milner, Without portfolio. Mr. Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who . . . [was] asked by the Prime Minister to act as leader of the House of Commons, . . . [was] also a member, . . . [although not] expected to attend regularly. . . . [In this ministry] Mr. Balfour was Foreign Secretary, and Sir Edward Carson, First Lord of the Admiralty."—W. Roch, *Mr. Lloyd George and the war*, pp. 183, 184.—See also CABINET: English: War cabinets.

ALSO IN: *Lloyd George's task* (*Fortnightly Review*, Jan., 1917).—*New government* (*Fortnightly Review*, Jan., 1917).—*Lloyd George* (*Yale Review*, July, 1917).—W. L. Grant, *Prime minister of Great Britain* (*Queen's Quarterly*, Oct., 1920, p. 138).

1916-1917.—Compulsory Military Service Acts.—Man power distribution board appointed.—Following close upon Lord Derby's voluntary recruiting campaign, the country was in a turmoil over the question of general compulsory service. The cabinet felt that its first duty was the redemption of Mr. Asquith's pledge that married men who volunteered should not be called until after all unmarried men. The only dissenting voice was that of Sir John Simon, home secretary, who resigned January 1. "A bill was introduced in the House of Commons on January 5, 1916, providing that unmarried men and widowers without children between the ages of 19 and 41 (with certain exemptions) should be deemed to have enlisted in His Majesty's forces." This was read a first time by a vote of 403 to 105; passed second reading on January 12, by a vote of 431 to 39; and after a brief committee stage passed a third reading on January 24, by a vote of 383 to 36. Two days later the bill passed the House of Lords; it received the Royal assent on January 27 and came into operation on February 10, 1916. The administration of the military service law involved the creation of a new series of governmental agencies to pass on claims for exemption. Local tribunals of 5 to 25 persons were provided in every local registration district; and from the decisions of these any person could appeal to one of the appeal tribunals, from which on leave of the appeal tribunal a further appeal could be taken to the central tribunal for Great Britain. By proclamation of February 10, the classes of unmarried men between the ages of 19 and 30 were summoned for March 2; further proclamations called up the remaining groups of unmarried men; on March 7, the attested married men between the ages of 19 and 26 were called; and later the remaining classes, those between the ages of 33 and 41, on April 27. On May 2, it was announced that the total military and naval effort exceeded five million men. A second military service act was passed in May, including all unattested men between the ages of 18 and 41, unless within the excepted classes, in those enlisted in the armed forces. This act also modified the grounds for exemption, and provided for the prolongation of expiring terms of service, and for the medical examination. The bill for this act passed second reading in the House of Commons by a vote of 328 to 36, and third reading by a vote of 250

to 35. This act closed some of the means of escape from military service; but criticisms continued to be made of the system of local tribunals and the provisions for exemptions, exceptions and reservations. Conflicts between different government departments led, toward the end of September, to the appointment of a Man power distribution board to determine such questions as the allocation or economic utilization of man power, and to direct the departments concerned to create the machinery necessary to coordinate their activities. Provisions for reopening the cases of men who had been excepted under earlier military service acts were made in the Military Services (Review of Exceptions) Act, 1917. A committee on the employment of conscientious objectors was established to arrange for the most effective use of this class of those excused from military service."—J. A. Fairlie, *British war administration*, pp. 87-88.—See also MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 32; WORLD WAR: 1916: XII. Political conditions in belligerent countries: d.

1916-1920.—Unemployment. See SOCIAL INSURANCE: Details for various countries: Great Britain: 1916-1920.

1917.—National service registration.—Recruiting for all essential war services, including military service, placed in the national service ministry.—On February 6, Mr. Neville Chamberlain opened a campaign for voluntary enlistment of labor to replace men who could be called to fight. Men between the ages of eighteen and sixty were urged to enlist, if they were not already engaged in work of national importance. Wages were to be paid at the standard rate with a minimum of twenty-five shillings a week. They would have to go wherever the director-general (Neville Chamberlain) might send them, but they would not be transferred to any occupation other than that for which they had enlisted. "On March 28, 1917, an act for establishing the Ministry of National Service and the purposes incidental thereto became law. This provided for a Minister of National Service under the title of Director General. . . . 'It is further provided that no Order in Council or regulation should authorize the compulsory employment or transfer of any person in or to any industry, occupation or service, or should impose any penalty for any breach of a voluntary agreement made by any person with the Director General of National Service.' (7 Geo. V, ch. 6.) The first plan of the new department was to call for volunteers to go wherever they were assigned. As this received only a slight response, conferences with employers and employes were begun to find out what men various firms could spare and to arrange for their transfer to the essential war work by the substitution offices of the department. The duplication of this work with that of the employment exchanges formerly connected with the Board of Trade and now in the new Ministry of Labor seems evident. Enrollment and transfer were to be purely voluntary. . . . In April the plan of the new department was called a 'fiasco,' and it was said that only a few hundred placements had actually been made. . . . A special report of the Select Committee on the Military Service (Review of Exceptions) Act, made on August 2, 1917, had recommended the transfer of the recruiting medical boards and of medical examinations for the military service to civilian control, and for the reexamination of the men waiting to be called up for military service. This recommendation was carried out, and much more, by the transfer of the whole work of recruiting for the military

service to the Ministry of National Service in the latter part of 1917—a step which added much to the importance of the work of this department.”—F. A. Fairlie, *British war administration*, pp. 253-255.—See also WORLD WAR: 1917: XII. Political conditions in belligerent countries; c.

1917.—Imperial war conference. See BRITISH EMPIRE: Colonial and imperial conferences: 1917.

1917.—Labor party and the Stockholm conference.—“The invitation of the Russian Council of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies to attend a peace conference at Stockholm was accepted by the socialists . . . of Great Britain (August 10). . . . The government of Great Britain, through Sir Robert Cecil, denied permission to delegates of the Independent Labor Party to confer with fellow socialists in Petrograd, allowing them, however, to talk en route with other delegates from friendly countries. But the Sailors’ and Firemen’s Union of Great Britain, through Havelock Wilson, president, refused to have its members serve on any ship carrying the delegates, taking the position that there should be ‘no peace maneuvers until Germany had made the fullest restitution for the wholesale massacre of Allied sailors at sea.’ The delegation therefore remained at home.”—H. W. Laidler, *Socialism in thought and action*, p. 287-288.

1917.—Hospital ships torpedoed by Germans. See WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: X. Alleged atrocities, etc.: e.

1917.—Name of royal family changed from Saxe-Coburg to Windsor. See WINDSOR, HOUSE OF.

1917.—War mission to United States. See U. S. A.: 1917 (April-May).

1917.—Attitude of the people toward the World War. See WORLD WAR: 1917: I. Summary: a.

1917.—World War: Campaigns in Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt, and East Africa.—Recapture of Kut-el-Amara.—Bagdad. See WORLD WAR: 1917: I. Summary: b; V. Balkan theater: e; VI. Turkish theater: a, 1; a, 1, iii and iv; a, 2; b; c; c, 1, ii; c, 2; c, 2, viii; c, 3; VII. East African campaign: a.

1917.—World War: Campaigns on western front.—Battles of Arras, Cambrai, Ypres. See WORLD WAR: 1917: I. Summary: b, 2; b, 11; II. Western front: a, 1; c; d; g.

1917 (August).—Pope Benedict’s note asking for the termination of war. See WORLD WAR: 1917: XI. Efforts toward peace: g.

1917 (November).—Rapallo conference. See WORLD WAR: 1917: IV. Austro-Italian front: d, 5.

1917-1918.—Continued industrial discontent.—“The tide of industrial discontent continued the rise which had begun in 1916. The following statistics show most clearly the extent of the increase in labor difficulties.

Period covered	Number of industrial disputes	Number of work people involved
Last 6 months, 1914.....	151	24,970
Year of 1915.....	706	452,571
Year of 1916.....	581	284,306
Year of 1917.....	688	820,727
First 6 months, 1918.....	567	312,750

“In the engineering and shipbuilding trades, complaints over pay, leaving certificates, dilution, failure on the part of employers to keep the records of changes in working rules, etc., have been almost continuous and have at times led to disputes of serious proportions. Open defiance of

the government, showing itself in the form of called strikes, has perhaps been infrequent, but voluntary cessation of work and other methods of showing dissatisfaction by curtailing production have been resorted to. In May, 1917, the dissatisfaction in the engineering trades came to a head. Employers were substituting piece work schedules for time schedules and the new rates of remuneration proved unsatisfactory. New machinery was being introduced and laborers were beginning to suspect that it would be impossible ever to carry out the pledges which had been made by employers under Schedule 2 of the Munitions Acts to restore the pre-war conditions. Two new subjects of complaint arose about this time: (1) The Government found it necessary to withdraw the exemption card agreement which it had made with the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and which permitted all skilled men of that organization engaged on war work or enrolled as war munitions volunteers, who held exemption cards issued by the society, to escape military service. This withdrawal created great dissatisfaction, although, outside the engineering trades, this singling out of the Amalgamated Society for special privileges had produced dissatisfaction in other unions. (2) The Munitions of War (Amendment) Bill which had been introduced into the House of Commons authorized the dilution of labor on private work. The government had promised in 1915, when the Munitions of War Bill was being prepared, that it would not extend dilution to private work. The need of men for military service was now so great that it asked to be relieved of its promise. Many unions gave their consent, but the Amalgamated Society of Engineers would not do so. When the bill was brought up in the House of Commons, the engineers began to remain away from work and a silent strike was being carried on which by the middle of May was causing great embarrassment to the government. Steps were taken to conciliate the engineers and to make evident to them the need for a change in the government’s policy. Certain concessions were offered to them in return for their support. . . . These proposals were not, however, acceptable to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and they would not agree to dilution on private work. Consequently, when Mr. Winston Churchill became Minister of Munitions, after some further efforts to reach an agreement with the unions, it was decided to omit this part of the scheme from the amendment to the Munitions Acts. Outside the engineering and shipbuilding trades, the strikes of 1916 and 1917 have not been of a very serious character. . . . Threats of a strike on the railways of the United Kingdom led the government to extend Part I of the Munitions Act, 1915, which pertains to the settlement of industrial disputes, to the railways on August 8, 1917. For the first four months of 1918 the strikes have been numerous, but can not be said to have been very serious or of long duration. They show, however, a disposition on the part of the men to take advantage of the war needs to demand changes favorable to labor, and the needs of employers and the government are such that concessions are usually made. The rising tide of industrial discontent among the laboring classes, as evidenced by the strike statistics which we have given, did not fail to impress the government officials responsible for the conduct of the war. Desiring to proceed in an intelligent manner to quell this discontent, the government decided in June, 1917, to appoint commissions of inquiry to investigate the causes of industrial unrest and to

make recommendations to the government in regard thereto. . . . The government commissions appointed on June 12, 1917, by the Prime minister, 'to inquire into a report upon industrial unrest and to make recommendations to the government at the earliest practicable date,' were eight in number, each covering a distinct geographical section of Great Britain. There were three members of each commission. They started at work almost immediately and worked with such speed that their reports had been received and advance copies placed in the hands of the Prime minister by July 17. The shortness of the time consumed may have made the inquiry less thorough than would be thought necessary in times of peace, but there is nothing to indicate that different conclusions would have resulted from a more lengthy investigation. Each commission held from ten to thirty meetings and examined from 100 to 200 witnesses, representing employers, trade unions and other interests concerned, and considered statements in writing submitted by interested parties."—M. B. Hammond, *British labor conditions and legislation during the War*, pp. 235, 238-240, 243-244.—"In order that the principal points of agreement and differences between the eight reports may be readily seen I submit the following brief summary of the commissioners' findings and recommendations: (1) High food prices in relation to wages, and unequal distribution of food. (2) Restriction of personal freedom and, in particular, the effects of the Munitions of War Acts. Workmen have been tied up to particular factories and have been unable to obtain wages in relation to their skill. In many cases the skilled man's wage is less than the wage of the unskilled. Too much centralization in London is reported. (3) Lack of confidence in the Government.—This is due to the surrender of trade-union customs and the feeling that promises as regards their restoration will not be kept. It has been emphasized by the omission to record changes of working conditions under Schedule II, article 7 of the Munitions of War Act. (4) Delay in settlement of disputes.—In some instances ten weeks have elapsed without a settlement, and after a strike has taken place, the matter has been put right within a few days. (5) Operation of the Military Service Acts. (6) Lack of housing in certain areas. (7) Restrictions on liquor. This is marked in some areas. (8) Industrial fatigue. (9) Lack of proper organization among the unions. (10) Lack of communal sense.—This is noticeable in southern Wales, where there has been a break-away from faith in parliamentary representation. (11) Inconsiderate treatment of women, whose wages are sometimes as low as 13s. (\$3.16). (12) Delay in granting pensions to soldiers, especially those in Class "W" Reserve. (13) Raising of the limit of income tax exemption. (14) The Workmen's Compensation Act.—The maximum of £1 (\$4.87) weekly is now inadequate."—G. N. Barnes, *Summary of the reports (U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, no. 237, Oct., 1917, p. 10)*.—See also LABOR LEGISLATION: 1909-1918; LABOR ORGANIZATION: 1919; British labor movement; LABOR PARTIES: 1868-1919.

1917-1918.—Sinn Fein agitation.—Attitude toward Ireland and home rule. See IRELAND: 1917; 1917-1918.

1917-1919.—Occupation of the Caucasus. See CAUCASUS: 1917-1919.

1917-1921.—Reeducation of disabled soldiers. See EDUCATION: Modern developments; 20th century; World War and education; Re-education.

1918.—Scientific conference. See INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

1918.—World War: Naval operations.—Surrender of German High Seas fleet. See WORLD WAR: 1918: IX. Naval operations: a; h.

1918.—World War: Operations on the western front.—General Haig's reports on battles of Picardy, St. Quentin, Lys, Cantigny, Marne, Amiens, Aisne, Cambrai, Meuse-Argonne and Sambre. See WORLD WAR: 1918: II. Western front.

1918.—World War: Campaigns in the Balkans.—Bulgaria.—Battle of Macedonia. See WORLD WAR: 1918: V. Balkan theater: a; c; c, 4; c, 7; c, 8, i; c, 8, iii.

1918.—World War: Campaign in Mesopotamia, Palestine and East Africa.—Baku.—Allenby. See WORLD WAR: 1918: VI. Turkish theater: a; a, 5; a, 8; b, 9; c; c, 11; c, 25; VII. East African theater: a.

1918.—Aid of India during World War. See INDIA: 1914-1918.

1918.—Representation of the People Act.—Limited proportional representation.—Extension of the franchise to women.—"Conscientious objectors" disqualified.—Election of women to House of Commons.—"In the evening of Wednesday, February 6th, the royal assent was given to the Representation of the People Act, 1918, after the Bill had undergone a process of battledore and shuttlecock between the two Houses of Parliament probably unprecedented in the history of this country. The Commons had sent the Bill up to the Lords on December 7th, 1917, and the Upper House having devoted seventeen days to its consideration returned it on January 30th, 1918, with eighty-seven pages of amendments. Amongst these amendments was a proposal to substitute for the old system of single-member constituencies, each electing one member, a new system of large constituencies returning several members by the method of the single transferable vote. This system, known as Proportional Representation, had been rejected in the House of Commons by large majorities on three occasions, and thus the introduction of it by the Lords threatened to raise a serious conflict. The consideration of the Lords' amendments occupied the House of Commons from January 30th until Friday, February 1st, and the Commons, by a vote of 225 to 115, once more refused Proportional Representation. It was necessary for financial reasons to bring the Session to a close within the next few days, and the House of Lords therefore met on the following Monday and amended their first proposal by limiting the application of Proportional Representation to Parliamentary boroughs returning three or more members. This amendment came to the Commons on Tuesday, and was again rejected by 240 votes to 143. The Bill was returned to the Lords, who met at half-past two on Wednesday, and, being still obdurate in their attitude, they inserted in the Bill a new clause to the effect that Commissioners should be appointed to prepare a scheme under which about one hundred members are to be elected on the principle of Proportional Representation in certain town and country areas which are to be combined into single constituencies returning from three to seven members. This scheme is to require the approval of both Houses of Parliament before becoming effective. To this proposal Lord Curzon consented on behalf of the Government, and accordingly, when the Bill came down to the Commons at 5 p.m. on the same day, the Home Secretary

moved to agree with the Lords' amendment, and, as the Government Whips were put on, the amendment was accepted by 226 votes to 116. Thus, all outstanding differences between the two Houses having been disposed of, the Bill was submitted to the King and received the Royal Assent by Commission at eight o'clock in the same evening."—W. H. Dickinson, *Greatest reform act (Contemporary Review, Mar., 1918, pp. 241-242)*.

"The Act deals, among other topics, with the qualifications of electors; with the registration of electors and with the distribution of seats. It deals also with the method of voting. . . . As regards the qualification of electors, the scope of the present Act is infinitely wider than that of its predecessors. Instead of the seven alternative franchises which have hitherto existed, three only will in future be valid: of these by far the most important is *residence*; a second is the occupation of business premises; the third is the possession of a degree or, in the case of women, its equivalent, at a University. The ownership vote disappears, and with it, except in severely restricted form, plural voting. Henceforward a man may have at most two votes—one for his residence, and a second either for a constituency in which he carries on his business or for a University. The University franchise is widely extended, virtually to all who have taken the first degree, but in the case of the Universities returning two members, each elector will be entitled to give only one vote. This 'restricted' University vote is the only provision at present in the Act for the protection of minorities. (Logical and reasonable as part of a larger scheme for proportional representation, its survival will serve only to recall the peculiar genesis of the Bill.) University representation is allowed to continue, but only on condition that the conservatism of the old universities is not permitted to affect the balance of parties. By far the most striking innovation in the Bill remains to be noticed. For the first time the franchise is to be exercised by women as well as men; but the basis of qualification for the two sexes differs widely. A woman will be entitled to vote only if she is thirty years of age [and over] and is qualified as a 'local government elector'; in other words, is a ratepayer or the occupant of unfurnished lodgings; or is the wife of a man so qualified. Other clauses provide for the registration of 'absent voters' and for the casting of their votes either by post or by proxy. These provisions, cordially welcomed in the circumstances of the hour, will enable sailors, soldiers, and others engaged on work of national importance abroad or afloat to record their votes. In all, some 8,000,000 electors will, it is estimated, be added to the roll. The enfranchisement is, therefore, on a scale four times as large as that of 1834, eight times that of 1867, and more than sixteen times that of 1832. It should be added that one disqualification, that arising from the receipt of poor relief, is partially removed by the Bill, and one disqualification is imposed. There was a general—though not a universal—consensus of opinion that the men who have declined on grounds of conscience to take part in the defence of the country, should not now, nor in the immediate future, be allowed to have any share in the control of its government. As ultimately adopted the provision for the exclusion of conscientious objectors was, however, rigidly curtailed both as regards scope and duration. In effect it will apply only to the unworthy or the contumacious.

"The period of qualification is . . . reduced to

six months; the register will, therefore, have to be made up twice instead of once a year, . . . half the expenses . . . [to] be paid by the State, half out of local rates. . . . All polls are, at a General Election, . . . held on the same day, but the declaration of the poll . . . [may] be deferred by the provisions for taking the votes of absent voters. . . . The standard unit of population for each member . . . [was] taken at 70,000 in Great Britain, [and in Ireland at] 43,000. Forty-four old boroughs, including historic cities like Canterbury, Winchester and Chester, are extinguished, but boroughs with 50,000 or more inhabitants retain their separate representation, and the boroughs as a whole gain, on the balance, 36 members; the Universities, thanks to the enfranchisement of the new Universities, gain 6; and the counties lose 5. Thus the membership of the House is, unfortunately, increased by no less than 37 members: a serious addition to a House which is already unduly large. The numbers have, however, been decreased by the withdrawal of Irish members consequent on the arrangement by which Ireland became a dominion under the name of the Irish Free State."—J. A. R. Marriott, *New electorate and the new legislature (Fortnightly Review, Mar. 1, 1918, pp. 339, 340)*.

1918.—Election of women to House of Commons.—"Legislation supplementary to the British Representation of the People Act approved February 6, 1918, has lately made women eligible to sit in the house of commons. No sooner was the former measure, which enfranchised six million women, on the statute book than the question arose whether its effect was to make women eligible for election. The law officers of the crown held that no such right was conferred. Prospective women candidates, however, were not deterred; and the Labor party at once pronounced in favor of a bill to secure the desired object. The house of commons committed itself to the proposition October 23, when, by a vote of 274 to twenty-five, it declared it desirable that such a bill be passed forthwith. Opposition was half-hearted. . . . Such serious discussion as took place centered around the question of amending the bill so as to admit women to the various professions from which they are at present excluded. In the house of lords it was proposed that the measure be amended to enable peeresses in their own right to sit and vote in the second chamber; but the view prevailed that this subject should be left for separate legislation, and on November 15 the bill as it came from the house of commons was carried through the final stages. At the elections in December one woman was elected a member of the house of commons."—F. A. Ogg, *Women members of Parliament (American Political Science Review, Feb., 1919)*.—It was on December 1, 1910, that Lady Astor, having won the by-election at Plymouth, by a majority of 2,064 over her Labor and Liberal opponents, took her seat in the House of Commons. The first woman to be elected to Parliament, however, was the Countess Markiewicz, Sinn Féin, but she never took her seat.—See also SUFFRAGE, WOMAN: ENGLAND: 1006-1014; 1016-1018.

Also in: C. Seymour and D. P. Frary, *How the world votes, v. 1, pp. 173-180*.

1918.—Allied intervention in Siberia.—Operations against the Bolsheviki. See WORLD WAR: 1018: III. Russia: c; d; e; f; also SIBERIA: 1017-1010.

1918.—Speeches of Lloyd George and Lord Robert Cecil in regard to the war aims of the

Allies. See **WORLD WAR: 1918: X. Statement of war aims: a; j.**

1918.—Cost of the World War.—Casualties.—Contributions for war relief. See **WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: XIV. Cost of war: a; b, 3; b, 8, ii.**

1918.—Interallied labor conference.—Trade Boards Bill. See **LABOR PARTIES: 1868-1919; LABOR LEGISLATION: 1909-1918.**

1918.—New balance of powers.—One of the Great Powers. See **EUROPE: Modern period: New balance of powers.**

1918 (June).—Reorganization of the Labor party.—Its aims.—"The British Labor Party transformed itself during the first half of 1918. A federation of trade unions, trade councils and socialist societies, it became a national party of workers 'by hand or by brain.' Its many streams gathered into a watercourse. The passage of the Representation of the People Act, adding eight or more million voters to the electorate, made it necessary for the political labor movement to widen its course to take in these new affluents, or be swamped by the very suffrage reform it had helped bring into flood. Moreover, labor was forewarned by its leaders that the approach of reconstruction called for far-reaching engineering by the people themselves, if the post-bellum watersheds of existence were not to be controlled by the propertied interests through their hold on the old parties. . . . So, in six months' time came the reorganization of the British Labor Party, the breaking of the truce with the government and the formulation of its radical domestic platform. . . . By the new constitution adopted at a special conference in late February, provision was made for the first time for individual membership in the party, and special facilities were given to women electors to join. A local labor party was called for in each Parliamentary constituency, with separate sections for men and women. Hitherto, there had been less than 100 such locals. The National Executive was enlarged from sixteen members to twenty-two, thirteen to be chosen from the trade unions and other societies, five from the local organizations, and four from women. The 'objects' of the party (hitherto defined simply as 'to organize and maintain in Parliament and the country a political labor party') were expanded to include the promotion of the interests of all producers without distinction of class or occupation. These objects were set out under three headings—'National,' 'Inter-Dominion' and 'International.'"—P. U. Kellogg and A. Gleason, *British labor and the War*, pp. 105-106.

"The practice of empirical politics, the effort to secure this or that specific reform, will not suffice; Labour lays down its carefully thought-out, comprehensive plan for the reconstruction of society, which will guarantee freedom, security, and equality. We propose, as a first step, a series of national minima to protect the people's standard of life. For the workers of all grades and both sexes we demand and mean to secure proper legislative provision against unemployment, accident, and industrial disease, a reasonable amount of leisure, a minimum rate of wages. We shall insist upon a large and practicable scheme to protect the whole wage-earning class against the danger of unemployment and reduction of wages, with a consequent degradation of the standard of life, when the war ends and the forces are demobilised and the munitions factories cease work. The task of finding employment for disbanded fighting men and discharged munitions workers

we regard as a national obligation; we shall see to it that work is found for all, that the work is productive and socially useful, and that standard rates of wages shall be paid for this work. In the reorganisation of industry after the war, the Labour Party will claim for the workers an increasing share in the management and control of the factories and workshops. What the workers want is freedom, a definite elevation of their status, the abolition of the system of wage-slavery which destroyed their independence and made freedom in any real sense impossible. We believe that the path to the democratic control of industry lies in the common ownership of the means of production; and we shall strenuously resist every proposal to hand back to private capitalists the great industries and services that have come under Government control during the war. This control has been extended to the importation and distribution of many necessary commodities—many of the staple foods of the people and some of the raw materials of industry. More than the great key industries and vital services have come under control; and we do not mean to loosen the popular grip upon them, but on the contrary to strengthen it. In the field of national finance the Labour Party stands for a system of taxation regulated not by the interests of the possessing and profiteering classes, but by the claims of the professional housekeeping classes, whose interests are identical with those of the manual workers. We believe that indirect taxation upon commodities should not fall upon any necessity of life, but should be limited to luxuries, especially and principally those which it is socially desirable to extinguish. Direct taxation, we hold, upon large incomes and private fortunes is the method by which the greater part of the necessary revenue should be raised; we advocate the retention in some appropriate form of the excess profits tax; and we shall oppose every attempt to place upon the shoulders of the producing classes, the professional classes, and the small traders, the main financial burden of the war. We seek to prevent, by methods of common ownership and of taxation, the accumulation of great fortunes in private hands. Instead of senseless individual extravagances we desire to see the wealth of the nation expended for social purposes—for the constant improvement and increase of the nation's enterprises, to make provision for the sick, the aged, and the infirm, to establish a genuine national system of education, to provide the means of public improvements in all directions by which the happiness and health of the people will be ensured."—A. Henderson, *Aims of labour*, pp. 23-25.

1918 (August).—Interallied conference on enemy propaganda.—English secret service. See **WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: III. Press reports and censorship: d, 2; II. Espionage: a, 1.**

1918 (September).—Peace proposals of Austria-Hungary. See **WORLD WAR: 1918: X. Statement of war aims: k.**

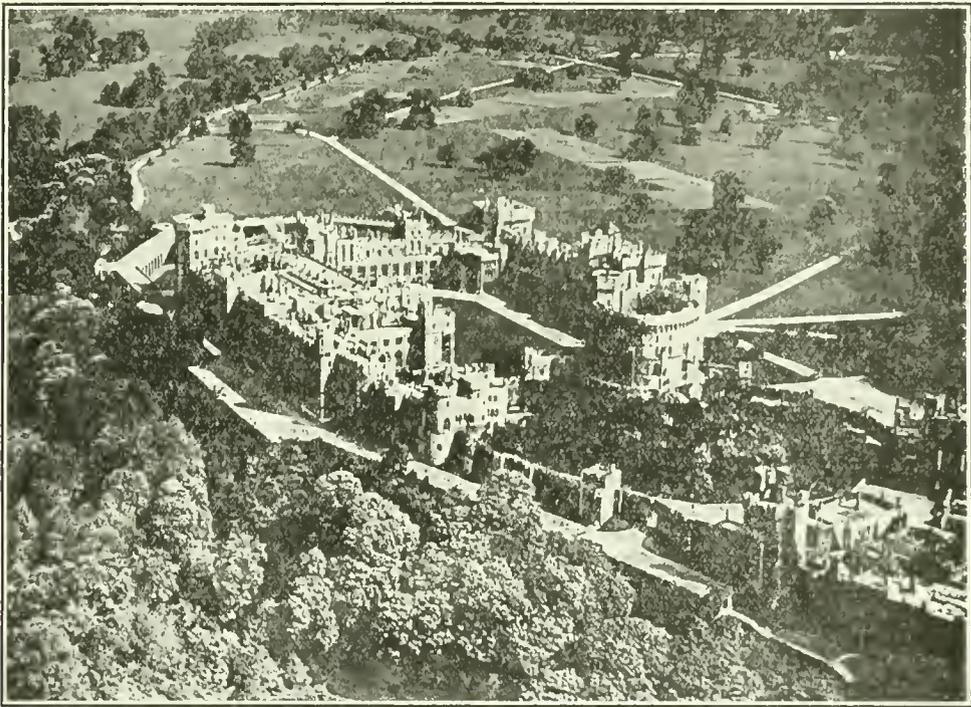
1918 (September-October).—Armistices with Bulgaria and Turkey. See **WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous and auxiliary services: I. Armistices: c; d.**

1918 (November).—Conclusion of the armistice with Germany and Austria-Hungary. See **WORLD WAR: 1918: XI. End of the war: a; e; Miscellaneous and auxiliary services: I. Armistices: e; f.**

1918 (December).—Elections.—Triumph of Coalitionists.—"War-time conditions joined with

a new and revolutionizing electoral law to give the British parliamentary elections of last December many novel features. The national electorate, including six million women, was twice as large as ever before; balloting, except by soldiers and other absentees, was confined to a single day; votes were allowed to be sent in by post, or to be cast by proxy; the usual party contest was replaced by a trial of strength between a coalition government which found support among practically all political elements and a number of groups whose physiognomy would hardly have been recognized by an antebellum observer. The first important question was whether there should be an election at all; that is, whether before the peace treaty was signed. The adoption of the Representation of the People Act a year ago set

of apprehension about the soldier vote, although in reality because the machinery which the party has been building up in the constituencies since its reorganization a year ago was as yet incomplete. The Coalition leaders, however, declared an early election a plain necessity. The existing Parliament dated from December, 1910, and hence had overrun the legal maximum by three years; five times since 1915 it had extended its own life. It is true that almost one-half of the members of the house of commons had been returned at by-elections since the general elections of 1910. But everyone conceded that the body had grown weary, spiritless, feeble, and unrepresentative. It was moribund, declared the premier, and lacking in authority from the broadened and altered electorate to deal with the great problems confronting



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up a presumption that Parliament would be dissolved reasonably soon. Military reverses in ensuing months discouraged any plans in that direction. But by mid-summer the situation on the various fronts was again well in hand, and thenceforward there were increasing signs that the coalition government meant to make an early appeal to the electorate for a fresh lease of power; and its purpose in the matter was definitely announced in the early autumn. The old-line Liberals, led by ex-Premier Asquith, roundly opposed the plan. They said that notwithstanding the arrangements contemplated in the new electoral law, a large proportion of the three million soldiers on foreign soil would be unable to vote. They urged, too, that no election was needed to enable Mr. Lloyd George's government to go to the peace conference with the mandate of a united people, this government had won the war, and no one disputed its right to make the peace. The Labor party also objected, avowedly because

the country. Britain's spokesmen at the peace conference must know that they had behind them a house of commons fully and freshly representative of the nation, and one which could be trusted to take up with unspent vigor the tasks of economic and social reconstruction. Non-Coalition Liberals charged that the premier was looking beyond the peace, and that what he really had in mind was a prolonged lease of power, to be obtained while the nation was disinclined to a political overturn, and to be employed in carrying out a program fashioned in collaboration with his Unionist supporters. Parliament was prorogued November 21, the dissolution following in four days. Already, on November 16, the premier and Mr. Bonar Law had opened the Coalition campaign at a meeting in Central Hall, Westminster; and soon thereafter they put their case formally before the voters in a joint manifesto. Notwithstanding their emphasis upon the imminence of the peace conference as a reason for holding an

election, the government leaders were curiously silent upon international matters until the campaign was far advanced. Of such topics [those purely British in character] seven were given principal emphasis: (1) land reform, with a view to the general increase of allotments and small holdings, the elevation of agricultural wages, the expansion of agricultural production, and especially the settlement of returned soldiers and sailors on the land; (2) housing reform, and the improvement of village life on 'large and comprehensive lines'; (3) fiscal legislation so shaped as to reduce the war debt with a minimum of injury to industry and credit, to avoid fresh taxes on food and raw materials, and to set up a preference in favor of the colonies upon existing or future duties; (4) liberation of industry as speedily as possible from government control; (5) reform of the house of lords, so as to create a second chamber 'which will be based upon direct contact with the people, and will, therefore, be representative enough adequately to perform its functions'; (6) execution of the pledge already given to 'develop responsible government in India by gradual stages'; and (7) solution of the Irish problem on the basis of self-government, but without either the severance of the island from the British Empire or the forced submission of the Protestant counties of Ulster to a Home rule parliament. . . . At Newcastle, November 29, Lloyd George declared for a 'relentlessly just' peace, the expulsion of enemy aliens, payment by Germany of the costs of the war up to the limits of her capacity, and the punishment of individuals (including the Kaiser) responsible for the war and for infractions of international law. There were plenty of evidences that the country was in a mood for social and political reform of a thoroughgoing character; but the popular attitude was rather that of assuming that such reform must and would come. The only questions on which the electorate allowed itself to be wrought up were those relating to the terms with Germany. It early became apparent that, outside of Ireland, the voters had three groups to choose from: the Coalition, the old-line Liberals, and the Laborites. Pronouncing the election 'a blunder and a calamity,' the non-coalition Liberals, led by Mr. Asquith, frankly avowed their purpose to maintain their party character. A declaration adopted by the National Liberal Federation at its Manchester meeting in October, and ratified by the Scottish Liberals' meeting at Glasgow, served as a platform. The campaign came to a close December 13 with a round of meetings almost up to pre-war standards, and on the following day the poll was taken for a total of 584 seats. One hundred and seven candidates had been returned unopposed; polling for the fifteen university seats began December 20; and in one constituency the poll had to be postponed on account of the death of a candidate. Already some four million voting papers, with a supply of envelopes and ballot boxes, had been distributed among the soldiers in the home camps and on the western front. At the close of the polling in the constituencies, December 14, the ballot boxes were sealed and deposited by the returning officers in places of security, usually the district police stations. For two weeks these officers continued to receive the ballots—duly signed and witnessed—sent in by post, and also the votes cast by proxy. The count took place December 28. No separate record was kept of the votes cast by absentees, or by any other special group of electors. But three or four facts seem fully substantiated: (1) not over 60 per cent of

the registered electors actually voted; (2) as the Liberal and Labor leaders predicted, large numbers of the soldiers overseas could not, or did not vote; (3) perhaps mainly owing to the shortness of time, the proxy system was made use of very sparingly; (4) contrary to the expectation of most preelection observers, the women cast a heavy vote. Under the circumstances comparisons with other elections are worth little. The outstanding feature of the results was the complete triumph of the Coalition. There was hardly room for doubt before the poll that the Coalition would win. But no one expected its margin of success to be so wide. Polling about five-ninths of the popular vote, it elected two-thirds of the house, having 472 seats, which means a clear majority of 240. The Asquith Liberals fared badly. The ex-premier and other leaders were defeated, and the party captured only 37 seats. Labor doubled its representation, with 65 seats. Yet this was by no means the showing that had been confidently predicted; and the three leaders, J. Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden, and Arthur Henderson, were defeated. Forty-six non-coalition Unionists were elected, and two or three minor groups won scattering victories. Ireland was swept by the Sinn Feiners, who won 73 seats, while the Nationalists retained but 7. Before the election the Nationalists had 78 seats and the Sinn Feiners 6. The only woman candidate elected in the United Kingdom . . . [was] a Sinn Feiner. [See above: 1918: Election of women to House of Commons.] Whatever else these results signified, they meant that the nation indorsed the government that had brought it successfully through the war, that it approved the Coalition's peace plans so far as they had been announced, and that it wanted peace negotiated by the men at present in office. It was significant that very few candidates of pacifist or Bolshevik inclinations pulled through. The results meant, too, that the Irish situation had reached a new crisis. The premier repeatedly declared that the contest was not one of parties. None the less the party situation flowing from it cannot be ignored. Two important parties, the Liberals and the Nationalists, have been almost annihilated. Efforts to restore Liberal unity were futile before the elections, and there is room for doubt whether such unity will ever be restored. The leadership of the remnant is admittedly weak. There will be 164 Liberals in the new house of commons; but 127 of them were elected as supporters of the Coalition. In this connection it may be pointed out that not only is the Coalition's quota predominantly Unionist (335 Unionists, 127 Liberals, and 10 Laborites), but the house of commons as a whole is Unionist by a margin of 53 seats. For the moment this majority is split into Coalition and non-Coalition wings."—F. A. Ogg, *British parliamentary elections* (*Quarterly American Political Science Review*, Feb., 1910).

1918-1919.—Fiume question. See FIUME.

1918-1921.—Home rule agitation in India.—Improvements. See INDIA: 1918-1920; 1921.

1918-1921.—Status of education.—Education Act of 1918. See EDUCATION: Modern developments: 20th century: General education: England: Fisher Act.

1918-1921.—Child labor provisions and conditions. See CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 1918-1921.

1918-1921.—Changes in land ownership.—"A great change is taking place in the ownership of English land, mainly as the result of heavy taxation. During the war, while the incomes of many

classes were rising rapidly, landowners were debarred by legislation from raising their rents, though their taxes and all their expenses were increasing. Simultaneously, most farmers were able to make very large profits, owing to the increased prices of agricultural produce. Thus, when the war ended, large numbers of owners of land, suffering from or threatened by serious poverty, eagerly jumped at the chance of selling many of the farms they owned to the tenant farmers. The tenants, with large balances at their banks as the result of war-profits, were temporarily bitten with the idea of becoming free-holders, and often paid high prices, which many of them . . . [later] repented. In addition, many people who had made money as manufacturers or merchants during the war were fired with the desire to establish themselves and their families as landed gentry, and sometimes bought whole estates when they were offered for sale; or, alternatively, bought the mansion house and pleasure-grounds, leaving the tenant farmer to buy the purely agricultural land; . . . [later on, however, depression in trade, and the fall in agricultural prices caused the demand for land to fall off, nevertheless] a good many properties were sold even in the year 1921, because the owners found that it was impossible for them to meet the heavy taxes imposed upon landed property after paying the increased charges necessary for the upkeep of their estates. Some idea of the extent to which changes in landownership have been taking place may be gathered from the fact that, in . . . five years [1916-1921], one firm alone has dealt . . . with changes of ownership covering roughly four per cent of the total area of Great Britain. . . . It is worth while to give one or two figures to indicate the financial position of English landowners. In the first place the figures published by the Inland Revenue Department emphasize very forcibly the statement . . . that, while the incomes of most classes in the community were greatly increased during the war, those of landowners remained stationary. . . . [In the second place] it is on landed property that taxation falls most heavily. This is the result partly of old traditions, partly of modern politics. In past centuries, when land was the principal as well as the most visible source of wealth, it was natural that the rulers of the country should treat land as the main basis for taxation. Even when attempts were made to tax movable as well as fixed property, they were not very successful, because of the greater facilities for evasion. The history of taxation in England is full of examples of acts of Parliament establishing the general taxation of all property, and even specifying that land should be taxed only after other forms of property; but in practice the burden remained upon the land, because the land could not be moved and could not escape observation. It is only when we reach the nineteenth century that the enormous growth of industrial wealth, and the concurrent improvement in administrative methods, rendered possible the raising of a large revenue from incomes other than those derived from land-ownership. But the landowner still continues to pay on the average more than his fair share, because it is less easy for him to conceal his income. For the purpose of income tax, the annual value of the land is officially assessed on the approximate basis of the rent paid, and the tenant is required to pay the tax and deduct the amount from his next payment of rent to his landlord. Thus the landowner cannot escape payment of the full amount. . . .

"The effect of these considerations has been in-

tensified by the political campaign of recent years against landownership in particular and capitalism in general. As a result of this campaign,—inspired partly by land nationalizers, partly by Socialists,—there has been a constant tendency to increase the relative burden of taxation falling on large properties. Up to a point this movement may have been justified. The primary principle of taxation, that men should be taxed according to their ability to pay, requires that the rich man should pay at a relatively higher rate than the poor man. Unfortunately, in England the principle has been carried so far that, while the majority of voters pay no income tax at all, a small minority of rich persons are taxed at a rate which is both unjust to them and injurious to the nation. In the case of persons engaged in industry or commerce, the present enormous scale of taxation in England handicaps industrial development by preventing the accumulation of the necessary capital; in the case of the owners of land, the high taxes are one of the main causes of that break-up of estates with which we are here concerned. It should be added that the burden of taxation does not end with the national income tax and super-tax. Local taxation has risen almost as rapidly as national taxation, and falls with special weight upon the owners of real property.

"To see how these cumulative burdens affect the financial position of the landowner, it is desirable to examine a few actual figures. Interesting particulars were published in the *London Times* of August 4, 1921, of one of the typical great English estates—the Duke of Bedford's—of 16,000 acres, situated in the counties of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire. The year dealt with is 1920. In that year the owner received a gross rental of £23,437. Out of that he had to pay for the upkeep of the estate no less than £18,648. This figure includes, not merely management charges and necessary repairs and renewals, but also such expenditure upon improvements as every conscientious landowner feels bound to make, in order to keep his estate up to date. In addition, there was a sum of £3684 which had to be paid, mainly for local taxes. The residue left to the owner was only £1105. Yet the income tax on land is so assessed that, though this was all that was left to the owner to spend on himself, when he had done his duty by his estate, he was called upon to pay no less than £3623 for income tax and super-tax. In addition, social custom and local traditions required him to pay various sums, amounting to over £2000, in the shape of pensions to employees and donations to the clergy and to local institutions. The final result, as certified by the duke's accountants, is that this agricultural estate cost him in the year 1920 a net sum of £5100, which he had to meet out of his other sources of income. . . . [But] there are many owners of agricultural estates in England who have no other sources of income, and for them the burden of taxation . . . [became] absolutely crushing. Some . . . [tried] to stave off the calamity of absolute collapse by cutting down their expenditure on the upkeep of their estates. . . . When it is remembered that the price of labor and of all materials had risen enormously . . . it will be seen that the reduction in expense can only mean a lower standard of upkeep. The money that would have been voluntarily spent by owner for the maintenance and improvement of his estate was forcibly taken from him by the Government, partly to meet the cost of the war, but partly also to pay for an enormously expensive civil administration. . . .

"The ownership of land in rural England involves obligations which place the landowner in a much worse position financially than that of a man drawing a corresponding income from stocks and shares. He cannot, therefore, face the same rate of taxation; yet, in practice, as above indicated, he is more heavily taxed. The inevitable consequence is that many landowners can no longer maintain their position. . . . In not a few cases the owner of the estate, unwilling to leave the locality endeared to him by long family traditions, takes refuge in one of the smaller houses or cottages on the property, where he can just afford to live on the narrow income remaining to him. . . . Doubtless many English landowners have lived more or less idle lives, and have devoted more of their time to hunting and shooting than to giving service to the community. Nevertheless, taken as a body, they have been one of the most valuable elements in the nation. The very conditions under which they have lived have given them qualities which are of the highest national value—a sense of duty, the spirit of sportsmanship, the spirit of comradeship. . . . Doubtless, in many cases inequality of social position does produce unjustifiable arrogance on the one side and a lack of independence on the other. Whether we shall ever be able to escape entirely from these admitted evils of inequality is perhaps doubtful; but it is quite certain that, if we attempt to remove these evils by trying to abolish all inequalities, our loss will be greater than our gain. The pursuit of the false ideal of universal equality can, in the long run, result only in universal degradation."—H. Cox, *Changes in land-ownership in England* (*Atlantic Monthly*, Apr., 1922, pp. 556-560).

1918-1921.—Effect of the World War on status of Jews.—Anti-Semitic agitation. See JEWS: England: 1918-1921.

1918-1922.—European relief work. See INTERNATIONAL RELIEF: American relief administration.

1919.—Housing and Town Planning Act. See HOUSING: Great Britain: Legislation.

1919.—British representation at the Peace Conference.—British aims.—Ratification of the treaty.—British gains.—The British delegation to the peace conference numbered some 200 with the same number for the clerical staff. The prime minister, David Lloyd George, with assurance of the support of the people given him in the December elections, had complete control of British policy. In his absence, Balfour represented him. "With the French desire for security British opinion was in hearty sympathy, but as to some of the French proposals for detaching the Rhine provinces there was hesitation. In dividing up the spoils outside of Europe, France and England would need to compromise conflicting claims in a friendly spirit. The surrender of the German fleet had already secured Great Britain in that supremacy of the seas which formed a cardinal policy, and all that remained to be done was to prevent the growth of a similar menace, and to refrain from agreeing to any form of disarmament or any definition of 'freedom of the seas' which should impair the superiority of the British fleet. The German merchant marine had been disposed of in large part, and the remainder could be claimed by way of reparation. German foreign commerce had been for the time extinguished. For the future, German economic competition, at least in its 'unfair' forms, was to be prevented. It was unfortunate that in his campaign speeches Lloyd George had aroused extravagant expectations as to what would be exacted from Germany. The

unreflecting public had been led to believe that the Kaiser and his chief aids would be promptly tried, and quite probably hanged in a row, and that Germany would be forced to pay the entire war debt of the British Empire. One of Lloyd George's tasks at the Conference was therefore to secure results which would not fall too far short of these expectations. Another of his difficulties was to keep the representatives of the Dominions in line, particularly as to the disposition of the German colonial possessions. With regard to these, and to the extra-European situation generally, the British leaders were determined to consolidate and protect their imperial interests in Africa and Asia, and to secure a satisfactory share in new commercial and investment opportunities. [See also WORLD WAR: 1918: X. Statement of war aims: a.]

"Under the British Constitution, the consent of Parliament is not required for treaties with foreign powers. In order to carry out some of the terms of the Treaty with Germany, however, an act of Parliament was necessary, and a bill was accordingly introduced. In effect this meant that the whole Treaty was before the representatives of the people, and it is probable that in the future this precedent will be followed, and that Parliament will thereby gain a greater degree of control over foreign policy. While the debates in the House of Commons brought out some opposition to the Treaty, chiefly from the Labor and Independent Liberal members, it was ratified by a large majority July 21. By another constitutional departure the Treaty was also laid before the legislatures of the four Dominions which had signed it, and was ratified by all of them by the middle of September. On October 10 the King-Emperor signed the act of ratification for the British Empire."—A. P. Scott, *Introduction to the peace treaties*, pp. 54-55, 194-195.—See also PARIS, CONFERENCE OF: Outline of work; VERSAILLES, TREATY OF: Conditions of peace; ST. GERMAIN, TREATY OF.

1919.—Trade disputes.—"Industrially, as well as politically, Great Britain is passing through troublous times. The year 1919 is described in a pamphlet published by the 'Industrial League and Council for the Improvement of Relations between Employers and Employed' as a disappointing year in industry. It is, indeed, a serious fact that in the first year after the cessation of hostilities something over 32,000,000 working days were lost through trade disputes, as compared with about 5,000,000 days in the preceding year. Scarcely a week has passed since the armistice was signed without bringing its strike or threat of strikes, and the observer abroad must have received the impression that Great Britain is in a chronic state of turmoil and chaos. Yet life in Great Britain, industrial, economic, social, religious—in short, in all its departments—goes on, generally, with little outward sign of internal dislocation and instability. From time to time the newspapers announce in big headlines that a fresh 'crisis' has arisen in the relations of employers and work-people in this or that branch of industry, or that 'grave trouble' is threatened for the Government and the nation by this or that powerful labor organisation. Sometimes the trouble comes to a head, and a few thousand men here or a few hundred thousand men there declare a strike. Usually the stoppage lasts only for a day or two. Even before it begins the machinery either of the State or of the trade union movement itself is generally in motion to avert it, or, at the worst, to curtail its duration, by means of conciliation."

—*Growing responsibility of labor (Round Table, v. 10, pp. 276-277).*

1919.—Establishment of a ministry of health. See CHARITIES: Great Britain.

1919.—Interest in Chinese loans. See CHINA: 1919; Consortium agreement; JAPAN: 1918-1921.

1919.—Represented at conference for international union of academies. See INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ACADEMIES: Conference.

1919 (June-July).—Transatlantic flight of Sir John Alcock.—Flight of R-34. See AVIATION: Important flights since 1900: 1919.

1919 (August).—Prince of Wales' visit to America.—On August 5, the Prince of Wales left England on board H.M.S. *Renown* for a tour of the British dominions. During November he left Canada for a trip into the United States, paid an official visit to Washington, and spent a week in the City of New York.

1919 (August).—Agreement with Persia. See ANGLO-PERSIAN TREATY; PERSIA: 1919 (August).

1919 (October).—Labor strike.—A strike of the "Triple alliance," or combined unions of railway workers, transport workers and miners, failed. Public opinion was roused against the strike. An emergency service was formed, from the ranks of all classes, to move food and traffic, and this, in conjunction with concessions made by the government induced the strikers to return to work.

1919 (November).—Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria. See NEUILLY, TREATY OF.

1919 (December 23).—Sex Disqualification Act.—Any disability on the ground of sex or marriage was removed by legislation in regard to the appointment of women to civil or judicial office, service in jury, or carrying on civil professions. Universities were authorized to admit women to membership or to any degree.

1919-1920.—Aid given to anti-Bolsheviks.—Support of Poland. See RUSSIA: 1918-1920; POLAND: 1919 (June); 1919-1920: War with Russia.

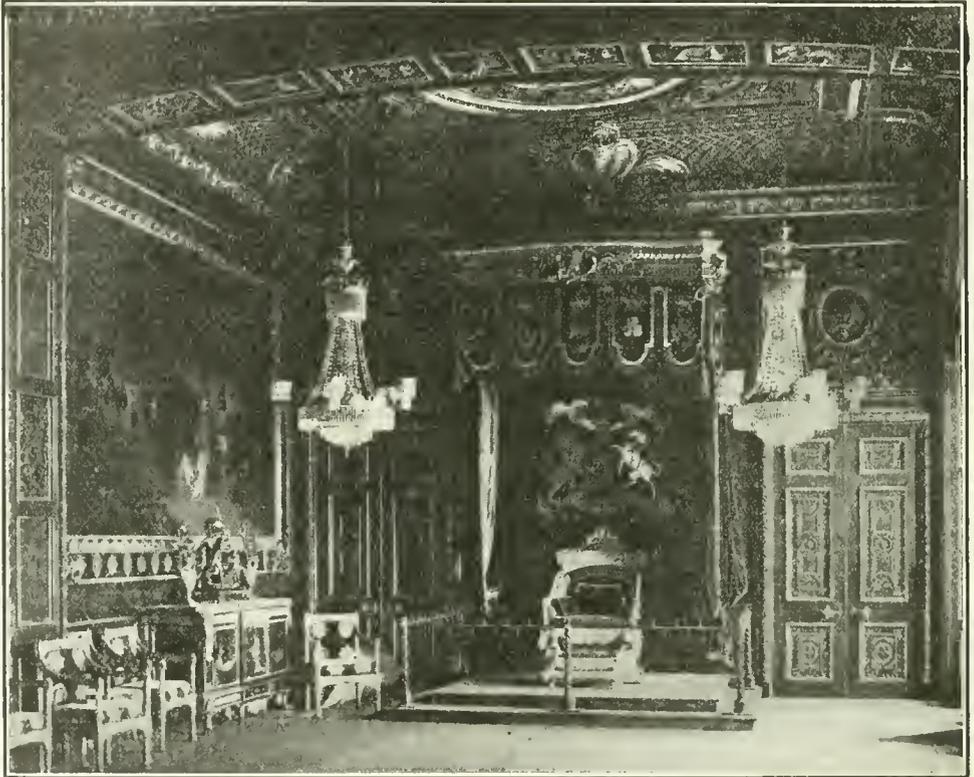
1919-1920.—Ministerial changes.—"The small war cabinet set up in December, 1916, for the more effective prosecution of the war, was continued until October 27, 1919, when a new administration was organized. The members of the new cabinet were: Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, David Lloyd George; Lord Privy Seal, A. Bonar Law; Lord President of the Council, Arthur J. Balfour; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Austen Chamberlain; without portfolio, G. N. Barnes (Labor); Chief Secretary for Ireland, J. I. Macpherson; Lord Chancellor, Lord Birkenhead (F. E. Smith); Home Secretary, E. Shortt; Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Earl Curzon; Secretary for the Colonies, Viscount Milner; Secretary for War and Air, Winston Churchill; Secretary for India, E. S. Montagu; First Lord of the Admiralty, Walter Long; Secretary for Scotland, R. Munro; President of the Board of Trade, Sir Auckland Geddes; President of the Ministry of Health, Dr. C. Addison; President of the Ministry of Agriculture, Lord Lee; President of the Board of Education, H. A. L. Fisher; Minister of Labor, Sir R. S. Horne; Minister of Transport, Sir Eric Geddes. In 1920, several ministerial changes occurred. Late in January, Mr. Barnes resigned from the cabinet; in February G. H. Roberts, Food Controller, and in March G. J. Wardle, parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Labor, resigned from the Coalition ministry, its last Labor representatives. On March 1, Sir Auckland Geddes was appointed British Ambassador to the United States, and was succeeded as president of the Board of Trade by Sir Robert S. Horne, Minister of Labor; Dr. T. J. Mac-

namara, parliamentary and financial secretary to the Admiralty, became Minister of Labor."—*Political Science Quarterly, Sept., 1920, Supplement, p. 91.*—In April, Sir Hamar Greenwood became chief secretary for Ireland.

1919-1920.—Labor crisis.—Proposed nationalization of mines.—Reports of the Sankey commission.—"While a League of Nations was being propounded, there was something wrong in England. 'Nationalization' was the key-word in matters political, and there arose a powerful controversy over this principle. The Miners' Peace Charter demanded it for the mines, and an industrial conflict of great magnitude was only averted by the mutual acceptance of the Coal Mines Commission, to investigate the possibility of these demands, which included the nationalization of all mines and minerals, and a 30 per cent advance on earnings. The Commission, over which Mr. Justice Sankey presided, had extraordinary powers and wide scope, and it conducted an inquisition without precedent into the industry and the profits derived therefrom. The miners' strike notices were dated to expire on March 15th, and the Prime Minister promised that the Commission should present an interim report on March 31st, if they would hold up action for a fortnight. The evidence was heard in public, and was of a sensational character. . . . The first week of evidence severely shook the grounds of private ownership, which was most gravely indicted on grounds of wastefulness, inefficiency and profiteering, and the methods of distribution proved as vulnerable as the system of coal drawing. These general public impressions were supported by a wealth of detail in evidence which was not refuted by witnesses for the existing system. By agreed arrangement, official witnesses were heard first, then representatives of affected industries, next the parties interested in coal ownership, and finally the miners' witnesses, who sought a change in the system. How strange it seemed that this dramatic story should be revealed in the King's robing-room. Sir John Sankey made a most admirable chairman, but the composition of the Commission was too conflicting to yield unanimity in the Interim Report, and on March 20th, the appointed day, three separate Reports were presented, as follows: (1) The Majority Report, signed by Messrs. R. Smillie, Frank Hodges and Herbert Smith, Sir Leo Chiozza Money, Messrs. R. H. Tawney and Sidney Webb, conceding the miners' claims as not excessive, both as to wages and the six hour day. It declared that in the interest of the consumers, as much as in that of the miners, nationalization ought to be at once determined on. (2) The Sankey Report, signed by . . . Mr. Justice Sankey (Chairman), Mr. Arthur Balfour, Sir Arthur Duckham and Sir Thomas Royden, Bart. This recommended a seven hour day from July 16, 1919, and subject to the economic position, a six hour day from July 13, 1921; an advance in wages of 2s. per day, with 1s. for those under 16; the continuation of the Coal Mines Control Agreement; and it proceeded 'Even upon the evidence already given, the present system of ownership and working in the coal industry stands condemned, and some other system must be substituted for it, either nationalization or a method of unification by national purchases or by joint control. It is in the interests of the country that the colliery workers shall in the future have an effective voice in the direction of the mine.' It described houses in some districts as a reproach to our civilization, and suggested that a penny a ton might be collected on and raised to improve hous-

ing and amenities in colliery districts. The penny a ton represented one million per annum. (3) The Coalowners' Report, signed by Messrs. R. W. Cooper, J. T. Forgie, and Evan Williams, which advised an advance of 1s. 6d. per day, with 9d. for persons under 16, a seven hour day below ground, and eight hour day for surface workers. When the Reports were presented to the Government, Mr. Bonar Law, leader of the House, announced that the Government had adopted the Sankey Report 'in spirit and in letter,' but added that if a strike took place the Government would use all the resources of the State without hesitating. This Commission, with its searching evidence and its very important findings, takes rank as one of the most important achievements of organized

should be utilized for the purpose of distribution. . . . Twelve months later one heard very little of the Coal Commission. While it lasted its impress was deep, but daily impressions are varied, and soon exhaust each other. Thus the public memory of a great inquisition is not long. No sooner were the news pages of the daily Press devoted to other subjects than a wholesale and systematic advertising campaign against nationalization began, and it was maintained well into 1920. Pet arguments and phrases were re-served so effectively that nationalization became distinctly unpopular."—J. R. Raynes, *Pageant of England*, pp. 240-244.—See also LABOR ORGANIZATION: 1919: British labor movement; also 1910-1919; TRUSTS: Great Britain: 1919; DIRECT ACTION.



THE THRONE ROOM, WINDSOR CASTLE

labour. The miners withdrew their strike notices, and the Commission resumed its incomplete task. The second stage was even more important than the first, for it was investigating general principles of control upon a prospect already imminent of full agreement as to the future of this great key industry. . . . The second stage began on Wednesday, April 23rd, and during the 28 days on which evidence was heard 116 witnesses were examined. They included expert economists, royalty owners, Home Office witnesses, coal-owners, miners and miners' wives. Two members of the Commission—Mr. Webb and Sir Leo Money—also gave evidence. This time four Reports were presented: . . . All four Reports agreed upon recommending the State ownership of all seams of coal, 'once and for all in one final settlement, together with all easements and rights,' . . . that the machinery of local authorities and of the co-operative movement

1919-1920.—Post-war embargo.—Tariff system. See TARIFF: 1919; 1919-1920: World-wide tariff tendency.

1920.—Anglo-French agreement on English Channel tunnel construction project. See CHANNEL TUNNEL: 1919.

1920.—Sinn Fein agitation in Ireland. See IRELAND: 1920.

1920.—Negotiations with regard to Turkish dominions. See SÈVRES, TREATY OF.

1920.—Colby's note regarding mandates in former Turkish territory. See U. S. A.: 1920 (November): Note to Great Britain.

1920 (January).—First meeting of the League of Nations. See LEAGUE OF NATIONS: 1920: First meeting of the Assembly.

1920 (February).—Home Rule Bill for Ireland, repealing the Government of Ireland Act of 1914. See IRELAND: 1920.

1920 (April).—San Remo conference.—Mandate for Zionist state. See PALESTINE: 1920; JERUSALEM: 1920; SYRIA: 1908-1921; JEWS: Zionism: 1908-1921.

1920 (June).—Treaty of Trianon with Hungary. See TRIANON, TREATY OF.

1920 (July).—Discussion of German armament and reparations at Spa conference. See SPA, CONFERENCE OF.

1920-1921.—Renewal of trade relations with Russia. See RUSSIA: 1920-1921: Difficulties in establishing peace with Allies.

1921.—Imperial conferences.—Defense, disarmament, Far Eastern policy and reparations. See BRITISH EMPIRE: Colonial and imperial conferences: 1921; AUSTRALIA: 1921.

1921.—Clash with France over Silesian question. See POLAND: 1921: Upper Silesian complications.

1921.—End of state control of railways. See RAILROADS: 1921: Twenty rail systems proposed.

1921.—Extent of colonial possessions. See BRITISH EMPIRE: Map of the world; AFRICA: Map.

1921.—Offer to modify provisions of Treaty of Sevres.—Greece. See TURKEY: 1921 (March-April): Secret treaties.

1921.—Irish situation.—Free state.—Opening of Ulster parliament. See IRELAND: 1921; ULSTER: 1921.

1921.—Tariff legislation to safeguard industries. See TARIFF: 1921: Great Britain.

1921.—Financial situation.—Effects of World War.—Circulation of money. See EUROPE: Modern period: Far reaching effects of the World War.

1921.—Represented at Portorosa conference. See PORTOROSA CONFERENCE (1921).

1921.—Danube Navigation Company. See DANUBE: 1921.

1921.—Cabinet changes.—British premier as sails laborites as revolutionary.—Lord Milner resigned his portfolio as Secretary of State for the Colonies on Feb. 14, the reason for his doing so being, it was believed, the failure of the cabinet to adopt the recommendations made in his report on Egypt. On March 17 (see EGYPT: 1921: Lord Milner's report), Premier Lloyd George announced in the house of commons that Andrew Bonar Law had for reasons of health tendered his resignation as leader of the house. That same night at a public dinner the premier said, "When I see one chieftain after another with whom I have been in action during great events falling under the weight of their armor, I do not mind telling you I feel I am becoming very lonely. Public life in these days is an almost intolerable strain, and there is nothing I would like better if I could retire from that strain and be a spectator and witness of events.' In urging the necessity of the continuance of the Coalition, the prime minister spoke of the menace of the Labor Party, which he said would become the dominating party in this country unless steps were taken to inform the electorate of the issues it was raising. They are issues of such magnitude; they are issues which are so threatening to the whole fabric of society. It is folly to quarrel about trivialities when you are confronted with issues of that character. I read the other day a newspaper which is subsidized by this party. This is what they say: "No reform, no mere nominal preservation or even advance of money wages in a particular industry or locality will ultimately affect the issue. Capitalism means the beating down of the poor into further poverty, and labor will have to face this unless it goes out to overthrow capitalism." Translated into action, what

does this mean? It means the destruction of private property, the destruction of private enterprise, the conversion of the whole means of production into a great State machine. That may be good, that may be bad—it may be very bad. But, make no mistake about it, it is a complete revolution.' The premier attacked the Independent Liberal Party for asking the Labor Party to join it in getting rid of the coalition and scouted the suggestion that the coalition was a combination to defend the interests of capital. 'It is primarily the business of the coalition to set the interests of the nation as a whole above the interests of any class,' he said. 'The nation should be our party; the nation should be our class, and the nation should be our concern. We must fight selfish sectional interests because they imperil national interests, and we must fight them from whatever quarter these sectional demands may spring. Our party, if it is to live, must be a really national party.'—*New York Times*, Mar. 18, 1921.

1921.—Local taxation.—Its rapid rise.—Local councils.—Their powers and duties.—'One of the differences in terminology between England and America is the use in the former country of the word 'rates' to denote what in the latter are called 'local taxes.' In England the 'rating question,' *simpliciter*, . . . is concerned with the muling of the householder, or 'rate-payer,' of the sums necessary for the upkeep of local government. . . . The outcry against higher rates has been even louder and more widespread than that against higher national taxes. The first resolution passed at an important representative conference held in London in November, 1920, denounced 'the recent rapid increase of the rates throughout the country' as 'an intolerable burden on trade and industry and upon all classes of rate-payers.' Public meetings of protest . . . [were] held in many places, accompanied in some instances by threats of refusal to pay. . . . It would occupy too much space to attempt to give here a complete account of the financial system of English local government, but a brief outline of it may be desirable. . . . The great cities, such as Manchester and Birmingham, are county boroughs, managed by county borough councils. Outside these are the areas administered by county councils. Below these come, in the more thickly populated districts, the non-county borough councils and the urban district councils, and, in the rural districts, the rural district councils. Below the rural district councils stand the parish councils. These various bodies administer, with varying degrees of responsibility, the laws relating to public health, education, the police, housing, the sale of intoxicants, highways, markets, old-age pensions and other poor relief, fire protection, public libraries, and so on. The income of these bodies is derived from rates, which are calculated upon the so called 'rateable value' of the property—mainly, occupied buildings—within their boundaries. The assessment is based upon the rent, with a certain allowance, usually about one-sixth, for the cost of keeping the place in repair. Thus a house actually rented at £60 a year would be assessed at £50. If it is not rented, the amount at which it might reasonably be rented is taken as the rateable value. A rate of so many shillings in the pound means a levy of this number of shillings for every pound of rateable value. On agricultural land only half-rates are paid. The officials of each parish send annual returns of its total rateable value to the county council, which then apportions its demands to the various minor bodies within its domain according to their ability to pay. These

minor authorities add to the demands of the county council whatever sum is needed for the public services peculiar to themselves, calculate what rate per pound of rateable value will be required to raise this amount, and make their levy accordingly. The proceeds of the rates are not the sole source of income at the disposal of the local authorities. They are assisted by 'grants in aid' from the national exchequer, which are assigned for specific purposes, and are either (1) so far fixed in amount as to be independent of any action of the local authority receiving them, (2) varying in some relation to the amount spent by the local authority, or (3) dependent on certain services being rendered by the local authority but not increasing in proportion to the amount spent. The subventions made for education and for the maintenance of the police are among the most notable examples of these grants in aid. For the present financial year the grants in aid are estimated to amount to about £70,000,000, while the income from the rates will be about £149,000,000. Ultimately, of course, the grants in aid come out of the pockets of the same persons as the rates; but in the one case, the citizen plays *qua* taxpayer, on a basis calculated according to the needs of the whole country, and in the other *qua* ratepayer, on the basis of the needs of his own county or county borough and of the rateable value of his own immediate neighborhood. The extraordinary increase in the burden of the rates during recent years will be realized from a few specimen figures. According to Sir Robert Giffen, a rate of 7s. 6d. in the pound is the utmost levy that a locality can sustain without detriment to its industries and enterprises, or, in other words, without damaging employment. But in nine of the metropolitan boroughs the rates in the forthcoming year will average over 21s. in the pound, and the average rate of the remainder will be about 17s. . . . The total amount raised by local rates in England and Wales has risen from £52,940,000 in the financial year ending 1904 to £61,273,000 in 1909, to £71,276,000 in 1914, to £84,500,000 in 1919, and, as mentioned above, to £149,000,000 in the current year [1921]. . . . To what causes is this startling increase in cost of local government to be attributed? There is a popular impression that it is due mainly to the new obligations—in such matters as education, public health, and so on—imposed by Parliament on local authorities in recent years. An examination of the figures, however, will show that only a small proportion of the increase is the result of new legislation. . . . Sir Arthur Chapman's estimate is that not more than 20 per cent of the increase is occasioned by the new burdens placed upon the local authorities by all the Government Departments combined. . . . [There are] strong objections. . . . [to] nationalization of these charges. It would further swell the size and power of a central bureaucracy that is already overgrown. If the national exchequer met the whole cost, it would be impossible to allow the local authorities to retain such control as they now possess over the expenditure of the money, and incidentally one of the best features in English public life would be destroyed, for no city would secure the services of its best men in the work of local government if the functions of the administrative bodies were thus impaired."—[In November] the mayor of Poplar and several of the members of the town council were imprisoned for their refusal to levy rates which, they declared, the borough was too poor to pay. As a result of this incident there has been introduced into Parliament a 'Local Authorities (Financial

Provisions) Bill' for the purpose of affording relief to the poorer boroughs within the London area.'—H. W. Harwill, *Problems of local taxation in England (Political Science Quarterly, Dec., 1921, pp. 561, 562, 564, 565, 566, 571)*.

ALSO IN: E. Jenks, *Outline of English local government, p. 239.*

1921.—Government of India Act in operation. See INDIA: 1921.

1921 (March).—Occupation of Düsseldorf, Duisberg, Ruhrort by France, England and Belgium. See FRANCE: 1921 (March 8).

1921 (May).—Demands reparations from Germany.—Germany yields. See GERMANY: 1921 (May-June).

1921 (November).—Washington conference. See WASHINGTON CONFERENCE.

1921 (November-December). — Consultation with Germany on reparations. See GERMANY: 1921: Acceptance by Germany, etc.

1921-1922.—Investigation of Egyptian affairs.—Lord Milner's report.—Recognition of Egypt as sovereign state. See EGYPT: 1921: Lord Milner's report; 1922 (January-February); (March).

1921-1922.—Anglo-French discord over Turkish territory in Syria. See TURKEY: 1921-1922: Anglo-French discord.

1922 (January).—Represented at Cannes conference. See CANNES CONFERENCE.

1922 (February-April).—Opening of Parliament.—Lloyd George's victory.—Reading-Montagu incident.—When Parliament reassembled on February 7th, premier Lloyd George expressed the national gratification over the results of the Washington arms conference. A report by Sir Eric Geddes, chairman of the Committee on National Economy, called upon the government for drastic retrenchment, and pointed out that this could be achieved by naval and military reductions. It was proposed to reduce the national expenditure by £100,000,000, of which amount over £75,000,000 could be saved by retiring 50,000 officers and men from the army and 35,000 from the navy. . . . A sensation was created on March 8 by the publication in London of an important message from Lord Reading, viceroy of India, to the Secretary of State for India, Hon. Edwin S. Montagu. "In this message the viceroy declared that the support which the Moslem cause had received throughout all India and the intensity of Indian feeling over the terms of the Sèvres Treaty made its immediate revision imperative. The first Lloyd George knew of this was when he saw it in his morning paper at home. After consultation with other members of the Government, he sent for Mr. Montagu, declined to accept his explanations, and demanded his resignation forthwith, on the ground that he had violated, without cause or necessity, the rule of collective responsibility. . . . The text of this telegram, the publication of which at the Viceroy's urgent request led to Secretary Montagu's exit from official life, was as follows: 'On the eve of the Greek-Turk conference [this refers to the allied conference scheduled to meet in Paris on March 22] we feel that it is our duty again to lay before your Majesty's Government the intensity of feeling in India regarding the necessity for a revision of the Sèvres Treaty between Turkey and the Allies. The Government in India is fully conscious of the complexity of this problem, but India's record in the war, in which Indian Moslem soldiers participated in such great numbers and the support which the Indian Moslem cause has received in the entire nation, entitle her claim to the completest fulfillment and justify her reasonable aspirations. The Government in India par-

ticularly emphasizes the necessity of guaranteeing the neutrality of the Dardanelles and the security of its non-Moslem peoples. It also urges evacuation of Constantinople, sovereignty of the Sultan over holy places, restoration of the Turk in Thrace, also in Adrianople and Smyrna. The Government urges that these points are of supreme importance to India."—*New York Times Current History*, Apr., 1922.—"It was reported from Delhi that this startling message had been dispatched only after consultation with all the provincial administrations in India. It was received by Secretary Montagu at a time when Lloyd George was confined to his home by illness, and he authorized its publication on his own responsibility. It raised a tremendous storm, in which most of the thunder was furnished by Lloyd George himself. It also precipitated a bitter con-

been reduced from \$360,800,000 to \$272,800,000. The much-discussed budget was presented in the Commons on May 1 by Sir Robert Horne, Chancellor of the Exchequer. . . . The Chancellor . . . pointed out that whereas the debt to the United States two years ago was equivalent to £1,301,875,000 when exchange was \$3.30, it was now reduced to £946,820,000 with exchange at \$4.40, and when restored to par, as he hoped it would be soon, the debt would be £856,030,000. Estimated total Government expenditures dropped below the billion-pound mark for the first time since the close of the war at about £910,000,000."—*New York Times Current History*, June, 1922.—The income tax was reduced from six to five shillings in the pound; duty on tea was reduced from a shilling to eight pence per pound, while several other duties levied for revenue were correspondingly



HOUSE OF LORDS, WESTMINSTER

trovrsy between Mr. Montagu and Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary. . . . The news of Mr. Montagu's resignation created considerable excitement in India, and Lord Reading himself expressed deep regret, declaring that the Indian people had lost a sincere friend."—*Ibid.*—A political crisis arose from a split between the two historic parties—Liberals and Conservatives—developing into a revolt against the Coalition ministry. A by-election in a Wolverhampton borough was carried by a Coalition Unionist against the Labor candidate, an event hailed as a triumph for Lloyd George. A resolution approving his policy with regard to the forthcoming Genoa Conference was carried in the Commons on April 3 by an overwhelming majority of 372 against 94.

1922 (April-May).—*Estimates and budget.*—Naval and military reductions.—The Army Estimates for 1922-1923 "showed that the armed force had been reduced to 215,000, as compared with 341,000 for the preceding year, and the cost had

lowered. An Admiralty Order issued on May 14 stated that, as a result of the Washington Conference for naval reduction, 1,835 naval officers would be retired out of a total strength of about 9,450 officers.

1922 (May-June).—Genoa conference. See GENOA CONFERENCE.

1922 (May-June).—Government defeat.—Women and House of Lords.—Palestine mandate in Parliament.—On a proposal to tax teachers in state schools five per cent. as a contribution towards providing pensions, the government suffered a defeat on May 16, by an adverse vote of 151 to 148. On the 10th the House of Lords in Committee of Privileges voted twenty to four against admitting Viscountess Rhondda, a peeress in her own right, to a seat in the Upper Chamber, a decision which barred twenty-one other peeresses from the House of Lords. On the 25th, after making a statement on the Genoa Conference, premier Lloyd George carried the House with him

by 235 votes to 26. The Palestine mandate was subjected to severe criticism in the Lords on June 20, when a motion condemning the government policy was carried by 60 to 29. Sir Henry H. Wilson, a distinguished soldier, member of Parliament from Ulster and organizer of Ulster defences, was shot and killed by two assassins in front of his house in London. The culprits were subsequently sentenced to death and executed.

1922 (June-July).—Allied Economic Conference at The Hague. See HAGUE (ALLIED) CONFERENCE (1922).

1922 (July-August).—German reparations crisis.—London meeting of British and French premiers. See GERMANY: 1922 (July-August).

1922 (July-September).—Palestine mandate upheld in Commons.—Claims of United States Shipping Board settled.—British attitude on war debts.—Washington agreement ratified.—A debate in the Commons on July 4 resulted in a vote of 202 to 35 in favor of the Palestine mandate. On July 13, Great Britain paid \$12,000,000 in settlement of the claims of the United States Shipping Board for the services of American ships during and after the war. On August 1 the British government delivered a note to the governments of France, Italy, Portugal, Greece, Yugoslavia and Rumania to the effect that Great Britain would be unable to cancel the war debts owing to her "since the American Government had called upon his Majesty's Government to settle the war debt due to Washington. The note stated, however, that the British Government did not intend to try to collect more than it had to pay. Much speculation was indulged in . . . until Mr. Lloyd George explained in the House of Commons on August 3 that a settlement could not be made at the expense of the British taxpayer alone."—*New York Times Current History, September, 1922*.—King George affixed the royal assent to the Washington disarmament treaties on August 10, thus completing British ratification of those instruments.

1922 (October-November).—Resignation of Lloyd George.—End of the coalition.—General election.—Conservative victory.—Crushing defeat of Liberals.—Labor party as the new opposition.—During the early autumn there were numerous indications that the Coalition ministry had outlived the welcome accorded to it in the general election of December, 1918. There was murmuring in both Conservative and Liberal camps against the alleged "dictatorship" of Lloyd George and it was widely held that the Coalition, having steered the ship of state through the war and early reconstruction period, should be dissolved again into its component parts—Liberals, Conservatives and Laborites. As to the central figure around which the gathering storm was brewing—David Lloyd George—"no other [British] statesman has had to grapple with such gigantic problems. The work of Pitt, masterly though it was, must be considered as limited in scope in comparison with the mighty undertakings which the Prime Minister has had to shoulder." (Lord Rothermere.) "Mr. Lloyd George had founded the Ministry of Munitions; he had succeeded Lord Kitchener as Minister of War; he had been Prime Minister through the long anxieties and immense effort of the 1916-1918 period, and he reaped his reward when peace came in a popular adulation of which the staggering majority given to the Coalition he formed is but a faint indication. To a degree astonishing to remember, Mr. Lloyd George was the Coalition—its head and front, its center and circumference; its horse, foot and artillery. What vitality it had in those days

was his vitality; as he moved, so, like a shadow on the wall, it moved also. This dynamic predominance had, from the point of view of the man who enjoyed it, many advantages and one great defect. It enabled him to gather up into his own hands the executive functions of government to a degree never before vouchsafed to any preceding British Prime Minister; it allowed him a freedom of action comparable, and in some respects exceeding, that of the President of the United States . . . but, on the other hand, as it left him alone to reap the glory, so it bared his back, and his alone, to the punishment of failure. . . . He seemed to his critics—and it is only if we examine the grounds of criticism that we can explain his downfall—that he had struck at the very roots of representative government as Great Britain knows it; that he had not only assembled in his own person most of the attributes constitutionally reserved for the Cabinet, but that he had withdrawn himself from Parliament, which is the fount of power, and had thus degraded it to a mere vehicle for the validation of his decisions. . . . It would be tedious to recite the events in the Near East which drew Britain and France apart, which led up to the withdrawal of the French forces from the neutral zone of the Dardanelles, and which, as the victorious Turkish army advanced, left Great Britain as the only obstacle to the unhindered and practically unlimited re-entry of Turkey into Europe. What is important, in any survey of British politics, is to note the fact that the British people, war-weary and infinitely tax-weary, found themselves on the brink of another struggle, whose ultimate extent it would be impossible to predict, but whose effect upon the finances of the nation must inevitably be disastrous. Even though a resort to arms was happily averted, the critics of the Prime Minister were quick to point out that the military and naval measures made necessary by the crisis would involve an expenditure not less than \$150,000,000, and perhaps more. This was the vantage point that the opposition needed. On October 10 a meeting of Conservative members of Parliament decided, by 186 votes to 87, to withdraw from the Coalition and to go before the country at the next general election as a Conservative Party. When it is recalled that the Coalition looked for three-quarters of its strength to the Conservatives, it will be realized why the news of this vote so promptly brought the resignation of Mr. Lloyd George, and why he advised the King that the task of forming a new Government should be entrusted to the man whose influence had been paramount in securing it—Mr. Bonar Law."—W. Lewis, *New York Times Current History, Dec., 1922*.—Lloyd George resigned on October 19, and on the 23rd Bonar Law took office, with Stanley Baldwin as chancellor of the exchequer and Lord Curzon remaining in office as foreign secretary. The general election was fixed for November 15. The result of this "appeal to the country" came as a surprise even to those who confidently expected both the Coalition and the Liberal Party to go down before the public verdict. The Unionist or Conservative party captured 344 seats out of a total of 615; the Labor party took 138; the Liberals (Asquith-Grey followers) came third with sixty seats; Lloyd George National Liberals, fifty-seven; Independents, a new party, won five seats; Co-operative or "Anti-Waste" party secured four seats; Irish Nationalists two; Sinn Fein and Communist, one each. This grouping gave the Unionist government of A. Bonar Law a majority of seventy-three over all parties and raised the Labor Party, for the first time, to the rank of the offi-

cial Opposition. Winston Churchill was defeated by a Prohibitionist and eight other ministers of the Coalition government also lost their seats.

1922 (December).—London conference on reparations.—Proposals rejected. See GERMANY: 1922 (December).

1923 (January).—Reparations conference in Paris.—Opposition to French occupation of the Ruhr. See GERMANY: 1923 (January).

See also BRITISH EMPIRE; ADMINISTRATIVE LAW; Administrative law in England; ADMIRALTY LAW: Constitution of the British Admiralty; ARCHITECTURE: Medieval; Gothic; Renaissance: England; Modern: England; CATHEDRAL: English, Scottish and Irish Cathedrals; CHARITIES: England; Great Britain; CHURCH OF ENGLAND; COMMON LAW; CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES: Great Britain; CONSERVATIVE PARTY: England; CO-OPERATION: England; COURTS: England; CRIMINAL LAW; DEBTS, PUBLIC: Great Britain; ECCLESIASTICAL LAW; EDUCATION: Modern developments: 20th century: Vocational education; Commercial education in England; EDUCATION, ART: Modern period: England, Ireland, Scotland; ENGLISH LITERATURE; EQUITY LAW; FLAGS: British empire, etc.; INSURANCE: Fire insurance: Early forms; Life insurance: Early forms; Marine insurance: Ancient; LEGAL AID: Great Britain; LIBRARIES: Modern: England; MASONIC SOCIETIES: England; MUSIC: Medieval: 1226-1622; Modern: 1660-1694; 1750-1870; 1842-1921: Modern English composers; Folk music and nationalism: England; PAINTING: Europe (19th century); English; PHIL- OLOGY: 9; 17; 18; PRISON REFORM: England; PRIVY COUNCIL; PUBLIC HEALTH: Great Britain; RURAL CREDIT; SCULPTURE: Modern; TRUSTS: Great Britain, etc.

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ENGLAND, Constitution of.—“Our English Constitution was never made, in the sense in which the Constitutions of many other countries have been made. There never was any moment when Englishmen drew out their political system in the shape of a formal document, whether as the carrying out of any abstract political theories or as the imitation of the past or present system of any other nation. There are indeed certain great political documents, each of which forms a landmark in our political history. There is the Great Charter [see MAGNA CARTA], the Petition of Right [see PETITION OF RIGHT], the Bill of Rights [see BILL OF RIGHTS]. But not one of these gave itself out as the enactment of anything new. All claimed to set forth, with new strength, it might be, and with new clearness, those rights of Englishmen which were already old. . . . The life and soul of English law has ever been precedent; we have always held that whatever our fathers once did their sons have a right to do again.”—E. A. Freeman, *Growth of the English constitution*, ch. 2.—“It is, in the first place, necessary to have a clear understanding of what we mean when we talk about ‘the English Constitution.’ Few terms in our language have been more laxly employed. . . . Still, the term, ‘the English Constitution’ is susceptible of full and accurate explanation; though it may not be easy to set it lucidly forth, without first investigating the archaeology of our history, rather more deeply than may suit hasty talkers and superficial thinkers. . . . Some furious Jacobins, at the close of the last century, used to clamor that there was no such thing as the English Constitution, because

it could not be produced in full written form, like that of the United States. . . . But an impartial and earnest investigator may still satisfy himself that England has a constitution, and that there is ample cause why she should cherish it. And by this it is meant that he will recognise and admire, in the history, the laws and the institutions of England, certain great leading principles, which have existed from the earliest period of our nationality down to the present time; expanding and adapting themselves to the progress of society and civilization, advancing and varying in development, but still essentially the same in substance and spirit. . . . These great primeval and enduring principles of our Constitution are as follows: The government of the country by an hereditary sovereign, ruling with limited powers, and bound to summon and consult a parliament of the whole realm, comprising hereditary peers and elective representatives of the commons. That without the sanction of parliament no tax of any kind can be imposed; and no law can be made, repealed, or altered. That no man be arbitrarily fined or imprisoned, that no man’s property or liberties be impaired, and that no man be in any way punished, except after a lawful trial. Trial by jury. That justice shall not be sold or delayed. These great constitutional principles can all be proved, either by express terms or by fair implication, from Magna Carta, and its . . . supplement [the statute ‘Confirmatio Cartarum’]. Their vigorous development was aided and attested in many subsequent statutes, especially in the Petition of Rights and the Bill of Rights. . . . Lord Chatham called these three ‘The Bible of the English Constitution,’ to which appeal is to be made on every grave political question.”—E. S. Creasy, *Rise and progress of the English constitution*, ch. 1.—“The fact that our constitution has to be collected from statutes, from legal decisions, from observation of the course of conduct of the business of politics; that much of what is written is of a negative sort, stating what the Crown and its ministers cannot do; that there is no part of it which an omnipotent Parliament may not change at will; all this is a puzzle not only to foreign jurists who are prepared to say, with De Tocqueville, that the English constitution does not exist, but to ourselves who are prepared to maintain that it is a monument, if only we can find it, of political sagacity. Those who praise it call it flexible; those who criticise it, unstable.”—W. R. Anson, *Law and custom of the constitution*, pt. 1, p. 35.—“The English Constitution is a body of rules and understandings more or less clearly defined, in accordance with which the various governmental agencies are kept in harmonious action. The greater part of these are not laws at all, but are mere understandings based upon custom, or growing out of the necessities of government. Yet, if we apply the American analogy to the English Constitution, we find that a part of it is actual law. . . . Some of the most important rules of the Constitution have had a judicial origin. . . . It will be observed that these rules are not mere understandings; they are laws, and laws enforced by the courts. That is, they are a part of the common law. Again, a part of what we [in America] should call constitutional law is, in England, enacted by Parliament. . . . Besides Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Bill of Rights, [like-wise Parliament Act, 1910] there are many other acts of the English Parliament which, with us, hold a place in our written constitutions.”—J. Macy, *English constitution*, pp. 107-108.—See also PARLIAMENT, ENGLISH; CABINET: English.

ALSO IN: W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England in its origin and development*.—H. Hallam, *Constitutional history of England: Henry VII to George II*.—T. E. May, *Constitutional history of the English, 1760-1860*.—R. Gneist, *History of the English constitution*.—E. Fischel, *English constitution*.—W. Bagehot, *English constitution*.—E. Boutmy, *English constitution*.—H. Taylor, *Origin and growth of English constitution*.—G. B. Adams and H. M. Stephens, *Documents of English constitutional history*.—A. L. Lowell, *Gov-*

ernment of England.—F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *History of English law to Edward I*.

ENGLISH CHANNEL: Airplane flights over.—Declared a war zone (1915).—Submarine warfare. See AVIATION: Important flights since 1900: 1910; ENGLAND: 1915: German blockade, etc.

ENGLISH CHURCH. See CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE. See PHILOLOGY: 17 to 19.

Use in India. See INDIA: 1835-1922.

ENGLISH LITERATURE

Formation.—"Inheritance and environment are as important to a nation as to a man. Now up to the time of Chaucer we have to trace the heredity, to watch the ancestors, of our English literature. After that time the literature is born, a fresh power in the world, and we watch what happens to it under different masters; the influences that play upon it from other nations—France, Italy, Spain, Palestine, Rome, and Greece. These influences modify and affect it very much, for it is sensitive; but they cannot change its nature—that is determined by its inheritance. . . . Few nations have had a nobler heritage; few a heritage so complex. . . . The life of three great races has passed into our literature, and can be traced there, from century to century, even when distinct racial existence has long been lost in the wider personality of the nation. These three are the Celtic, the Anglo-Saxon, and the Norman. The Celts were in England first. . . . Our first knowledge finds them established in what are now England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and also across the sea, in the fair wide land of France." After the invasion and withdrawal of the Roman conquerors of Britain, "great hordes from the Northlands of Germany and Scandinavia, whom we call Anglo-Saxons from the name of their two most important tribes, bore down upon the British like a flood, submerged them completely in England, and took and held for hundreds of years possession of the land. These Anglo-Saxons, however, left Ireland, Scotland, and Wales mainly Celtic, as they are to this day. Nor were the Celts as fully exterminated even in England as used to be supposed. Not only Celtic place-names, but a Celtic quality which the English have never lost, show that the Celts must have blended their traditions with those of their successors. This subtle Celtic spirit survived even the Norman invasion. For the Anglo-Saxons did not stay masters. In the eleventh century came the Normans. . . . It came to pass that they became in their turn the masters of England, and for the time checked all native expression on English soil. During several centuries it seemed as if literature in England were to be only a pallid reflection of that across the Channel. But this was not true. The literature of England was to become mighty and original. And when its great music at last made itself heard, the strains from three races clearly blended in its harmony."—V. D. Scudder, *Introduction to the study of English literature*, pp. 17-19.—See also CELTS: Ancient Irish sagas.

3rd century.—Celtic sources.—Ancient Celt.—Literary characteristics.—Old Celtic fragments.—"Influence of the Celt on English literature proceeds not from example set by one people and followed by another, but in the way of nature, by establishment of blood relationship, and the trans-

mission of modified and blended character to a succeeding generation. The pure Gael—now represented by the Irish and Scotch Celts—was, at his best, an artist. He had a sense of literature, he had active and bold imagination, joy in bright colour, skill in music, touches of a keen sense of honour in most savage times, and in religion fervent and self sacrificing zeal. In the Cymry—now represented by the Celts of Wales—there was the same artist nature. . . . The sense of literature was shown in the earliest times by the support of a distinct literary class among the Celts who then possessed the country. In Erin, the first headquarters of song and story, even in the third century, there was the poet with his staff of office, a square tablet staff, on the four sides of which he cut his verse; and there were degrees in literature. . . . Of the bold and active fancy that accompanied this Celtic sense of literature as an art, and of the Celt's delight in bright colour, almost any one of the old Gaelic poems will bear witness. . . . The delight in music—among the old Irish Celts in music of the harp and tabor, among the old Welsh Celts in music of the harp, the pipe, and the crowd—is another characteristic."—H. Morley, *First sketch of English literature*, pp. 8-10.—"Most of those Irish stories are part of the epic cycle of Conchobar and Cuchulainn, and concern the wars of Ulster and Connaught. They are in prose interspersed with verse. . . . If we look through the collections that have been made of them, we can see that the Celtic authors of that period are already remarkable for qualities that have since shone with extreme brilliancy among various nations belonging to the same race: the sense of form and beauty, the dramatic gift, fertility of invention. . . . Above all, such a dramatic gift is displayed as to stand unparalleled in any European literature at its dawn. . . . In such tales as the 'Murder of the Sons of Usnach' or 'Cuchulainn's Sickness' in which love finds a place, these remarkable traits are to be seen at their best. . . . No wonder that the descendants of these indefatigable inventors are men with rich literatures and that they happen some day to produce the greatest number of the plays that are acted, and of the novels that are read, all over the civilized world."—J. J. Jusserand, *Literary history of the English people*, pp. 11-13.—See also CELTS: Ancient Irish sagas.

6th-11th centuries.—Anglo-Saxon and Danish sources.—Widsith.—Beowulf.—Christian literature.—English Chronicle.—"Toward the close of the sixth century, the English tribes had as yet no literature. The use of their runes was much restricted; single signs or short sentences, proverbs, magic formulas, were scratched upon staves, drinking horns, swords, ornaments, etc. . . . Law and justice, myth and saga, history and practical

wisdom were handed down orally in poetical sayings, or flowing song. High esteem was paid to the art of 'finding sayings rightly bound', that is, in alliterative verse, and of speaking with skill and clearness. . . . The player and singer was called *gleóman*, gleeman. The word *scop* had a more special, and a more exalted significance, denoting the poets and singers who dwelt at a court. . . . Nevertheless, a longing for distant scenes, the Teutonic roving impulse, often seized him; and wandering from court to court, everywhere a welcome guest, he brought fresh songs, and tidings of strange people and events. A typical representative of this brotherhood of itinerant singers, named Widsith, or far-traveller, is the hero of an old song, the oldest monument of English poetry that remains to us. . . . Widsith, who was in Italy with Albion, must have 'spoken' when the immigration of the German tribes into England had virtually ceased. If his reminiscences reach back to a period when the English still dwelt in their original home, if, generally speaking, the personages who appear in his narrative, even when they are brought into mutual relation, partly belong to very diverse times, this merely proves that Widsith is a typical figure. But if, in the enumeration of peoples, the position as to the primitive abode of the English is authoritative, this may perhaps be explained only by the theory that the groundwork of the poem really descends from this early age, and that consequently it was not composed by a single poet, but grew up gradually. . . . The same conclusions hold good with regard to all extant remains of the Old English epic."—B. ten Brink, *Early English literature*, pp. 10-11, 23.—"The history of this period [Anglo-Saxon] is only gradually being written. Modern research is discovering old manuscripts that have lain hidden for ages, and is throwing fresh light on others that have been little regarded. But already we possess enough specimens of our early literature to enable us to make broad general statements as to its nature and the circumstances under which it was written. The greater part of our early literature is in verse. Anglo-Saxon verse has certain definite characteristics which distinguish it from the verse of any other period. Its metre is quite unlike the metre of modern English verse, and does not depend upon the number of syllables contained in each line. The lines are divided into halves by means of a pause, and each half line contains two accented syllables. There is no rhyme in Anglo-Saxon verse. Instead, there is studied alliteration, which forms an important element in the metrical structure; the two accented syllables in the first half of the line, and one of the accented syllables of the second half begin with the same letter. This is the rule, though there are many variations. The prose written during the Anglo-Saxon period is meagre in quantity and of small literary value. The *English Chronicle*, a few prefaces and translations by Alfred the Great, a collection of homilies and addresses—these are all the specimens we possess. Bede, we know, translated the Gospel of St. John into the English tongue, but no copy of his work has come down to us."—A. Cruse, *English literature through the ages*, p. 15.—Among the notable works extant of this early period is *Beowulf*, an epic poem. "*Beowulf* is a tale of adventure; the incidents in it are such as may be found in hundreds of other stories. Beowulf himself, the hero, is a champion and a slayer of monsters. He hears that the King of the Danes is plagued in his house by the visits of an ogre, who night after night comes and carries off one of the King's men. He goes on a visit to Den-

mark, sits up for the ogre, fights with him and mortally wounds him. That does not end the business, for the ogre's mother comes to revenge her son, and Beowulf has a second fight and kills her too, and is thanked and goes home again. Many years afterwards when he is king in his own country, Gautland (which is part of modern Sweden), a fiery dragon is accidentally stirred up from a long sleep and makes itself a pest to the country. Beowulf goes to attack the dragon, fights and wins, but is himself killed by the poison of the dragon. The poem ends with his funeral."—W. P. Ker, *English literature, medieval*, p. 32.—"*Beowulf*, because it is extant, has sometimes been overvalued, as if it were the work of an English Homer. But it was not preserved as the *Iliad* was, by the unanimous judgment of all the people through successive generations. It must have been of some importance at one time, or it would not have been copied out fair as a handsome book for the library of some gentleman. But many trashy things have been equally honoured in gentlemen's libraries, and it cannot be shown that *Beowulf* was nearly the best of its class. It was preserved by an accident; it has no right to the place of the most illustrious Anglo-Saxon epic poem. The story is commonplace and the plan is feeble. But there are some qualities in it which make it (accidentally or not, it hardly matters) the best worth studying of all the Anglo-Saxon poems. It is the largest extant piece in any old Teutonic language dealing poetically with native Teutonic subjects. It is the largest and fullest picture of life in the order to which it belongs; the only thing that shows incontestably the power of the old heroic poetry to deal on a fairly large scale with subjects taken from the national tradition. The impression left by *Beowulf*, when the carping critic has done his worst, is that of a noble manner of life, of courtesy and freedom, with the dignity of tragedy attending it, even though the poet fails, or does not attempt, to work out fully any proper tragic theme of his own."—*Ibid.*, pp. 29-31.—"One of the engaging figures of some centuries later is that of the earliest Christian poet of England, Caedmon. . . . Caedmon's poetry, written in Old English when religious writings in other countries more generally employed the Latin, is but part of the independence of the English church and the English people, part of that development of an individual life and an individual literature that has distinguished England. [See also BIBLE, ENGLISH: 7th-8th centuries.] . . . One other literary name it is important to remember, the name of Alfred, perhaps the gentlest of great kings. . . . No less than Beowulf, he was a people's king . . . and there is a very homely kindness in the writings in which he tells about the affairs of his kingdom or reports the discoveries of those who have come back from their voyages and told him their stories. . . . These are the things that are perhaps most particularly to be remembered in this Anglo-Saxon period of English literature, the Beowulf, the songs of Caedmon, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and the writings of King Alfred. One more name should be added here, . . . that of the religious poet Cynewulf. . . . It was with the reign of Alfred that England became more nearly a land of one people and could begin to grow into the arts of peace and a settled order. . . . This is the period when the tales of gleemen sung about the hall to the music of the harp pass into the more enduring form of the written word. It is the written word that makes a literature, and in monasteries and abbeys of England men were eagerly and joyously

copying the written words of others, making the wisdom of books their own, and out of their own experiences setting their thoughts in order for other men to read after them."—L. W. Smith and E. V. Hathaway, *Skyline in English literature*, pp. 13-18. —"It was the habit of the monasteries to put down on the *Easter Tables* the briefest and driest records of the events of the year, chiefly the deaths and enthronements of bishops and kings. . . . At the time of Aethelwulf or shortly after his death, some one man, and probably Bishop Swithun of Winchester, filled up the Winchester Annals from tradition back to Hengest, combined them with the Canterbury Chronicle, made a genealogy of the West Saxon kings from Aethelwulf to Cerdic, from Cerdic to Woden, and from Woden to Adam; and then, having inserted new matter throughout, told at some length the wars and death of Aethelwulf. This part of the *Chronicle*, running to 855 was found by Aelfred [Alfred] on his accession and remained as it was till the days of peace. Then about 801, having conceived the notion of making it a national history, he caused the whole to be gone over, and the part from the accession of his brother Aethelred, with a full account of his own wars with the Danes, to be written in. It is, from its style, the work of one man, and it may be that Aelfred did it himself. . . . In this recension many fresh entries were made from the Latin writers and Baeda's history. This then is the manuscript of the *Annals of Winchester* which, written by a single hand, was presented by Archbishop Parker to Corpus Christi College at Cambridge. . . . From 901 when Aelfred died, to 910, the story is but poorly recorded, but in 910 the pen is taken up by probably the same hand which wrote the account of the years from 804 to 897 with so much breadth, earnestness, and power."—S. A. Brooke, *English literature from the beginning to the Norman conquest*, pp. 224-225, 271-272.—"The 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,' running from Alfred's day to King Stephen's, and thus surviving the Norman Conquest, is the earliest historical writing in English prose. As we have seen, it was the work of the monks, regular soldiers of learning, living together under strict rules. . . . During the long cruel wars against the Danish raiders and settlers (900-960) many monasteries were overthrown. . . . Under Eadwig the Fair, St. Dunstan (957-975), peace was restored, and Dunstan could carry out reforms as Archbishop of Canterbury. . . . New monasteries, which often had schools attached to them, were built, and old monasteries were restored. . . . Ethelwold himself taught Latin to boys at Winchester, and had the Latin book of the rules of the Benedictine monks done into Anglo-Saxon. A set of Anglo-Saxon sermons survives from this age called 'The Blickling Homilies'. . . . In the school at Winchester Ælfric was trained (born 955?) and thence went to instruct the young monks in the abbey of Cerne in Dorset, where he preached homilies; he wrote them both in English and in Latin. His sermon on the 'Holy Housel,' that is the Holy Communion, contained ideas which the Protestants, at the Reformation, thought similar to their own, and they printed this homily. 'All is to be understood spiritually'. . . . The style of the prose is more or less alliterative, and a kind of rhythm is detected in some of the sermons, as if they were intended to be chanted. . . . His Dialogue (*Colloquium*) between a priest and a number of persons of various occupations, throws light on ways of living. He wrote Latin 'Lives of Saints,' and edited part of an English translation or paraphrase of the Bible, suitable as material for homilies. He

produced many other theological works, . . . being Abbot of Eynsham in Oxfordshire. The interest of Ælfric, Wulfstan, and the rest, for us, is that they upheld a standard of learning and of godly living, in evil times of fire and sword, and that English prose became a rather better literary instrument in their hands. . . . After the Conquest, Anglo-Saxon prose, save in the 'Chronicle,' was almost submerged, though, in poetry, there were doubtless plenty of popular ballads, for the most part lost or faintly traceable as translated into the Latin prose of some of the writers of history."—A. Lang, *History of English literature*, pp. 31-33. —See also ENGLAND: 855-880; HISTORY: 19; BALLAD: Ballad and history.

11th-14th centuries.—Effects of Norman conquest.—Edward the Confessor.—Latin chroniclers.—Poetry of the "langue d'oil."—"The Norman conquest of England from a literary point of view, did not begin on the autumn day that saw Harold's levies defeated by Norman archers on the slopes of Senlac. It began with the years which from his early youth onwards, Edward the Confessor, the grandson of a Norman duke, had spent in exile in Normandy; and with his intimacy with 'foreigners' and its inevitable consequences. The invasion of Norman favourites, which preceded and accompanied his accession to the throne, and their appointment, for a time, to the chief places in church and state, led to the tightening of the bonds that bound England to the Roman church, and paved the way for the period of Latin influence that followed the coming of William, Lanfranc and Anselm. . . . The development of Old English literature . . . was arrested. It was by no means, as some have urged, lifeless before this break in its history; and speculation would be futile as to what might have been its future, had there been no Norman conquest, . . . but the literary spirit of the people, though they were crushed under their Norman masters, never died out; it had little or no assistance at first from the alien lettered classes; and when it revived, it was 'with a difference.'"—A. R. Waller, *Norman conquest (Cambridge history of English literature, v. 1, ch. 8)*.—"Under William and his first successors, people wrote and sung in Latin, Caledonian, Welsh, Anglo-Saxon, the Roman of the troubères, and sometimes the Roman of the troubadours. There were poets, bards, jongleurs, minstrels, conteors, fableors, gesteors, harpeors. Poetry assumed all sorts of forms, and gave to its productions all sorts of names: lays, ballads, rotruenges, carols, chansons de gestes, tales, sirventois, satires, fabliaux, jeux-partis, dicties. . . . There were romances of love, romances of chivalry, romances of St. Graal, romances of the Round Table, romances of Charlemagne, romances of Alexander, and sacred poems. . . . The miracles and mysteries formed an essential part of the literature of all Christian countries, from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries. The French language despised and warred against that of the Anglo-Saxon. . . . The very act of Parliament of 1362 which directs that the English idiom shall thenceforth be in use is drawn up in French. . . . After the battle of Crécy had been fought . . . whilst the English were . . . enumerating in French, the slain of the French army, it must have occurred to their minds that they had not always been conquerors, and that they preserved in their own language the very proof of their subjection, and of the fickleness of fortune. . . . At last, the Parliament convoked at Westminster the 20th of January 1483, under Richard III; drew up the bills in English, and its example was followed by

succeeding parliaments. The three kingdoms of Great Britain were on the verge of adopting the French language: Shakespeare would then have written in the idiom of Rabelais."—F. A. R. De Chateaubriand, *Sketches of English literature*, v. 1, pp. 66, 79, 93, 95-96.—"Of all the literary monuments of the remarkable revival of learning which followed the coming of the Normans, and which reached its zenith under Henry II, the greatest, alike in bulk and in permanent interest and value, is the voluminous mass of Latin chronicles compiled during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. . . . So wide is their outlook, and so authoritative is their record of events, that, as Stubbs observes, 'it is from the English chroniclers of this period that much of the German history of the time has to be written.' The new England had become conscious of her power, and of her growing importance in the international economy of Europe. In literature the most signal expression is that consciousness in the work of the Latin chroniclers. . . . The twelfth century is, above all, the age of the birth of modern romance. The institutions of chivalry, the mystic symbolism of the church, the international currency of popular fabliaux, the importation of oriental stories of magic and wizardry—all contributed to the fashioning of the fantastic creations of the medieval romances. . . . Geoffrey of Monmouth, ambitious of supplying what previous writers had failed to tell about the kings of Britain before the coming of the English, wrote a chronicle which had all the charm and novelty of a romance of adventure. King Arthur, as a romantic hero, is Geoffrey's creation. Hence the most readable Latin chronicle of the twelfth century is one that has the least real claim to that title. But the *History of the Kings of Britain* is no more to be ruled out of a place in the chronicle literature of England than it is to be ousted from its assured pre-eminence as the fountain-head of Arthurian romance. For Geoffrey's legends not only wrought their spell upon innumerable poets and imaginative writers, but continued for generations to disturb the writers of history, and to mystify a long line of honest and laborious chroniclers. . . . The thirteenth century is emphatically the golden age of the monastic historians. At their head stands Matthew Paris, the greatest of all our medieval chroniclers; but his work only represents the crowning literary achievement of an enthusiasm and an industry that inspired every considerable monastery in the land. . . . The art of the historian proper, however, gradually began to decline after the death of Matthew Paris. Among the chroniclers who take us down to the fourteenth century there are few names worthy of a place in a history of literature."—W. L. Jones, *Latin chroniclers (Cambridge history of English literature, v. 1, ch. 9)*.—"One further consequence of the Norman Conquest must not be overlooked. Anglo-Saxon poetry was alliterative, that is, it employed initial or head rhyme rather than end rhyme. . . . End rhyme came in at this period with the Norman-French and the influence of Latin and French scholarship. The change was one from strength, a sort of pounding and insistent emphasis, to a greater refinement, variety, ease and complexity. All this, of course, made for greater fulness in the expression of thought, while life itself, and man's ideas about life were also growing fuller."—L. W. Smith and E. V. Hathaway, *Skyline in English literature*, pp. 29-30.—"The predominance of French poetry in Europe, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is due to its poetry of the *langue d'oïl*, the poetry of northern France and of the tongue which is now the French language.

[See FRENCH LITERATURE: 5th-15th centuries.] In the twelfth century the bloom of this romance-poetry was earlier and stronger in England, at the court of our Anglo-Norman kings, than in France itself. But it was a bloom of French poetry; and as our native poetry formed itself, it formed itself out of this."—T. H. Ward, *English poets, v. 1, introduction*, p. 30.

14th century.—Age of Chaucer.—Beginnings of English poetry of social consciousness.—Minstrels.—Renaissance retarded.—"Geoffrey Chaucer [c. 1340-1400] is the greatest English writer between the Norman Conquest and the age of Elizabeth. He was the first courtly poet in English, the first to equal the French in any of the fields in which they shone, the first to feel and to utilize any of the splendid achievements of Italian poetry. He had genius as well as talent; he was a conscious artist, not merely an industrious writer. Such is his eminence that we are ever tempted to estimate him, not by his compatriots or his contemporaries, but by the best writers of the classical and the modern literatures. Chaucer was not a deliberate reformer of the English language. He used the current dialect of his native city. In this dialect he wrote with the care and consistency of a literary artist. He did not labor to reduce or to normalize inflection, or to expand the vocabulary by introduction of foreign terms; it has been shown that, passage for passage, *Piers Plowman* contains a somewhat greater proportionate use of foreign elements than does Chaucer, and that, on like themes treated in a like spirit, the proportion of native elements in the two writers would probably be about the same. Chaucer's conscious effort in this field consists in his persistent loyalty to the vernacular, in face of the temptations of Latin and French. By producing a large body of excellent literature in London English, as unpurposed consequences he assisted toward the dominance of that dialect, he made composition in the native tongue respectable in any class of society, and, being widely imitated for over a century, he affected the literary language and helped to establish a standard speech. For smoothness, facility, grace, variety, and novelty, Chaucer was the greatest English metrist up to the time of Shakespeare, and is to be classed among the most notable writers of English verse in any period. His achievement is the greater from the paucity of forms in earlier English verse, and from the comparatively unsettled state of the language that he had to use. In the *House of Fame*, the *Duchesse*, and perhaps the *Romaunt*, he employed the short couplet—long familiar from the *Roman de la Rose*, and practised admirably in the *Owl and the Nightingale*; in *Sir Thopas* he used the tailrime popular in the later romances; and perhaps it was he who wrote the two tetrameter quatrains abab of the *Proverbs*. He introduced into English the pentameter couplet in the *Legend* and most of the *Canterbury Tales*, and *tersa rima* in the *Complaint to his Lady*."—J. E. Wells, *Manual of the writings in Middle English*, pp. 500-600.

"One of the finest passages in English criticism of poetry is Dryden's estimate of Chaucer in the Preface to the *Fables*. Chaucer is taken by Dryden, in the year 1700, as an example of that sincerity and truth to Nature which makes the essence of classical poetry. In this classical quality, Dryden thinks that Ovid is far inferior to Chaucer. Dryden makes allowance for Chaucer's old-fashioned language, and he did not fully understand the beauty of Chaucer's verse, but still he judges him as a modern writer with respect to his imagination; to no modern writer does he give higher

praise than to Chaucer. This truth to Nature, in virtue of which Chaucer is a classic, will be found to be limited in some of his works by conventions which are not always easy to understand. Among these should not be reckoned the dream allegory. For though it may appear strange at first that Chaucer should have gone back to this in so late a work as the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, yet it does not prevent him from speaking his mind either in earlier or later poems. In the *Book of the Duchess*, the *Parliament of Birds*, the Prologue to the *Legend*, one feels that Chaucer is dealing with life, and saying what he really thinks, in spite of the conventions. *The House of Fame*, which is a dream poem, might almost have been written for a wager, to show that he could bring in everything traditional, everything most common in the old artificial poetry, and yet be original and fresh through it all. But there are some stories—the *Clerk's Tale*, and the *Franklin's Tale*—in which he uses conventions of another sort and is partially disabled by them. These are stories of a kind much favoured in the Middle Ages, turning each upon one single obligation which, for the time, is regarded as if it were the only rule of conduct. . . . In the *Legend of Good Women* he is limited in a different way, and not so severely. He has to tell 'the Saints' Lives of Cupid'—the Legends of the Heroines who have been martyrs for love; and as in the Legend of the Saints of the Church, the same motives are repeated, the trials of loyalty, the grief and pity. The Legend was left unfinished. . . . But the stories are distinct, and all are beautiful—the legends of Cleopatra, Queen and Martyr, of Thisbe and Ariadne, and the rest. Another poem which may be compared with the *Legend of Good Women* is the *Monk's Tale*—an early work to which Chaucer made later additions—his book of the *Falls of Princes*. The Canterbury pilgrims find it too depressing, and in their criticism of the Monk's tragedies Chaucer may possibly have been thinking also of his unfinished *Legend of Good Women*. But what has been said of the Legend may be repeated about the Monk's Tale; there is the same kind of pathos in all the chapters, but they are all varied. One of the tragedies is the most considerable thing which Chaucer took from Dante; the story of Ugolino in the *Inferno*, 'Hugelyn Erle of Pise.' It is uncertain whether Chaucer knew the *Decameron* of Boccaccio, but the art of his comic stories is very like that of the Italian, to whom he owed so much in other ways. It is the art of comic imagination, using a perfect style which does not need to be compared with the unsophisticated old French ribaldry of the *fabliaux* to be appreciated, though a comparison of that sort will show how far the Middle Ages had been left behind by Boccaccio and Chaucer. Among the interludes in the *Canterbury Tales* there are two especially, the monologues of the Wife of Bath and the Pardoner, where Chaucer has discovered one of the most successful forms of comic poetry, and the Canon's Yeoman's prologue may be reckoned as a third along with them, though there, and also in the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, the humour is of a peculiar sort, with less character in it, and more satire—like the curious learned satire of which Ben Jonson was fond. It is remarkable that the tales told by the Wife of Bath and the Pardoner are both in a different tone from their discourses about themselves. Without *Troilus and Criseyde* the works of Chaucer would be an immense variety—romance and sentiment, humour and observation, expressed in poetical language that has never been equalled for truth and liveliness. But it is only in *Troilus* that Chaucer uses his full

powers together in harmony. All the world, it might be said, is reflected in the various poems of Chaucer; *Troilus* is the one poem which brings it all into a single picture. In the history of English poetry it is the close of the Middle Ages."—W. P. Ker, *English literature, medieval*, pp. 247-252.

"Gower [d. 1408] should always be remembered along with Chaucer; he is what Chaucer might have been without genius and without his Italian reading, but with his critical tact, and much of his skill in verse and diction. The *Confessio Amantis* is monotonous, but it is not dull. Much of it at a time is wearisome, but as it is composed of a number of separate stories, it can be read in bits, and ought to be so read. Taken one at a time the clear bright little passages come out with a meaning and a charm that may be lost when the book is read too perseveringly. The *Confessio Amantis* is one of the medieval works in which a number of different conventions are used together. In its design it resembles the *Romance of the Rose*; and like the *Romance of the Rose* it belongs to the pattern of Boethius; it is in the form of a conversation between the poet and a divine interpreter. As a collection of stories, all held together in one frame, it follows the example set by the *Book of the Seven Wise Masters*. Like the *Romance of the Rose* again it is an encyclopædia of the art of love. Very fortunately, in some of the incidental passages it gets away from conventions and authorities, and enlarges in a modern good-tempered fashion on the vanities of the current time. There is more wickedness in Gower than is commonly suspected. Chaucer is not the only ironical critic of his age; and in his satire Gower appears to be, no less than Chaucer, independent of French examples, using his wit about the things and the humours which he could observe in the real life of his own experience."—*Ibid.*, pp. 225-226.—"After Gower come Occleve and Lydgate. . . . Poetry and religion are no longer capable of suggesting a genuine sentiment. . . . Continually we meet with dull abstractions, used up and barren; it is the scholastic phase of poetry."—H. A. Taine, *History of English literature*, v. 1, p. 138.—"The Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists regarded themselves as the lineal descendants of the poets of the fourteenth century; they made use of their materials; they inherited something of their spirit; they even reproduced features of their style. If we are to understand the motives of the finished poetical architecture of the writers of the English Renaissance, we must examine the foundations on which they are built. . . . Gower, Lydgate, Occleve, and others may be in themselves the dull folk that M. Taine finds them, but they rise to a position of some dignity when they are regarded as the pioneers of our poetry."—J. Courthope, *History of English poetry*, v. 1, preface, pp. xix-xx.—"The merry charm of Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales' afforded infinite delectation to a reading public of Church and clerkdom. But it is one thing to reach the public, quite another to reach the people; and the more difficult achievement was Langland's [c. 1330-c. 1400]. His grave verse went straight to the heart of the still Teutonic race, indifferent to the facile French lilt of Chaucer. Serfs and laborers, seemingly inaccessible to influences of culture, as they staggered along under their heavy loads, eagerly welcomed the 'Visions of Piers the Plowman,' of 'Do Well, Do Better, and Do Best.' They heard, pondered, and repeated, till they realized that their souls had found utterance at last. The central version of the great poem—for the author rewrote it three times—antedated by only two or three years the Peasants' Revolt under Wat

Tyler and John Ball. This was the first largely significant prophecy in England of a distinct industrial movement. . . . The first note of the social revolution is heard in its confused echoes. . . . Langland was thus a direct power, as few poets have ever been, upon an awakening national life. The revolt failed. . . . Times passed, conditions changed. The poem of Langland was forgotten. Nor was any other destiny possible to it. Consciously or unconsciously, Langland rejected all elements of the common life offered from above, from culture, learning, knighthood. . . . 'The Canterbury Tales' are of the same half-century as 'The Vision' of Langland; and still the wayfaring man may rejoice in their fresh romance and bewitching melody, while the solemn measures of Chaucer's brother-poet chant to the scholar and the seeker alone. . . . This is the book of the people. . . . Sharing the people's sorrows, it shares also their fate; it is forgotten. . . . This appeal is the first word of the social literature of England."—V. D. Scudder, *Social ideals in English letters*, pp. 21-23, 45.—"The presents, the favor of the great, rendered enviable the lot of the minstrels; they multiplied accordingly. . . . Popular movements were the occasion for satirical songs against the great, songs composed by minstrels and soon known by heart among the crowd. . . . The renown of the popular rebel, Robin Hood, the outlaw, who lived in the twelfth century if he ever lived, went on increasing. His manly virtues were extolled; picturesque companions were, later, invented for him: Friar Tuck, Maid Marion, Little John and all the imaginary inhabitants of Sherwood Forest; listeners were told how this pious man, who, even in the worst danger, waited till mass was over before thinking of his safety, boldly robbed the great lords and high prelates, but was merciful to the poor; which was an indirect notice to the brigands of the time that they should be careful to discern in their rounds between the tares and the wheat. The sympathy of the minstrels for ideas of emancipation which had made such great progress in the fourteenth century, was not only evinced in their songs, but also in the remodelled romances recited by them in presence of the nobles, and which henceforth were full of high-flown declarations on the equality of men. . . . Poets and popular singers had thus an influence over social movements, less through the maxims scattered throughout their great works than by those little unpolished pieces struck off on the moment, which the lesser of them composed and sang for the people, at the cross-roads in times of trouble, or by the peasants' hearth in ordinary times, as a reward for hospitality."—J. J. Jusserand, *English wayfaring life in the Middle Ages*, pp. 212-213, 215-216.—"We may conclude . . . that the progress of the 'new learning' in England was somewhat retarded by the peculiar conditions of the time. In the fourteenth century the influence of Italian culture is apparent in the later works of Chaucer, and the spirit of the Reformation was anticipated by Wyclif; but these men were far ahead of their time, and it was not until toward the end of the fifteenth century, when the long struggle for the crown had been ended by the accession of Henry VII, that the Italian influence began again vitally to affect England."—H. S. Pancoast, *Introduction to English literature*, p. 175.—See also PHILOLOGY: 18; BALLAD: Development.

15th century.—Dawn of the Renaissance.—Transition period.—"The fifteenth century dawned upon an England that had outlived the energising idealism of the twelfth century. The vigorous vitality of that era had been paralysed by

the wasteful futilities of the Hundred Years' War with France, and divided councils at home. Feudalism that had been a power in Norman times in evolving order and solidarity out of anarchy and confusion, survived now only as a spent force. No longer did it suit the needs of the nation. The plaint of Langland, the anathema of Wycliff, bear witness to the general unrest and disorganization. The sterility of English literature after Chaucer testifies to the lowered vitality of the time. Yet once again is the old saying justified that it is darkest before the dawn. There has been a stirring of fresh life, a kindling of new desires in Italy and Germany. . . . But while Italy was on fire with the new sunrise, it was still for England merely a streak of light upon the horizon."—A. Compton-Rickett, *History of English literature*, pp. 77-78.—"The general lessons of the fifteenth century are rather unusually easy to disentangle; indeed, the very want of intrinsic, and so misleading, interest leaves these lessons all the more exposed. In poetry we have little or no progress to chronicle, and a surprisingly small amount of positive achievement, this latter being found almost wholly in the small group of the better Scottish poets [James the First, Robert Henryson, William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas] and in the anonymous writers of ballads and carols. . . . The mystery and miracle play had perhaps for centuries—certainly for some century and a half—been practiced by the not always rude mechanicals of probably every great town in the kingdom. The farce-interludes, originally introduced to prevent the effect being too solemn. . . . had gradually detached themselves and constituted almost an independent kind. That religious feeling after the Reformation exaggerated the dislike of Catholicism for dramatic performance as such, and did not maintain the exceptional tolerance for religious drama, mattered little. The excessive earnestness and sternness of the time, required easement in some direction, and found it in this. . . . Of prose . . . it is possible to speak with less allowance. That the period gives one of the best books in English literature [Mallory's *Morte d'Arthur* printed by Caxton] may be partly . . . an accident; that the translations, not yet final but substantively formed, of the Bible and the adaptations of the Liturgy at its close have supplied nearly four centuries since with models of exquisite cadence, of enchanting selection and arrangement of vocabulary, is, if not an accident, the result of . . . circumstances not all of which . . . are literary. But it is no accident, it is of the essence of literary history and development of the time, that the resources, the practice, the duties, the opportunities, of prose continue during the whole course of the period steadily to expand, to subdivide themselves, to acquire diversity, adequacy, accomplishment. . . . It is scarcely too much to say that the fifteenth century, with a few years backward into the fourteenth and onwards into the sixteenth, plays the same part in regard to English prose that the thirteenth century, with probably (for our knowledge is dimmer here) a few years backward into the twelfth century and certainly more than a few forward into the fourteenth, plays in regard to English verse."—G. Saintsbury, *Short history of English literature*, pp. 215-218.—See also PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1476-1401.

1530-1660.—English Renaissance.—Poetry.—The sonnet.—Spenser.—Raleigh.—Sidney.—Daniel.—Drayton.—Shakespeare.—Miscellaneous prose writers.—Fiction.—Lyly.—Greene.—Nashe.—Sidney's *Arcadia*.—Lodge.—Bacon.—Burton.—Milton.—Donne.—"We now pass to the period designated as Elizabethan. . . . It is the

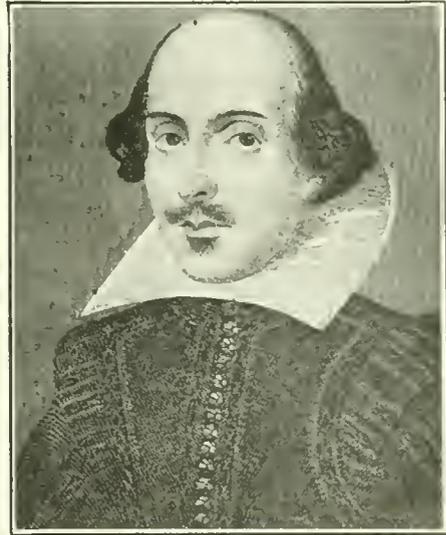
period of Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton. It is clearly defined in the first, reaches its zenith in the second, and passes away in the third."—J. Bascom, *Philosophy of English literature*, p. 69.—"Much more markedly than in the case of most period-divisions, 'Elizabethan' literature divides naturally and internally according to the historic label, at least as regards its rise. Every labelled period, of course, is found to dovetail into its antecedent; and the first printed poetry current under Elizabeth was mostly written in her father's reign. But between 1530 and 1580 there is none the less a difference as between two eras. Between the poetry of Hawes, Barclay, and Skelton, and the poetry of Wyatt, Surrey, Sackville, and Spenser; between the prose of Elyot and Lord Berners and the prose of Bacon and Hooker; between the dramatic interludes of Cornish and John Heywood and the drama of Marlowe, Jonson, and Shakespeare, there is a far more marked leap in development than can be noted in any previous period of three generations since Chaucer. There has been at once an epochal change in verse form, a swift ascent from the Middle Ages to the topmost height of the Renaissance in dramatic aim and achievement, and a no less marvellous rise in prose diction and doctrine from an old world naïveté, half scholastic, half rustic, to a deeply reflective and wholly civilized way of writing and ratiocination. . . . The new verse is clearly motivated by and modelled on Italian and French example. . . . In the short love poems of Wyatt and Surrey . . . poetry has . . . ceased to be book-making and the lyrical supersedes the didactic motive. . . . Upon that innovating stir of poetic impulses there followed, within a quarter of a century, a far greater and more enduring artistic florescence, also stimulated by foreign example, but deeply rooted too in vernacular art, . . . the large output of the eager and fertile muse of Spenser. Here it is that Elizabethan narrative and lyric poetry reaches the height of its power and luxuriance, reaching out a magistral hand to Milton in the next age, and making possible his epic by demonstrating the poetic wealth of the living tongue. . . . Between Spenser's stanza and his varied rhyming measures on the one hand, and on the other the blank verse of the drama as finally established by the triumph of Marlowe and perfected by Shakespeare, the foundations of modern English poetry were completely laid within the space of a few years. . . . In drama the Elizabethan innovation is the most marked of all."—J. M. Robertson, *Elizabethan literature*, pp. 11, 13-15.

"The age of Elizabeth is above all the age of song. . . . The origin of the modern lyric of art in the poetry of Wyatt and Surrey . . . has already been [alluded to]. *Tottel's Miscellany* is the first book of modern English lyrical poetry, and it includes what the following generation regarded as the best of the lyrical output of the reign of Henry VIII. . . . From 1580 to 1590, for example, it was the custom to express lyrical sentiment for the most part in the terms of the pastoral."—F. E. Schelling, *English literature during the lifetime of Shakespeare*, pp. 120-122.—"*The Shepherds' Calendar* [Edmund Spenser, c. 1552-1599] is the first successful attempt to write poetical pastoral eclogues in English. . . . Notwithstanding that *The Shepherds' Calendar* is . . . imitative of foreign poets, written in a mode which seems strained and artificial to us to-day, and weighted by a conservative adherence to an archaic vocabulary and an obsolete system of rhythm in parts, the poem was an immediate success, and Spenser was enthusiastically hailed as 'the new poet' in a chorus of praise. . . . [It] is more than a set of eclogues on amorous

and trifling subjects. It contains underneath a thin disguise of pastoral form, a deep undercurrent of sturdy and independent opinion. . . . The *Epithalamion* which celebrated his marriage, in June, 1594, has been truly described as 'one of the grandest lyrics in English poetry.' . . . And now as to Spenser's famous book, *The Faery Queen*. Fortunately for our understanding of its scope and meaning, we have Spenser's own interesting letter to Raleigh. Therein we learn that *The Faery Queen* is 'a continued allegory or dark conceit,' and that 'the general end thereof . . . is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline.' . . . [The] stupendous plan was never completed. The six finished books give the legend (each in twelve cantos, averaging fifty or sixty stanzas each) of Holiness, Temperance, Chastity, Friendship, Justice, and Courtesy; while a fragment of two 'Cantos on Mutability' is supposed to have belonged to a seventh book (not necessarily seventh in order) on Constancy. . . . As *The Faery Queen* remains to us, it is like some fragment of ancient sculpture, the more beautiful from its incompleteness. However, such is its exquisite detail and such its chainlike quality of unity in continuance, that it is probable that we are not much the losers by this. Indeed, with all its elaborate plan, *The Faery Queen* must be pronounced one of the most plotless epics in existence. Moreover the narrative, despite its graces and variety, is repetitious, if continuous. . . . Two allegories underlie the story of *The Faery Queen*, one figuring forth abstract virtues and religious qualities, the other the concrete presentation of the same. . . . The Spenserian stanza [consisting of nine lines and rhyming ababbcbcc] is Spenser's own, and is certainly to be regarded as one of the happiest inventions in formal versification. Its adaptation, moreover, to the style and subject of *The Faery Queen* is perfect; for the Spenserian stanza combines the advantage of a beautiful integral form, of sufficient scope to admit every variety of cadence, with the unusual additional faculty of linking well stanza to stanza. . . . The paradox of Spenser's genius lies in his combination in harmonious union of a passionate love of the sensuously beautiful with the purest and sternest ethical spirit of his time. This it is that makes Spenser alike the poet of the Renaissance and the poet of the Reformation. . . . Raleigh [c. 1552-1618] was deeply interested in the exploitation of England, to his own advantage as well as the empire's. [See also HISTORY; 24.] But he was likewise a poet possessed of a 'lofty and insolent vein,' scorning the world, its snares and vanities. Raleigh had been a friend of Marlowe, and reputed a member of a club of atheists, or at least free-thinkers, in his youth; yet it was to him that Spenser confided the ethical scheme of his ideal of a moral world in *The Faery Queen*."—*Ibid.*, pp. 48-49, 54, 56-57, 59-61, 296.—"The last [decade] of the sixteenth century, is the time of the sonnet. Introduced into the language by Wyatt, first practised in sequence and raised to the standard of exquisite poetry by Sidney [1554-1586], the Elizabethan sonnet appears to have owed, almost from the first, nearly as much to France as to Italy."—F. E. Schelling, *English literature during the lifetime of Shakespeare*, pp. 128-129.—"*Astrophel and Stella* (like the rest of Sidney's work) was printed after his death, appearing first in a surreptitious edition in 1591, and procured for the printers by Thomas Nash [or Nashe]. This earliest sequence of its kind in the language consists of one hundred and ten sonnets with a few intercalated lyrics in other measures. The series was indubitably inspired by the sonnets of Petrarch and the Platonic

ideals of love therein upheld by the Italian poet's cult of his ideal mistress, Laura."—*Ibid.*, p. 29.—"The first and surreptitious edition of *Astrophel and Stella* . . . included not only Sidney's sequence, but 'sundry other rare sonnets of divers noblemen and gentlemen,' notably twenty-eight sonnets of Samuel Daniel [1562-1619]. . . . The poet resented this premature publication of his work, and in the following year put forth a true edition of his *Delia*, which included the sonnets already published together with many others and a narrative poem, *The Complaint of Rosamund*. Daniel's poetry was so well received that in the next year, 1594, he issued another edition, called *Delia and Rosamund Augmented*. Neither of these poems was without its effect upon the non-dramatic poetry of Shakespeare. And indeed Daniel deserved his popularity; for versatility of expression, choiceness and polish of diction, grace and leisurely dignity of style, all are his; though no one could be carried away by his fervor, and the flowers of his ornamentation seem artificial at times. . . . Sonneteering now became the fashion, and sequence after sequence, in repeated editions, issued from the press. Drayton [1563-1631] added the writing of sonnets to his multiform literary activities. . . . Giles Fletcher, in his *Licia*, turned from travel and diplomacy; . . . Sir John Davies from the law; Spenser from epic poetry and Shakespeare from the stage to sonneteering. . . . [Among] the sonnet sequences of amatory import, five . . . stand out distinct in poetical merit above the rest: these are, in order of time, Sidney's *Astrophel*, Daniel's *Delia*, Drayton's *Idea*, the *Amoretti* of Spenser, and the *Sonnets* of Shakespeare. . . . Michael Drayton's career in poetry was to be a long and honorable one, for to him, as to the other poets just mentioned, sonneteering was but the passing fashion of the moment. In the longer reaches of his work, Drayton is a Spenserian, as shown in his love of allegory and the pastoral mode, the sweet continuousness of his measures, his natural felicity, even in his want of design and lengthy elaborateness. And for all these things in time Drayton's popularity came to equal almost that of his master. But the earlier sonnets of Drayton preceded both Spenser and Shakespeare. Drayton's sonnets, judged as a whole, appear to echo successively Daniel, Sidney, and Shakespeare. Drayton's *Idea* began with a few sonnets among several pastorals, published in 1593. . . . The definitive edition of 1610, *Idea* had come to contain many sonnets, written long after the sonnet-craze, while other earlier ones had been suppressed. Indeed, one sonnet of Drayton's (the one beginning 'Since there's no help, come, let us kiss and part') which impressionistic criticism has discovered to be 'so fine that nobody but Shakespeare could have written it,' appears for the first time in this edition of 1610, three years after Shakespeare's death. Drayton's sonnets in general have less of grace and art than those of Daniel; at times they are even somewhat harsh. Despite their 'originals,' they seem less Italianate than the earlier sequences, although their metrical facility and ease are prevailing, and two or three will maintain their place among the very best sonnets of their time. . . . A critical analysis of the *Amoretti* discloses that the series falls naturally into two parts, the second beginning with the sixty-third sonnet. Up to that point the sonnets are concerned with Spenser's courtship. In the second part, the lofty celebration of love's victory is the poet's theme. . . . [In Shakespeare's (1564-1616) *Sonnets*] the poet has become the devoted friend of a youth, much younger than himself and of a

station in life above him. At much the same time he yields to a passionate infatuation for a dark lady who keeps both men in her toils to their undoing. The first group of sonnets details the growth and fluctuations of the poet's affection for his friend. . . . The second series deals more briefly with the poet's passion for his mistress whose 'blackness'—to use the Elizabethan word—he extols above the lily fairness of other men's beloveds; whom he reproaches for her unfaithfulness and for the wreck which she finally makes of the devotion of his friend as well as of his own. . . . As a sequence the *Sonnets* of Shakespeare are not pleasing. The story is not attractive, nor the uncontrol with which it is told. It produces the effect of a vivid, terrible, and confused dream; its very beauties seem the flowers of a heated and overwrought imagination; and while it strikes one in only a few of its interpolated notes as unreal, there is a distortion about it. . . . But if we come to the consideration of individual sonnets, here is



SHAKESPEARE

(From the engraving by Martin Droeshout)

Shakespeare preëminent. Unequal as the sonnets are, considered together,—some of them on a level with Lynebe or Barnes—there remains a collection, the poetic excellence, the masterly touch and truth of which no other poetry of the Elizabethan age can approach."—F. E. Schelling, *English literature during the lifetime of Shakespeare*, pp. 120-131, 137-139, 144-145.—"As with his plays, Shakespeare, instead of looking for new subjects, chose well-known ones, often treated and constantly alluded to; their popularity was, in his eyes, an inducement. . . . The myth of Venus and Adonis, drawn from the most popular of Latin poets, Ovid, had been told in English by Spenser, summed up by Lodge, alluded to by Marlowe, Greene, and others. The story of Lucrece, drawn from Livy and Ovid, had been told by Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, Paynter, Barnabe Googe, and had been the subject of numerous ballads. The two pictures were as a foil one for the other, the first being devoted to sensual love and the second to constancy. But both dealt with physical love, and were sure to please the inmates of 'Castle Joyeous.' In contrast to the sombre group of the puritans, still

glittered and frisked in the sunlight the group of the young noblemen, all beribboned and gilded, superb, careless, well-read, enamoured of beauty, leading free lives, ancestors of those long-plumed cavaliers who were to display such valour and meet such tragic fates. To these dilettantes, whom the poets and artists of Italy, and already more than one English author, had familiarised with the splendours and the debauches of Olympus, Shakespeare offered sensual pictures, complacently painted with an expert, leisurely hand, in glowing colours, enchanting to the eye of the unchaste. As he had surpassed in 'Titus Andronicus' the horrors of 'Tamburlaine,' so he surpasses in his 'Venus' the grace of past 'Scyllas' and the indelicacy of future 'Pygmalions.' It is, indeed, the group of worldly readers alone that Shakespeare seeks to please; even in his dedication to Southampton he adopts their disdainful and ironical tone; for them he describes his temptress, for them he modulates the exquisite music of his lines, displays his nudities, and through Venus's lips sings his hymn to physical love. 'Lucrece,' another risky subject, is treated by him with more reserve. If the melody of the verse remains sweet and the colouring brilliant, the poet transforms his heroes into reasoners and their discourses fill most of the work. . . . The poet, having, in using their own methods, surpassed the amourist and lyrical writers then in fashion, was thenceforth, and for that very reason, recognised by all as a poet; his two booklets had a considerable sale, especially his 'Venus,' which attained, during his lifetime, seven editions, more than did any of his plays. He gained, thanks to these works, a rank of his own on the English Parnassus."—J. J. Jusserand, *Literary history of the English people*, pp. 204-208.

"If the Elizabethan drama is a new birth alike as to form and content, no less does Elizabethan prose tell of a rapid development of mental life. . . . Sir Thomas More [1478-1535] . . . [threw] out in his youth, under Henry VIII, a work in Latin, the *Utopia*, which is quite abreast of any Elizabethan book in the keenness and originality of its criticism of life."—J. M. Robertson, *Elizabethan literature*, p. 16.—"Among those who, following Erasmus, strove to make use of the writings of antiquity for the instruction and edification of their contemporaries . . . [was] Sir Thomas Elyot [c. 1400-1546]. . . . [He] is best known by his treatise, *The Boke named the Governour*. . . . It is a lengthy and exhaustive treatise on the education which those who are destined to govern ought to receive. . . . The whole book is full of classical reminiscences taken either directly from the authors of antiquity or borrowed from the humanists of Italy."—T. M. Lindsay, *Englishmen and the classical Renaissance (Cambridge history of English literature, v. 3, ch. 1, pp. 21, 22)*.—"Roger Ascham, [c. 1515] who survived until 1568, was the leading writer of the age in English; his influence was strenuously opposed to the introduction of those French and Italian forces which would have softened and mellowed the harshness of the English tongue so beneficially, and he was all in favour of a crabbed imitation of Greek models, the true beauty of which, it is safe to say, no one in his day comprehended in the modern spirit. It is impossible to call Ascham an agreeable writer, and pure pedantry to insist upon his mastery of English. His efforts were all in an academic direction, and his suspicion of ornament was in diametric opposition to the instinct of the nation, as to be presently and in the great age abundantly revealed. Meanwhile to Ascham and his disciples the only thing needful seemed to be 'to speak

plainly and nakedly after the common sort of men in few works.'"—E. Gosse, *Modern English literature*, pp. 79-80.—See also EDUCATION: Modern: 1510-1570: Ascham and the Scholemaster.—"Had it not been for Italy, the novel might have tarried for another hundred years. Rhetoric and song were indigenous to the race: Spenser, Marlowe, Shakespeare would have found articulate speech, Italy or no Italy. But it may reasonably be doubted whether we should have had the Elizabethan novelist. . . . The Elizabethan prose writers who distinguished themselves in prose fiction were John Lyly, Robert Greene, Thomas Lodge, Sir Philip Sidney and Thomas Nash."—A. Compton-Rickett, *History of English literature*, p. 105.—"With the fresh tides of pleasure and of passion which flowed in upon English life and English literature in Elizabethan days arose new questions for those whose temper was serious, and who could not be content with a culture which ignored the moral nature of man. . . . A reconciliation of this kind was aimed at by Lyly [1553-1606] in his *Euphues*, and it was presented in a novel literary form—a decorated prose, in which the sentences are patterned out and enriched with ornament according to certain rules easy to understand and to apply. Art in prose-writing was a demand of persons of culture, and it was not yet felt that the highest art conceals itself. Here was a prose-style in which every sentence was turned out of the mould as exact in all its ornaments as a piece of our cheap cast-iron. . . . This prose of Lyly's was like nothing human, like nothing natural, therefore it was so much the more distinctively the product of art. But the detestable style of Lyly was only one of the chief sources of the popularity of his book, which passed through ten editions between its first publication and 1636. The other great recommendation was that it endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between Renaissance culture and the old morality of England. . . . Religion, education, literature, manners were seriously handled, and yet with the gleam and brilliance of the newest fashion in prose-writing. Above all *Euphues* treated in an edifying spirit of love; honour was done to woman; honour was done in particular to English matrons and maids. . . . The tale was no old-fashioned romance of knightly adventures; it was an Odyssey of culture, including in that word moral culture; the young men and maidens of whom it told were in fact those of Elizabethan England. We can perceive why the book became popular. Such grace and wit as belonged to Lyly are best seen in his courtly plays; but he is a moral teacher in his prose. . . . Lyly wrote as a superior person, as a reformer of manners, as a reformer of style. Robert Greene [c. 1560-1592] was by no means a superior person; he lay open to all the various influences of the time, gave himself away to this and to that, wrote in every style on every subject admitting of imaginative treatment, imitated Lyly, imitated Marlowe, refurbished tales from the Italian, addressed himself to readers of refinement, addressed himself to the vulgar, snatched a hasty popularity, and achieved no masterpiece. His non-dramatic works have been thrown by M. Jusserand, the historian of the Elizabethan novel, into four groups, and the classification is sufficiently comprehensive and correct: his novels proper, or romantic love stories, called by Greene his 'love-pamphlets'; his patriotic pamphlets; his 'conny-catching' writings, in which 'he depicts actual fact, and tells tales of real life foreshadowing in some degree Defoe's manner,' with descriptions of low London company and the ways of sharpers, and cut-purses,

and women of ill-fame; last, his Repentances, pamphlets in which Greene shadows forth a portion of his own pitiful history, records the errors of his past, and makes feeble resolutions of amendment. Starting on his literary career as a disciple of Lyly, he attempted afterwards the Arcadian pastoral style, the amorous-chivalric style, the classical transformed into the romantic, the grouped tales set within a narrative framework, and whatever other form might lend itself to the taste of the time. . . . *Ciceronis Amor, Tullie's Love*, one of the most popular of Greene's prose works, although classical in name, is in fact romantic, re-handling, as seems probable, certain motives suggested by Boccaccio. . . . If any of Greene's romances be read at the present day, by all means let it be *Pandosto* . . . [and his] most studied piece of pastoral, *Menaphon or Arcadia*. . . . The style is excessively elaborate, so heavily cumbered with ornament as to make the reader's task laborious; but according to the manner of not a few Elizabethan romances (a manner, perhaps, derived from the Spanish romance of *Diana*), songs are interspersed, and in these we may find our reward for toiling through the trammelling flowers with which Greene obstructs the path of his narrative."—E. Dowden, *Essays, modern and Elizabethan*, pp. 336-370, 372-374, 376.—"Like his friend Greene, Nashe [1567-1601] was responsible, in the first place, for certain pamphlets dealing with the social life of London; but he does not confine himself, as was the case with Greene, to the out-cast and the pariah, nor, on the other hand, does he find much attraction in the steady-going citizen. His attack is directed against respectable roguery, against foolish affectations and empty superstition, and these things proved excellent whetstones for his satirical wit. His *Anatomie of Absurditie* (1589) is a characteristic study of contemporary manners. He plays with the theme of Stubbes's *Anatomy of Abuses* (1583); but, while he does not deny that much evil was abroad, he yet contrives to find much that is amusing in the 'licentious follies' assailed by the puritan. In *Pierce Penniless, his Supplication to the Divell* (1592), where he figures as Pierce, Nashe gives a fair taste of his quality. . . . All this pamphleteering work, however, was completely overshadowed by his picturesque novel *The Unfortunate Traveller or the life of Jack Wilton*, which appeared in 1594, and which was the most remarkable work of its kind before the time of Defoe. It relates the lively adventures of the rogue-hero, an English page, who wanders abroad, and comes into contact with many kinds of society. . . . The form of this work, in the first place, is of great interest, for it resembles the picturesque type indigenous to Spain. . . . The main characteristics of Nashe's mature prose are its naturalness and force. Most of his contemporaries had aimed at refinement rather than strength, they relied upon artifice which soon lost its power of appeal. But Nashe, dealing with plain things, writes in plain prose, and it was but natural for the satirist of contemporary affectations to dismiss from his practice the prose absurdities of the time."—J. W. H. Atkins, *Elizabethan prose fiction (Cambridge history of English literature, v. 3, ch. 6, pp. 362-364, 366)*.—"In such a book as Sidney's *Arcadia* there was a threefold attraction—that of knightly adventure, which had pleased the elder generation of Elizabethan readers, and which, if somewhat modernised, had an attraction even for the young; secondly, the charm of the new courtly Arcadianism; and last, the fascination of a personal story and personal allusions under the veil. To these

we should add in Sidney's case the interest of a new prose style, far less crudely artificial than that which Lyly had adopted from his Spanish model, Guevara; a style somewhat effeminate it is true, with no strong progressive current in it, but winding and wandering with a certain grace and melody, advancing and delaying, but never stagnating. The *Arcadia* to be enjoyed aright should be viewed as a poem; so Milton correctly describes it; so Sidney himself authorises us to describe it by the passage in his *Apologie [for Poetrie]*, in which he maintains that verse is only an accident and not an essential of poetry. . . . The tangle of adventures is ingeniously unravelled and unravelled, showing a real gift on Sidney's part for romantic narrative. The situations are skilfully devised for bringing to light what Sidney describes as 'mysteries of passion.' The dialogue suffers from the absence of those limitations and that nearness to reality which produced genuine dialogue on the stage; it consists of a series of *tirades*, and the soliloquy is an interminable *tirade* addressed by the speaker to himself. The pastoral element is twofold: there are the ideal shepherds and shepherdesses who love, and carol, and dance, and address one another in the newest forms of exotic or classical verse; and there are the genuine rustics who furnish rude material for the comic scenes of the romance. Unhappily Sidney's gift for the humorous was hardly richer than that of a serious schoolboy who makes painful efforts to be funny. . . . And if we set aside Sidney's *Arcadia* there is no pastoral romance of Elizabeth's days which will better reward the reader than the *Rosalynde* of Lodge [c. 1558-1625], on which Shakespeare founded his play. . . . Lodge's romance stands in a middle place between the *Tale of Gamelyn*, that early English ballad narrative which Chaucer probably intended to rehandle and put into the mouth of his yeoman-pilgrim to Canterbury, and Shakespeare's *As You Like It*. A comparison of the three forms in which the story is told—the mediæval ballad, the Renaissance prose idyl, and the Shakespearean comedy, will show how all the rough and rude features of his original disappear in Lodge's dainty restoration."—E. Dowden, *Essays, modern and Elizabethan*, pp. 376-377, 379-380.

"The first sixty years of the seventeenth century represent an interval between two great literary periods, and the writings of the time possess some of the characteristics of each of these. During the reign of James I the Renaissance spirit, though enfeebled, was still operative; only it worked with greater sobriety and restraint, and through man's intellectual rather than through his imaginative powers. So we get the brilliant philosophical and scientific works of Francis Bacon, and the dramas of Ben Jonson somewhat overweighted with their classical learning. All through the reign the general interest in religious questions was deepening, and soon these began to absorb the attention of the finest intellects of the age. In 1625, when Charles I succeeded his father, Puritanism had become so powerful a force in the country that it was clear it must, sooner or later, have a large influence upon the national literature. Anglicanism, which, since the days of Elizabeth's Church Settlement, had been striving to establish itself, had been greatly advanced by Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity; and the new king's strong attachment to the national Church raised it to a still higher position. The poems of Herbert, Crashaw, Vaughan, and Sandys, and in a lesser degree those of Robert Herrick, show how effectively Anglicanism was working as a literary force. There

was also a group of Court poets, led by Lovelace and Suckling. These produced a quantity of pleasant and tuneful verse that had much of the careless grace of the Elizabethan lyrics, but little of their freshness and spontaneity. Most of these singers were silenced at the breaking out of the great Civil War which, by diverting the energies of the nation, operated against the production of any really great work. The supremacy of the Puritans closed the theatres, and so put a stop to dramatic production. It turned Milton from a poet into a writer of violent political pamphlets; it drove Cowley and Waller, poets of high repute in their day, into exile. So that as we approach the end of this period, it seems almost as if English literature is threatened with extinction."—A. Cruse, *English literature through the ages*, pp. 195-196.—"Yet the decadence is not at all of a kind which announces a long literary dead season, but only of that which shows that the old order is changing to a new. . . . To this period belong not only Milton but Taylor, Browne, Clarendon, Hobbes (four of the greatest names in English prose), the strange union of learning in matter and quaintness in form which characterizes Fuller and Burton, the great dramatic work of Massinger and Ford. To it also belongs the exquisite if sometimes artificial school of poetry which grew up under . . . Ben Jonson on the one hand, and . . . Donne on the other—a school which has produced lyrical work not surpassed by that of any other school or time. . . . If then we speak of decadence, it is necessary to describe . . . what is meant. . . . The art is constantly admirable but it is almost obtrusively art—a proposition which is universally true even of the greatest name of the time, of Milton, and which applies equally to Taylor and to Browne, to Massinger and to Ford, sometimes even to Herrick . . . and almost always to Carew. . . . In the drama things are much worse. . . . Perhaps, though the prose names of the times are greater than those of its dramatists, or, excluding Milton's, of its poets, the signs of something wrong are clearest in prose."—G. Saintsbury, *History of Elizabethan literature*, pp. 455-457.—"The *Essays* . . . are . . . Bacon's [1561-1626] securest title to literary fame. They owe something to Montaigne, but, in place of a leisured abundance, they have, in the typical instances, a terse compact brevity, the result of a long process of sifting. They may be divided into those in which he speaks as politician and statesman (here he is indebted to Plutarch and Machiavelli); as moralist and adviser; and as thinker and imaginative writer. His prudence and sagacity, though of the earth earthy, are almost unassailable. His devotion to the cause of knowledge is that of a supreme idealist. Nevertheless, in more human relationships his mental force and subtlety are mated curiously with emotional poverty. His prose has great pliancy; some essays are in the periodic sentence of complex structure, some in his 'folded enigmatical way,' balanced clauses accumulating sometimes three deep. His pages are studded with salient anecdote, quotation, and misquotation, especially from the Roman world, Bacon's model in antiquity. At their best, they have a magisterial fullness of thought, a splendour of rhythmic art, an economy of wording, and an arresting quality of figurative statement far outweighing their lack of orderliness and coherence; not many things with so many imperfections upon them are so freely admitted to be classic. *The New Atlantis* is Bacon's version of Utopia. [See also EDUCATION: Modern: 1561-1626.] **BURTON'S** [1577-1640] *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621, groups its ency-

clopedic learning about the symptoms of melancholy; it is a mine of bookish wit, of modern and antique instances, of scholarlike irony and humour, and its sentences are stiff with Latin quotations; it could only have been produced in an age before experimental science had won its footing."—W. T. Young, *Introduction to the study of English literature*, pp. 66-67.—"It has been justly said that . . . [John Milton, 1607-1674] represented the fourth great influence in English prosody. . . . The serious and meditative spirit infused by Puritanism into the poetry of the time turned Milton's thoughts from such subjects as the Arthurian Legend (once considered by him), and his epic genius found perfect expression in the Biblical story of the Fall of Man. . . . Possessing a sense of beauty, as keen though less unrestrained than that possessed by the Elizabethans, Milton's devotion to form and coherence separates him from the great Romantics, and gives to the beauty of his verse a delicacy and gravity all its own. . . . Nowhere is this quality of beauty better displayed than in the early poems, in *Allegro*, *Penseroso*, *Comus*, and *Lycidas*. They have all the freshness and charm of youth, and exhibit the lighter and more fanciful side of Milton's genius. . . . With this sense of beauty is combined a stateliness of manner which gives a high dignity to Milton's poetry, that has never been surpassed, and rarely equalled in our literature. . . . The modern reader may regard with but languid interest the celestial pageant that Milton unrolls before him in his lengthy epics, but the merits of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* do not depend upon the reader's taste in theology, but upon the stark grandeur of many descriptive passages, and the passionate love of Nature which glows throughout the poet's work. It meets us first in the fresh sweetness of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*: . . . gains strength and dignity in *Lycidas*: . . . and thrills us with sublime splendour in *Paradise Lost* and *Samson Agonistes*. . . . Of Milton's prose writings it may be said that uncompromising directness and passionate vehemence characterise all these documents. . . . What interests us here is the extraordinary display in the pamphlets of Milton's passion for Independence. . . . The least ephemeral of the tracts, and the best known, is the *Areopagitica*—a speech for the liberty of unlicensed Printing. [See also CENSORSHIP: England.] . . . Variety, flexibility, lyric passion; these are qualities for which we may search Milton in vain; and in these matters Shakespeare is supremely great. But in loftiness of thought, splendid dignity of expression, and rhythmic felicities, Milton has few peers, no superior. [See also EDUCATION: Modern: 17th century: Milton.] Wordsworth owed much, Landor and Tennyson something, to his prosodic genius. The matter of his work is necessarily limited in its interest and significance, but there has been no finer exponent of the 'grand manner,' and it is impossible to exaggerate the influence of his wonderful diction upon the history of poetry from his own day down to the day of William Watson. . . . In many ways it is not unfair to summarise Donne's [1573-1631] remarkable genius by saying that he was an Elizabethan Browning, and placed beside Spenser, the two poets shine somewhat in the same fashion as Tennyson and Browning did in the Victorian age. His metrical roughness, his obscurities of method, his bewildering allusiveness, his ardent imagination, his taste for metaphysics, and his unexpected divergence into sweet and delightful music, all these things may remind the modern reader of the author of *Sordello*, and *Men and Women*. One of the most interesting things



JOHN MILTON



WILLIAM WORDSWORTH



PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY



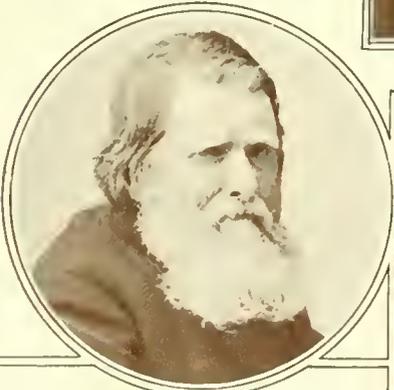
EDMUND SPENSER



THOMAS CARLYLE



GEOFFREY CHAUCER



JOHN RUSKIN



JONATHAN SWIFT



ALFRED TENNYSON

ENGLISH POETS AND MEN OF LETTERS

about him is his emphatic revolt from the smooth sweetness of most Elizabethan verse; and although he had the power to utter dulcet and harmonious sounds, he seems to have deliberately adopted a harsh and often staccato method in order to break away from contemporary tradition. . . . His poetry falls naturally into three divisions: (1) Amorous, (2) Metaphysical, (3) Satirical. The amorous work includes his earliest work, and the mingling at times of sensuality and cynical wit reminds one of Byron. His metaphysical and satirical work bulks the most largely, and towards the end of his life he wrote little verse, devoting his powers entirely to homiletical literature. An illustration of the metaphysical may be found in his curious poems *The Progress of the Soul* and *Metempsychosis*, in which he pursues the vital spark through various transmigrations, including those of a bird and a fish. As an illustration of his satires may be instanced his fourth satire detailing the character of a Bore. These were framed in rhyming couplets on the Latin model, and influenced both Dryden and Pope. . . . Donne, unlike most of his contemporaries, excelled in reflective imagination. The Elizabethan imagination was on the whole a richly observant one; there were scores of writers overflowing with a wealth of perceptive life; but, save in Shakespeare, there is singularly little metaphysical power in the men of the age. With Donne it may be said Elizabethan poetry closes, and the Caroline poetry begins. . . . Of his more remarkable followers may be mentioned Robert Herrick, Thomas Carew, Crashaw, Henry Vaughan, George Herbert, and Lord Herbert of Cherbury."—A. Compton-Rickett, *History of English literature*, pp. 178-180, 182-184.—See also DRAMA: 1558-1502; 1592-1648; BIBLE, ENGLISH: 16th century; ENGLAND: 1558-1603; Literature.

ALSO IN: A. Sampson, *Studies in Milton, and an essay on poetry*.

1660-1780.—Restoration period.—Classical revival.—Age of Dryden and Pope.—Minor poets.—Burns.—Development of the novel.—Defoe.—Swift.—Realism in fiction.—Richardson.—Fielding.—Sterne.—Smollett.—Johnson and his friends, Goldsmith and Burke.—"By the time that Charles II came to the throne the Elizabethan spirit had entirely died out of our literature. The gay, daring, gallant note was gone, and in its place sounded the deep and solemn music of conquered but unsubdued Puritanism. The intense moral earnestness of the Puritan, and his pre-occupation with matters of religion made it impossible for him to write on light or secular subjects; while the echo of the long and bitter strife which had ended in the Restoration gave added sternness to his words. It was not long, however, before a new influence came to drive out the spirit of Puritanism. The brilliant, witty and dissolute court of Charles II inspired a literature which reflected its own qualities. More especially is this the case with the drama of the period; no more sparkling comedies can be found than those of Congreve, Wycherley and their school, and none of such low moral tone. Enthusiasm gave way to a cool cynicism, wit was valued far more highly than the finest imaginative qualities. At the same time all exuberance of expression was pruned away, and a clear, lucid, concise style was cultivated, both in poetry and prose. The great creative age with its adventurous methods was over, and an age of intellectual brilliancy took its place."—A. Cruse, *English literature through the ages*, p. 231.—"The great writer of the period . . . was John Dryden.

. . . Precursors of the classical school . . . pass into insignificance. . . . Waller was writing excellent couplets before Dryden was born but it was part of Dryden's greatness not so much to introduce phases of thought as to adopt and illuminate them. . . . He did not take up poetry in earnest till all intelligent Englishmen had decided what kind of poetry it was they wanted. And then Dryden, confident of his audience, made the distich of Waller an instrument on which to play his boldest music."—E. Gosse, *Eighteenth century literature*, p. 9.—"Great as a critic and satirist and poet, he [Dryden] falls short of the supreme gift which enables the seer to reveal a world of beauty and goodness to humanity. When Dryden [1631-1700] was born Shakspeare had been dead for fifteen years, and Ben Jonson had six years yet to live; Milton had yet to write *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, while *Paradise Lost* was far in the future. So closely is the life of Dryden linked with the greatest names in English literature, and yet how remote in spirit and temper seem Dryden and his age from the age and men of the Elizabethan period! He belongs to his successors, to Swift, to Addison, to Pope—men who were younger respectively by thirty-six, forty-one, and fifty-seven years. He belongs to an age of religious and political trickery and turmoil, to a time when society was artificial and corrupt and literature was characterized by vigor and common-sense rather than by sweetness and imagination. Dryden himself had a robust nature; had his delicacy and refinement of taste equalled his intellectual sturdiness, his writings would have a charm which they often lack."—E. W. Chubb, *Masters of English literature*, p. 82.—"Alexander Pope, 1688-1744, is the typical poet of the generation after Dryden; a town-dweller, suspicious of enthusiasm, a satirist, a critic, devoid of lyric gift, accepting authority from France, a skilled and conscientious artist in form, much beholden to a shibboleth called 'nature,' compounded of scraps from Boileau, Horace, and Aristotle with a strong infusion of eighteenth century common sense—a thing as remote as possible from 'nature' as Wordsworth thought of it. Pope's poetry, practically all in the heroic couplet, included criticism, satire, translation, and ethics; in his *Essay on Criticism*, 1711, he had attained perfect ease and polish. His satires are of three classes: (i) the brilliant mock-heroic *Rape of the Lock*, 1712-14, a gay satire of the cavalier world; (ii) *The Dunciad*, 1728, of which the part attacking dulness is excellent and necessary, but the personal abuse of Grub Street hacks and of Theobald (who exposed the textual failings in Pope's edition of Shakespeare, 1725) does Pope himself a disservice; (iii) his most mature and most accomplished *Epistles* (including the masterly one to Arbuthnot, 1735) and the *Imitations of Horace*, 1733-0. These are a mingled yarn of the best and worst in Pope; there is sane judgment, fine irony, concern for letters, loyal friendship to Swift, Arbuthnot, Gay, and the rest of the Scriblerus circle; but accompanying these things are personalities such as the malicious and plausible distortion of Addison and the venomous portrait of Hervey. His translations of the *Iliad*, 1715-20, and *Odyssey* (with coadjutors) are masterly, though far from literal, re-interpretations, in pointed antithetical couplets, after the taste of the time; but they undoubtedly retain something of the Homeric lightness and energy. *An Essay on Man*, 1733, elaborates a philosophy based on the inconsequent optimism of the brilliant but superficial Bolingbroke. . . . He is a craftsman of infinite patience,

aiming at polished perfection of speech. To achieve this he employs the arts of elegance, lucidity, antithesis, and 'wit,' which by Pope's time had come to mean the incisive and memorable expression of familiar ideas. His tendency to compress his meaning into single lines or, at most, into the distich, together with his extraordinary power of crystallising thought into words, produces the effect of a shower of metrical epigrams; it reveals, too, the lack of such wide-sweeping imaginative conception as would require the space of the paragraph for its statement. . . . These effects are what Pope offers in compensation for his abandonment of the bolder freedoms of Dryden, whose couplet had a constant tendency to *enjambement*, that is to overflow, to triple riming lines, and to alexandrines. Criticism, since Wordsworth, has been prone to belittle Pope; and it cannot be denied that there were uncomfortable traits in his character. Nevertheless, the last word on him ought rather to be an acknowledgment of his conscientious and unceasing devotion to his craft of letters."—W. T. Young, *Introduction to the study of English literature*, pp. 117-119.—The eighteenth century "saw also a further stage in the reaction against the artificial style in poetry that had marked the age of Pope. In 1747 William Collins [1721-1759] published his beautiful series of odes—*To Evening*, *The Passions*, and *To Pity*. Collins was a friend and admirer of Thomson, whose death he mourned in the fine poem beginning, 'In yonder grave a Druid lies,' but his lyrical gift was far greater than that of the elder poet. 'Here,' says Swinburne, 'in the twilight that followed on the splendid sunset of Pope, was at last a poet who was content to sing out what he had in him—to sing, and not to say, without a glimpse of wit or a flash of eloquence.' Collins's Odes were followed by Gray's [1716-1771] *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*, which was published in 1750, though it was probably written about 1742. Gray wrote also various other poems including *The Progress of Poesy* and *The Bard*. In 1752 was born the unfortunate poet, Chatterton, who, when he was only fifteen years old, began to produce poems which he declared were the work of Thomas Rowley, a priest of Bristol, who had lived in the fifteenth century, and had been discovered by him, Chatterton. In spite of the great merit of his work, he failed to gain such recognition and employment as would preserve him from starvation, and he died by his own hand, before he was eighteen years old. In 1783 came Cowper's [1731-1800] *Task*, which marks a great step forward; and three years later were published the early lyrics of Robert Burns."—A. Cruse, *English literature through the ages*, p. 319.—"At Moss-giel in Mauchline, . . . amidst the press of uphill work to make ends meet, most of his [Burns, 1759-1796] best poetry was written as he cut the furrows at the tail of the plough. The enumeration merely of these masterpieces in vernacular verse is a source of pleasure; among them were *Poor Mailie* (1782), *Green Grow the Rashes O*, *Corn Rigs*, *Mary Morison*, *To a Mouse*, *To a Mountain Daisy*, *To a Louse*, *Epistle to William Simpson*, *Jolly Beggars*, *Hallowe'en*, *Holy Willie*, *Holy Fair*, *Address to the Unco' Guid*, *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, and *The Two Dogs* (1786). . . . At Dumfries, though the rate of production was less than at Mauchline, he wrote some of his finest songs. Some 184 of these in all were written for the later volumes of Johnson's *Musical Museum*, among them *Ye Banks and Braes of Bonnie Doon* (1791), *Of A' the Airts*, *Willie Brew'd a Peck of Maut*, *What Can a Young Lassie Do wi'*

an Auld Man, *Bonnie Wee Thing*, *Ae Fond Kiss*, *The Birks of Aberfeldie*, *My Wife's a Winsome Wee Thing*, *Auld Lang Syne*, *Comin' thro' the Rye*, *Scots Wha Hae*, made while riding in a snowstorm across the wilds of Kenmure in 1793, and *Is There for Honest Poverty* (1794). . . . In his satire and descriptive vein Burns is racy to the last degree of the poets of North Britain for at least three centuries before his advent. The appearance of strange isolation which is sometimes assigned to his poetry and its ideals is dissipated when we examine its antecedents. From the influences that had gone to mould the English poetry of the century—Pope, Thomson, Gray, Cowper—he stood aloof. In this respect it is almost impossible to overemphasize his isolation. . . . So Burns, like La Fontaine, like Sterne, like Turner, like many men of genius whose native faculty has been richest, had forerunners to whom, as far as themes and models and dialect went, he owed an incalculable amount. . . . The fountain of his literary activity was his fondness for Scottish songs, and his special predecessor in the vernacular poetry of the keenly observant and grimly humorous type, to which he was specially addicted, was Robert Fergusson, the Teniers of Scots song. . . . Burns is the poet of passion. His love of woman inspired him with songs which rank with those of Shakespeare and Shelley as the most perfect and the most inspired of all English lyrics—the finest in the world. Burns's poetic ardour is not of the intellectual type. His emotion is not reflected or remembered, it is directly heartfelt."—T. Secombe, *Age of Johnson*, pp. 208, 300-302, 304.—"The strange and beautiful lyrics of William Blake which appeared between 1783 and 1795 brought lyric poetry to the stage at which it was ready for the great development which came with the nineteenth century."—A. Cruse, *English literature through the ages*, p. 319.

"E. B. Chancellor in *The Eighteenth Century in London* has pointed out 'how easily we may construct the life of eighteenth century London from the pages of its contemporary writers. We may find it in the pages of Addison, of Fielding, of Smollett, of Richardson, and Fanny Burney and Jane Austen. With Sir Roger de Coverley one can haunt the clubs and coffee houses, the City and the Temple. From the pages of *The Spectator* and *The Tatler* a host of scenes rise up. The enthusiasm at Garrick's performances, the sad scenes in the Fleet prison, the sponging houses, the tea drinkings, the dances, the whole glittering, absorbing life of the period comes to life again even to its minutest detail. It is improbable that any period has been so meticulously rendered in letters for generations to come as that of the eighteenth century in London.'"—*Days of Bartholomew Fair* (*New York Times Book Review and Magazine*, Feb. 6, 1921, p. 4).—"That species of English prose composition . . . which is represented by the modern novel and romance, took its rise in the reign of George I with the fictions of Daniel Defoe [1650-1731]. The mediæval romances of chivalry had been succeeded by the heroic romances of the 17th century; ponderous work, full of conventional adventures, interminable intrigues and metaphysical gallantry. . . . These folio romances have long since been consigned to the shelves of ancient libraries. Neither the short Italian 'Novella' nor the still shorter and more licentious French 'Nouvelle' ever took root in England. . . . Defoe's principal fictions, varying as they did in character and subject, took all of them the form of autobiographies. The first edition of 'Robinson Crusoe,' in octavo, 1719,

sets it forth on the title page as—'The Life and . . . Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, . . . Written by Himself, London. . . ' Defoe's talent of 'lying like truth' by clothing his fictions with very probable circumstances was possessed in a very full measure by the author of the 'Travels of Captain Lemuel Gulliver.' This unique production of Dean Swift came before the London public seven years after 'Robinson Crusoe.'—J. M. Graham, *Literature and art in Great Britain*, pp. 47-48.—'Jonathan Swift [1667-1745] is one of the four greatest writers of England. . . . *Gulliver's Travels* is one of those few books, pleasant or unpleasant, light or profound, which may be read and reread at all ages, even when other books have been exhausted and laid aside. . . . It is, without question, of the highest rank. Swift's book, like most of the masterpieces of European imagination, is an adventurous journey which affords a pretext for a critical survey of humanity. . . . [It] does not mount toward redemption. It makes no concessions to optimism. His pitiless hatred for humanity increases from chapter to chapter, even to the final insult. Along the way everything has been denied, everything has been stripped of glamor: politics, religion, morals, valor, knowledge, thought, history, civilization. It remains only for the poor Yahoos, naked and unmasked, to reveal to us at the last as we really are: mere apes, wild, stupid, evil. . . . Swift is not only a simple, clear, and clean-cut writer: he is original. . . . There had been earlier accounts of imaginary voyages to strange lands; but no author has succeeded, as Swift was to do, in fusing intense satire with amusing narrative.'—G. Papini, *Four and twenty minds*, pp. 219, 221, 225-226.—'In the *Battle of the Books* he [Swift] had assumed the pedantry of the scholar; in the *Tale of a Tub* with amazing audacity he fell foul of the pedantry of divines; . . . and then in his first political writings began to expose the corrupt and selfish nature of politicians—though at present only of Whig politicians. Swift is one of the most impressive of all literary figures.'—L. Stephen, *English literature and society in the eighteenth century*, p. 77.—'In the eighteenth century came the decline of the drama for which the novel had been waiting. . . . When Richardson and Fielding published their novels there was nothing to compete with fiction in the popular taste. It would seem as though the novel had been waiting for this favourable circumstance. In a sudden burst of prolific inventiveness, which can be paralleled in all letters only by the period of Marlowe and Shakespeare, masterpiece after masterpiece poured from the press. Within two generations, besides Richardson and Fielding came Sterne and Goldsmith and Smollett and Fanny Burney in naturalism and Horace Walpole and Mrs. Radcliffe in the new way of romance. Novels by minor authors were published by thousands as well. The novel, in fact, besides being the occasion of literature of the highest class, attracted by its lucrativeness that under-current of journey-work authorship which had hitherto busied itself in poetry or plays. Fiction has been its chief occupation ever since. . . . Abroad Richardson won immediate recognition. . . . He gave the first impulse to modern French fiction. At home, less happily, he set going the sentimental school, and it was only when that had passed away that—in . . . Miss Austen—his influence comes to its own. . . . Fielding's imitators . . . kept the way which lead to Thackeray and Dickens—the main road of the English Novel.'—G. H. Mair, *English literature, modern*, pp. 217-218, 224.

—'Samuel Richardson's [1689-1761] contribution to the development of the novel was almost what Harvey's discovery of the heart's action was to the study of medicine. . . . In two months the two volumes of the original *Pamela* were finished. The book was published at the close of 1740, and it very soon bore out the author's prediction as to its being the forerunner of a new species of writing. . . . But the European reputation of *Pamela* was far eclipsed by that of *Clarissa*. Richardson was the Roundhead, Fielding [1707-1754] the Cavalier, of our present epoch—that of the genesis of the modern English novel. One showed his descent from and affinity with Bunyan, the other traced a clear pedigree from Suckling and Sedley. . . . Richardson had a large portion of the intensity of genius, but he lacked both the vigorous humour and the literary accomplishment of his rival. Fielding, indeed, combined breadth and keenness, classical culture and a delicate Gallic irony, to an extent rare among English writers. . . . *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews and of his friend Mr. Abraham Adams* [was published in 1742]. The hero of this remarkable parody was the brother of Richardson's *Pamela*. . . . Fielding's genius for the development of character, having once found scope, was not to be confined within the bounds of a mere travesty. The story soon follows a free course of development, the writer's art being lavished with a free hand upon the character of Parson Adams. . . . [He] is in many respects Fielding's finest and most original conception, and the character seems to represent in some measure Fielding's own free but generous philosophy. . . . *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling*, . . . appeared in February, 1749. . . . And since its appearance all the very best judges have sounded its praise. . . . *Amelia* followed *Tom Jones* on December 10, 1751. . . . If the plot is inferior to that of *Tom Jones*, the descriptions and characters are second to none in prose fiction.'—T. Seccombe, *Age of Johnson*, pp. 156-157, 150, 163, 165-166, 160-170.—'By Laurence Sterne [1713-1768] the course of fiction was reversed a little way towards Addison and Steele in the two incomparable books which are his legacy to English literature. We call *Tristram Shandy* (1760-67) and *A Sentimental Journey* (1768) novels, because we know not what else to call them; nor is it easy to define their fugitive and rare originality. Sterne was not a moralist in the mode of Richardson or of Fielding; it is to be feared that he was a complete ethical heretic; but he brought to his country as gifts the strained laughter that breaks into tears, and the melancholy wit that saves itself by an outburst of buffoonery. . . . If in Sterne the qualities of imagination were heightened, and the susceptibilities permitted to become as feverish and neurotic as possible, the action of Tobias Smollett [1721-1771] was absolutely the reverse. This rough and strong writer was troubled with no superfluous refinements of instinct. He delighted in creating types of eccentric profligates and ruffians, and to do this was to withdraw from the novel as Richardson, Fielding, and Sterne conceived it, back into a form of the picaresque romance. He did not realise what his greatest compeers were doing, and when he wrote *Roderick Random* (1748) he avowedly modelled it on *Gil Blas*, coming, as critics have observed, even closer to the Spanish *picares* spirit than did Le Sage himself. . . . Three years later he published *Peregrine Pickle* (1751), and just before he died, in 1771, *Humphrey Clinker*. The abundant remainder of his work is negligible, these three books alone being worthy of note in a sketch of

literature so summary as this. In the work of the three greater novelists the element of veracity is very strong, even though in the case of Sterne it may seem concealed beneath a variegated affectation of manner. In each, however, the main aim, and the principal element of originality, is the observation of mankind as it really exists. But Smollet was not great enough to continue this admirable innovation; he went back to the older, easier, method of gibbeting a peculiarity and exaggerating an exception. He was also much inferior to his rivals in the power of constructing a story, and in his rude zeal to 'subject folly to ridicule, and vice to indignation,' he raced from one rough episode to another, bestowing very little attention upon that evolution of character which should be the essence of successful fiction. . . . With the work of these four novelists, whose best thoughts were given to fiction, were associated two or three isolated contributions to the novel, among which



SAMUEL JOHNSON

(After the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds)

the *Vicar of Wakefield* and *Rasselas* are the most celebrated."—E. Gosse, *Modern English literature*, pp. 244-247.

"Everywhere during this . . . period [1740-1780] the buried and forgotten seeds of romantic fancy were becoming stimulated, and were pushing their shoots above ground in a Percy's *Reliques*, in a *Castle of Otranto*, in a *Descent of Odin*. Meanwhile what was mainly visible to the public was the figure of Dr. Samuel Johnson [1700-1784], a sesquipedalian dictator, not writing very much or in a superlatively excellent manner, but talking publicly, or semi-publicly, in a style hitherto unprecedented, and laying down the law on all subjects. Around this great man collects whatever there is of normal genius in the generation—Goldsmith and Burke, Gibbon and Reynolds, Boswell and Garrick,—and a group is formed, to the student of personal manners the most interesting that literary history can supply. So rich is the age in anecdote, so great in critical prestige, that the student must look closely and carefully to perceive that it is rapidly declining in intellectual force of

every kind, and by 1780 is only waiting for the decease of two or three old men to sink completely into a condition of general mediocrity."—E. Gosse, *Eighteenth century literature*, p. 382.—"Johnson's burly figure, in the last half of the eighteenth century, dominates all others. . . . By any hackwork he could secure, Johnson eked out a living. 'London' [1738] made rather a hit and gave him something of a name to start with. . . . [Eleven years later] appeared his 'Vanity of Human Wishes,' another satirical poem, stronger and finer than 'London.' Both of these poems were imitated from Juvenal, for whose sardonic genius Johnson had much affinity. At about this time, he also tried his hand at periodical essays after the fashion of Addison; and the *Rambler* and the *Idler* had a certain success and increased his reputation, though we find it hard to enjoy them today. But his 'Dictionary of the English Language' is Johnson's most important achievement. He planned it in 1747, finished it in 1755; and it was a great work. It takes a vigorous and courageous mind to plan a dictionary, and to put it through, as Johnson did, practically by himself. . . . The publication of the Dictionary gave Johnson a commanding position in the world of letters, and soon placed him above want. Not at once, however, for, in 1750, we find him writing with great rapidity his philosophical romance of 'Rasselas,' to defray the expenses of his mother's funeral. This became the most popular of his works, and one may meet translations of it all over the world. . . . After this time Johnson did not write much, until in his ripe old age he produced, as prefaces to an edition of the poets, those 'Lives' which are really his best and most living works. . . . His understanding was singularly powerful in all regions which it was competent to enter, and, as we read the happily abundant records of his words, we feel that he was indeed a masterly critic of society and life."—V. D. Scudder, *Introduction to the study of English literature*, pp. 365, 368-370.—"In 1762, through Johnson's influence, Goldsmith [1728-1774], when under arrest for debt, received £60 for his yet unfinished *Vicar of Wakefield*. The work was published in 1766, and established his reputation. Meanwhile, in 1764, the publication of *The Traveller* had brought him into the front rank of living poets. . . . In May, 1770, he published, with a singularly happy dedication to Reynolds, his *Deserted Village*, which greatly increased his fame as a poet. This was followed by his successful play *She Stoops to Conquer*, given at Covent Garden in March, 1773. Meanwhile he had 'written for bread,' or rather compiled with a flowing pen from materials that came readiest to hand, his histories of England, Rome, and Greece; his biographies of Nash and Voltaire; and his *Animated Nature*, drawn from Buffon with not a few grotesque interpolations, such as his description of tigers in Canada. . . . Indifference to the literary ideals of the time allowed free play to the excellent, gentle humour, which found its natural expression in his comedies, antagonistic in conception as they were to the sentimental dramas of the day. He managed, similarly, to retain among all the formalisms of the fashion the great gift of natural fun, partly inherited, in part derived from his close contact with the people. In his poetry, apart from the easy flow, the qualities which distinguished him most above the level of the school of Pope are the traits of artless nature, the semi-colloquial emphasis with which certain words or phrases are happily repeated, the unstudied wealth of metaphors. The even flow of his narrative, which so excites our admiration, indicates the profit that he

derived from a discriminating admiration for Voltaire and the limpid French prose of that day. Amiable, various and bland, it needs his own pen, as Hazlitt says, to describe the careless inimitable grace with which he illustrates every kind of excellence."—T. Seccombe, *Age of Johnson*, pp. 23, 25.—"The last of those great men who formed the Johnsonian circle is Edmund Burke [1729-1797], and he is the greatest of all. . . . Burke's temperament was that of the poet, and that was why everything was seen through the golden haze of imagination. His first book, the memorable essay on the *Sublime and Beautiful*, is the manifesto of a poetic genius. It is the index to Burke's mind, and sufficiently declares on what food he had nourished his thoughts. . . . But it would be a mistake to suppose that Burke always uses one style, and that a style of superb rhetorical adornment. He uses whatever style best suits his immediate purpose. He can be terse, unadorned, homely, colloquial, as well gorgeous, ingenious, and philosophical. . . . He is never monotonous, because he is always various. He can write in the clearest and most uncoloured of prose, as in his *Thoughts on the Present Discontents*; or in glowing diatribe, as in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*; or with an overwhelming passion of scorn and anger, as in the famous *Letter to a Noble Lord*. . . . The greatest of Burke's writings, and the one which produced the most profound effect upon his times and his own fortunes, was his *Reflections on the French Revolution*. Nothing that he wrote [except the *Speech on Conciliation*] has been more widely read, and in it the best and worst qualities of his genius are displayed with singular abandonment."—W. J. Dawson, *Makers of English prose*, pp. 66, 73-74, 76.—See also DRAMA: 1600-1800; HISTORY: 25; JUNIUS LETTERS.

1780-1830. — Triumph of romanticism.—Wordsworth and Coleridge.—Shelley, Byron and Keats.—Effect of romantic movement on the novel.—Periodical literature and criticism.—De Quincey.—Lamb.—Landor.—"We see the Romantic revolt or renaissance . . . growing up under the joint influences of the opening of mediæval and foreign literature; of the excitement of the wars of the French Revolution; of the more hidden but perhaps more potent force of simple ebb-and-flow which governs the world in all things, though some fondly call it Progress; and of the even more mysterious chance or choice which from time to time brings into the world, generally in groups, persons suited to effect the necessary changes. The 'Return to Nature,' or . . . the taking up of a new standpoint in regard to nature, made half-unconsciously by men like Cowper and Crabbe, assisted without intending it by men like Burns and Blake, [see also above: 1660-1780] effected in intention if not in full achievement by feeble but lucky pioneers like Bowles, asserts itself once for all in the *Lyrical Ballads*, and then works itself out in different—in almost all possibly different—ways through the varying administrations of the same spirit by Wordsworth and Coleridge, Shelley and Keats, in the highest and primary rank, by Scott and Byron in the next, by Southey, Campbell, Leigh Hunt, Moore, and others in the third."—G. Saintsbury, *Nineteenth century literature*, p. 432.—"The first half of the nineteenth century records the triumph of Romanticism in literature and of democracy in government; and the two movements are so closely associated, in so many nations and in so many periods of history that one must wonder if there be not some relation of cause and effect between them. Just as we understand the tremendous energizing influence of Puritanism

in the matter of English liberty by remembering that the common people had begun to read, and that their book was the Bible, so we may understand this age of popular government by remembering that the chief subject of romantic literature was the essential nobleness of common men and the value of the individual. . . . Liberty is fundamentally an ideal; and that ideal . . . was kept steadily before men's minds by a multitude of books and pamphlets as far apart as Burns's *Poems* and Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*,—all read eagerly by the common people, all proclaiming the dignity of common life, and all uttering the same passionate cry against every form of class or caste oppression. [See also U.S.A.: 1776 (January-June): King George's war measures.] . . . It is intensely interesting to note how literature at first reflected the political turmoil of the age; and then, when the turmoil was over and England began her mighty work of reform, how literature suddenly developed a new creative spirit which shows itself in the poetry of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats, and in the prose of Scott, Jane Austen, Lamb and De Quincey. . . . Thus in the early days . . . Coleridge and Southey formed their youthful scheme of . . . an ideal commonwealth, in which the principles of More's *Utopia* should be put to practice. . . . Coleridge and Wordsworth best represent the romantic genius of the age in which they live, though Scott had a greater literary reputation and Byron and Shelley had larger audiences. The second characteristic of this age is that it is emphatically an age of poetry. . . . The glory of the age is in the poetry of Scott, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Moore, and Southey. Of its prose works, those of Scott alone have attained a very wide reading though the essays of Charles Lamb and the novels of Jane Austen have slowly won for themselves a secure place in the history of our literature. Coleridge and Southey . . . wrote far more prose than poetry; and Southey's prose is much better than his verse. It was characteristic of the spirit of this age so different from our own, that Southey could say, in order to earn money, he wrote in verse 'what would otherwise have been better written in prose.'"—W. J. Long, *English literature, its history and significance*, pp. 369-370, 372-373.—"While Scott [1771-1832] was busy collecting the fragments of Border minstrelsy and translating German ballads, two other young poets, far to the south, were preparing their share in the literary revolution. In those same years (1795-98) Wordsworth [1770-1850] and Coleridge [1772-1834] were wandering together over the Somerset downs and along the coast of Devon. . . . The first fruits of these walks and talks was that epoch-making book, the 'Lyrical Ballads'; the first edition of which was published in 1798, and the second, with an additional volume and the famous preface by Wordsworth, in 1800."—H. A. Beers, *History of English romanticism in the nineteenth century*, p. 48.—"In [it] . . . Wordsworth defined 'good poetry' as 'the spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling.' This definition was itself a protest against that mechanical conception of poetry as a thing made according to 'rules,' which, though already challenged, maintained its place in the orthodox critical creed. In the same essay he explained his own aims in writing in words which, while they were meant to refer immediately to the *Ballads*, have also an interest in connection with all his work. 'The principal object, then, proposed in these *Poems*,' he declares, 'was to choose incidents and situations from common life, and to relate or describe them throughout, as far as possible, in a selection of language really used by men,

and, at the same time, to throw over them a certain colouring of imagination, whereby ordinary things should be presented to the mind in an unusual aspect'; and he goes on to say that 'humble and rustic life was generally chosen because, for reasons which he details, 'in that condition the essential passions of the heart find a better soil in which they can attain their maturity, are less under restraint, and speak a plainer and more emphatic language' than elsewhere. . . . The foregoing considerations provide a key to the greater part of Wordsworth's narrative and descriptive poetry. But he was not merely a narrative and descriptive poet. In his own view he was essentially a philosophical poet: 'Every great poet is a teacher,' he wrote to his friend Beaumont; 'I wish either to be considered as a teacher or as nothing.' The larger part of his work was, therefore, inspired by a directly didactic aim, and even his narrative poems generally carry a moral."—W. H. Hudson, *Short history of English literature in the nineteenth century*, pp. 15-17.—"With his establishment among the Lakes Wordsworth entered definitely upon the practice of the art which was henceforth to be his chief occupation. . . . [In 1805] he completed . . . though it was not published till after his death, a long autobiographical poem, *The Prelude, or Growth of a Poet's Mind*, the purpose of which was 'to record in verse the origin and progress of his own powers,' and which thus provides a valuable introduction to the body of his work. Another long poem, *The Excursion*, setting forth his philosophy of life in nine books of blank verse, appeared in 1814. . . . The great *Ode on Intimations of Immortality* (1807) is the crowning example of the poetry in which he continued to express his thoughts on the ultimate problems of life. . . . For more than thirty years he went on writing with all his characteristic devotion and industry, but though he much increased the bulk he added little to the value of his output. Occasionally the old spirit came upon him, as in the verses *Composed upon an Evening of Extraordinary Splendour and Beauty* (1818), and here and there in the *Sonnets on the River Duddon* (1820). But speaking generally, his really great work was now done. Among his later productions mention may be made of the series of *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* (1822), in which he traces the history of the Church in England from the introduction of Christianity down to his own day."—*Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.—"In analysing his philosophy of life we may conveniently regard him, first as a poet of nature, and then as a poet of man. . . . Nature for him was the embodiment of the Universal Spirit, the presence of which he felt in the living world about him and at the same time (for the human soul is at one with the soul of nature) 'in the mind of man' (*Tintern Abbey*). This sense of the spirituality of nature and of the kinship of nature and man lay at the basis of his thought, and from it arose his conception of communion with nature as the great means of attaining that knowledge of transcendental truth which is for ever beyond the reach of science and the 'meddling intellect.' . . . Nature he proclaimed as the greatest of all teachers. The transition is easy from Wordsworth the poet of nature to Wordsworth the poet of man. Though he early repudiated his revolutionary creed, one great revolutionary idea remained at the core of his teaching—that of the innate and essential dignity of man. . . . As a poet of man and ethical teacher, Wordsworth thus everywhere reveals his vital connection with some of the underlying principles of the Revolution. In practical politics he had become a reactionary. But his work from first to last, with its emphasis upon

the simplification of life and the essential worth of human nature, must still be regarded as part and parcel of the general democratic movement of his time. His limitations are very marked. His outlook upon life was narrow; his interests were extremely circumscribed; he had little narrative or dramatic power; while too much engrossed by the moral truths he was solicitous to enforce, he frequently, especially in his later years, allowed his poetry to degenerate into the most prosaic didacticism. But within his restricted sphere he holds his place secure. He is great because he makes us feel the tranquillising beauty of nature and the sanctity of common life; because he touches what he handles with a peculiar and winning charm; and because in his really supreme moments the simple nobility of his thought is wedded to a simple nobility of style."—W. H. Hudson, *Short history of English literature in the nineteenth century*, pp. 17-20.—"Coleridge's contributions to romantic poetry are few though precious. . . . He stands for so much in the history of English thought, he influenced his own and the following generation on so many sides, that his romanticism shows like a mere incident in his intellectual history. His blossoming time was short at the best, and ended practically with the century. After his return from Germany in 1799 and his settlement at Kewswick in 1800, he produced little verse of any importance beyond the second part of 'Christabel' (written in 1800, published in 1816). His creative impulse failed him, and he became more and more involved in theology, metaphysics, political philosophy, and literary criticism. . . . Coleridge's four contributions to the 'Lyrical Ballads' included his masterpiece, 'The Ancient Mariner.' This is the high-water mark of romantic poetry. . . . In [it] . . . are present in the highest degree the mystery, indefiniteness, and strangeness which are the marks of romantic art. . . . 'The Ancient Mariner' is the baseless fabric of a vision. We are put under a spell, like the wedding guest, and carried off to the isolation and remoteness of mid-ocean. . . . The first part of 'Christabel' was written in 1797; the second in 1800; and the poem, in its unfinished state, was given to the press in 1816. Meanwhile it had become widely known in manuscript. . . . 'Christabel' is more distinctly mediæval than 'The Ancient Mariner,' and is full of Gothic elements. . . . If 'The Ancient Mariner' is a ballad, 'Christabel' is, in form, a *roman of adventures*, or metrical chivalry tale, written in variations of the octosyllabic couplet. . . . 'Christabel' is not so unique and perfect a thing as 'The Ancient Mariner,' but it has the same haunting charm, and displays the same subtle art in the use of the supernatural. . . . The rest of Coleridge's ballad work is small in quantity. . . . Lines of a specifically romantic colouring are of course to be found scattered about nearly everywhere in Coleridge; like the musical little song that follows the invocation to the soul of Alvar in 'Remorse': . . . or the wild touch of folk poesy in that marvellous opium dream, 'Kubla Khan.' . . . In taking account of Coleridge's services to the cause of romanticism, his critical writings should not be overlooked. . . . He represented, theoretically as well as practically, the reaction against eighteenth-century academicism, the Popean tradition in poetry, and the maxims of pseudo-classical criticism. In his analysis and vindication of the principles of romantic art, he brought to bear a philosophic depth and subtlety such as had never before been applied in England to a merely belletristic subject. He revolutionised, for one thing, the critical view of Shakspeare, devoting several lecture courses to the exposition of

the thesis that 'Shakespeare's judgment was commensurate with his genius.' . . . Compared with these Shakespeare notes, with the chapters on Wordsworth in the 'Biographia Literaria,' and with the *obiter dicta* sown through Coleridge's prose, all previous English criticism appears crude and superficial."—H. A. Beers, *History of English romanticism in the nineteenth century*, pp. 49, 74, 76-77, 80-82, 86-89.

"Two decades, approximately, separate the emergence of the younger group of the poets of this period, Byron, Shelley and Keats, from that of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Scott. To the elder group, all three were both deeply indebted and, in various subtle and intricate ways, akin. Yet, the younger group stand sharply and definitely apart; they are not merely of a younger generation but of a different age. The revolution, which had profoundly disturbed the elder poets, had, for the younger, already become history; the ideas and aspirations which Wordsworth and Coleridge first embraced and then did battle with, and which Scott consistently abhorred, had passed into the blood of Byron and Shelley, and kindled humanitarian ardours even in the artist Keats. And they are all, definitely, less English. Poetry, in their hands, loses almost entire touch with the national life and the historic traditions of England; nor was it mere accident that Shelley and Byron lived their best years, and produced their greatest poetry, in Italy, or that Keats, in his London suburb, sang of Endymion and the moon, of magic casements and perilous seas. . . . In *Queen Mab* (surreptitiously published 1813), his [Shelley's, 1792-1822] Godwinian creed is proclaimed from the mouths of legendary personages, inspired, as is their loose irregular verse, by the mythical epics of Southey. Shelley was soon to leave *Queen Mab* far behind; yet, its passionate sincerity, and the indefinable promise of genius in its very extravagances, make it very impressive. . . . During the autumn of 1815, he wrote, in the glades of Windsor, *Alastor*, his first authentic and unmistakable poem. The harsh notes and crude philosophy of *Queen Mab* are no longer heard; Southey has yielded place to Coleridge and Wordsworth, to the romantic chasm of *Kubla Khan*, and the visionary boy of *The Excursion*. The blank verse, too, is built upon the noble, plain music of Wordsworth, but with delicate suspensions and cadences and wayward undulations of his own. Yet, the mood and purport of this first genuine achievement of Shelley is one of frustration and farewell. . . . *Alastor* is the tragedy of the idealist who seeks in reality the counterpart of his ideal. . . . *Laon and Cythna* (later renamed *The Revolt of Islam*), . . . is a brilliant dream-wool of poetry, in which are wrought figures, now purely allegoric, like the eagle and the snake—the evil and the noble cause—now symbolic, like the hero and the heroine themselves, who wage the eternal war of love and truth against tyranny. . . . *Prometheus Unbound* is not to be judged as an essay in the philosophy of progress; but neither is it to be treated merely as a tissue of lovely imagery and music. Shelley's ardour, fortified and misled by the cold extravagances of Godwin, hurried him over the slow course of social evolution. He conceived both the evil in human nature and the process of overcoming it with strange, sublime simplicity. But the ideal of love and endurance, which he sees fulfilled by regenerated man, stands on a different plane; it is rooted in existing human nature, and expresses a state towards which all genuine progress must advance. And, when he portrays the universe as at one with the moral strivings of man, he is uttering no fugitive or isolated

extravagance, but the perennial faith of idealists in all ages. Under forms of thought derived from the atheist and materialist Godwin, Shelley has given, in *Prometheus Unbound*, magnificent expression to the faith of Plato and of Christ. . . . *Prometheus* and *The Cenci* had no successors. But he was himself in the full tide of growth; in lyric, at least, he now showed a finished mastery which, even in his great lyric drama, he had not always reached; and he struck out upon fresh and delightful adventures. In *The Sensitive Plant*, the loveliness of an Italian flower garden in spring, and its autumn decay, inspired a Shelleyan myth, akin in purport to *Alastor*, but with a new, delicate plasticity, like that of the contemporary *Skylark*. His flowers, commonly impressionist hints of colour and perfume, are now finely articulated and characterised; they are Shelleyan flowers, but, like those of Shakespeare, they are, recognisably, nature's own



LORD BYRON

In 'the sensitive plant' itself, Shelley found a new symbol for his own 'love of love,' 'companionless,' like the poet in *Alastor* and the 'one frail form' of *Adonais*; and, as in *Adonais*, the mood of lament at the passing of beauty and the seeming frustration of love merges in a note of assurance, here not ecstatic but serene, that beauty and love are, in reality, the eternal things. . . . *The Ode to the West Wind* . . . originates directly in that impassioned intuition which is the first condition of poetry. . . . Nowhere does Shelley's voice reach a more poignantly personal note or more perfect spontaneity. . . . A century has almost passed, and Shelley is still the subject of keener debate than any of his poetic contemporaries, not excepting Byron. That he is one of the greatest of lyric poets is eagerly allowed by his most hostile critics."—C. H. Herford, *Shelley (Cambridge history of English literature, v. 12, pp. 57, 50, 61, 67, 70-72, 76)*.—"The first two books of *Childe Harold* [Byron, 1788-1824] and the oriental tales—*The Giaour*, *The Bride of Abydos*, *The Corsair* and *The Siege of Corinth*—were the immediate outcome

of this year [1809-1810] of travel, but the memory of the scenes which he had witnessed remained freshly in his mind when, years afterwards, he composed *Don Juan*, and, at the close of his life, played his heroic part in the liberation of Greece. . . . His *Lament of Tasso*, *Prophecy of Dante* and *Francesca of Rimini* are an imperishable witness to the sympathy which he felt with the works and tragic destinies of two of Italy's greatest poets; his Venetian tragedies and *Sardanapalus* show the influence upon him of Alfieri, while his indebtedness to the great Italian mock-heroic school, from Berni to Casti, is everywhere manifest in *Beppo* and in his great masterpiece, *Don Juan*. . . . After taking up his residence on the continent, other forms of poetry claimed his first attention; but the appearance of *The Prisoner of Chillon* in 1816, *Mazeppa* in 1819 and *The Island* in 1823 shows that Byron never wholly relinquished his delight in the verse-tale. . . . In *Parisina*, and, still more, in *The Prisoner of Chillon*, there is a welcome return to a simpler style: the gorgeous east no longer holds him in fee, and he breaks away both from rhetorical speech and melo-dramatic situations. . . . Love of political freedom, which was always the noblest passion in Byron's soul, inspired the poem, and here, as in the third canto of *Childe Harold*, written about the same time, we are conscious of the influence of Wordsworth. . . . A new note is struck in *Mazeppa*. The mood of *The Prisoner of Chillon* is one of elegiac tenderness, whereas, here, we are conscious of the glory of swift motion, as we follow the Cossack soldier in his life-in-death ride across the Russian steppes. . . . His latest dramas, and his verse-tale, *The Island*, not to mention certain romantic episodes which find a place in *Don Juan*, show that Byron never wholly abandoned romance, but, from the time when he wrote *Beppo* (1818), realism was the master-bias of his mind, while the break with classicism was complete. With this triumph of realism, satire once more comes into full play: it is no longer the formal satire of the Augustan school, such as he had essayed in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, but burlesque satire, unconstrained and whimsical, and delighting in the sudden anticlimaxes and grotesque incongruities which find a spacious hiding-place in the *ottava rima*. . . . In *Don Juan*, the work upon which his literary powers were chiefly expended during his last five years in Italy (1818-23), Byron attains to the full disclosure of his personality and the final expression of his genius. . . . Yet, *Don Juan* is a veritable *Comédie Humaine*, the work of a man who has stripped life of its illusions, and has learnt, through suffering and the satiety of pleasure, to look upon society with the searching eye of Chaucer and the pitilessness of Mephistopheles. In the comedy which is here enacted, some of the characters are great historic figures, others thinly veiled portraits of men and women who had helped to shape the poet's own chequered career, while others, again, are merely creatures of the imagination or serve as types of the modern civilisation with which Byron was at war. . . . Judged as a work of art, *Don Juan* is well-nigh perfect. Byron's indebtedness to his Italian masters is almost as great in diction as in verse, but what he borrowed he made peculiarly his own; a bold imitator, he is himself inimitable."—F. W. Moorman, *Byron* (Cambridge history of English literature, v. 12, pp. 32-33, 45-52, 54-55).—See also DRAMA: 1815-1877.—"Among all the writers of his generation, Keats [1795-1821] was most purely the poet, the artist of the beautiful. His sensitive imagination thrilled to every touch of beauty from whatever quarter. . . . In the Greek mythology he found a world of

lovely images ready to his hand; in the poetry of Spenser, Chaucer, and Ariosto he found another such world. . . . Indeed, there is in Keats' style a 'natural magic' which forces us back to Shakspeare for comparison; a noticeable likeness to the diction of the Elizabethans, when the classics were still a living spring of inspiration, and not a set of copies held in *terrorem* over the head of every new poet. Keats' break with the classical tradition was early and decisive. In his first volume (1817) there is a piece entitled 'Sleep and Poetry,' composed after a night passed at Leigh Hunt's cottage near Hampstead, which contains his literary declaration of faith. . . . A spark from Spenser kindled the flame of poetry in Keats. . . . Keats' earliest known verses are an 'Imitation of Spenser' in four stanzas. His allusions to him are frequent, and his fugitive poems include a 'Sonnet to Spenser' and a number of 'Spenserian Stanzas.' But his only really important experiment in the measure of 'The Faëry Queen' was 'The Eve of St. Agnes.' . . . This exquisite creation has all the insignia of romantic art and has them in a dangerous degree. It is brilliant with colour, richly ornate, tremulous with emotion. Only the fine instinct of the artist saved it from the overlaid decoration and cloying sweetness of 'Endymion,' and kept it chaste in its warmth. As it is, the story is almost too slight for its descriptive mantle 'rough with gems and gold.' Such as it is, it is of Keats' invention and of the 'Romeo and Juliet' variety of plot. . . . Possibly 'La Belle Dame sans Merci' borrows a hint from the love-crazed knight in Coleridge's 'Love,' who is haunted by a fiend in the likeness of an angel; but here the comparison is to Keats' advantage. . . . It is in the Pre-Raphaelites that Keats' influence on our later poetry is seen in its most concentrated shape. But it is traceable in Tennyson, in Hood, in the Brownings, and in many others, where his name is by no means written in water. 'Wordsworth,' says Lowell, 'has influenced most the ideas of succeeding poets; Keats their forms.'"—H. A. Beers, *History of English romanticism in the nineteenth century*, pp. 113-114, 120, 123, 125-127, 131.

"As all strong emotions tend to extremes, the age produced a new type of novel which seems rather hysterical now, but which in its own day delighted multitudes of readers whose nerves were somewhat excited, and who reveled in 'bogey' stories of supernatural terror. Mrs. Anne Radcliffe . . . was one of the most successful writers of this school of exaggerated romance. . . . In marked contrast to these extravagant stories is the enduring work of Jane Austen, with her charming descriptions of everyday life, and of Maria Edgeworth, whose wonderful pictures of Irish life suggested to Walter Scott the idea of writing his Scottish romances. . . . In this age literary criticism became firmly established by the appearance of such magazines as the *Edinburgh Review* (1802), *The Quarterly Review* (1808), *Blackwood's Magazine* (1817), *The Westminster Review* (1824), *The Spectator* (1828), *The Athenæum* (1828), and *Fraser's Magazine* (1830). . . . At first their criticisms were largely destructive . . . but with added wisdom, criticism assumed its true function of construction. And when these magazines began to seek and to publish the works of unknown writers, like Hazlitt, Lamb, and Leigh Hunt, they discovered the chief mission of the modern magazine, which is to give every writer of ability the opportunity to make his work known to the world."—W. J. Long, *English literature, its history and significance*, pp. 360-370, 374-375.—"De Quincey [1785-1850] is at his best in the *Confessions* and parts of the *Suspiria*, because in these writings he found the fullest opportunity

for the display of emotion and imagination. By nature and instinct he was a poet; by which I mean that his apprehension of things was essentially poetic. There are indeed passages in the *Confessions* which are so exquisitely modulated that they may be described as lyric, and they produce the kind of æsthetic pleasure which is peculiar to great poetry. . . . From the moment that the *Confessions of an English Opium-eater* saw the light, De Quincey was famous. His matter and style were new and entrancing, the story deeply suggestive and affecting. But in later generations the story is familiar, and its novelty is discounted. . . . De Quincey was as deficient as Poe; but, like Poe, he was one of the greatest of literary artists, loving and using his art for its own sake in the main, and it is as a literary artist of extraordinary accomplishment that De Quincey will be remembered. . . . The art of essay-writing which De Quincey perfected in one form, was carried to a yet rarer perfection by Charles Lamb [1775-1834]. In his hands it became a vehicle of the brightest banter, of the most intimate personal confession, and of a peculiarly humane and tender wisdom. . . . In January, 1820, *The London Magazine* was founded, and in the August number the first *Essay of Elia* appeared. Lamb was now forty-five. His gift had taken long to ripen; he now found himself, and in the essay discovered the one form of literary expression adequate to his genius. . . . Upon the whole, it may be said that a more religious-minded man than Lamb has not left his mark on English literature. Not, of course, that he has anything to do with creeds, dogmas, or churches; to these he is absolutely indifferent. It is rather in the width of his charity, his sense of pity, his fine feeling about things that his religion lies. He never writes so beautifully as when his theme is the affections. . . . There is deep essential reverence underlying his most extravagant badinage. Just he must, but never at sacred things. . . . Lamb's writings differ widely in quality, though it is scarcely possible to speak of good and bad as it is with most authors. There are degrees of excellence, but no positively inferior work. His best essays are his most intimate; these partake of the nature of confessions, and thus belong to the rarest form of literature. In his lightest vein of pure drollery there is nothing to surpass the *Dissertation upon Roast Pig*. It must also be remembered that Lamb was one of the finest critics whom English literature has produced. . . . A student, a philosopher, a thinker; a man of original mind and great critical discernment; a poet of great sweetness within his own range; a most human-hearted man, sorely tried, but never soured by adversity; humble, magnanimous, charitable in all his thoughts and acts—one of the most quaint and lovable figures in all English literature—such was Charles Lamb."—W. J. Dawson, *Makers of English prose*, pp. 155, 160, 162-163, 172, 174, 176.—"Landor's literary career began with poetry, and to the close of his long life he wrote poetry, often of the very highest order. . . . It was not until Landor had come to the confines of mid-life that he finally adopted the form of literary expression best suited to his genius. . . . No sooner had he settled in Florence than this idea of dramatic dialogues with the great personages of the past took possession of his mind, and the result was the *Imaginary Conversations*, which are the finest fruit of his genius, and his enduring monument. . . . The quality which strikes one most in these *Imaginary Conversations* is the enormous variety of Landor's power. They range through the whole realm of human history, and there is no part of

that history which he has not thoroughly comprehended. Everywhere there is adequate knowledge and often profound scholarship; everywhere there is also strenuous thinking, and a marvellous energy of conception and expression. . . . Another kind of writing in which Landor excelled may be best described as 'fantasy.' Perhaps the noblest specimens of this work are the *Dream of Boccaccio* and the *Dream of Petrarca*. Each is distinguished by peculiar delicacy of sentiment, beauty of cadence, and grace of imagination. They illustrate also in a very striking manner the thorough paganism of Landor's mind."—*Ibid.*, pp. 133, 138, 139, 141, 145.

1832-1880.—Victorian Era.—Carlyle, Ruskin and Arnold.—Tennyson and Browning.—Mrs. Browning.—Modern fiction.—Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot and Meredith.—Minor novelists.—"In one direction the Victorian age achieved a salient and momentous advance. The Romantic Revival had been interested in nature, in the past, and in a lesser degree in art, but it had not been interested in men and women. . . . The Victorian age extended the imaginative sensibility which its predecessor had brought to bear on nature and history, to the complexities of human life. It searched for individuality in character, studied it with a loving minuteness, and built up out of its discoveries amongst men and women a body of literature which in its very mode of conception was more closely related to life, and thus the object of greater interest and excitement to its readers, than anything which had been written in the previous ages. It is the direct result of this extension of romanticism that the novel became the characteristic means of literary expression of the time, and that Browning, the poet who more than all others represents the essential spirit of his age, should have been as it were, a novelist in verse. Only one other literary form, indeed, could have ministered adequately to this awakened interest, but by some luck not easy to understand, the drama, which might have done with greater economy and directness the work the novel had to do, remained outside the main stream of literary activity. To the drama at last it would seem that we are returning, and it may be that in the future the direct representation of the clash of human life which is still mainly in the hands of our novelists, may come back to its own domain. The Victorian age then added humanity to nature and art as the subject-matter of literature. But it went further than that. For the first time since the Renaissance, came an era which was conscious of itself as an epoch in the history of mankind, and confident of its mission. . . . The nineteenth century, by the discoveries of its men of science, and by the remarkable and rapid succession of inventions which revolutionized the outward face of life, made hardly less alteration in accepted ways of thinking."—G. H. Mair, *English literature, modern*, pp. 191-193.—"If . . . we ask which authors of the Victorian Age among those no longer living have played the most vital part in the evolution of social ideals, the answer comes clear. From 1830 to 1880 no men of pure letters so held the public ear as Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold. . . . Carlyle's kinship was with Germany, Ruskin's with Italy, Arnold's with France. Carlyle's eyes were in his conscience, Ruskin's in his heart, Arnold's in the normal place, his head. Each turned away from the dominant interest of his youth,—history, art-criticism, or poetry,—to focus the most earnest thought of his prime sternly and earnestly on the social anomalies and paradoxes of modern life."—V. D. Scudder, *Social ideals in English letters*, p. 123.—"Emerson once called

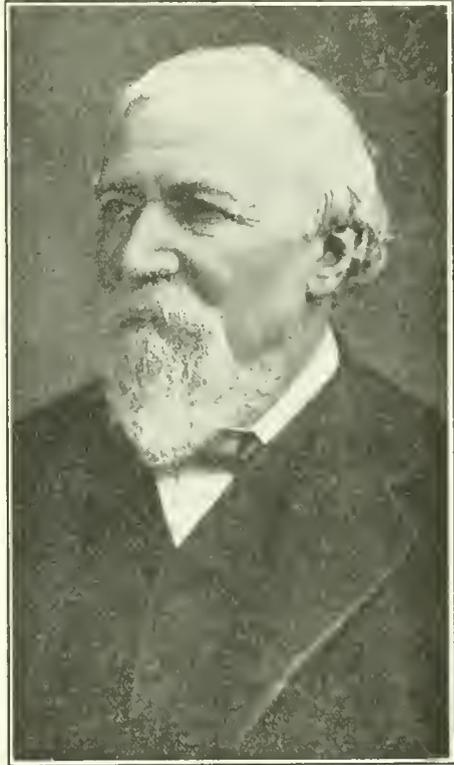
Carlyle [1795-1881] 'a trip-hammer with an Æolian attachment.' He certainly is one of the most massive . . . and vehement literary forces of the prolific age in which he lived. In his sharp denunciation of the sham and hypocrisy of his times, he stands out like a fiery prophet of Israel hurling anathemas upon a sinning and perverse generation; but along with this vehemence there is a strain of pathos and sympathy as gentle as the music of the Æolian harp. . . . In his rage against this sordid materialism of his age he may have been unjust to men; . . . in his adoration of Great Men as the inspired leaders of humanity he was unjust to the advocates of a wide Democracy, but these are but limitations that stamp his humanity; above these limitations one feels the burning hatred of Sham and Insincerity and the holy ardor of a soul that loves the truth. . . . He was not perfect; but his biographer need not apologize for the character of Thomas Carlyle. He was intolerant; he had no appreciation of the world of art and music; he never understood the work of men like Darwin; he misjudged democracy and upheld slavery; he seldom placed the proper evaluation on the work of his contemporaries—yet what a grand figure he is!"—E. W. Chubb, *Masters of English Literature*, pp. 354-355, 371-372.—See also HISTORY: 27.—"Among the other great Victorian writers, the most obvious disciple of Carlyle in his opposition to the materialism of modern life is John Ruskin [1819-1900]. But Ruskin is much more than any man's disciple; and he also contrasts strongly with Carlyle, first because a large part of his life was devoted to the study of Art—he is the single great art-critic in English Literature—and also because he is one of the great preachers of that nineteenth century humanitarianism at which Carlyle was wont to sneer. . . . His career as a writer began immediately after he left the University [Oxford]. It falls naturally into two parts, the first of about twenty years, when he was concerned almost altogether with Art, chiefly painting and architecture; and the second somewhat longer, when he was intensely absorbed in the problems of society and strenuously working as a social reformer. From the outset, however, he was actuated by an ardent didactic purpose; he wrote of Art in order to awake men's spiritual natures to a joyful delight in the Beautiful and thus to lead them to God, its Author. . . . To Ruskin morality and religion are inseparable from Art, so that he deals searchingly, if incidentally, with those subjects as well. Among his fundamental principles are the ideas that a beneficent God has created the world and its beauty directly for man's use and pleasure; that all true art and all true life are service of God and should be filled with a spirit of reverence; that art should reveal truth; and that really great and good art can spring only from noble natures and a sound national life. . . . The publication of the last volume of *Modern Painters* in 1860 roughly marks the end of Ruskin's first period. Several influences had by this time begun to sadden him. . . . Meanwhile, acquaintance with Carlyle had combined with experience to convince him of the comparative ineffectualness of mere art criticism as a social and religious force. He had come to feel with increasing indignation that the modern industrial system, the materialistic political economy founded on it, and the whole modern organization of society reduce the mass of men to a state of intellectual, social, and religious squalor and blindness, and that while they continue in this condition it is of little use to talk to them about Beauty. He believed that some of the first

steps in the necessary redemptive process must be the education of the poor and a return to what he conceived . . . to have been the conditions of medieval labor, when each craftsman was not a mere machine but an intelligent and original artistic creator; but the underlying essential was to free industry from the spirit of selfish money getting and permeate it with Christian sympathy and respect for man as man. . . . With his customary vigor, Ruskin proceeded henceforth to devote himself to the enunciation, and so far as possible, the realization of these beliefs. . . . Ruskin, like Carlyle, was a strange compound of genius, nobility, and unreasonableness, but as time goes on, his dogmatism and violence may well be more and more forgotten, while his idealism, his penetrating interpretation of art and life, his fruitful work for a more tolerable social order, and his magnificent mastery of style and description assure him a permanent place in the history of English literature and of civilization. Contemporary with Carlyle and Ruskin and fully worthy to rank with them stands still a third great preacher of social and spiritual regeneration, Matthew Arnold [1822-1888], whose personality and message, however, were very different from theirs and who was also one of the chief Victorian poets. . . . Up to 1867, his literary production consisted chiefly of poetry, very carefully composed and very limited in amount, and for two five-year terms, from 1857 to 1867, he held the Professorship of Poetry at Oxford. . . . His retirement from this position virtually marks the very distinct change from the first to the second main period of his career. For with deliberate self-sacrifice he now turned from poetry to prose essays, because he felt that through the latter medium he could render what seemed to him a more necessary public service. With characteristic self-confidence, and obeying his inherited tendency to didacticism, he appointed himself, in effect, a critic of English national life, beliefs, and taste, and set out to instruct the public in matters of literature, social relations, politics, and religion. In many essays, published separately or in periodicals, he persevered in this task until his death in 1888. As a poet Arnold is generally admitted to rank among the Victorians next after Tennyson and Browning. . . . In his work. . . delicate melody and sensuous beauty were at first much less conspicuous than a high moral sense, though after the first the elements of external beauty greatly developed, often to the finest effect. In form and spirit his poetry is one of the very best later reflections of that of Greece, dominated by thought, dignified, and polished with the utmost care. *Sohrab and Rustum*, his most ambitious and greatest single poem, is a very close and admirable imitation of *The Iliad*. Yet, as the almost intolerable pathos of *Sohrab and Rustum* witnesses, Arnold is not by any means deficient, any more than the Greek poets were, in emotion. He affords, in fact, a striking example of classical form and spirit united with the deep, self-conscious, meditative feeling of modern Romanticism. . . . There is a striking contrast . . . between the manner of Arnold's poetry and that of his prose. In the latter, he entirely abandons the querulous note and assumes instead a tone of easy assurance, jaunty and delightfully satirical. Increasing maturity had taught him that merely to sit regarding the past was useless, and that he himself had a definite doctrine, worthy of being preached with all aggressiveness. . . . As a literary critic he is uneven, and, as elsewhere, sometimes superficial; but his fine appreciation and generally clear vision make him refreshingly stimulating. His point of view is unusually

broader, his chief general purpose being to free English taste from its insularity, to give it sympathetic acquaintance with the peculiar excellences of other literatures. . . . The differences between Arnold's teaching and that of his two great contemporaries are . . . clear. All three are occupied with the pressing necessity of regenerating society. Carlyle would accomplish this end by means of great individual characters inspired by confidence in the spiritual life and dominating their times by moral strength; Ruskin would accomplish it by humanizing social conditions and spiritualizing and refining all men's natures through devotion to the principles of moral Right and esthetic Beauty; Arnold would leaven the crude mass of society, so far as possible, by permeating it with all the myriad influences of spiritual, moral, and esthetic culture. . . . Arnold's style is one of the most charming features of his work. Clear, direct, and elegant, it reflects most attractively his own high breeding; but it is also eminently forceful, and marked by very skillful emphasis and reiteration. . . . He has none of the gorgeousness of Ruskin or the titanic strength of Carlyle, but he can be finely eloquent, and he is certainly one of the masters of polished effectiveness."—R. H. Fletcher, *History of English literature*, pp. 390-399, 402.

"The same movement visible in the poetry of Arnold and Clough may be detected still moulding and modifying the works of Tennyson [1809-1892]. In the year 1850 *In Memoriam* appeared. . . . The *Idylls of the King* are the outcome of an interest in Arthurian legends that seems to have gradually developed. . . . Each idyll is a separate story, related to the others because all are parts of one greater story. But the idylls have not the coherence required in the books of an epic. Tennyson was conscious of the want of unity, and he sought for a principle of connexion in allegory. At best the allegory is very indistinct; it appears chiefly in the parts later in order of publication; and we may suspect that it was an after-thought meant to supply a defect to which the author slowly awakened. The very name, *Idylls of the King*, serves as a warning not to expect too much unity. . . . The *Idylls* were, as they still are, Tennyson's greatest experiment in blank verse; and next to Milton's *Paradise Lost* they are the finest body of non-dramatic blank verse in the language. [See also ARTHURIAN LEGEND.] . . . When we come down to later years the principal change visible in Tennyson's work is the development of the dramatic element. . . . The old smoothness and melody are in great part gone, but a number of pieces prove that Tennyson retained the skill though he did not always choose to exercise it. . . . But while we may legitimately mourn for what time took away, we ought to rejoice over what it added, rather than left. If there is less melody there is more strength; if the delightful dreamy languor of *The Lotus-Eaters* is gone, we have the vivid truth of *The Northern Farmer* and *The Northern Cobbler*, and the tragic pathos of *Rizpah*; if the romantic sentiment of *Locksley Hall* is lost, something more valuable has taken its place in the criticism of life in *Locksley Hall Sixty Years After*. . . . Tennyson wrote up to the very close of his long life. His last publications were *The Foresters* and *The Death of Ænone*. They show some decline of power. *Demeter* too (1889) was probably a little below his level. But previous to that, though there had been change, there had been nothing that can be called decay. For the long period of sixty years and upwards Tennyson had written, and with rare exceptions he had written greatly. From the death of Wordsworth to his

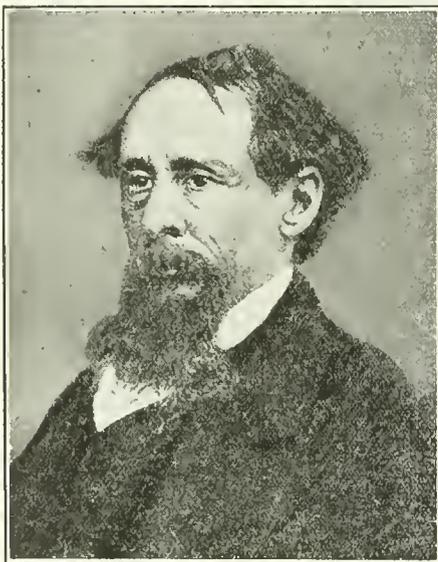
own death he was almost universally looked upon as the first poet of his time. No one else has wielded so great an influence. In no other poet's work is the record of change during the period so clearly written. In part he made the age, in still larger measure it made him. The hesitancy of his early work was typical of the spirit of the time. The gradual awakening, the deeper thought, the larger subjects, the more varied interests of the intermediate period, were typical too. In this last period, while Tennyson was as faithful as ever to the law of his own development, he did not move precisely with the time. Another race was rising and other palms were to be won. [See also DRAMA: 1815-1877.] Browning [1812-1889] could not go through the same phase of develop-



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ment, for in him the intellectual element from the first was even abnormally prominent. Yet in Browning too the influence of the time is felt. . . . In *The Pope* and in *Rabbi Ben Ezra*, we have Browning's deepest treatment of the problems which interested him most, and we have not that sacrifice of poetry to philosophy which mars *La Saisiaz*. We may say that about this time Browning discovered the vital interest of his generation, and discovered also where his own strength lay. The effect is seen in the uniform excellence of his work. The publications of the twenty years between 1850 and 1870, taken as a whole, certainly surpass what he had done before or what he did afterwards. *Men and Women* (1855) has been probably the most popular and the most widely read of all his writings; *Dramatis Personæ* (1864) is even richer in poetry, but has been commonly felt to be more difficult in thought; while *The Ring and the Book* (1868-1869) is by almost all com-

petent judges pronounced his masterpiece. The plan of *The Ring and the Book*, whereby the same story is told ten times over from ten different points of view, is defensible only on the ground that it succeeds. Nearly half the poem is hardly worth reading; yet the other half so splendidly redeems it that *The Ring and the Book* ranks among the great poems of modern times. The pictures of Caponsacchi, of Guido, of Pompilia and of the Pope are all great. Guido has the interest, unique in this poem, of appearing twice; and there is no better illustration of the subtlety of Browning's thought than the difference between the Count, plausible, supple and polished, pleading for his life, and the man Guido, stripped of all but bare humanity, condemned to death, first desperately petitioning, then tearing off the veil of hypocrisy and uttering his terrible truths both about himself and the messengers who bear his sentence. Pompilia is Browning's most perfect female character; but, though a beautiful creation, she illustrates one of



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the defects in his dramatic art. She speaks Browning's speech, and she thinks his thought. Simple child as she is, there is a depth of philosophy in her utterances that is not in strict keeping with her character; and she, like all Browning's men and women, uses the abrupt vivid language of the poet. Notwithstanding his almost passionate repudiation of the idea, Browning is a self-revealing poet; and nowhere does he reveal himself more than in the Pope, the greatest character in *The Ring and the Book*. In him the resemblance to Browning himself does not matter, it rather adds a new interest. The mind can conceive and picture nothing higher than its own ideal best; and the Pope is Browning's ideal man, great in intellect, in morals and in faith. . . . To Browning's middle period belong likewise many of his love-poems, and these are unique in the English language. Others, like Shakespeare and Burns and Shelley, have given a more purely captivating expression to the ardour of love; no one else has so worked out its philosophy. Not that Browning's poems are deficient in feeling; the expressions of his own love for his wife, 'O lyric love' and *One Word More*, would suffice to refute

such a criticism. But he prefers to take an aspect of passion and to explain it by the way of thought. He is analytical. . . . No poet free, as Browning is, from the taint of asceticism has ever treated the passion of love in a manner so little physical as he. There are in his works errors of taste that cause a shudder; but they are not here. It was likewise during this period that Browning was at his dramatic best. Nearly all his best pieces are dramatic in conception, though sometimes, as in the love-poems, we are confined to single aspects of character. . . . In the last twenty years of his life Browning, on the whole, appears at his worst. . . . Some of his later writings may be not unfairly described as merely treatises in verse. . . . His last volume, *Asolando* (1889), will always have a special interest for its publication coincidentally with his death; and it illustrates how his favourite ideas remained fixed to the end. . . . Browning's last word to the world, the epilogue to *Asolando*, is most distinctive of his style and tone of thought. He held throughout a steady optimism, all the more cheering because it is the optimism of a man of wide knowledge of the world, and one who has looked evil in the face. [See also DRAMA: 1815-1877.] Elizabeth Barrett Browning [1806-1861] was an author at an earlier date than her husband . . . but her first work of any note was *The Seraphim* (1838). . . . There are two points of special and peculiar interest in connexion with Mrs. Browning. She has only one possible rival, Christina Rossetti, for the honour of being the greatest poetess who has written in English; and her marriage with Browning formed a union without parallel in literature. Moreover, in relation to Mrs. Browning's works, sex is not a mere accident. She is a woman in all her modes of thought and feeling, and she is so especially in her very finest work. Her greatest contribution to literature, *Sonnets from the Portuguese* [1850], derives its unique interest from being the expression of the woman's love; and *A Child's Grave at Florence* could hardly have been written but by a woman and a mother. . . . [The sonnets] are the genuine utterance of a woman's heart, at once humbled and exalted by love; and in this respect they are unique. The woman's passion, from the woman's point of view, has seldom found expression at all in literature, and this particular aspect of it never."—H. Walker, *Age of Tennyson*, pp. 220, 222-225, 227-235.

"At the very beginning of the period [Victorian] fiction turned away from donjon and tourney, and sought for background the street, the club, the England of today. With occasional lapses into romanticism, it has remained insistently modern. . . . Dickens and Thackeray uncovered and revealed the social layer of early Victorian life. About 1850, their simple reproductions gave place to the novel of protest and arraignment; this in its turn is yielding nowadays to the novel of constructive suggestion, whether in the form of avowed literary Utopias, or of schemes for social salvation in would-be realistic garb. We have had indeed no social fiction so great as that of Russia; but we have had Dickens and Thackeray; we have had George Eliot, George Meredith, and Thomas Hardy; we have had for lesser folk, Reade, Trollope, Kingsley, Disraeli, Macdonald. Our social novels illustrate and supplement our social essays. . . . Beneath all . . . lies . . . a strange and contradictory civilization which we cannot yet interpret, tingling with self-consciousness, yet unaware of much in its own tendencies. . . . Our literature has confronted a social situation dramatic, difficult and complex. . . . Reading these books chronologically, we follow the unconscious changes in public sentiment: its vary-

ing emphases, theories, advances, recoils."—V. D. Scudder, *Social ideals in English letters*, pp. 125-126.—"The perspective of time has made it clear that among the Victorian novelists, as among the poets, three definitely surpass the others. With



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Dickens and Thackeray is to be ranked George Eliot (Mary Anne Evans)."—R. H. Fletcher, *History of English literature*, p. 437.—"Dickens' [1812-1870] popularity, in his own day and since, is due chiefly: (1) to his intense human sympathy; (2) to his unsurpassed emotional and dramatic power; and (3) to his aggressive humanitarian zeal for the reform of all evils and abuses, whether they weigh upon the oppressed classes or upon helpless individuals. Himself sprung from the lower middle class, and thoroughly acquainted with the life of the poor and apparently of sufferers in all ranks, he is one of the most moving spokesmen whom they have ever had. . . . Dickens' magnificent emotional power is not balanced, however, by a corresponding intellectual quality; in his work, as in his temperament and bearing, emotion is always in danger of running to excess. One of his great elements of strength is his sense of humor, which has created an almost unlimited number of delightful scenes and characters; but it very generally becomes riotous and so ends in sheer farce and caricature, as the names of many of the characters suggested at the outset. Indeed, Dickens has been rightly designated a grotesque novelist—the greatest of all grotesque novelists."—*Ibid.*, pp. 430-431.—"Thackeray [1811-1863] belongs to the select group of the greatest writers of English fiction. 'I cannot help telling the truth as I view it, and describing what I see.' . . . Such is the serious attitude, such the philosophy of this interesting personality, this great-hearted, gifted writer whose theory of fiction places him among the realists, but whose practice is shot through and through with an idealism, a tenderness that precludes our classifying him with the strict disciples of realism. With malice toward none and with charity for all he held the mirror up to life as he saw it; that his mirror did not reflect a world of enchanting beauty and goodness must not be at-

tribute o cynicism but to sincerity. . . . While there is still a diversity of opinion as to his rank as a novelist, the opinion as to the high quality of his style is unanimous. Long ago Carlyle said, 'Nobody in our day, I should say, wrote with such perfection of style.' And as discriminating a critic as Mr. Brownell, who objects to the contentious special pleading of Macaulay, the exaltation of Carlyle, the rhapsody of Ruskin, and the periodic stateliness of Gibbon, finds the style of Thackeray perfectly sound and classical. It is simple, copious, and natural."—E. W. Chubb, *Masters of English literature*, pp. 313, 331-332.—"Endowed with one of the strongest minds that any woman ever has possessed, from her very infancy [George Eliot, 1819-1880] . . . studied and read widely. . . . Circumstances combined with her unusual ability to make her entire life one of too high pressure, and her first struggle was religious. . . . She fell under the influence of some rationalistic acquaintances who led her to adopt the scientific Positivism of the French philosopher Comte. . . . One of the most attractive qualities, especially in her earlier books, is her warm and unaffected human sympathy. . . . The aspiration, pathos and tragedy of life, especially among the lower and middle classes in the country and the small towns, can scarcely be interpreted with more feeling, tenderness, or power than in her pages. But her sympathy does not blind her to the world of comedy; figures like Mrs. Poyser in *Adam Bede* are delightful. . . . The really controlling forces in George Eliot's work were intellectual and moral. She started out with the determination to render the facts of life with minute and conscientious accuracy, . . . and as a result her books, from the beginning, are masterpieces of the best sort of realism. . . . More fundamental than her sympathy . . . is her instinct for scientific analysis. Like a biologist or a botanist,



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and with much more deliberate effort than most of her fellow-craftsmen, she traces and scrutinizes all the acts and motives of her characters until she reaches and reveals their absolute inmost truth. . . . Inevitably, with her disposition, the scientific tend-

ency grew upon her. Beginning with *Middlemarch* (1872), which is perhaps her masterpiece, it seems to some critics decidedly too preponderant, giving to her novels too much the atmosphere of psychological text-books; and along with it goes much introduction of the actual facts of nineteenth century science. Her really primary instinct, however, is the moral one. The supremacy of moral law may fairly be called the general theme of all her works; to demonstrating it her scientific method is really in the main auxiliary; and in spite of her accuracy it makes of her more an idealist than a realist. . . . In technique, her very hard work generally assured mastery. Her novels are firmly knit and well-proportioned, and have the inevitable movement of life itself; while her great scenes equal those of Thackeray in dramatic power and, at their best, in reserve and suggestiveness."—R. H. Fletcher, *History of English literature*, pp. 437-441.—"It is significant of the slow growth of George Meredith's [1828-1909] literary reputation that, though we think of him as the successor of George Eliot, his first novel appeared before hers. He published *The Shaving of Shagpat* in 1856. *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* appeared in 1859, and other works at intervals of two or three years down to 1895; of these, *Beauchamp's Career* (1876), *The Egoist* (1879), *Diana of the Crossways* (1885), and *One of Our Conquerors* (1890), are the most noteworthy. Meredith, like George Eliot, is a psychologist, and in some sort a moralist. But while George Eliot tries to make her characters individual, and then to make their lives typical by showing how the laws of the moral world get themselves enforced, as it were, automatically, Meredith tends to make his characters types, embodiments of the particular quality which he is interested in exploiting. Again, George Eliot works through tragedy, Meredith often through comedy; the one scourges evil-doers, the other makes them ridiculous. George Eliot seeks to present a fully developed background, and is at pains to make her characters talk with absolute realism; Meredith concentrates attention upon his typical characters, and cares little whether his men and women talk naturally so long as they embody the essential, spiritual truth of humanity. His dialogue is more highly compressed, more heavily loaded with meaning, than it could be in actual life. The same pursuit of the essential makes him abrupt in structure; he shifts the scene suddenly, he drops the thread of his story and picks it up again where he will, in such a manner as to render it difficult for any but a practised reader to follow him. Like Browning, instead of presenting his tale in plain, clear narrative, he prefers to give it to us in flashes and half-lights, as it is seen from different points of view."—W. V. Moody and R. M. Lovett, *History of English literature*, pp. 379-380.—"In Charlotte Brontë [1816-1855] the imagination never attained to such tragic splendor as in her sister; her novels are, however, more nearly in contact with actual life. The first of them, *Jane Eyre* (1847), opens with a transcript from Miss Brontë's own life at boarding-school, but the heroine soon passes beyond the world of the author's experience into the romantic realm of her longing and imagination. . . . Psychologically she is a study of the author's inner life, and her romantic experience is symbolical of the attempt which Charlotte and her sisters made to enlarge and color their oppressive little world with the spaces and splendors of the imagination. It was the honesty of Miss Brontë's romanticism that made *Jane Eyre* successful both with the critics and with the public. Under the advice of the critics, Miss Brontë abandoned gothic machinery in her later

books, *Shirley* (1849) and *Villette* (1853). . . . Charles Kingsley (1819-1875) shared Miss Brontë's serious view of fiction; and his position in the world was such as to connect him with large issues. . . . His novels fall into two divisions. In the earlier ones, *Yeast* (1848) and *Alton Locke* (1850), Kingsley gives a view of the problems which perplexed men's minds in the middle years of the century, the years of the Catholic revival and of Chartism; and he tries to point out a middle course between Catholicism and scepticism in religion, between Toryism and revolution in politics. In the second division he carries his purpose into the historical novel. *Hypatia* (1853) is a study of the struggle between Christianity and Paganism, in Alexandria, during the fifth century. His masterpiece, *Westward Ho!* (1855), is a vigorous story of the times of Elizabeth, depicting the English contest with Spain by sea and in America. In both these novels, Kingsley sought to develop his ideal of manhood, a compound of physical energy and intellectual moderation to which he felt in some way that the Catholic Church was dangerous. In both he displays many of the qualities of the artist. His scene has the vividness and splendor of painting, and his incident, though at times childishly unconvincing, is often superbly dramatic. The religious and social problems of England found a less passionate exponent in Mrs. Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865), the wife of a Unitarian clergyman in Manchester. Her life brought her into contact with the industrial and social difficulties growing out of the struggle between master and workman; and these she treated with great skill in *Mary Barton* (1848), and in *North and South* (1855). In *Cranford* (1853), her best known book, she entered a different field, that of realistic observation developed in a somewhat fantastic setting."—*Ibid.*, pp. 374-376.

1832-1890. — Humanitarianism. — Spencer and Mill.—Evolution.—Darwin and Huxley.—Physical science.—Tyndall.—"In the presence of the modern situation, social, industrial, political, thinker after thinker relapses into helplessness. Some offer panaceas. Some take refuge in criticising these panaceas. Some betake themselves to comforting and sedative confidence in the laws of nature. What if, watching the workings of earnest minds, we find a steady trend of thought in one direction. Retrospect is true prophecy, and we may come to recognize through all vagary and contradictory clamor the slow advance of a great idea. A mighty struggle for social salvation, not yet fully in evidence, but inexorably preparing, lies behind all incidents of modern life and art. The great social literature before 1880 reveals the gathering of the forces. To discover the issue was the work of that period. To face it is the work of our own."—V. D. Scudder, *Social ideals in English letters*, pp. 126-127.—"The new spirit is seen . . . most fully . . . in the writings of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), the philosopher of evolution. Unfortunately Spencer was not an attractive writer, and his volumes probably contain more hard thinking than is to be found in any other author of the century. Spencer had little of the poet in his composition, and while he was carrying out his great plan of unifying all knowledge he sought nothing more than the expression of his ideas in the clearest and most unambiguous form. . . . If Spencer was the focus of the evolutionary doctrine, several men of attractive personality and some literary distinction dealt effectively with the accessory portions of it."—E. W. Edmunds and F. Spooner, *Story of English literature*, v. 3, pp. 217, 220.—See also HISTORY: 34.—"Mill [1806-1873] . . . devoted

his best work and talents to the construction of a system of utilitarian ethics, thus following Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), a founder of *The Westminster Review*, to which Mill was a constant contributor. Mill's *System of Logic* (1843) was faithful to the inductive method of contemporary science, with its patient investigation of phenomena. His studies of *Political Economy* appeared in the following year, and led to a more extensive treatise on the *Principles of Political Economy* in 1848. These works, which rank as English classics, suffer from the same defect of underrating the influence of human nature. The individualists reckoned without socialism, and British moral philosophy in the first half of the nineteenth century was slow in learning its lesson from Continental and Transatlantic writers. The influence on Mill of Auguste Comte, the French Positivist philosopher, and the inventor of the term, if not of the science, of sociology, proved considerable in later life, when Mill added *On Liberty, Representative Government and Utilitarianism* to the longer treatises of twenty years before. Later still, he collected from reviews a number of *Dissertations and Discussions*, which afford very interesting reading. They include a paper on 'Poetry and its Varieties,' which Herbert Spencer, for all his learning, could never have composed.—L. Magnus, *English literature in the nineteenth century*, pp. 221-222.—"In his *Origin of Species*, Charles Darwin (1809-82), by providing a simple natural explanation of the evolution of organic species, compelled the old school of thinkers to trim their weapons against the whole idea. . . . *The Origin of Species* is one of those books the appearance of which marks an epoch in the intellectual growth of the world; and in every respect it is worthy to do so. As a piece of writing it is lucid and dignified, never slovenly and never ornate. [See also EVOLUTION: Darwin's theory.] Darwin, of course, made no pretensions to purely literary distinction; but no style could have fitted its subject better than this. . . . One of the most retiring of men, Darwin fortunately found an expositor in Professor Huxley (1825-05), one of the most masterly among nineteenth century prose-writers. In a series of lectures and essays Huxley drove home the lessons of Darwinism with crushing force. *Man's Place in Nature* (1863) presented the case for the physical evolution of man from the lower animals with final and unanswerable arguments. In *Lay Sermons* (1870) and in *Science and Culture* (1881) Huxley was the convincing advocate of the dignity of science; he did much to obtain for science its proper recognition by educationalists, and published admirable little text-books on Physiography, Physiology, and Zoology."—E. W. Edmunds and F. Spooner, *Story of English literature*, v. 3, pp. 221-222.—"The establishment of the theory of evolution by natural selection was the great intellectual event of the century. . . . 'Biology like theology has its dogmas. . . . All great truths, like Darwin's law of selection, acquire a momentum which sustains half-truths and pure dogmas' . . . and there was no prominent writer of the period who escaped altogether from the quickening and disturbing effects of the evolutionary hypothesis and its implications."—J. W. Cunliffe, *English literature during the last half century*, p. 11.—See also EVOLUTION: Historical development of the idea.—"Professor John Tyndall (1820-03) was the Huxley of Physical Science, and his works on *Heat, Sound, Light*, first delivered in the form of lectures beautifully illustrated by experiments, gave a fresh fascination to subjects of unavoidable difficulty. His delightful writings on the Alps are true scientific holidays."—E. W. Edmunds and F.

Spooner, *Story of English literature*, v. 3, p. 223.— See also EUGENICS: Early history.

1833-1909.—Oxford movement.—Keble and Newman.—Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood.—Rossetti and Morris.—Swinburne.—"The Oxford Movement . . . constitutes one of the most interesting chapters in the spiritual history of the century. It was a concerted attempt on the part of a few young Oxford men, re-enforced later by numerous adherents, to reclaim the Church of England from the torpor and deadness into which it had fallen, and to give it once more the poetry, the mystic symbolism, and the spiritual charm, which had characterized the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages. The original inspiration of the movement was given by John Keble (1792-1866), author of *The Christian Year*, after Herbert's *Temple* the best book of devotional verse in English. [It was to his sermon on *National Apostasy*, preached July 14, 1833, that Newman ascribed the beginning of the Oxford movement.] The greatest force in the spiritual revolution, however, was John Henry Newman, afterward Cardinal Newman (1801-1800). . . . In reply to a charge of hypocrisy made by Charles Kingsley, Newman wrote an account of his religious life previous to his entering the Catholic Church, entitled *Apologia pro Vita Sua*. The exquisite sincerity of this confession revolutionized the popular estimate of Newman, and made him henceforth an object of veneration even to those who differed from him most bitterly on theological questions. . . . Newman's prose style is characterized at its best by an unobtrusive distinction, and by a kind of aerial transparency in comparison with which even Arnold's prose appears slightly dense. . . . Newman, it may almost be said, has no manner, or at least his manner is so completely one with his matter that it passes unobserved; his words convey his meaning as ether conveys light. . . . Newman, in certain passages especially of his *Apologia* and his *Idea of a University*, has perhaps come nearer than any prose-writer of this century in England, to the type of perfect prose. . . . But he was also a mystic and a poet, gifted with a literary power of the most winning and magnetic kind. His influence upon pure literature has therefore been great. [See also OXFORD OR TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT.] His mediæval cast of mind, his passionate perception of the beauty of the symbolism embodied in the mediæval church, united with Ruskin's devotion to mediæval art to influence a remarkable group of young painters and poets, known as the 'Preraphaelites.' The 'Preraphaelite movement' was in its essence an attempt to spiritualize art and poetry, kindred with the attempt of the 'Oxford movement' to spiritualize the English church. The 'Preraphaelite Brotherhood' was strictly not a literary, but an artistic organization, consisting of a number of young painters and sculptors banded together for the avowed purpose of redeeming English art from conventionality, and of recalling it to nature. They took as their models those early Italian painters preceding Raphael, who had treated the most mystical of religious themes with simple-hearted realism. For subjects the Preraphaelites went back to the Middle Ages, and their work took on the mystical, allegorical, and religious character inseparable from mediæval thought. A kind of naive earnestness and simplicity of treatment, with a mystical and intangible poetry of conception, were the dominant qualities in the work of these young enthusiasts, who took their mission very seriously, as a 'holy war and crusade against the age.' Several members of the Brotherhood were poets as well as

painters and sculptors; and there grew out of the artistic movement a literary one, which found its first expression in a little magazine called 'The Germ,' published for a short time during 1850. [See also PAINTING: Europe (19th century).] In 'The Germ' appeared the early work of two poets who best represent this peculiar renaissance of nineteenth century poetry, Dante Gabriel Rossetti [1828-1882] and William Morris [1834-1896]. . . . Dante Gabriel was the eldest of four children, of whom two others attained distinction in literature: William Michael as a critic, Christina as a lyrical poet, gifted beyond any English woman except Mrs. Browning with the poetic instinct, and outranking even her in delicate and spontaneous melody. At nineteen Rossetti adopted the career of painter; and a year later he wrote the poem which perhaps best illustrates the Pre-Raphaelite movement on its literary side, 'The Blessed Damosel.' The Blessed Damosel, wearing the 'white rose of Mary's gift,' and holding the mystic lilies, leans from the 'gold bar of Heaven,' yearning for her earthly lover, and picturing to herself the time when she shall lead him with her among the celestial groves and by the living waters of God. The sights and sounds of Heaven are imaged forth in the poem with a concreteness which would be startling if it were not so solemnized by spiritual meaning, and so freighted with spiritual awe. . . . Besides the touching emotion of the poem, the wonderful beauty and reach of its imagery, it has a melody sweeter and more sensitive than Rossetti ever attained afterward. . . . *The House of Life*, in the final form which it took in the volume of 1881, consists of a hundred and one sonnets, dealing with the poet's love-history and loss. The language and the imagery are here more elaborate than in Rossetti's earlier work, and the music more conscious and artful. . . . As a whole, Rossetti's poetry is marked by great picturesqueness and visual beauty. It is 'painter's poetry,' in that its appeal is constantly to the eye. Music it has too, but the tendency to load itself with elaborate detail often defeats the music, and makes of the verse a kind of poetical tapestry, stiff with emblazoned images."—W. V. Moody and R. M. Lovett, *History of English literature*, pp. 341-346.—"Morris's work was directed to certain ends by the requirements of his age, but his spirit was one to which the age had no logical claim. He came not in due time but by some large generosity of the gods. . . . To suggest that the man who created *Jason* and *The Earthly Paradise*, *Sigurd* and *Love is Enough* had anything but the profoundest reverence for his art, and especially for the supreme expression of his art—poetry—would be a preposterous insult if it were not ludicrous. Art was his gospel, and all his social teaching and activity were but an effort to bring his gospel to pass upon earth. . . . The basis of Morris's social creed was an unchanging faith in the essential dignity of the nature of man. . . . His desire always was that men should at least be allowed to prove themselves freely. From the turbulent passions and sorrows inseparable from humanity he asked no escape, taking them gladly as the darker threads in the many-coloured web of our heritage, but he denounced fiercely the doctrine that, finding men forced into daily betrayal of themselves, blandly announced that here was proof of their radical meanness and unworth. . . . Principles of exchange and of labour for the common good were a necessary complement of his belief that a man must get from his labour two things: joy in the work itself and the means whereby to live, . . . and in

his poetry was the same endeavour embodied in creative imagination."—J. Drinkwater, *William Morris, a critical study*, pp. 194, 197-198, 200-202.—See also PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1889-1900.—"The Catholic reactionism of Newman, the mediævalism of Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites, may be thought of as an attempt to escape from the hard material views of life forced upon the age by modern science. A somewhat similar attempt to escape from the overburdening moral seriousness and the too insistent ethical purpose of Victorian literature, may be traced in the early poetry of Algernon Charles Swinburne [1837-1909], especially in his first series of *Poems and Ballads* (1866). . . . In his later work, however, Swinburne has struck a more manly note, finding his inspiration in the ideal of freedom, personal and political; in his love of the sea, the poetry of which he has given with unexampled beauty and force; in an enthusiasm, wholesouled and generous, for great art; and in an exquisite perception of the beauty and pathos of child-life. Besides his voluminous lyrical work, he has essayed epic narrative in *Tristram of Lyonesse*; and he has produced a number of dramas, some, like *Chastelard* and *Marino Faliero*, being studies in the Elizabethan manner, others, as *Atalanta in Calydon* and *Erechtheus*, being written on the Greek model. Whatever may be the intellectual or moral value of Swinburne's poetry, it is certain that as a technical master of verse, as a musician in words, he is very great. . . . His excellences are present in the highest degree, and his faults almost absent, in his masterpiece, *Atalanta in Calydon* (1865), which ranks almost on a level with the *Samson Agonistes* of Milton as an attempt to give in English verse the essential form and spirit of Greek drama. [See also DRAMA: 1815-1877.] . . . Swinburne is the last of the Victorian poets, the latest survivor of the era which began with the appearance of Tennyson and Browning in the third decade of the century."—W. V. Moody and R. M. Lovett, *History of English literature*, pp. 349-350.

1880-1920.—Transition period.—Poetry and prose in the eighteen nineties.—Celtic revival.—Georgian poetry.—"The last half century was a period of extraordinarily rapid transition, political, social, and intellectual. Men were called upon to adjust their minds often with painful suddenness, to new systems of governments, new states of society, and new modes of thought. . . . The general sweep of thought was revolutionary; there was no political principle, no religious dogma, no social tradition, no moral convention that was not called in question. . . . Future generations will doubtless discern more constructive achievement than is obvious to the contemporary spectator. . . . A new era was begun, and though the march of progress . . . [has been] interrupted by the Great War, the . . . task of humanity . . . [is] to take up the task of reconstruction, so far as may be, where the catastrophe of 1914 suspended it."—J. W. Cunliffe, *English literature during the last half century*, pp. 14-15.—In drawing "a rough picture of some of the lines of contemporary writing . . . the most remarkable feature of the age . . . is without doubt its inattention to poetry. . . . Probably the only writer of verse who is at the same time a poet and has acquired a large popularity and public influence is Mr. Kipling [1865- . . .]. He is great because he discovered a new subject-matter, and because of the white heat of imagination which in his best things he brought to bear on it and by which he transposed it into poetry. It is Mr. Kipling's special distinction that the

apparatus of modern civilization—steam engines, and steamships, and telegraph lines, and the art of flight—take on in his hands a poetic quality as authentic and inspiring as any that ever was cast over the implements of other and what the mass of men believe to have been more picturesque days. Romance is in the present, so he teaches us. . . . That and the great discovery of India . . . give him the hold that he has . . . over the minds of his readers. It is in a territory poles apart from Mr. Kipling that the main stream of romantic poetry flows. Apart from the gravely delicate and scholarly work of Mr. Bridges, and the poetry of some others who work separately away from their fellows, English romantic poetry has concentrated itself into one chief school—the school of the 'Celtic Revival' of which the leader is Mr. W. B. Yeats."—G. H. Mair, *English literature, modern*, pp. 238-240.—Several of the later Victorian novelists reaped a late reward in the early part of the present period. These are Thomas Hardy, interpreter of the tragedy of country life (and poet, as well); Samuel Butler, whose "Way of all Flesh" shocked the sensibilities of his own day; and George Gissing, who in "New Grub Street" and other novels depicting the working classes voiced the pessimistic creed that "misery is the keynote of modern life" and whose critical study of Dickens is rated higher. These have been followed by H. G. Wells with his plea for intellectual freedom through research; George Moore, realistic novelist and temperamental historian of the Irish Renaissance; Joseph Conrad, whose creative art has won for him the title of "master" from his contemporaries, though undoubtedly the influence of Wells is of a broader social scope; John Galsworthy, whose sociological interests reflect the romantic spirit in a singularly delicate and poetic expression; Arnold Bennett, whose "Clayhanger" and "Old Wives' Tales" remain amid much litter; Hugh Walpole, May Sinclair, Gilbert Cannon, Compton Mackenzie, D. H. Lawrence and others, to all of whom have been attributed merit of one kind or another in present day fiction. Most of the prose that we have considered is fiction. Outside of that, George Bernard Shaw, apostle of heresy, has attained to the most conspicuous place in stimulating intellectual thought not only through the drama but through his characteristic "Prefaces."

"The movement of the Eighteen Nineties, . . . which has most engaged the attention of writers, the movement called 'Decadent,' or by the names of Oscar Wilde or Aubrey Beardsley, the movement Max Nordau denounced in Europe generally, and recently summed up by *The Times* under the epithet 'The Yellow Nineties,' does even now [1913] dominate the vision as we look backwards. And, indeed, though only a part of the renaissance, it was sufficiently 'brilliant,' to use one of its own *cliches*, to dazzle those capable of being dazzled by the achievements of art and letters for many years to come. For a renaissance of art and ideas which in literature had for exemplars Oscar Wilde (his best books were all published in the Nineties), Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Rudyard Kipling, John Davidson, Hubert Crackenthorpe, W. B. Yeats, J. M. Barrie, Alice Meynell, George Moore, Israel Zangwill, Henry Harland, George Gissing, 'John Oliver Hobbes,' Grant Allen, Quiller Couch, Max Beerbohm, Cunninghame Graham, Fiona Macleod (William Sharp), Richard Le Gallienne, Ernest Dowson, Arthur Symonds, Lionel Johnson, and A. B. Walkley . . . could not have been other than arresting, could not, indeed, be other than important in the history of our race.

For, whatever may be the ultimate place of these workers in literature and painting in the national memory, and whatever value we set upon them then and now, few will deny that even the least of them did not contribute something of lasting or of temporary worth to the sensations and ideas of their age, or its vision of life, and to its conception of spiritual or mental power. . . . Literary reputations beginning in the Seventies and Eighties, and only in a few cases awaiting further buttressing in the Nineties, were numerous; these, besides those already named, included W. H. Mallock, Edmund Gosse, Andrew Lang, Robert Louis Stevenson, Frederic Harrison, William Ernest Henley, John Addington Symonds, Arthur Pinero, Sidney Colvin, Austin Dobson, Edward Dowden, H. D. Traill, Theodore Watts-Dunton, Stopford Brooke, James Payn, Leslie Stephen, Henry James, Grant Allen, William Black, Robert Bridges, Frederick Wedmore, and among more popular writers, Marie Corelli, Rider Haggard, and Hall Caine. Mrs. Humphry Ward had become famous on the publication of *Robert Elsmere*, in 1888, but the importance of her work during the succeeding decade places her, as it does also George Moore, Rudyard Kipling and George Gissing, each of whom did good work before 1890, in the newer movement. This latter was not, however, to have its effect on the younger generation alone, it was so irresistible as to inspire even those whose life-work was more or less done to new and modern activities. Thus Thomas Hardy began a new phase of his art in 1891 with *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, following it with the masterly, and ultra-modern, *Jude the Obscure*, in 1895. He also published his first volume of poems, *Wessex Poems*, in 1898. William Morris published most of his prose romances in the Nineties, including *News from Nowhere*, in 1891, and in quick succession *The Roots of the Mountains*, *The Story of the Glittering Plain*, *The Wood Beyond the World*, and *The Well at the World's End*. *The Water of the Wondrous Isles* and *The Story of the Sundering Flood* were left in manuscript and published after his death. John Addington Symonds, whose chief work, *The History of the Italian Renaissance*, was completed between the years 1875-1886, published *In the Key of Blue*, a book so typical in some ways of the Nineties that it might well have been written by one of the younger generation. . . . The great veteran of black-and-white art, George du Maurier, suddenly became a popular novelist with the famous *Tribby* in 1894, which had been preceded by *Peter Ibbetson* (1891) and succeeded by *The Martian* (1896); and another veteran artist of great eminence also reasserted himself as a writer of first-rate power during the period, for it was not until 1890 that James McNeill Whistler collected and published in a delightful volume his 'Ten O'Clock' lecture, and his various letters to the newspapers, with other press cuttings, under the appropriate title of *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies*. . . . Further evidence of the stimulating atmosphere of the period is to be found in the number of writers who sprang into existence out of the *Zeitgeist* of the decade, as people in this country were beginning to call the spirit of the times. I do not mean those who were of the period in the narrower sense, but those who, taking that which every writer takes from his time, were sufficiently general in attitude not to have been peculiar to any movement. Among such writers may be named J. M. Barrie, Conan Doyle, Maurice Hewlett, Owen Seaman, Barry Pain, Pett Ridge, Israel Zangwill, Anthony Hope, W. H. Hudson, Joseph Conrad, Jerome K. Jerome, Stanley

Weyman, H. A. Vacbell, Stephen Phillips, Henry Newbolt, A. E. Housman, Arthur Christopher Benson, William Watson, Allen Upward, and the late G. W. Stevens, all of whom published their first notable work in the Nineties, and in many cases their best work. . . . Delightful among *fin de siècle* writers were those masters of a new urbanity, which, although in the direct tradition of Addison and Steele, of Dr. Johnson and Charles Lamb, possessed a *flair* of its own, a whimsical perversity, a 'brilliance,' quite new to English letters. First and most eminent of these urbane essayists, for like their earlier prototypes they practised mainly the essayist's art, comes Max Beerbohm, who considered himself out-moded at the age of twenty-four and celebrated the discovery by collecting his essays in a slim, red volume with paper label and uncut edges, and publishing them at the sign of The Bodley Head, in 1896, under the title of *The Works of Max Beerbohm*. From the same publishing house came fascinating volumes by G. S. Street, who satirised suburbans, talked charmingly of books, art and persons, and in *The Autobiography of a Boy* revealed the irony of the youth who wanted to be himself, and to live his own scarlet life, without having any particular self to become or any definite life to live, save that of matching his silk dressing-gown with the furniture of his room. There were also Charles Whibley, who wrote able studies of scoundrels and dandies; Richard Le Gallienne, who made a fine art of praise and, besides reviving the picaresque novel of flirtation in *The Quest of the Golden Girl*, became a sort of *fin de siècle* Leigh Hunt; John Davidson, who wrote the *Fleet Street Eclogues* and some curiously urbane novels, but who was more poet than essayist, and, latterly, was so much interested in ideas that he became a philosopher using literature as his medium; and Arthur Symons, poet of the music hall, the café and the *demi-monde*, literary impressionist of towns, and penetrating critic of the writers and ideas of the decadence in France and England. Another group of writers strongly associated with the period received its inspiration from the Celtic revival. Its chief figure was William Butler Yeats, the Irish poet and dramatist, whose earliest volumes of distinction, *The Countess Kathleen* and *The Celtic Twilight*, were published in 1892 and 1893. With him were Dr. Douglas Hyde, George Kussel (A.E.), John Eglington, Lady Gregory, and others, who together made up the Irish Literary Movement, which eventually established the Irish National Theatre in Abbey Street, Dublin, and produced the greatest of modern Irish dramatists, John Millington Synge. . . . Next to W. B. Yeats the most prominent figure of the Celtic revival was Fiona Macleod, whose first book, *Pharais: A Romance of the Isles*, appeared in 1894. There was also another Scottish movement, very widely appreciated on this side of the border. It was called the 'Kail Yard School,' and included the popular dialect fiction of J. M. Barrie, S. R. Crockett and the late 'Ian Maclaren.' . . . [George Moore's] vivid piece of realism, *Esther Waters* (1894), made history also by being the first notable novel to be banned by the libraries and placed on the *Index Expurgatorius* of Messrs W. H. Smith & Son.—H. Jackson, *Eighteen Nineties*, pp. 39-40, 44-49.—"It was not until the new century was well-advanced that a more hopeful and appreciative spirit [of poetry] was to be remarked. When the little collection entitled 'Georgian Poetry' 1911-12 was issued in the latter year, it was 'in the belief that English poetry is now again putting on a new strength and beauty, and that we are at

the beginning of another "Georgian period" which may take rank in due time with several great poetic ages of the past.' The modest enterprise met with a cordial reception from the public and was followed by . . . other volumes . . . going far to sustain the spirit of hopefulness the first volume had engendered. . . . This feeling . . . received further encouragement from 'New Numbers' (1914) by Wilfrid Wilson Gibson, Rupert Brooke, Lascelles Abercrombie and John Drinkwater, the first of a series of collections of verse intended to be published quarterly; but across this brilliant dawn there fell the black shadow of the Great War." Of these "Georgians," who belong to no distinct school, but who "seem to have 'poetical sinews in them' and to have done work which is likely to endure" we may mention John Masefield, known best for his sea poems and "August, 1914"; Rupert Brooke, "suddenly rising to the height of a great opportunity and as suddenly extinguished by death in the service of the cause he celebrated"; Wilfrid Wilson Gibson, who has aimed "to catch the gleam of romance in everyday life without ever losing hold of reality"; William H. Davies; Walter de la Mare; and Lascelles Abercrombie.—J. W. Cunliffe, *English literature during the last half century*, pp. 246-268.—See also DRAMA: 1843-1895; 1888-1921; 1892-1921.

1914-1922.—Effect of the World War on poetry.—Brooke, Nichols, Sassoon and Graves.—New realism in fiction.—"In the first months of the war it seemed generally agreed by critics and creative artists alike that the genius of expression itself was doomed to disappear in the immediate future. Works of imagination, we were assured, must cease to trouble the mind of man; no poetry worthy of the name was likely to be written during the next twenty years. It was a depressing prospect; but fortunately the prophecy was no sooner uttered than the event asserted its fallacy. A torrent of poetry began at once to pour from the press. . . . The first poems to be written by soldier-poets were almost inevitably touched by a certain irresistible sense of self-pity. Rupert Brooke's sonnet 'The Soldier' is the natural utterance of a young man who is leaving behind him everything that made life worth living, and who, faced by the prospect of an untimely death, seeks his consolation in bringing the future into some sort of permanent relation with the past. . . . And other poems, like Mr. Robert Nichols's 'Farewell,' and the 'Into Battle' of Julian Grenfell, are inspired by the same vague uncertainty, the same tremulous trust that a man may be remembered as having shown the courage which all the education of his youth was designed to breed. . . . Mr. Siegfried Sassoon, perhaps, has expressed better than any one else this emancipation of the soldier's heart from the taint of selfishness. It is the animating spirit of his vivid little piece of realism, 'In the Pink.' . . . The old, familiar glosses upon war are indeed effectually held up to scorn by our young realists. Mr. Siegfried Sassoon's 'They,' with its bitter arraignment of episcopal platitude, is well-balanced by the same poet's almost vindictive cameo of a London music-hall in wartime. . . . Sympathy has merged itself in a furious detestation of all those false pretences which in the past have presented the military spirit as a sort of enclosed garden of the poets' fantasy. The men who have seen the thing as it is have left the rest of us in no sort of doubt upon one indisputable fact. The poetry of the future will hardly venture to sentimentalise on experience which can prompt so sincere and so overwhelming an indignation. And indeed it is already to be noted that

among those poets also, who have not themselves made personal trial of war, a new and restrained spirit may be recognised. . . . This realism of the intellectual aspect of War, as contrasted with the merely material realism of lamp-black and lightning, has indeed afforded poetry a new scope for the imagination; and particularly in the work of Captain Graves, Mr. Siegfried Sassoon, and some of that of Mr. Robert Nichols, it has produced verse of a quality which could not, perhaps, have found inspiration at all in times of peace and contentment."—A. Waugh, *Tradition and change*, pp. 40, 48-50, 66.—"The last few years [1919] have seen a new movement in English fiction so full of vigour, sincerity, and spiritual beauty as to promise for the future, if only its edge be not dulled by the traffic of time, an entire revolution in the conventions of the British novel, clearing away a vast burden of traditional cant, and establishing a fresh and decent relation between the essential facts of life and their artistic revelation. . . . It is, in effect, a New Realism of the emotions, as contrasted with the conventional realism of conditions and environment; its interest is not the material convenience or inconvenience of life, but the spiritual achievement of man, and his ultimate realisation of his soul's possibilities. For the artist of the new realism the Kingdom of Heaven lies within the soul of man; for the realist of the last generation it was almost invariably sought from without, in the individual's relation with the rest of the world, and in the general improvement of social and human conditions. And the advance from external consolations to the consolations of the soul is an evident advance of the highest significance and of the most hopeful promise for the future. . . . We hail, then, in this latest development of English fiction a definite, sincere, and successful attempt to speak the truth about the things that belong to peace of the human soul. It is definite because it breaks finally with a number of retarding conventions which obliged the novelist to muster his characters in pens, some labelled virtuous and some vicious, and both classes expected to behave in every occurring situation precisely in accordance with the label of its class. The New Realism goes straight to the heart of man, and finds it of mingled yarn, good and ill together. It is sincere again because, while it recognises the omnipotent claim of romance and true sentiment, it has banished sentimentality altogether from the stage. False romanticism is no longer permitted to veil the facts of human nature, and the shame that is afraid of the naked beauty of pure passion is nailed implacably to the counter as false coin. . . . The New Realism, after all, is only the old Idealism, seen from the other side."—*Ibid.*, pp. 205-206, 221-222.

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ENGLISH PALE. See PALE, ENGLISH.

ENGLISH PARLIAMENT. See PARLIAMENT, ENGLISH.

ENGLISHRY.—To check the assassination of his tyrannical Norman followers by the exasperated English, William the Conqueror ordained that the whole Hundred within which one was slain should pay a heavy penalty. "In connexion with this enactment there grew up the famous law of 'Englishry,' by which every murdered man was presumed to be a Norman, unless proofs of 'Englishry' were made by the four nearest relatives of the deceased. 'Presentments of Englishry,' as they were technically termed, are recorded in the reign of Richard I., but not later."—T. P. Taswell-Langmead, *English constitutional history*, p. 68.

ENJUMEN. See ANJUMAN.

ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM. See EUROPE: Modern period: Era of the benevolent despots.

ENNEKING, John Joseph (1841-), American landscape painter. See PAINTING: American.

ENNISKILLEN. Defense of. See IRELAND: 1680.

ENNIUS, Quintus (230-160 B. C.), Roman poet. See LATIN LITERATURE: B. C. 204-169; ANNALS: Roman.

ENOMOTY.—In the Spartan military organization the enomoty "was a small company of men, the number of whom was variable, being given differently at 25, 32, or 36 men,—drilled and practised together in military evolutions, and bound to each other by a common oath. Each Enomoty had a separate captain or enomotarch, the strongest and ablest soldier of the company."—G. Grote, *History of Greece*, pt. 2, ch. 8.

ENRIQUE. See HENRY.

ENSISHEIM, Battle of (1674). See NETHERLANDS: 1674-1678.

ENSLIN, Battle of (1800). See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1800 (October-December).

ENTABLATURE. See ORDERS OF ARCHITECTURE.

ENTAIL, Law of: Its origin. See DE DONIS CONDITIONALIBUS.

ENTANGLING ALLIANCES, phrase used in American diplomacy. The expression "entangling alliances" does not occur in Washington's Farewell Address, although he advised against them. [See U. S. A.: 1700.] It "was given currency by Jefferson. In his first inaugural address he summed up the principles by which he proposed to regulate his foreign policy in the following terms: 'Peace, Commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.'"—J. H. Latané, *From isolation to leadership*, p. 12.—"By 1820 we had not only shaken ourselves loose from the entanglements of European inter-

national politics, but we had formulated rules of conduct designed to make that separation permanent. . . . 'Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us. . . . But in regard to those [the American] continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves would adopt it.' . . . This policy forced Monroe to leave out of his message a recommendation for the recognition of revolutionary Greece, as that would have been an interference in European affairs; yet the stand taken was so obviously but a stretching of our oldest policy, of the movement begun by our own Revolution, that it was heartily approved. . . . The separation of the American and European spheres of influence, and the closing of the era of colonization—were grounded on facts, permanent interests, and the waxing strength of the United States. Although not incorporated in law, either national or international, they have stood. Europe has actually respected the territorial integrity and political independence of the Americas, and our people have until to-day embraced as one of their most cherished ideals the statement of Monroe's policy, founded as it was on their fundamental desire to pursue untrammelled the course of their own development and to hold Europe at ocean's length. Possibly its association with the venerable and non-contentious figure of Monroe gave it quicker and more general hold on the public mind if it had taken its name from its real author, the belligerent Adams. From time to time the mantle of the Monroe Doctrine has been spread over the additions and interpretations, till the name now stands for much that was not imagined at its announcement. It is possible that, by tending to crystallize our ideas, it has in the long run hampered our adjustment to conditions; for national interests are only relatively permanent, and their relationship with one another changes constantly. There can be no doubt, however, of the advantage that it was to us, in the period of untutored democracy upon which we were just entering, to 'have out a sheet anchor of fixed and respected policy.'—C. R. Fish, *American diplomacy*, pp. 2, 211-212, 217-218.—At the second Hague peace conference, in 1907, the delegates of the United States were instructed by Secretary of State Root as follows: "The policy of the United States to avoid entangling alliances and to refrain from any interference or participation in the political affairs of Europe must be kept in mind, and may impose upon you some degree of reserve in respect of some of the questions which are discussed by the Conference. In the First Conference the American delegates accompanied their vote upon the report of the committee regarding the limitation of armaments by the following declaration: 'That the United States, in so doing, does not express any opinion as to the course to be taken by the States of Europe. This declaration is not meant to indicate mere indifference to a difficult problem, because it does not affect the United States immediately, but expresses a determination to refrain from enunciating opinions upon matters into which, as concerning Europe alone, the United States has no claim to enter. The

words drawn up by M. Bourgeois, and adopted by the first commission, received also the cordial interest and sympathy with which the United States, while carefully abstaining from anything that might resemble interference, regards all movements that are thought to tend to the welfare of Europe.' Before signing the arbitration convention of the First Conference the delegates of the United States put upon record the following declaration: 'Nothing contained in this Convention shall be construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or policy or internal administration of any foreign State; nor shall anything contained in the said Convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions.' These declarations have received the approval of this Government, and they should be regarded by you as illustrating the caution which you are to exercise in preventing our participation in matters of general and world-wide concern from drawing us into political affairs of Europe."—E. Root, *Instructions to the American delegates to The Hague conference of 1907 (Publication no. 17 of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Intercourse and Education, p. 64)*.—"Neutrality and isolation were correlative. They were both based on the view that we were a remote and distant people and had no intimate concern with what was going on in the great world across the seas. The failure of neutrality and the abandonment of isolation [in 1917] mark a radical, though inevitable, change in our attitude toward world politics. We do not propose, however, to abandon the great principles for which we as a nation have stood, but rather to extend them and give them a world-wide application. In his address to the Senate on January 22, 1917, the President [Wilson] said: 'I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world; that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful. I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power.' In other words, the Monroe Doctrine, stripped of its imperialistic tendencies, is to be internationalized, and the American policy of isolation, in the sense of avoiding secret alliances, is to become a fundamental principle of the new international order."—J. L. Latane, *From isolation to leadership*, pp. 186-188.—See also MONROE DOCTRINE; U. S. A.: 1823; 1917; 1919 (July-September).

ALSO IN: J. W. Foster, *Century of American diplomacy*, pp. 438-478.—J. D. Richardson, *Messages and papers of the presidents*, v. 1, p. 222, v. 2, pp. 218-219.—T. Jefferson, *Writings*, v. 10, p. 277.—J. B. Moore, *American diplomacy*, ch. 2-3.—F. J. Turner, *Rise of the new west*, ch. 12 (*American Nation Series*).—W. C. Ford, *John Quincy Adams; his connection with the Monroe Doctrine (American Historical Review, v. 7, pp. 676-696; v. 8, pp. 28-52)*.—A. B. Hart, *Foundations of American foreign policy*, pp. 211-240.—

A. C. Coolidge, *United States as a world power*, pp. 95-110.

ENTEBBE, capital of Uganda, Africa. See UGANDA: 1911-1914.

ENTENTE, Little. See JUGO-SLAVIA: 1920.

ENTENTE CORDIALE, the popular name applied by the French to the establishment of friendly relations ("understanding") by the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904. The Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 converted the dual understanding into the Triple Entente. (See also ENGLAND: 1912.) Strictly speaking, there were three agreements, or two declarations and one formal convention, signed on April 8th, 1904, constituting, together, the Anglo-French Entente. The first, a "Declaration respecting Egypt and Morocco," ran as follows:

ARTICLE I. His Britannic Majesty's Government declare that they have no intention of altering the political status of Egypt. The Government of the French Republic, for their part, declare that they will not obstruct the action of Great Britain in that country by asking that a limit of time be fixed for the British occupation or in any other manner, and that they give their assent to the draft Khedivial Decree annexed to the present Arrangement, containing the guarantees considered necessary for the protection of the interests of the Egyptian bondholders, on the condition that, after its promulgation, it cannot be modified in any way without the consent of the Powers Signatory of the Convention of London of 1885. It is agreed that the post of Director-General of Antiquities in Egypt shall continue, as in the past, to be entrusted to a French *savant*. The French schools in Egypt shall continue to enjoy the same liberty as in the past.

ARTICLE II. The Government of the French Republic declare that they have no intention of altering the political status of Morocco. His Britannic Majesty's Government, for their part, recognize that it appertains to France, more particularly as a Power whose dominions are continuous for a great distance with those of Morocco, to preserve order in that country, and to provide assistance for the purpose of all administrative, economic, financial, and military reforms which it may require. They declare that they will not obstruct the action taken by France for this purpose, provided that such action shall leave intact the rights which Great Britain, in virtue of Treaties, Conventions, and usage, enjoys in Morocco, including the right of coasting trade between the ports of Morocco, enjoyed by British vessels since 1901.

ARTICLE III. His Britannic Majesty's Government, for their part, will respect the rights which France, in virtue of Treaties, Conventions, and usage, enjoys in Egypt, including the right of coasting trade between Egyptian ports accorded to French vessels.

ARTICLE IV. The two Governments, being equally attached to the principle of commercial liberty both in Egypt and Morocco, declare that they will not, in those countries, countenance any inequality either in the imposition of customs duties or other taxes, or of railway transport charges. The trade of both nations with Morocco and with Egypt shall enjoy the same treatment in transit through the French and British possessions in Africa. An Agreement between the two Governments shall settle the conditions of such transit and shall determine the points of entry. This mutual engagement shall be binding for a period of thirty years. Unless this stipulation is expressly

denounced at least one year in advance, the period shall be extended for five years at a time. Nevertheless, the Government of the French Republic reserve to themselves in Morocco, and His Britannic Majesty's Government reserve to themselves in Egypt, the right to see that the concessions for roads, railways, ports, &c., are only granted on such conditions as will maintain intact the authority of the State over these great undertakings of public interest.

ARTICLE V. His Britannic Majesty's Government declare that they will use their influence in order that the French officials now in the Egyptian service may not be placed under conditions less advantageous than those applying to the British officials in the same service. The Government of the French Republic, for their part, would make no objection to the application of analogous conditions to British officials now in the Moorish service.

ARTICLE VI. In order to insure the free passage of the Suez Canal, His Britannic Majesty's Government declare that they adhere to the stipulations of the Treaty of the 29th October, 1888, and that they agree to their being put in force. The free passage of the Canal being thus guaranteed, the execution of the last sentence of paragraph 1 as well as of paragraph 2 of Article VIII of that Treaty will remain in abeyance.

ARTICLE VII. In order to secure the free passage of the Straits of Gibraltar, the two Governments agree not to permit the erection of any fortifications or strategic works on that portion of the coast of Morocco comprised between, but not including, Melilla and the heights which command the right bank of the River Sebou. This condition does not, however, apply to the places at present in the occupation of Spain on the Moorish coast of the Mediterranean.

ARTICLE VIII. The two Governments, inspired by their feeling of sincere friendship for Spain, take into special consideration the interests which that country derives from her geographical position and from her territorial possessions on the Moorish coast of the Mediterranean. In regard to these interests the French Government will come to an understanding with the Spanish Government. The agreement which may be come to on the subject between France and Spain shall be communicated to his Britannic Majesty's Government.

ARTICLE IX. The two Governments agree to afford to one another their diplomatic support, in order to obtain the execution of the clauses of the present Declaration regarding Egypt and Morocco."

The more formally designated Convention relates to questions concerning the Newfoundland fisheries and certain boundaries between French and English possessions in Africa. The articles respecting Newfoundland and the fisheries are as follows:

ARTICLE I. France renounces the privileges established to her advantage by Article XIII of the Treaty of Utrecht, and confirmed or modified by subsequent provisions.

"ARTICLE II. France retains for her citizens, on a footing of equality with British subjects, the right of fishing in the territorial waters on that portion of the coast of Newfoundland comprised between Cape St. John and Cape Ray, passing by the north; this right shall be exercised during the usual fishing season closing for all persons on the 20th October of each year. The French may therefore fish there for every kind of fish, including bait and also shell fish. They may enter any port or harbour on the said coast and may there obtain supplies or bait and shelter on the same conditions as the inhabi-

tants of Newfoundland, but they will remain subject to the local Regulations in force; they may also fish at the mouths of the rivers, but without going beyond a straight line drawn between the two extremities of the banks, where the river enters the sea. They shall not make use of stake-nets or fixed engines without permission of the local authorities. On the above-mentioned portion of the coast, British subjects and French citizens shall be subject alike to the laws and Regulations now in force, or which may hereafter be passed for the establishment of a close time in regard to any particular kind of fish, or for the improvement of the fisheries. Notice of any fresh laws or Regulations shall be given to the Government of the French Republic three months before they come into operation. The policing of the fishing on the above-mentioned portion of the coast, and for prevention of illicit liquor traffic and smuggling of spirits, shall form the subject of Regulations drawn up in agreement by the two Governments.

"ARTICLE III A pecuniary indemnity shall be awarded by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the French citizens engaged in fishing or the preparation of fish on the 'Treaty Shore,' who are obliged, either to abandon the establishments they possess there, or to give up their occupation, in consequence of the modification introduced by the present Convention into the existing state of affairs. This indemnity cannot be claimed by the parties interested unless they have been engaged in their business prior to the closing of the fishing season of 1903. Claims for indemnity shall be submitted to an Arbitral Tribunal, composed of an officer of each nation, and, in the event of disagreement, of an Umpire appointed in accordance with the procedure laid down by Article XXXII of The Hague Convention. The details regulating the constitution of the Tribunal, and the conditions of the inquiries to be instituted for the purpose of substantiating the claims, shall form the subject of special Agreement between the two Governments.

"ARTICLE IV His Britannic Majesty's Government, recognizing that, in addition to the indemnity referred to in the preceding Article, some territorial compensation is due to France in return for the surrender of her privilege in that part of the Island of Newfoundland referred to in Article II, agree with the Government of the French Republic to the provisions embodied in the following Articles."

The provisions here referred to, contained in the subsequent articles, modify the former frontier between Senegambia and the English colony of the Gambia, "so as to give to France Yarbutenda and the lands and landing places belonging to that locality"; cede to France "the group known as the Isles de Los, and situated opposite Konakry"; and substitute a new boundary, to the east of the Niger, for that which was fixed between the French and British possessions by the Convention of 1898. The declaration which concludes the series of agreements has to do with matters in Siam, Madagascar, and New Hebrides. As to Siam, the two governments "declare by mutual agreement that the influence of Great Britain shall be recognized by France in the territories situated to the west of the basin of the River Menam, and that the influence of France shall be recognized by Great Britain in the territories situated to the east of the same region, all the Siamese possessions on the east and southeast of the zone above described and the adjacent islands coming thus henceforth under French influence, and, on the other hand, all Siamese possessions on the west of this zone and of the Gulf of Siam, including the Malay Peninsula and

the adjacent islands, coming under English influence. The two Contracting Parties, disclaiming all idea of annexing any Siamese territory, and determined to abstain from any act which might contravene the provisions of existing Treaties, agree that, with this reservation, and so far as either of them is concerned, the two Governments shall each have respectively liberty of action in their spheres of influence as above defined." The further agreements were, on the part of the British government, to withdraw a protest it had raised against the customs tariff established in Madagascar, and, on the part of the two governments, "to draw up in concert an arrangement which, without involving any modification of the political *status quo*, shall put an end to the difficulties arising from the absence of jurisdiction over the natives of the New Hebrides." In the British Parliamentary Paper (Cd. 1952, April, 1904) which gave official publication to these Agreements, they are accompanied by an explanatory despatch from the Marquess of Lansdowne, British Foreign Secretary, to Sir E. Monson, Ambassador at Paris, which affirms distinctly that "if any European Power is to have a predominant influence in Morocco, that Power is France." The language of the despatch on this subject is as follows:

"The condition of that country [Morocco] has for a long time been unsatisfactory and fraught with danger. The authority of the Sultan over a large portion of his dominions is that of a titular Chief rather than of a Ruler. Life and property are unsafe, the natural resources of the country are undeveloped, and trade, though increasing, is hampered by the political situation. In these respects the contrast between Morocco and Egypt is marked. In spite of well-meant efforts to assist the Sultan, but little progress has been effected, and at this moment the prospect is probably as little hopeful as it ever has been. Without the intervention of a strong and civilized Power there appears to be no probability of a real improvement in the condition of the country. It seems not unnatural that, in these circumstances, France should regard it as falling to her lot to assume the task of attempting the regeneration of the country. Her Algerian possessions adjoin those of the Sultan throughout the length of a frontier of several hundred miles. She has been compelled from time to time to undertake military operations of considerable difficulty, and at much cost, in order to put an end to the disturbances which continually arise amongst tribes adjoining the Algerian frontier—tribes which, although nominally the subjects of the Sultan, are, in fact, almost entirely beyond his control. The trade of France with Morocco is again—if that across the Algerian frontier be included—of considerable importance, and compares not unfavourably with our own. In these circumstances, France, although in no wise desiring to annex the Sultan's dominions or to subvert his authority, seeks to extend her influence in Morocco, and is ready to submit to sacrifices and to incur responsibilities with the object of putting an end to the condition of anarchy which prevails upon the borders of Algeria. His Majesty's Government are not prepared to assume such responsibilities, or to make such sacrifices, and they have therefore readily admitted that if any European Power is to have a predominant influence in Morocco, that Power is France. . . . From the point of view of Great Britain the most important part of the Agreement which has been concluded in respect of Egypt is the recognition by the French Government of the predominant position of Great Britain in that country. They fully admit that the fulfilment of

the task upon which we entered in 1883 must not be impeded by any suggestion on their part that our interest in Egypt is of a temporary character, and they undertake that, so far as they are concerned, we shall not be impeded in the performance of that task. This undertaking will enable us to pursue our work in Egypt without, so far as France is concerned, arousing international susceptibilities. It is true that the other Great Powers of Europe also enjoy, in virtue of existing arrangements, a privileged position in Egypt; but the interests of France—historical, political, and financial—so far outweigh those of the other Powers, with the exception of Great Britain, that so long as we work in harmony with France, there seems no reason to anticipate difficulty at the hands of the other powers."—See also FRANCE: 1904-1906.

ENTHUSIASTS.—"The term 'Enthusiasts' has also had a technical sense, as in the Elizabethan period. Jewel, Rogers, . . . and others speak of 'Enthusiasts' as they do of the Anabaptists. During the Commonwealth period, and afterward, the term was frequently applied to the Puritans in a tone of depreciation, as by Robert South, who preached a special sermon on the subject, 'Enthusiasts not led by the spirit of God,' meaning . . . the Puritans."—*New Schaff-Herzog religious encyclopedia*, v. 4, p. 149.

ENTOMOLOGY. Bureau of, United States. See AGRICULTURE, DEPARTMENT OF, UNITED STATES.

ENTRY, Peaceable. See COMMON LAW: 1382.

ENVER PASHA (1882-), Turkish soldier, formerly leader of the Young Turkey Party and minister for war. He was the prime mover in the revolution of 1908; commanded an army in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, and was mainly instrumental in bringing Turkey into the World War on the side of Germany; on the defeat of Turkey in 1918 he fled from the country with his colleague, Talaat Pasha, taking with him a large amount of money from the Turkish treasury.—See also TURKEY: 1908; WORLD WAR: 1914: IV. Turkey: c; 1915: VI. Turkey: a, 4. xvii.

ENZELLI, town of Persia on the Caspian sea, entered by the Russians in 1918 during the World War. See WORLD WAR: 1918: VI. Turkish theater: a, 7.

EONIANs, followers of Eon d'Etoile (Eudo de Stella), wealthy nobleman and heretical fanatic in Brittany in the twelfth century. He imagined himself to be the Messiah and in his vehemence against the hierarchy and his zeal for apocalyptic views, led his adherents into violent excesses. Eon himself died in prison, some of his disciples were burned at the stake and the heresy was condemned by the Council of Reims. This movement is not to be confused with that of the Cathari which was active in Brittany during the same period.

ALSO IN: *New Schaff-Herzog religious encyclopedia*, v. 4, p. 200.

EORFORMICK, English name for old Roman city of Eboracum. See EBORACUM.

EORL AND CEORL.—"The modern English forms of these words have completely lost their ancient meaning. The word 'Earl,' after several fluctuations, has settled down as the title of one rank in the Peerage; the word 'Churl' has come to be a word of moral reprobation, irrespective of the rank of the person who is guilty of the offence. But in the primary meaning of the words, 'Eorl' and 'Ceorl'—words whose happy jingle causes them to be constantly opposed to each other—form an exhaustive division of the free members of the state. The distinction in modern language is most nearly expressed by the words 'Gentle' and 'Simple.' The 'Ceorl' is the simple freeman, the mere

unit in the army or in the assembly, whom no distinction of birth or office marks out from his fellows."—E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman conquest of England*, ch. 3, sect. 2.—See also ÆTHEL; ENGLAND: End of 6th century; 958.

EORMEN STREET. See ERMYN STREET.

EÖTVÖS, Jozsef, Baron (1813-1871), Hungarian statesman. See HUNGARY: 1868-1890.

EPAMINONDAS (c. 418-362), Theban general and statesman. Studied with the Pythagorean philosopher, Lysis of Tarentum; came forward as a supporter of the Theban democracy; represented Thebes at the congress of Sparta, 371 B. C.; commanded the Boeotian army which met and defeated the Spartans at Leuctra, July, 371 B. C.; invaded Laconia, 370; restored Messenia as an independent state, 369; fought and was mortally wounded in the great battle at Mantinea, 362.—See also GREECE: B. C. 379-371; 371-362; THEBES: B. C. 378.

EPARCH, early Christian title. See CHRISTIANITY: 312-337.

ÉPÉE, Charles Michel, Abbé de l' (1712-1780), one of the founders of the first regular school for the deaf and dumb. See EDUCATION: Modern developments: 20th century: Education for the deaf, blind, and feeble-minded: Deaf mutes.

EPEIROS. See EPIRUS.

EPHAH.—"The ephah, or bath, was the unit of measures of capacity for both liquids and grain [among the ancient Jews]. The ephah is considered by Queipo to have been the measure of water contained in the ancient Egyptian cubic foot, and thus equivalent to 20.376 litres, or 6.468 imperial gallons, and to have been nearly identical with the ancient Egyptian artaba and the Greek metretes. For liquids, the ephah was divided into six hin, and the twelfth part of the hin was the log. As a grain measure, the ephah was divided into ten omers, or gomers. The omer measure of manna gathered by the Israelites in the desert as a day's food for each adult person was thus equal to 2.6 imperial quarts. The largest measure of capacity both for liquids and dry commodities was the cor of twelve ephabs."—H. W. Chisholm, *On the science of weighing and measuring*, ch. 2.

EPHEBI, Athens, group of young men in ancient Greece who formed a college which was under state control. See EDUCATION: Ancient: B. C. 7th-A. D. 3rd centuries: Greece: University of Athens.

EPHES-DAMMIM, Battle of.—The battle, according to the Bible, which followed David's encounter with Goliath, the Philistine giant.

EPHESIA, one of the twelve cities of Asia Minor that belonged to the Ionic Amphictyony.

EPHESIAN TEMPLE, erected in honor of Diana, and regarded as one of the seven wonders of the world. See EPHEsus: Ephesian temple.

EPHESUS: Ephesian temple.—"The ancient city of Ephesus was situated [in Lydia] on the river Cayster, which falls into the Bay of Scala Nova, on the western coast of Asia Minor [see GREECE: Map of ancient Greece]. Of the origin and foundation of Ephesus we have no historical record. Stories were told which ascribed the settlement of the place to Androklos, the son of the Athenian king, Codrus. . . . With other Ionian cities of Asia Minor, Ephesus fell into the hands of Cræsus [500-540 B. C.], the last of the kings of Lydia, and, on the overthrow of Cræsus by Cyrus, it passed under the heavier yoke of the Persian despot. Although from that time, during a period of at least five centuries, to the conquest by the Romans, the city underwent great changes of fortune, it never lost its grandeur and importance. The Temple of Artemis (Diana), whose splendour

has almost become proverbial, tended chiefly to make Ephesus the most attractive and notable of all the cities of Asia Minor. Its magnificent harbour was filled with Greek and Phœnician merchantmen, and multitudes flocked from all parts to profit by its commerce and to worship at the shrine of its tutelary goddess. The City Port was fully four miles from the sea, which has not, as has been supposed, receded far. . . . During the generations which immediately followed the conquest of Lydia and the rest of Asia Minor by the Persian kings, the arts of Greece attained their highest perfection, and it was within this short period of little more than two centuries that the great Temple of Artemis was three times built upon the same site, and, as recent researches have found, each time on the same grand scale."—J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, ch. 1.—The excavations which were carried on at Ephesus by Mr. Wood for the British Museum, during eleven years, from 1863 until 1874, resulted in the uncovering of a large part of the site of the great Temple and the determining of its architectural features, besides bringing to light many inscriptions and much valuable sculpture. The account given in the work named above is exceedingly interesting. The Austrian Archaeological Institute carried on excavations at Ephesus from 1896 to the opening of the World War.

Ionian conquest and occupation. See ASIA MINOR: B. C. 1100.

Ancient commerce.—"The spot on the Asiatic coast which corresponded most nearly with Coriuth on the European, was Ephesus, a city which, in the time of Herodotus, had been the starting point of caravans for Upper Asia, but which, under the change of dynasties and ruin of empires, had dwindled into a mere provincial town. The mild sway of Augustus restored it to wealth and eminence, and as the official capital of the province of Asia, it was reputed to be the metropolis of no less than 500 cities."—C. Merivale, *History of the Romans*, ch. 40.—The account of the apostle Paul's labors of three years at Ephesus shows the city as still prosperous and influential, but its history under the Byzantine Empire is unimportant.

B. C. 86.—Renews allegiance to Rome. See MITHRADATIC WARS.

A. D. 35-100.—Work of the apostle Paul.—Spread of Christianity. See CHRISTIANITY: A. D. 35-60; 50-100.

267.—Destruction by the Goths of the Temple of Diana. See GOTHs: 258-267.

431 and 449.—General council and the "Robber Synod." See NESTORIAN AND MONOPHYSITE CONTROVERSY.

EPHETÆ.—A board of fifty-one judges instituted by the legislation of Draco, at Athens, for the trial of crimes of bloodshed upon the Areopagus.—G. F. Schömann, *Antiquities of Greece: The State*, pt. 3, ch. 3.

EPHORS.—"Magistrates, called by the name of Ephors, existed in many Dorian as well as in other States [of ancient Greece], although our knowledge with regard to them extends no further than to the fact of their existence [and that they were probably in existence to the middle of the eighth century B. C.]; while the name, which signifies quite generally 'overseers,' affords room for no conclusion as to their political position or importance. In Sparta, however, the Board of Five Ephors became, in the course of time, a magistracy of such dignity and influence that no other can be found in any free State with which it can be compared. Concerning its first institution nothing certain can be ascertained. . . . The following appears to be a probable account:—The Ephors

were originally magistrates appointed by the kings, partly to render them special assistance in the judicial decision of private disputes,—a function which they continued to exercise in later times,—partly to undertake, as lieutenants of the kings, other of their functions, during their absence in military service, or through some other cause. . . . When the monarchy and the Gerousia wished to re-establish their ancient influence in opposition to the popular assembly, they were obliged to agree to a concession which should give some security to the people that this power should not be abused to their detriment. This concession consisted in the fact that the Ephors were independently authorized to exercise control over the kings themselves. . . . The Ephors were enabled to interfere in every department of the administration, and to remove or punish whatever they found to be contrary to the laws or adverse to the public interest."—G. F. Schömann, *Antiquities of Greece: The State*, pt. 3, ch. 1, sect. 8.—See also GREECE: B. C. 8th-5th centuries; SPARTA: Constitution ascribed to Lycurgus.

EPHRAIM, tribe of Israel named from the younger son of Joseph. See JEWS: Conquest of Canaan; Israel under the Judges; Kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

EPHRATA, semi-monastic community founded by Conrad Beissel. See DUNKARDS.

EPHTHALITES, or White Huns. See HUNS, WHITE.

EPIC.—"The epic in general, ancient and modern, may be described as a dispassionate recital in dignified rhythmic narrative of a momentous theme or action fulfilled by heroic characters and supernatural agencies under the control of a sovereign destiny. The theme involves the political or religious interests of a people or of mankind; it commands the respect due to popular tradition or to traditional ideals. The poem awakens the sense of the mysterious, the awful, and the sublime; through perilous crises it uplifts and calms the strife of frail humanity."—C. M. Gayley, *Principles of poetry*, pp. xciv-xcv.—See also ARTHURIAN LEGEND; BALLAD: Definition; Development; ENGLISH LITERATURE: 6th-16th centuries; FRENCH LITERATURE: 1050-1350; GERMAN LITERATURE: 1050-1350; HISTORY: 13; LATIN LITERATURE: B. C. 264-169; SAGA; VOLSUNGA-SAGA.

EPICHARMUS OF SICILY (c. 540-450 B. C.), Greek comic poet and dramatist. See DRAMA: Greek comedy.

EPICLETUS (born c. 60 A. D.), Stoic philosopher and moralist. His name comes from the Greek, meaning "acquired"; his original name is unknown. He was born a slave, but won favor and freedom through his attainments. He was exiled in 90 by Domitian who hated the Stoics for their opposition to his tyranny. Many of his teachings were reported by his pupil, Arrian, and have come down to us in the form of maxims, of singular beauty, marked by that high idealistic philosophy which is generally associated with Christian teaching. There is no evidence that Epictetus knew anything about Christianity.

EPICUREANISM, school of philosophy in Athens founded (about 306 B. C.) on the teachings of Epicurus (342-270 B. C.), and following the hedonistic Cyrenaic school. Its doctrine was that "pleasure is the goal at which we all aim, and, indeed, ought to aim: happiness is the highest good."—F. Thilly, *History of philosophy*, p. 101.—"Owing to its simplicity, its anti-mystical character and its easy application, the Epicurean system became a formidable rival of Platonism, Peripateticism, and Stoicism. Italy received it with especial favor. . . .

During the reign of the Caesars, Stoicism was represented by the Republican opposition, while Epicureanism gathered around its standard the partisans of the new order of things, who were fortunate in being able to realize the ideals of the master under the auspices of a great and peaceful power. Protected as it was by the Emperors, the school destroyed what remained of the crumbling edifice of polytheism, and at the same time attacked the new religion and the supernatural Christian."—E. A. Weber, *History of philosophy*, p. 139.—"Epicurus, the son of Neocles the Athenian, was born in Samos in December, 342, or January, 341, B. C. Introduced to the doctrine of Democritus by Nausiphanes, and instructed by Pamphilus the Platonist, he came forward as a teacher in Colophon, Mitylene, and Lampsacus, and after 306 B. C. in Athens. Here his garden was the meeting-place of a circle which was filled with the deepest admiration for Epicurus and his teaching, and united intimate social intercourse with philosophic studies. Women as well as men belonged to it. . . . With Epicurus far more exclusively than with Zeno his philosophic system is simply a means for practical objects. He cared little for learned investigation and the mathematical sciences, to which he objected that they were useless and did not correspond to reality; and indeed his own education in both respects was very insufficient. Even in dialectics he ascribed a value only to the inquiries into the criterion. This part of his system he called the Canonic. Physics in his opinion are only needed because the knowledge of natural causes frees us from the fear of the gods and death, and a knowledge of human nature shows us what we ought to desire or avoid. Hence this part of philosophy also has no independent importance. If with the Stoics empiricism and materialism are connected with practical onesidedness, the same connection is still more strongly marked in Epicurus. It is entirely in the spirit of an ethical system, which regards the individual in himself only, that the material Individual is looked upon as the originally Real, and sensuous perception as the source of our presentations. If man finds his highest mission in preserving his individual life from disturbance, he must not seek in the universe for the traces of a reason, on which he had to support himself and to whose laws he must become subject. Nor must he make any attempt to secure a theoretic basis for his conduct by a knowledge of these laws. The world presents itself to him as a mechanism; within this he arranges his life as well as he can, but he need not know more of it than that upon which his own weal or woe depends. For this experience and natural intelligence appear to be sufficient without much logical apparatus. Epicurus' view of the world was in the first instance determined by the desire to exclude the interference of supernatural causes from the world. Such an interference must deprive man of all inward security and keep him in constant fear. This result the philosopher hopes to obtain most certainly by a purely mechanical explanation of nature. When he looked for such among the older systems (for he was neither inclined nor qualified to form a theory of his own in natural science) none corresponded to his object more completely than that which seemed to afford the best points of connection with his ethical individualism—which had first attracted him, and was perhaps alone accurately known to him. This was the atomism of Democritus. Like Democritus, Epicurus explains the atoms and the void as the primary elements of all things. He takes the same view of the atoms as Democritus, only he ascribes to them

a limited, not an infinite variety of shapes. By virtue of their weight the atoms descend in empty space; but as they all fall with equal rapidity (as Aristotle pointed out) and hence cannot dash upon one another, and also because such an assumption seemed necessary for the freedom of the will, Epicurus assumed that they deviated at will to an infinitesimal degree from the perpendicular line. Hence they dash on one another and become complicated, rebound, are partly forced upward, and thus give rise to those circular movements which create innumerable worlds in the most different parts of endless space. These worlds, which are separated by portions of merely empty space, present the greatest variety of conditions; but they have all arisen in time, and with time they will again pass away. . . . As Epicurus in his *Physics* explained the atoms as the source of all being, he regards the individual in his *Ethics* as the aim of all action. The measure for distinguishing good and evil is our feeling. The only absolute good is pleasure, after which all living things strive; the only absolute evil is pain, which all avoid. Hence in general Epicurus, like Aristippus, regards pleasure as the final object of our action. Yet by pleasure he does not mean the individual sensations of pleasure as such, but the happiness of an entire life. Our judgment must decide on separate enjoyments or pains by their relation to this. Further, he believes that the real importance of pleasure consists only in the satisfaction of a need, and hence in the removal of what is not pleasurable; our final object is not positive pleasure, but freedom from pain; not the motion, but the repose of the spirit. As the most essential conditions of this repose lie in the state of our feelings, Epicurus regards the pleasures and pains of the mind as far more important than those of the body. For however publicly and plainly he declares (in spite of some different expressions) that all pleasure and pain arise in the last resort from bodily conditions, yet he observes that only present delights and pains act upon the body, whereas the soul is moved by those of the past and the future. These feelings, which rest upon memory, hope, and fear, are in his view so much the more violent that he feels himself justified in extolling the absolute power of the spirit over bodily pains with the same exaggeration as the Cynics and Stoics. The severest pains are only of short duration and quickly put an end to life; the less severe can be borne and overcome by superior intellectual enjoyments. Virtue is only a condition of repose of mind, but it is so indispensable a condition that, even according to Epicurus, happiness is indissolubly connected with virtue, however small the independent value which his system allows us to attribute to it. Insight frees us from the prejudices which disturb us, from empty fancies and wishes; it teaches us the true art of life. Self-control preserves us from sorrows by correct conduct in regard to pleasure and pain, bravery by the contempt of death and suffering; to justice we owe it that no fear of punishment disturbs our equanimity. Epicurus himself led a pattern life, and his sayings frequently exhibit a purity of sentiment which goes far beyond their unsatisfactory scientific foundation. His ideal of the wise man approaches closely to the Stoic. If he does not ascribe to him either the Stoic apathy or their contempt of sensual enjoyment, yet he represents him as so completely master of his desires that they never lead him astray. He describes him as so independent of all external things, his happiness as so complete, and his wisdom as so inalienable, that he can say of him no less than the Stoics of their ideal, that he walks as a god among men, and even

on bread and water he need not envy Zeus. In harmony with this ideal Epicurus' rules of life aim in the first instance at procuring for the individual, as such, a contented and independent existence by liberating him from prejudices and controlling his desires. Living himself an unusually moderate and contented life, he urges others to contentment. Even of actual desires only a part aims at what is necessary; by far the greatest portion seeks what is unnatural and useless. Among the latter Epicurus especially places the desire for honour and glory. Hence he does not require the suppression of the sensual impulses; he will not forbid a rich enjoyment of life, but all the more vehemently does he insist that a man shall not make himself dependent on these things. The point is not to use little, but to need little. A man is not to bind himself absolutely even to life. Epicurus allows him to withdraw himself from intolerable miseries by a voluntary death, though he is of opinion that such miseries rarely happen."—E. Zeller, *Outlines of the history of Greek philosophy*, pp. 255-260, 264-266.—See also ATHENS: B. C. 336-322; DEISM: English deism; EUROPE: Ancient: Greek civilization: Philosophy.

EPICURUS (342-270 B. C.), Greek philosopher. See EPICUREANISM.

EPIDAMNUS, city in ancient Greece, the cause of a quarrel between Corcyra and Corinth which started the Peloponnesian War. See CORCYRA; DURAZZO; GREECE: B. C. 435-432: Causes of the Peloponnesian War.

EPIDAURUS, ancient city in southern Greece, which resisted Athens' attacks in 478 B. C. It was in the Achaean league. See ATHENS: B. C. 419-416; GREECE: B. C. 280-146; THEATER.

EPIDEMICS. See BLACK DEATH; MEDICAL SCIENCE: Modern: 1914-1918: War medicine and surgery; PLAGUE; PUBLIC HEALTH.

EPIDII, early Celtic tribe. See BRITAIN: Celtic tribes.

EPIGAMIA, the right of marriage in ancient Athens.—G. F. Schömann, *Antiquities of Greece: The State*, pt. 3, ch. 3.

EPIGONI, sons of the Argive chiefs. See BŒOTIA.

EPIGRAPHY, term used to denote the study, classification and explanation of ancient inscriptions. See HISTORY: 10; 25.

EPINAL, French fortress on the upper Moselle, eastern France; occupied by the Germans in 1870.

EPIPOLÆ, one of the parts or divisions of the ancient city of Syracuse, Sicily.

EPIROT LEAGUE.—"The temporary greatness of the Molossian kingdom [of Epeiros, or Epirus] under Alexander and Pyrrhus is matter of general history. Our immediate business is with the republican government which succeeded on the bloody extinction of royalty and the royal line [which occurred 230 B. C.]. Epeiros now became a republic; of the details of its constitution we know nothing, but its form can hardly fail to have been federal. The Epirots formed one political body; Polybios always speaks of them, like the Achaeans and Akarnanians, as one people acting with one will. Decrees are passed, ambassadors are sent and received, in the name of the whole Epirot people, and Epeiros had, like Akarnania, a federal coinage bearing the common name of the whole nation."—E. A. Freeman, *History of federal government*, bk. 4, sect. 1.

EPIRUS, EPIROTS.—"Passing over the borders of Akarnania [in ancient western Greece] we find small nations or tribes not considered as Greeks, but known, from the fourth century B. C. downwards, under the common name of Epirots.

[See GREECE: Map of ancient Greece.] This word signifies, properly, inhabitants of a continent, as opposed to those of an island or a peninsula. It came only gradually to be applied by the Greeks as their comprehensive denomination to designate all those diverse tribes, between the Ambrakian Gulf on the south and west, Pindus on the east, and the Illyrians and Macedonians to the north and north-east. Of these Epirots the principal were—the Chaonians, Thesprotians, Kassopians, and Molossians, who occupied the country inland as well as maritime along the Ionian Sea, from the Akrokeraunian mountains to the borders of Ambrakia in the interior of the Ambrakian Gulf. . . . Among these various tribes it is difficult to discriminate the semi-Hellenic from the non-Hellenic; for Herodotus considers both Molossians and Thesprotians as Hellenic,—and the oracle of Dōdōna, as well as the Nekomanteion (or holy cavern for evoking the dead) of Acheron, were both in the territory of the Thesprotians, and both (in the time of the historian) Hellenic. Thucydides, on the other hand, treats both Molossians and Thesprotians as barbaric. . . . Epirus is essentially a pastoral country: its cattle as well as its shepherds and shepherds' dogs were celebrated throughout all antiquity; and its population then, as now, found divided village residence the most suitable to their means and occupations. . . . Both the Chaonians and Thesprotians appear, in the time of Thucydides, as having no kings; there was a privileged kingly race, but the presiding chief was changed from year to year. The Molossians, however, had a line of kings, succeeding from father to son, which professed to trace its descent through fifteen generations downward from Achilles and Neoptolemus to Tharypas about the year 400 B. C."—G. Grote, *History of Greece*, pt. 2, ch. 24.—The Molossian kings subsequently extended their sovereignty over the whole country and styled themselves kings of Epirus. Pyrrhus, whose war with Rome (see ROME: Republic: B. C. 281-272) is one of the well known episodes of history, was the most ambitious and energetic of the dynasty (see MACEDONIA: B. C. 207-280); Hannibal reckoned him among the greatest of soldiers. In the next century Epirus fell under the dominion of Rome. Subsequently it formed part of the Byzantine empire; then became a separate principality, ruled by a branch of the imperial Comnenian family; was conquered by the Turks in 1466 and is now represented by the southern half of Albania.—See also ŒNOTIANS.

B. C. 48.—Cæsar's decisive battle at Pharsalia. See ROME: Republic: B. C. 48.

1204-1350.—Greek despotat.—From the ruins of the Byzantine empire, overthrown by the Crusaders and the Venetians in 1204, "that portion . . . situated to the west of the range of Pindus was saved from feudal domination by Michael, a natural son of Constantine Angelos, the uncle of the Emperors Isaac II and Alexius III. After the conquest of Constantinople, he escaped into Epirus, where his marriage with a lady of the country gave him some influence; and assuming the direction of the administration of the whole country from Dyrrachium to Naupactus, he collected a considerable military force, and established the seat of his authority generally at Ioannina or Arta. . . . History has unfortunately preserved very little information concerning the organisation and social condition of the different classes and races which inhabited the dominions of the princes of Epirus. Almost the only facts that have been preserved relate to the wars and alliances of the despots and their families with the Byzantine emperors and the Latin princes. . . . They all assumed the name of

Angelos Komnenos Dukas; and the title of despot, by which they are generally distinguished, was a Byzantine honorary distinction, never borne by the earlier members of the family until it had been conferred on them by the Greek emperor. Michael I, the founder of the despotat, distinguished himself by his talents as a soldier and a negotiator. He extended his authority over all Epirus, Acarnania and Etolia, and a part of Macedonia and Thessaly. Though virtually independent, he acknowledged Theodore I (Laskaris), [at Nicæa] as the lawful emperor of the East." The able and unscrupulous brother of Michael, Theodore, who became his successor in 1214, extinguished by conquest the Lombard kingdom of Saloniki, in Macedonia (1222), and assumed the title of emperor, in rivalry with the Greek emperor at Nicæa, establishing his capital at Thessalonica. The empire of Thessalonica was short lived. Its capital was taken by the emperor of Nicæa, in 1234, and Michael's son John, then reigning, was forced to resign the imperial title. The despotat of Epirus survived for another century, much torn and distracted by wars and domestic conflicts. In 1350 its remaining territory was occupied by the king of Servia, and finally it was swallowed up in the conquests of the Turks.—G. Finlay, *History of Greece from its conquest by the Crusaders*, ch. 6.

ALSO IN: J. E. Tennent, *History of modern Greece*, ch. 3.

1358-1443.—Under Albanian rule. See ALBANIA: Medieval period; 1358-1443.

1478-1878.—Part of Albanian history.—The history of Epirus in modern times is that of southern Albania. This region has a mixed population, consisting mainly of Greeks, Albanians, Serbs and Vlachs. (See also ALBANIA: Name and people.) The Epirots themselves (the Greeks of Epirus) have a strong attachment to Greece, which has made them the object of persecution at the hands of both Turks and Albanians. With the decline of the Ottoman power and the increase of anarchy and lawlessness Albania came under the practically independent sovereignty of Ali Pasha of Tepelen, an Albanian, whose rule lasted from about 1750 to 1822. Although the Epirots fought for Greek independence in the Revolution of 1821-1820, Epirus was left in Turkish hands at the close of the war. Likewise, after the redistribution of territory resulting from the treaties of San Stefano and Berlin, Epirus again fell to the Turks. See ALBANIA: 1478-1878; BALKAN STATES: 1878.

1830-1912.—Albanian and Turkish oppression.—"From 1830 to 1912 the Greek Epirotes underwent a period of relentless oppression on the part of the Albanians. . . . The leading Greek families of Epirus were proscribed, . . . [the] clergy were persecuted, . . . schools which had been respected by the Sultans from the time of Ali Pasha were attacked. . . . It was in 1908 that the Greek Premier Theotokis wrote to Ismael Kemal Bey asking what were the aims of the Albanians as to Epirus should Greece assist the Albanians to win their independence. Ismael replied that the just boundaries between Albania and Greece should be a line drawn from Valona to Monastir. [Since the Turks came to terms with the Albanians, this failed to materialize.] . . . The Young Turks, having failed in their attempt to Turkify the Albanians found it next best to Albanicize the Greeks, the Serbs and the Vlachs. . . . The war of 1912 came just in time to save Epirus from a violent denationalization."—N. J. Cassavetes, *Outlines of northern Epirus at the peace conference*, pp. 34-35.

1881.—Part ceded to Greece by Turkey. See GREECE: 1862-1881.

1912-1919.—Revolt in northern Epirus after the Balkan War.—Italian occupation during World War and after.—In 1912 "the Triple Alliance was ready to plunge the world into the Great War. The Balkan mêlée was offering an excellent opportunity. Sir Edward Grey and President Poincaré perceived the danger. They sought to avoid the catastrophe. They persuaded Serbia to withdraw from the sea, and prevailed upon Mr. Venizelos to renounce the Greek claims on Epirus. Thus, in 1913, in order to postpone the Great War, Northern Epirus was awarded to the Kingdom of Albania. The Greek army was forced to evacuate all the territory occupied in 1913. . . . [In 1914] the Epirot population rose, . . . declared their country independent and autonomous, and completely defeated all the Albanian armies sent against them under Austrian, Turkish, and Italian officers. The Provisional Government of Northern Epirus, under George Zographos, appealed for aid to the Powers, and asked that Northern Epirus be allowed to join itself to Greece. . . . The Powers consented, and the Greek Army returned to Northern Epirus amid the frenzied enthusiasm of the population which believed that this reoccupation meant permanent union with Greece. Such was the state of affairs in Northern Epirus in 1914. The diplomats of the Central Powers had made up their minds that Northern Epirus was too fanatically attached to Greece to be separated by force. In 1914, the Great War broke out. In 1915, Mr. Venizelos was forced to resign and all Albania was occupied by the Austrians. . . . [Later] Italy occupied Northern Epirus; drove out the Greek civil authorities; forced the Greek schools to close; initiated a violent . . . persecution of the Greek clergy; and imprisoned all the inhabitants who refused to call themselves either Italians or Albanians. . . . The Epirotic question has two aspects, namely, the Greek, and the Albanian. In its Greek aspect the question is a demand on the part of the Epirotes to unite themselves to Greece. In its Albanian aspect it is an attempt on the part of certain Albanians, Austrians and Italians to incorporate Northern Epirus in the future State of Albania."—*Ibid.*, pp. 1-4.—See also GREECE: 1913; Second Balkan war.

1919-1922.—Allied settlement.—The Greek troops were permitted by the Allies to reoccupy Epirus in 1919, and the Italians withdrew their forces in April, 1920. The Albanians, however, made an appeal in 1921 to the League of Nations against the frontier claimed by Greece, but the sections handed over to Greece have been allowed to remain in her hands. In 1922 an International Commission was engaged in determining the boundary line between Greece and Albania.

EPISCOPACY, term applied to a system of church organization in which the bishop is the chief ecclesiastical authority of a specified district. See CHRISTIANITY: 100-300; Church organization; SCOTLAND: 1572; 1587; 1660-1660.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH. See CHURCH OF ENGLAND: Protestant episcopal church

EPISTATES, presiding officer of the ancient Athenian council and popular assembly.

EPISTLES OF PAUL. See CHRISTIANITY: A. D. 35-60.

EPONYM, EPONYMUS, the name-giving hero of primitive myths, in which tribes and races of people set before themselves, partly by tradition, partly by imagination, an heroic personage who is supposed to be their common progenitor and the source of their name.

EPONYM CANON OF ASSYRIA. See ASSYRIA, EPONYM CANON OF.

EPPING FOREST, once so extensive that it covered the whole county of Essex, England, and was called the Forest of Essex. Subsequently, when diminished in size, it was called Waitham forest. Still later, when further retrenched, it took the name of Epping, from a town that is embraced in it. It is still quite large, and within recent years it has been formally declared by the Queen "a people's park."—J. C. Brown, *Forests of England*.

EPULONES.—"The epulones [at Rome] formed a college for the administration of the sacred festivals."—C. Merivale, *History of the Romans*, ch. 31.

EPWORTH LEAGUE, organization of young people in the Methodist Episcopal Church, instituted at Cleveland, Ohio, 1889, and adopted by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1892. The first International Epworth League Convention was held in Cleveland, in 1893. These Conventions were held biennially until the Denver Convention, in 1905, since which they have been quadrennial. "The General Conference at Des Moines, Ia., May, 1920, . . . [enacted three important items of legislation:] First, The name of the controlling body was changed from the 'Epworth League Board of Control,' to 'The Board of the Epworth League.' . . . Second, The standing of the Epworth League in relation to the Church was changed. For the first time in its history the League is recognized as a regular Church board, and is included in the legislation which created the Council of Boards of Benevolence. . . . Third, The superintendent of the Junior League now will continue in office until his or her successor is appointed, instead of having the term of office terminate with a pastorate."—*Methodist Year Book*, 1921, pp. 259-260.—In 1921, the estimated membership was about 773,602.

EQUADOR. See **ECUADOR**.

EQUAL RIGHTS PARTY. See **LOCOFOCOS**; **NEW YORK**: 1835-1837.

EQUALS, socialistic society in France. See **SOCIALISM**: 1753-1797.

EQUANCOURT, town in France, northeast of Péronne, which was attacked by the Germans in 1918. See **WORLD WAR**: 1918: II. Western front: c, 12.

EQUESTRIAN ORDER, Roman.—"The selection of the burgess cavalry was vested in the censors. It was, no doubt, the duty of these to make the selection on purely military grounds, and at their musters to insist that all horsemen incapacitated by age or otherwise, or at all unserviceable, should surrender their public horse; but it was not easy to hinder them from looking to noble birth more than to capacity, and from allowing men of standing, who were once admitted, senators particularly, to retain their horse beyond the proper time. Accordingly it became the practical rule for the senators to vote in the eighteen equestrian centuries, and the other places in these were assigned chiefly to the younger men of the nobility. The military system, of course, suffered from this, not so much through the unfitness for effective service of no small part of the legionary cavalry, as through the destruction of military equality to which the change gave rise; the noble youth more and more withdrew from serving in the infantry, and the legionary cavalry became a close aristocratic corps."—T. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. 3, ch. 11.—"The eighteen centuries, therefore, in course of time . . . lost their original military character and remained only as a voting body. It was by the transformation thus effected in the character of the eighteen centuries of knights, whilst the cavalry service passed over to the richer citizens

not included in the senatorial families, that a new class of Roman citizens began gradually to be formed, distinct from the nobility proper and from the mass of the people, and designated as the equestrian order."—W. Ihne, *History of Rome*, bk. 7, ch. 1.—The equestrian order became a legally constituted class under the judicial law of Caius Gracchus, 123 B. C., which fixed its membership by a census, and transferred to it the judicial functions previously exercised by the senators only. It formed a kind of monetary aristocracy.—*Ibid.*, bk. 7, ch. 6.

EQUITABLE CONVERSION, Law of. See **EQUITY LAW**: 1702-1714.

EQUITABLE LIFE INSURANCE, London. See **INSURANCE**: Life: Early forms.

EQUITY COURTS, United States. See **COURTS**: United States: Organization of federal courts; **COURTS**: England: Origin of the court of equity.

EQUITY LAW: Nature of equity.—**Maxims of equity**.—"The word 'equity,' as employed in American and English law, is derived from the Roman word 'equitas' meaning equality. Philosophical jurisprudence in Bracton's time distinguished between *acquitias* and *rigor juris*. Equity always stood as synonymous with justice. It is a separate but incomplete system of jurisprudence administered side by side with the common law, having its own rules, precedents and fixed principles and dealing remedial justice. Equity means that the Royal Tribunal is not so strictly bound by rules that it can not defeat the devices of those who would use legal forms for the purposes of chicane; it means also that the justices are in some degree free to consider all the circumstances of those cases that come before them and to adapt the means to the end."—F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *History of English law*, v. 1, p. 168.—"Equity jurisprudence may properly be said to be that portion of remedial justice which is exclusively administered by a Court of Equity as contradistinguished from that portion of remedial justice which is exclusively administered by a Court of Common Law."—J. Story, *Commentaries on equity jurisprudence*, v. 1, p. 19.—"The ethical character of equitable relief is, of course, most pronounced in cases in which equity gives not merely a better remedy than the law gives, but the only remedy. Instances of the exclusive jurisdiction of equity are found among the earliest bills in chancery. For example, bills for the recovery of property got from the plaintiff by the fraud of the defendant; bills for the return of the consideration for a promise which the defendant refuses to perform; bills for reimbursement for expenses incurred by the plaintiff in reliance upon the defendant's promise, afterwards broken; bills by the bailor for the recovery of a chattel from a defendant in possession of it after the death of the bailee."—J. B. Ames, *Origin of uses and trusts (Harvard Law Review*, 1908, v. 21, pp. 261-274).

ALSO IN: *Select essays in Anglo-American legal history*, v. 2, pp. 738-739.

"The principle that equity acts upon the person is, and always has been, the key to the mastery of equity. The difference between the judgment at law and the decree in equity goes to the root of the matter. The law regards chiefly the right of the plaintiff, and gives judgment that he recover the land, debt, or damages because they are his. Equity lays the stress upon the duty of the defendant, and decrees that he do, or refrain from doing, a certain thing because he ought to act or forbear. It is because of this emphasis upon the defendant's duty that equity is so much more

ethical than the law. The difference between the two in this respect appears even in cases of concurrent jurisdiction. The moral standard of the man who commits no breach of contract or tort, or, having committed the one or the other, does his best to restore the *status quo*, is obviously higher than that of the man who breaks his contract, or commits a tort, and then refuses to do more than make pecuniary compensation for his wrong. It is this higher standard that equity enforces, when the legal remedy of pecuniary compensation would be inadequate, by commanding the defendant to refrain from the commission of a tort, or breach of contract, or by compelling him, after commission of the one or the other, by means of a mandatory injunction, or a decree for specific performance, so called, to make specific reparation for his wrong."

—J. B. Ames, *Origin and uses of trusts* (*Harvard Law Review*, 1908, v. 21, pp. 261-274).—"A court of equity, which is never active in relief against conscience or public convenience, has always refused its aid to stale demands, where the party has slept upon his rights and acquiesced for a great length of time. Nothing can call forth this court into activity but conscience, good faith and reasonable diligence."—Lord Camden, 3 *Brown Ch.* 638.

ALSO IN: 95 *U. S.* 200; 75 *Ill.* 275.

"Those principles which are so fundamental and essential that they may with propriety be termed maxims of equity are the following: Equity regards as done which ought to be done; equity looks to the intent, rather than to the form; he who seeks equity must do equity; he who comes into equity must come with clean hands; equality is equity; where there are equal equities, the first in time shall prevail; where there is equal equity, the law must prevail; equity aids the vigilant, not those who slumber on their rights; equity imputes an intention to fulfill an obligation; equity will not suffer a wrong without a remedy; and equity follows the law. It must not be supposed that all these maxims are equally important, or that all have been equally fruitful in the development of doctrines and rules; but it is no exaggeration to say that he who has grasped them all with a clear comprehension of their full meaning and effects has already obtained an insight into whatever is essential and distinctive in the system of equity jurisprudence, and has found the explanation of its peculiar doctrines and rules."—J. N. Pomeroy, *Treatise on equity jurisprudence*, v. 1, p. 674.—"All rules in equity must be sufficiently elastic to do equity in particular cases under consideration. There are few rules that have no exceptions and equity will not apply rules which will not result in doing equity."—*Thatcher v. Thatcher* (Me.) 104 A. 515.

449-1066.—Early masters in chancery.—"As we approach the era of the Conquest, we find distinct traces of the Masters in Chancery, who, though in sacred orders, were well trained in jurisprudence, and assisted the chancellor in preparing writs and grants, as well as in the service of the royal chapel. They formed a sort of college of justice, of which he was the head. They all sate in the Wittenagemote, and, as 'Law Lords,' are supposed to have had great weight in the deliberations of that assembly."—Lord Campbell, *Lives of the chancellors*, v. 1, p. 53.

596.—Chancellor, keeper of the great seal.—"From the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity by the preaching of St. Augustine, the King always had near his person a priest, to whom was entrusted the care of his chapel, and who was his confessor. This person, selected from the

most learned and able of his order, and greatly superior in accomplishments to the unlettered laymen attending the Court, soon acted as private secretary to the King, and gained his confidence in affairs of state. The present demarcation between civil and ecclesiastical employments was then little regarded, and to this same person was assigned the business of superintending writs and grants, with the custody of the great seal."—Lord Campbell, *Lives of the chancellors*, v. 1, p. 27.

1066.—Master of the rolls.—"The office of master, formerly called the Clerk or Keeper of the Rolls, is recognized at this early period, though at this time he appears to have been the Chancellor's deputy, not an independent officer."—G. Spence, *Equity jurisdiction of the court of chancery*, v. 1, p. 100.

1066-1154.—Chancellor as secretary of state.—Under the Norman kings, the chancellor was a kind of secretary of state. His functions were political rather than judicial. He attended to the royal correspondence, kept the royal accounts, and drew up writs for the administration of justice. He was also the keeper of the seal.—F. C. Montague, *Elements of English constitutional history*, p. 27.—See also CHANCELLOR: British.

1067.—First lord chancellor.—"The first keeper of the seals who was endowed with the title of Lord Chancellor was Maurice, who received the great seal in 1067. The incumbents of the office were for a long period ecclesiastics; and they usually enjoyed episcopal or archiepiscopal rank, and lived in the London palaces attached to their sees or provinces. The first Keeper of the seals of England was Fitzgilbert, appointed by Queen Matilda soon after her coronation, and there was no other layman appointed until the reign of Edward III."—L. J. Bigelow, *Bench and bar*, p. 23.

1169.—Uses and trusts.—"According to the law of England, trusts may be created 'inter vivos' as well as by testament, and their history is a curious one, beginning, like that of the Roman 'fidei commissa,' with an attempt to evade the law. The Statutes of Mortmain, passed to prevent the alienation of lands to religious houses, led to the introduction of 'uses,' by which the grantor alienated his land to a friend to hold 'to the use' of a monastery the clerical chancellors giving legal validity to the wish thus expressed. Although this particular device was put a stop to by 15 Ric. II. c. 5, 'uses' continued to be employed for other purposes, having been found more malleable than what was called, by way of contrast, 'the legal estate.' They offered indeed so many modes of escaping the rigour of the law, that, after several other statutes had been passed with a view of curtailing their advantages, the 27 Hen. VIII. c. 10 enacted that, where any one was seised to a use, the legal estate should be deemed to be in him to whose use he was seised. The statute did not apply to trusts of personal property, nor to trusts of land where any active duty was cast upon the trustee, nor where a use was limited 'upon a use,' i. e. where the person in whose favour a use was created was himself to hold the estate to the use of some one else. There continued therefore to be a number of cases in which, in spite of the 'Statute of Uses,' the Court of Chancery was able to carry out its policy of enforcing what had otherwise been merely moral duties. The system thus arising has grown to enormous dimensions, and trusts, which, according to the definition of Lord Hardwicke, are 'such a confidence between parties that no action at law will lie, but there is merely a case for the consideration of courts of equity,' are inserted not only in wills, but also

in marriage settlements, arrangements with creditors, and numberless other instruments necessary for the comfort of families and the development of commerce."—T. E. Holland, *Elements of jurisprudence*, 5th ed., p. 217.

1253.—Lady keeper of the seals.—"Having occasion to cross the sea and visit Gascony, 1253, Henry III. made her [Queen Eleanor] keeper of the seal during his absence, and in that character she in her own person presided in the 'Aula Regia,' hearing causes, and, it is to be feared, forming her decisions less in accordance with justice than her own private interests. Never did judge set law and equity more fearfully at naught."—L. J. Bigelow, *Bench and bar*, p. 28.

1258.—No writs except de cursu.—"In the year 1258 the Provisions of Oxford were promulgated; two separate clauses of which bound the chancellor to issue no more writs except writs 'of course' without command of the King and his Council present with him. This, with the growing independence of the judiciary on the one hand, and the settlement of legal process on the other, terminated the right to issue special writs, and at last fixed the common writs in unchangeable form; most of which had by this time become developed into the final form in which for six centuries they were treated as precedents of declaration."—M. M. Bigelow, *History of procedure*, p. 197.

1272-1307.—Chancellor's functions.—"In the reign of Edward I. the Chancellor begins to appear in the three characters in which we now know him; as a great political officer, as the head of a department for the issue of writs and the custody of documents in which the King's interest is concerned, as the administrator of the King's grace."—W. R. Anson, *Law and custom of the constitution*, pt. 2, p. 146.—"The English legal system is a system of royal justice. All original writs are royal commands, and must be sealed by the Chancellor. The Chancery is 'the forge, or shop, of all originals.' In the same way all important government acts—treaties with foreign states, the assembly of Parliament, royal grants—must pass the seal, and must therefore pass under his review. Applicants for justice in the Courts of Common Law, petitioners to the King, to the Council, or to Parliament, will sooner or later come to the Chancery either for an original writ or to obtain the execution of the answer endorsed upon their petition. The Chancellor and the Chancery are thus in direct connection with all parts of the constitution. This accounts for the extraordinary range and variety of the Chancellor's duties."—W. S. Holdsworth, *History of English law*, v. 1, pp. 104-105.

1330.—Chancery stationary at Westminster.—"There was likewise introduced about this time a great improvement in the administration of justice, by rendering the Court of Chancery stationary at Westminster. The ancient kings of England were constantly migrating,—one principal reason for which was, that the same part of the country, even with the aid of purveyance and pre-emption, could not long support the court and all the royal retainers, and render in kind due to the King could be best consumed on the spot. Therefore, if he kept Christmas at Westminster, he would keep Easter at Winchester, and Pentecost at Gloucester, visiting his many palaces and manors in rotation. The Aula Regis, and afterwards the courts into which it was partitioned, were ambulatory along with him—to the great vexation of the suitors. This grievance was partly corrected by Magna Charta, which enacted

that the Court of Common Pleas should be held 'in a certain place,'—a corner of Westminster Hall being fixed upon for that purpose. In point of law, the Court of King's Bench and the Court of Chancery may still be held in any county of England,—'wheresoever in England the King or the Chancellor may be.' Down to the commencement of the reign of Edward III., the King's Bench and the Chancery actually had continued to follow the King's person, the Chancellor and his officers being entitled to part of the purveyance made for the royal household. By 28 Edw. I., c. 5, the Lord Chancellor and the Justices of the King's Bench were ordered to follow the King, so that he might have at all times near him sages of the law able to order all matters which should come to the Court. But the two Courts were now by the King's command fixed in the places where, unless on a few extraordinary occasions, they continued to be held down to our own times, at the upper end of Westminster Hall, the King's Bench on the left hand, and the Chancery on the right, both remaining open to the Hall, and a bar erected to keep off the multitude from pressing on the judges."—Lord Campbell, *Lives of the chancellors*, v. 1, p. 181.

1348.—"Matters of grace" committed to the chancellor.—"In the 22nd year of Edward III., matters which were of grace were definitely committed to the Chancellor for decision, and from this point there begins to develop that body of rules—supplementing the deficiencies or correcting the harshness of the Common Law—which we call Equity."—W. R. Anson, *Law and custom of the constitution*, pt. 2, p. 147.—See also CHANCELLOR: British.

Also IN: D. M. Kerly, *History of the court of chancery*, p. 31.

1383.—Early instance of subpoena.—"It is said that John Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury, who was Keeper of the Rolls about the 5th of Richard II., considerably enlarged this new jurisdiction; that, to give efficacy to it, he invented, or more properly, was the first who adopted in that court, the writ of subpoena, a process which had before been used by the council, and is very plainly alluded to in the statutes of the last reign, though not under that name. This writ summoned the party to appear under a penalty, and answer such things as should be objected against him; upon this a petition was lodged, containing the articles of complaint to which he was then compelled to answer. These articles used to contain suggestions of injuries suffered, for which no remedy was to be had in the courts of common law, and therefore the complainant prayed advice and relief of the chancellor."—J. Reeves, *History of English law* (Finlason's ed.), v. 3, p. 384.

1394.—Chancery with its own mode of procedure.—"From the time of passing the stat. 17 Richard II. we may consider that the Court of Chancery was established as a distinct and permanent court, having separate jurisdiction, with its own peculiar mode of procedure similar to that which had prevailed in the Council, though perhaps it was not wholly yet separated from the Council."—G. Spence, *Equity jurisdiction of the court of chancery*, v. 1, p. 345.

1422.—Chancery cases appear in year books.—"It is beyond a doubt that this [chancery] court had begun to exercise its judicial authority in the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV. and V. . . . But we do not find in our books any report of cases there determined till 37 Henry VI., except only on the subject of uses; which, as has been before remarked, might give rise to the opinion, that the

first equitable judicature was concerned in the support of uses."—J. Reeves, *History of English law* (Finlason's ed.), v. 3, p. 553.

1443.—No distinction between examination and answer.—The earliest record of written answers is in 21 Henry VI. Before that time little, if any, distinction was made between the examination and the answer.—D. M. Kerly, *History of courts of chancery*, p. 51.

1461-1483.—Distinction between proceeding by bill and by petition.—"A written statement of the grievance being required to be filed before the issuing of the subpoena, with security to pay damages and costs,—bills now acquired form, and the distinction arose between the proceeding by bill and by petition. The same regularity was observed in the subsequent stages of the suit. Whereas formerly the defendant was generally examined viva voce when he appeared in obedience to the subpoena, the practice now was to put in a written answer, commencing with a protestation against the truth or sufficiency of the matters contained in the bill, stating the facts relied upon by the defendant, and concluding with a prayer that he may be dismissed, with his costs. There were likewise, for the purpose of introducing new facts, special replications and rejoinders, which continued till the reign of Elizabeth, but which have been rendered unnecessary by the modern practice of amending the bill and answer. Pleas and demurrers now appear. Although the pleadings were in English, the decrees on the bill continued to be in Latin down to the reign of Henry VIII. Bills to perpetuate testimony, to set out metes and bounds, and for injunctions against proceedings at law, and to stay waste, became frequent."—Lord Campbell, *Lives of the chancellors*, v. 1, p. 309.

1461-1483.—Jurisdiction of chancery over trusts.—"The equitable jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery may be considered as making its greatest advances in this reign [Edw. IV]. The point was now settled, that there being a feoffment to uses, the 'cestui que' use, or person beneficially entitled, could maintain no action at law, the Judges saying that he had neither 'jus in re' or 'jus ad rem,' and that their forms could not be moulded so as to afford him any effectual relief, either as to the land or the profits. The Chancellors, therefore, with general applause, declared that they would proceed by subpoena against the feoffee to compel him to perform a duty which in conscience was binding upon him, and gradually extended the remedy against his heir and against his alienee with notice of the trust, although they held, as their successors have done, that the purchaser of the legal estate for valuable consideration without notice might retain the land for his own benefit. They therefore now freely made decrees requiring the trustee to convey according to the directions of the 'cestui que trust,' or person beneficially interested; and the most important branch of the equitable jurisdiction of the Court over trusts was firmly and irrevocably established."—Lord Campbell, *Lives of the chancellors*, v. 1, p. 300.

1538.—Lord keeper of the great seal.—"Between the death, resignation, or removal of one chancellor, and the appointment of another, the Great Seal, instead of remaining in the personal custody of the Sovereign, was sometimes entrusted to a temporal keeper, either with limited authority (as only to seal writs), or with all the powers, though not with the rank of Chancellor. At last the practice grew up of occasionally appointing a person to hold the Great Seal with the title of

'Keeper,' where it was meant that he should permanently hold it in his own right and discharge all the duties belonging to it. Queen Elizabeth, ever sparing in the conferring of dignities, having given the Great Seal with the title of 'Keeper' to Sir Nicholas Bacon, objections were made to the legality of some of his acts,—and to obviate these, a statute was passed declaring that 'the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal for the time being shall have the same place, pre-eminence, and jurisdiction as the Lord Chancellor of England' Since then there never have been a Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal concurrently, and the only difference between the two titles is, that the one is more sounding than the other, and is regarded as a higher mark of royal favor."—Lord Campbell, *Lives of the chancellors*, v. 1, p. 40.

Also in: W. R. Anson, *Law and custom of the constitution*, v. 2, p. 150.

1558.—Increase of business in the court of chancery.—"The business of the Court of Chancery had now so much increased that to dispose of it satisfactorily required a Judge regularly trained to the profession of the law, and willing to devote to it all his energy and industry. The Statute of Wills, the Statute of Uses, the new modes of conveyancing introduced for avoiding transmutation of possession, the questions which arose respecting the property of the dissolved monasteries, and the great increase of commerce and wealth in the nation, brought such a number of important suits into the Court of Chancery, that the holder of the Great Seal could no longer satisfy the public by occasionally stealing a few hours from his political occupations, to dispose of bills and petitions, and not only was his daily attendance demanded in Westminster Hall during term time, but it was necessary that he should sit, for a portion of each vacation, either at his own house, or in some convenient place appointed by him for clearing off his arrears."—Lord Campbell, *Lives of the chancellors*, v. 2, p. 05.

1567-1632.—Actions of assumpsit in equity.—"The late development of the implied contract to pay 'quantum meruit,' and to indemnify a surety, would be the more surprising, but for the fact that Equity gave relief to tailors and the like, and to sureties long before the common law held them. Spence, although at a loss to account for the jurisdiction, mentions a suit brought in Chancery, in 1567, by a tailor, to recover the amount due for clothes furnished. The suit was referred to the Queen's tailor, to ascertain the amount due, and upon his report a decree was made. The learned writer adds that 'there were suits for wages and many others of like nature.' A surety who had no counter-bond filed a bill against his principal in 1632, in a case which would seem to have been one of the earliest of the kind, for the reporter, after stating that there was a decree for the plaintiff, adds 'quod nota.'—J. B. Ames, *History of assumpsit* (*Harvard Law Review*, v. 2, pp. 50-60).

1592.—All chancellors, save one, lawyers.—"No regular judicial system at that time prevailed in the court; but the suitor when he thought himself aggrieved, found a desultory and uncertain remedy, according to the private opinion of the chancellor, who was generally an ecclesiastic, or sometimes (though rarely) a statesman: no lawyer having sat in the court of chancery from the times of the chief justices Thorpe and Knyvet, successively chancellors to King Edward III. in 1372 and 1373, to the promotion of Sir Thomas More by King Henry VIII., in 1530. After which the great seal was indiscriminately committed to

the custody of lawyers or courtiers, or churchmen, according as the convenience of the times and the disposition of the prince required, till Sargeant Puckering was made lord keeper in 1592; from which time to the present the court of chancery has always been filled by a lawyer, excepting the interval from 1621 to 1625, when the seal was entrusted to Dr. Williams, then dean of Westminster, but afterwards bishop of Lincoln; who had been chaplain to Lord Ellesmere when chancellor."—W. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, bk. 3, ch. 4.

1595.—Injunctions against suits at law.—Opposition of common law courts.—“The strongest inclination was shown to maintain this opposition to the court of equity, not only by the courts, but by the legislature. The stat. 27 Elizabeth, c. 1., which, in very general words, restrains all application to other jurisdictions to impeach or impede the execution of judgments given in the king's courts, under penalty of a praemunire, has been interpreted, as well as stat. Richard II., c. 5, not only as imposing a restraint upon popish claims of judicature, but also of the equitable jurisdiction in Chancery; and in the thirty-first and thirty-second years of this reign, a counsellor-at-law was indicted in the King's Bench on the statute of praemunire, for exhibiting a bill in Chancery after judgment had gone against his client in the King's Bench. Under this and the like control, the Court of Chancery still continued to extend its authority, supported, in some degree, by the momentum it acquired in the time of Cardinal Wolsey.”—J. Reeves, *History of English law* (Finlason's ed.), v. 5, pp. 386-387.

1596.—Lord Ellesmere and his decisions.—Kerly says the earliest chancellors' decisions that have come down to us are those of Lord Ellesmere. He was the first chancellor to establish equity upon the basis of precedents. But compare Reeves (Finlason's), *History of English Law*, v. 3, p. 553, who mentions decisions in the Year Books.—D. M. Kerly, *History of the court of chancery*, p. 98.

1601.—Cy-pres doctrine.—“There is no trace of the doctrine being put into practice in England before the Reformation, although in the earliest reported cases where it has been applied it is treated as a well recognized rule, and as one owing its origin to the traditional favour with which charities had always been regarded. Much of the obscurity which covers the introduction of the doctrine into our Law may perhaps be explained by the fact that, in the earliest times, purely charitable gifts, as they would now be understood, were almost unknown. The piety of donors was most generally displayed in gifts to religious houses, and the application of the subject matter of such gifts was exclusively in the Superiors of the different Orders, and entirely exempt from secular control. From the religious houses the administration of charitable gifts passed to the Chancellor, as keeper of the King's conscience, the latter having as ‘*parens patriae*’ the general superintendence of all infants, idiots, lunatics and charities. And it was not until some time later that this jurisdiction became gradually merged, and then only in cases where trusts were interposed, in the general jurisdiction of the Chancery Courts. It is not necessary to go into the long vexed question as to when that actually took place. It is enough to say that it is now pretty conclusively established that the jurisdiction of the Chancery Courts over charitable trusts existed anterior to, and independently of, the Statute of Charitable Uses, 43 Eliz., c. 4. As charitable gifts generally involved the existence of

a trust reposed in some one, it was natural that the Chancery Court, which assumed jurisdiction over trusts, should have gradually extended that jurisdiction over charities generally; but the origin of the power, that it was one delegated by the Crown to the Chancellor, must not be lost sight of, as in this way, probably, can be best explained the curious distinct jurisdictions vested in the Crown and the Chancery Courts respectively to apply gifts *Cy pres*, the limits of which, though long uncertain, were finally determined by Lord Eldon in the celebrated case of *Moggridge v. Thackwell*, 7 ves. 69. If we remember that the original jurisdiction in all charitable matters was in the Crown, and that even after the Chancery Courts acquired a jurisdiction over trusts, there was still a class of cases untouched by such jurisdiction, we shall better understand how the prerogative of the Crown still remained in a certain class of cases, as we shall see hereafter. However this may be, there is no doubt that when the Chancery Courts obtained the jurisdiction over the charities, which they have never lost, the liberal principles of the Civil or Canon Law as to the carrying out of such gifts were the sources and inspirations of their decisions. And hence the *Cy pres* doctrine became gradually well recognised, though the mode of its application has varied from time to time. Perhaps the most striking instances of this liberal construction are to be found in the series of cases which, by a very strained interpretation of the Statute of Elizabeth with regard to charitable uses, decided that gifts to such uses in favour of corporations, which could not take by devise under the old Wills Act, 32 Hen. VIII., c. 1, were good as operating in the nature of an appointment of the trust in equity, and that the intendment of the statute being in favour of charitable gifts, all deficiencies of assurance were to be supplied by the Courts. Although, historically, there may be no connection between the power of the King over the administration of charities, and the dispensing power reserved to him by the earlier Mortmain Acts, the one being, as we have seen, a right of Prerogative, the other a Feudal right in his capacity as ultimate Lord of the fee, it is perhaps not wholly out of place to allude shortly to the latter, particularly as the two appear not to have been kept distinct in later times. By the earlier Mortmain Acts, the dispensing power of the King, as Lord Paramount, to waive forfeitures under these Acts was recognised, and gifts of land to religious or charitable corporations were made not ‘*ipso facto*’ void, but only voidable at the instance of the immediate Lord, or, on his default, of the King and after the statute ‘*quia emptores*,’ which practically abolished mesne seignories, the Royal license became in most cases sufficient to secure the validity of the gift. The power of suspending statutes being declared illegal at the Revolution, it was deemed prudent, seeing that the grant of licenses in Mortmain imported an exercise of such suspending power, to give these licenses a Parliamentary sanction; and accordingly, by 7 and 8 William III., c. 37, it was declared that the King might grant licenses to aliens in Mortmain, and also to purchase, acquire, and hold lands in Mortmain in perpetuity without pain of forfeiture. The right of the mesne lord was thus passed over, and the dispensing power of the Crown, from being originally a Feudal right, became converted practically into one of Prerogative. The celebrated Statute of 1 Edward VI., c. 14, against superstitious uses, which is perhaps the earliest statutory recognition of the *Cy pres* doctrine, points also strongly to the

original jurisdiction in these matters being in the King."—H. L. Manby (*Law Magazine and Review*, 4th series, v. 15, 1889-1890, p. 203).—The author proceeds to trace at some length the subsequent developments of the doctrine both judicial and statutory. The doctrine is not generally recognised in the United States.

1603-1625.—Equity and the construction of wills.—"After a violent struggle between Lord Coke and Lord Ellesmere, the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery to stay by injunction execution on judgments at law was finally established. In this reign [James I] the Court made another attempt,—which was speedily abandoned,—to determine upon the validity of wills,—and it has been long settled that the validity of wills of real property shall be referred to courts of law, and the validity of wills of personal property to the Ecclesiastical Courts,—equity only putting a construction upon them when their validity has been established."—Lord Campbell, *Lives of the chancellors*, v. 2, p. 386.

1612.—Right of redemption.—The right to redeem after the day dates from the reign of James I. From the time of Edward IV (1461-83) a mortgagor could redeem after the day if accident, or a collateral agreement, or fraud by mortgagee, prevented payment.—D. M. Kerly, *History of the court of chancery*, p. 143.

1616.—Contest between equity and common-law courts.—"In the time of Lord Ellesmere (A.D. 1616) arose that notable dispute between the courts of law and equity, set on foot by Sir Edward Coke, then chief justice of the court of king's bench; whether a court of equity could give relief after or against a judgment at the common law? This contest was so warmly carried on, that indictments were preferred against the suitors, the solicitors, the counsel, and even a master in chancery, for having incurred a 'praemunire,' by questioning in a court of equity a judgment in the court of king's bench, obtained by a gross fraud and imposition. This matter being brought before the king, was by him referred to his learned counsel for their advice and opinion; who reported so strongly in favor of the courts of equity, that his majesty gave judgment in their behalf."—W. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, bk. 3, p. 54.

1616.—Relief against judgments at law.—"This was in 1616, the year of the memorable contest between Lord Coke and Lord Ellesmere as to the power of equity to restrain the execution of common-law judgment obtained by fraud. . . . The right of equity to enforce specific performance, where damages at law would be an inadequate remedy, has never since been questioned."—J. B. Ames, *Specific performance of contracts* (*Green Bag*, v. 1, p. 27).

1671.—Doctrine of tacking established.—"It is the established doctrine in the English law, that if there be three mortgages in succession, and all duly registered, or a mortgage, and then a judgment, and then a second mortgage upon the estate, the junior mortgagee may purchase in the first mortgage, and tack it to his mortgage, and by that contrivance 'squeeze out' the middle mortgage, and gain preference over it. The same rule would apply if the first, as well as the second incumbrance, was a judgment; but the incumbrancer who tacks must always be a mortgagee, for he stands in the light of a bona fide purchaser, parting with his money upon the security of the mortgage. . . . In the English law, the rule is under some reasonable qualification. The last mortgagee cannot tack, if, when he took his mort-

gage, he had notice in fact . . . of the intervening incumbrance. . . . The English doctrine of tacking was first solemnly established in *Marsh v. Lee* [2 Vent. 337], under the assistance of Sir Matthew Hale, who compared the operation to a plank in shipwreck gained by the last mortgagee; and the subject was afterwards very fully and accurately expounded by the Master of the Rolls, in *Brace v. Duchess of Marlborough* [2 P. Wms. 491].—J. Kent, *Commentaries*, pt. 6, lect. 58.

1702-1714.—Equitable conversion.—"He [Lord Harcourt] first established the important doctrine, that if money is directed either by deed or will to be laid out in land, the money shall be taken to be land, even as to collateral heirs."—Lord Campbell, *Lives of the chancellors*, v. 4, p. 374.

1736-1756.—Lord Hardwicke developed system of precedents.—It was under Lord Hardwicke that the jurisdiction of Equity was fully developed. During the twenty years of his chancellorship the great branches of equitable jurisdiction were laid out, and his decisions were regularly cited as authority until after Lord Eldon's time.—D. M. Kerly, *History of the court of chancery*, pp. 175-177.

1742.—Control of corporations.—"That the directors of a corporation shall manage its affairs honestly and carefully is primarily a right of the corporation itself rather than of the individual stockholders. . . . The only authority before the present century is the case of the Charitable Corporation v. Sutton, decided by Lord Hardwicke [2 Atk. 400]. But this case is the basis . . . of all subsequent decisions on the point, and it is still quoted as containing an accurate exposition of the law. The corporation was charitable only in name, being a joint-stock corporation for lending money on pledges. By the fraud of some of the directors, . . . and by the negligence of the rest, loans were made without proper security. The bill was against the directors and other officers, 'to have a satisfaction for a breach of trust, fraud, and mismanagement.' Lord Hardwicke granted the relief prayed, and a part of his decision is well worth quoting. He says: 'Committee-men are most properly agents to those who employ them in this trust, and who empower them to direct and superintend the affairs of the corporation. In this respect they may be guilty of acts of commission or omission, of malfeasance or nonfeasance. . . . Nor will I ever determine that a court of equity cannot lay hold of every breach of trust, let the person be guilty of it either in a private or public capacity.'"—S. Williston, *History of the law of business* (*Harvard Law Review*, v. 2, pp. 158-159).

1782.—Demurrer to bill of discovery.—"Originally, it appears not to have been contemplated that a demurrer or plea would lie to a bill of discovery, unless it were a demurrer or plea to the nature of the discovery sought or to the jurisdiction of the court, e. g., a plea of purchase for value; and, though it was a result of this doctrine that plaintiffs might compel discovery to which they were not entitled, it seems to have been supposed that they were not likely to do so to any injurious effect, since they must do it at their own expense. But this view was afterwards abandoned, and in 1782 it was decided that, if a bill of discovery in aid of an action at law stated no good cause of action against the defendant, it might be demurred to on that ground, i. e., that it showed on its face no right to relief at law, and, therefore, no right to discovery in equity. Three years later in *Ilindman v. Taylor*, the question was raised whether a defendant could protect himself for answering a bill for discovery by setting up an affirma-

tive defence by plea; and, though Lord Thurlow decided the question in the negative, his decision has since been overruled; and it is now fully settled that any defence may be set up to a bill for discovery by demurrer or plea, the same as to a bill for relief; and, if successful, it will protect the defendant from answering."—C. C. Langdell, *Summary of equity pleading*, pp. 204-205.

1786.—Injunction after decree to pay proceeds of estate into court.—"As soon as a decree is made, . . . under which the executor will be required to pay the proceeds of the whole estate into court, an injunction ought to be granted against the enforcement of any claim against the estate by an action at law; and accordingly such has been the established rule for more than a hundred years. . . . The first injunction that was granted expressly upon the ground above explained was that granted by Lord Thurlow, in 1782, in the case of Brooks v. Reynolds. . . . In the subsequent case of Kenyon v. Worthington, . . . an application to Lord Thurlow for an injunction was resisted by counsel of the greatest eminence. The resistance, however, was unsuccessful, and the injunction was granted. This was in 1786; and from that time the question was regarded as settled."—C. C. Langdell, *Equity jurisdiction* (*Harvard Law Review*, v. 5, pp. 122-123).

1792.—Negative pleas.—"In *Gun v. Prior*, Forest, 88, note, 1 Cox, 197, 2 Dickens, 657, Cas. in Eq. Pl. 47, a negative plea was overruled by Lord Thurlow after a full argument. This was in 1785. Two years later, the question came before the same judge again, and, after another full argument, was decided the same way. *Newman v. Wallis*, 2 Bro. C. C. 143, Cas. in Eq. Pl. 52. But in 1792, in the case of *Hall v. Noyes*, 3 Bro. C. C. 483, 489, Cas. in Eq. Pl. 223, 227, Lord Thurlow took occasion to say that he had changed his opinion upon the subject of negative pleas, and that his former decisions were wrong; and since then the right to plead a negative plea has not been questioned."—C. C. Langdell, *Summary of equity pleading*, p. 114, note.

1801-1827.—Lord Eldon settled rules of equity.—"The doctrine of this Court," he [Lord Eldon] said himself, "ought to be as well settled and as uniform, almost, as those of the common law, laying down fixed principles, but taking care that they are to be applied according to the circumstances of each case. I cannot agree that the doctrines of this Court are to be changed by every succeeding judge. Nothing would inflict on me greater pain than the recollection that I had done any thing to justify the reproach that the Equity of this Court varies like the Chancellor's foot." Certainly the reproach he dreaded cannot justly be inflicted upon his memory. . . . From his time onward the development of equity was effected ostensibly, and, in the great majority of cases, actually, by strict deduction from the principles to be discovered in decided cases, and the work of subsequent Chancery judges has been, for the most part, confined, as Lord Eldon's was, to tracing out these principles into detail, and to rationalising them by repeated review and definition."—D. M. Kerly, *History of the Court of Chancery*, p. 182.

1811-1845.—Contributions of Judge Story and Chancellor Kent to equity law in the United States.—"We are next to regard Story during his thirty-five years of judicial service. He performed an amount of judicial labor almost without parallel, either in quality or quantity, in the history of jurisprudence. His judgments in the Circuit Court comprehended thirteen volumes. His opinions in the Supreme Court are found in thirty-five

volumes. Most of these decisions are on matters of grave difficulty, and many of them of first impression. Story absolutely created a vast amount of law for our country. Indeed, he was essentially a builder. When he came to the bench, the law of admiralty was quite vague and unformed; his genius formed it as exclusively as Stowell's did in England. He also did much toward building up the equity system which has become part of our jurisprudence. In questions of international and constitutional law, the breadth and variety of his legal learning enabled him to shine with peculiar brilliancy. It is sufficient to say that there is scarcely any branch of the law which he has not greatly illustrated and enlarged,—prize, constitutional, admiralty, patent, copyright, insurance, real estate, commercial law so called, and equity,—all were gracefully familiar to him. The most celebrated of his judgments are *De Lovio v. Boit*, in which he investigates the jurisdiction of the Admiralty; *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee*, which examines the appellate jurisdiction of the United States Supreme Court; *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, in which the question was, whether the charter of a college was a contract within the meaning of the constitutional provision prohibiting the enactment, by any State, of laws impairing the obligations of contracts; his dissenting opinion in *Charles River Bridge Company v. The Warren Bridge*, involving substantially the same question as the last case; and the opinion in the *Girard will case*. These are the most celebrated, but are scarcely superior to scores of his opinions in cases never heard of beyond the legal profession."—I. Browne, *Short studies of great lawyers*, pp. 293-295.

In February, 1814, James Kent was appointed chancellor, at that time the highest judicial office in New York state. "The powers and jurisdiction of the court of chancery were not clearly defined. There were scarcely any precedents of its decisions, to which reference could be made in case of doubt. Without any other guide, he felt at liberty to exercise such powers of the English chancery as he deemed applicable under the Constitution and laws of the State, subject to the correction of the Court of Errors, on appeal. . . . On the 31st of July, 1823, having attained the age of sixty years, the period limited by the Constitution for the tenure of his office, he retired from the court, after hearing and deciding every case that had been brought before him. On this occasion the members of the bar residing in the City of New York, presented him an address. After speaking of the inestimable benefits conferred on the community by his judicial labors for five and twenty years they say: 'During this long course of services, so useful and honorable, and which will form the most brilliant period in our judicial history, you have, by a series of decisions in law and equity, distinguished alike for practical wisdom, profound learning, deep research and accurate discrimination, contributed to establish the fabric of our jurisprudence on those sound principles that have been sanctioned by the experience of mankind, and expounded by the enlightened and venerable sages of the law. Though others may hereafter enlarge and adorn the edifice whose deep and solid foundations were laid by the wise and patriotic framers of our government, in that common law which they claimed for the people as their noblest inheritance, your labors on this magnificent structure will forever remain eminently conspicuous, command the applause of the present generation, and exciting the admiration and gratitude of future ages.'"—C. B. Waite, *James Kent* (*Chicago Law Times*, v. 3, pp. 339-341).

1821.—Negative pleas to be supported by an answer.—“The principle of negative pleas was first established by the introduction of anomalous pleas; but it was not perceived at first that anomalous pleas involved the admission of pure negative pleas. It would often happen, however, that a defendant would have no affirmative defence to a bill, and yet the bill could not be supported because of the falsity of some material allegation contained in it; and, if the defendant could deny this false allegation by a negative plea, he would thereby avoid giving discovery as to all other parts of the bill. At length, therefore, the experiment of setting up such a plea was tried; and, though unsuccessful at first, it prevailed in the end, and negative pleas became fully established. If they had been well understood, they might have proved a moderate success, although they were wholly foreign to the system into which they were incorporated; but, as it was, their introduction was attended with infinite mischief and trouble, and they did much to bring the system into disrepute. For example, it was not clearly understood for a long time that a pure negative plea required the support of an answer; and there was no direct decision to that effect until the case of *Sanders v. King*, 6 Madd. 61, Cas. in Eq. Pl. 74, decided in 1821.”—C. C. Langdell, *Summary of equity pleading*, pp. 113-114.

1834.—First statute of limitations in equity.—“None of the English statutes of limitation, prior to 3 & 4 Wm. IV., c. 27, had any application to suits in equity. Indeed, they contained no general terms embracing all actions at law, but named specifically all actions to which they applied; and they made no mention whatever of suits in equity. If a plaintiff sued in equity, when he might have brought an action at law, and the time for bringing the action was limited by statute, the statute might in a certain sense be pleaded to the suit in equity; for the defendant might say that, if the plaintiff had sued at law, his action would have been barred; that the declared policy of the law therefore, was against the plaintiff's recovering; and hence the cause was not one of which a court of equity ought to take cognizance. In strictness, however, the plea in such a case would be to the jurisdiction of the court.”—C. C. Langdell, *Summary of equity pleading*, pp. 149-150.

1836.—Personal character of shares of stock first established in England.—“The most accurate definition of the nature of the property acquired by the purchase of a share of stock in a corporation is that it is a fraction of all the rights and duties of the stockholders composing the corporation. Such does not seem to have been the clearly recognized view till after the beginning of the present century. The old idea was rather that the corporation held all its property strictly as a trustee, and that the shareholders were, strictly speaking, ‘cestuis que trust,’ being in equity co-owners of the corporate property. . . . It was not until the decision of *Bligh v. Brent* [Y. & C. 268], in 1836, that the modern view was established in England.”—S. Williston (*Harvard Law Review*, v. 2, pp. 149-151).

1875.—Patents, copyrights and trade-marks.—“In modern times the inventor of a new process obtains from the State, by way of recompense for the benefit he has conferred upon society, and in order to encourage others to follow his example, not only an exclusive privilege of using the new process for a fixed term of years, but also the right of letting or selling his privilege to another. Such an indulgence is called a patent-right, and a very similar favour, known as copy-right, is granted

to the authors of books, and to [artists]. . . . It has been a somewhat vexed question whether a ‘trade-mark’ is to be added to the list of intangible objects of ownership. It was at any rate so treated in a series of judgments by Lord Westbury, which, it seems, are still good law. He says, for instance, ‘Imposition on the public is indeed necessary for the plaintiff's title, but in this way only, that it is the test of the invasion by the defendant of the plaintiff's right of property.’ [Citing 33 L. J. Ch. 204; cf. 35 Ch. D., *Oakley v. Dalton*.] It was also so described in the ‘Trade Marks Registration Act,’ 1875 [§§ 3, 4, 5], as it was in the French law of 1857 relating to ‘*Marques de fabrique et de commerce*.’ . . . Patent-right in England is older than the Statute of Monopolies, 21 Jac. I. c. 3, and copy-right is obscurely traceable previously to the Act of 8 Anne, c. 19, but trade-marks were first protected in the present century.”—T. E. Holland, *Elements of jurisprudence*, 5th ed., p. 183.—See also COPYRIGHT: 1766-1800.

1909.—American copyrights.—See COPYRIGHT: 1790-1909.

1912.—New federal equity rules.—“The new federal equity rules promulgated November 4, 1912, by the United States Supreme Court, effective February 1, 1913, have been subjected to close scrutiny and many rigorous tests. Notwithstanding the fact that numerous attorneys felt that the changes made by these rules were of such a radical nature as to seriously handicap the proper trial of equity causes, and in some instances to entirely defeat the ends of justice, these rules are not working any real hardships. Where consistently and fairly administered, they are securing the ends sought, viz. that of securing a more speedy termination of equity litigation with the minimum of expense to litigants.”—W. R. Lane, *One year under the new federal equity rules* (*Harvard Law Review*, v. 27, 1913-1914, p. 629).—See also SUPREME COURT: 1888-1913.

1920.—Non-validity of a marriage entered into in jest.—“The status of marriage has its inception in contract, and its validity depends largely upon the validity of the contract upon which it is based. A court of chancery, by virtue of its ordinary equity powers, possesses jurisdiction to entertain a suit for the purpose of annulling a marriage supposed to be void, or as to the validity of which some doubt may exist. A marriage ceremony, though actually and legally performed, when entered into in jest, with no intention of entering into the actual marriage status and all that implies, and with the understanding that the parties are not to be bound thereby, or assume towards each other the relation ordinarily implied in its performance, including the duties, obligations, rights, and privileges incident thereto and followed by no subsequent acts or conduct indicative of a purpose to enter into such relation, does not constitute a legal basis for the marriage status, and the pretended marriage may be annulled in equity at the suit of either party.”—*American law reports annotated*, v. xi, pp. 212-216.

ALSO IN: *Crouch v. Wartenberg*, Sept. 21, 1920, —W. Va.—104 S. E. 117; and *McClurg v. Terry* (1870), 21 N. J. Equity 225.

ERA OF GOOD FEELING. See U. S. A.: 1817-1825.

ÉRANI. — Associations existing in ancient Athens which resembled the mutual benefit or friendly-aid societies of modern times.—G. F. Schömann, *Antiquities of Greece: The State*, pt. 3, ch. 3.

ÉRARD, Sébastien (1752-1831), French manufacturer of musical instruments, noted for work on

the piano and harp. See INVENTIONS: 18th century: Piano; 19th century: Piano.

ERAS: Christian, French revolutionary, Hindu, Jewish, Julian, Mohammedan, Olympiads, Roman, Spanish, etc. See CHRONOLOGY.

ERASMUS, Desiderius (c. 1466-1536), Dutch theologian. One of the greatest scholars of the Renaissance and Reformation; leader in the Humanist movement. He traveled widely in Europe, making his longest stays in London and Basel. In his famous satire "The Praise of Folly," he protested against the forms and vices of Roman Catholicism. His edition of the Greek Bible formed a basis of comparison for the Vulgate edition.—See also BIBLE, ENGLISH: 14th-16th centuries; CLASSICS: Renaissance; EDUCATION: Modern: 15th-16th centuries: Relation of Renaissance and Reformation; 16th century: Erasmus; 16th century: Colet and St. Paul's school; EUROPE: Renaissance and Reformation: Erasmus.

ALSO IN: H. D. Traill, *Social England*, v. 3.—C. W. Oman, *History of England*, v. 4.—R. H. Murray, *Erasmus and Luther* (*English Historical Review*, Jan., 1920).—J. A. Froude, *Erasmus and Luther*.

ERASTIANISM, doctrine which "received its name from Thomas Erastus, a German physician of the 16th century, contemporary with Luther. The work in which he delivered his theory and reasonings on the subject is entitled 'De Excommunicatione Ecclesiastica.' . . . The Erastians . . . held that religion is an affair between man and his creator, in which no other man or society of men was entitled to interpose. . . . Proceeding on this ground, they maintained that every man calling himself a Christian has a right to make resort to any Christian place of worship, and partake in all its ordinances. Simple as this idea is, it strikes at the root of all priestcraft."—W. Godwin, *History of the Commonwealth*, v. 1, ch. 13.—In his book on excommunication (also called "Seventy-five Theses") Erastus argued that the church could not inflict punishment, that a pastor was merely the instructor of his flock, and that members could be excluded for doctrinal reasons only. "Erastianism" as used later by those who would entirely subject the church government to the authority of the state finds no expression in his book. "The whole movement [the Reformation in England] was tinged with Erastianism, so that all the details of its proceedings cannot be defended on strictly ecclesiastical principles. . . . There was indeed . . . a theoretical Erastianism, . . . which, had it been carried out to its logical issue, would have inflicted an irreparable mischief on the English Church. . . . In Queen Mary's time, when the mistakes of Reformation zealots would not be expected to occur, stronger and more pronounced acts of Erastianism are found than even under Henry and Edward. . . . [That the Church of England owes much to Archbishop Laud is incontestable. In his policy] against the Church in particular he wielded the royal prerogative in such a fashion as to make the ecclesiastical government of his day more completely Erastian than it had been in the time of Henry VIII. . . . A declaration issued by the Parliament with respect to religion plainly shows that the tone of a total repudiation of and revolt from the Church was not one that could be safely adopted even by those who desired to please the persons most opposed to the old order of things. It says, 'They intended a due and necessary reformation of the government and liturgy of the Church and to take away nothing in the one or the other but what should be evil and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burdensome; and for

the better effecting thereof, speedily to have consultation with learned and godly divines; and because that would never of itself attain the end sought therein, they would also use their utmost endeavours to establish learned and preaching ministers with a good and sufficient maintenance throughout the whole kingdom, wherein many dark corners were miserably destitute of the means of salvation, and many poor ministers wanted necessary provision.' Here there is no expression in favour of Presbyterianism or against Episcopacy as a principle. In fact something very different was contemplated by the Parliament. The majority of the members were no doubt of Erastian views. [According to "Braille's Letters," ii, 265: "The most of the House of Commons are downright Erastians."] They intended to reform the church in their own fashion."—G. G. Perry, *History of the English church*, v. 2, pp. 10-13, 415, 452-453.

ERASTUS, Thomas (1524-1583), Swiss-German theologian. See ERASTIANISM.

ERATOSTHENES OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 276-c. 194 B.C.), Greek scientific writer. See ALEXANDRIA: B. C. 282-246; EDUCATION: Ancient: B. C. 3rd-A. D. 3rd centuries; HELLENISM: Science and invention.

ERCTE, mountain in Sicily, near Palermo, held by Hamilcar during the first Punic War. See ERYX; PUNIC WARS: FIRST.

ERDELLI, General, Russian commander of the 11th Army in 1917 under the Kerensky régime. This army was demoralized and crushed by the German attack.

ERDINI. See IRELAND: Tribes of early Celtic inhabitants.

ERDMAN LAW, United States, passed in 1898 to strengthen the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission. See ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION, INDUSTRIAL: United States: 1888-1921.

EREBUS AND TERROR, ships commanded by Ross in Antarctic explorations. See ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1839-1845.

ERECTHEION AT ATHENS.—"At a very early period there was, opposite the long northern side of the Parthenon, a temple which, according to Herodotus, was dedicated jointly to Athene Polias and the Attic hero, Erectheus. . . . This temple was destroyed by fire while the Persians held the city. Not unlikely the rebuilding of the Erectheion was begun by Perikles together with that of the other destroyed temples of the Akropolis; but as it was not finished by him, it is generally not mentioned amongst his works. . . . This temple was renowned amongst the ancients as one of the most beautiful and perfect in existence, and seems to have remained almost intact down to the time of the Turks. The siege of Athens by the Venetians in 1687 seems to have been fatal to the Erectheion, as it was to the Parthenon."—E. Guhl and W. Koner, *Life of the Greeks*, sect. 14.—See also ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS; ARCHITECTURE: Classic: Greek; TEMPLES: Stage of culture represented, etc.

EREMITES OF SAINT FRANCIS, religious order of the fifteenth century. See MENIMS.

ERETRIA, ancient city on the island of Eubœa. See CHALCIS AND ERETRIA; GREECE: Map of ancient Greece.

B. C. 502.—Aid to Ionians against Persians. See GREECE: B. C. 500-493.

B. C. 490.—Taken by Persians. See GREECE: B. C. 400.

ERFURT, Imperial conference and treaty of (1808). See FRANCE: 1808 (September-October).

ERFURT PROGRAM, Socialistic. See SOCIALISM: 1869-1912.

ERFURT UNIVERSITY. See UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES: 1348-1826.

ERIC, name of several kings of Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

Eric I, The Usurper, king of Denmark, 850-854.

Eric II, king of Denmark, 854-883.

Eric I or III, The Good, king of Denmark, 1095-1103.

Eric II or IV, Emun, king of Denmark, 1135-1137.

Eric III or V, The Lamb, king of Denmark, 1137-1147.

Eric IV or VI, Plovpenning, king of Denmark, 1241-1250.

Eric V or VII, Glipping, king of Denmark, 1250-1286.

Eric VI or VIII, Menved, king of Denmark, 1286-1320.

Eric VII of Pomerania or Eric XIII of Sweden, king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, 1397-1440.

Eric I, Blodaexe, king of Norway, c. 898-940.

Eric II, Priesthater, king of Norway, 1280-1290.

Eric I or IX, Saint, king of Sweden, 1155-1160. See SWEDEN: 1150-1160.

Eric II or X, Knutsson, king of Sweden, 1210-1216.

Eric III or XI, The Stammerer, king of Sweden, 1222-1250.

Eric IV or XII, king of Sweden, 1350-1350.

Eric XIII of Sweden or Eric VII of Pomerania, king of Sweden, 1412-1440.

Eric XIV (1533-1577), king of Sweden, 1560-1560. See SWEDEN: 1523-1604.

ERIC, The Red (c. 950-1000), viking and explorer, founded first Norse settlement in Greenland. See AMERICA: 10th-11th centuries.

ERICHCSEN, Mylius, Danish explorer of Greenland coast. See ARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1901-1900.

ERICSSON, John (1803-1889), Swedish engineer who perfected the screw propeller for navigation. In the Civil War designed and built the *Monitor* for the United States Navy. See U. S. A.: 1862 (March); WARSHIPS: 1856-1905; STEAM NAVIGATION: On the ocean; SWEDEN: 1901.

ERIE, city in Pennsylvania on Lake Erie. Its site is that of the old French fort Presque Isle, built in 1753. (See CANADA: 1700-1735.) It was taken possession of by the English in 1760, and in 1763, during Pontiac's War, surrendered to the Indians; regained by the British in 1764. It was yielded to the United States in 1785; laid out as a town in 1795; became the headquarters of Commodore Perry in the War of 1812.

ERIE, Fort, old English fort on the Canadian side of Lake Erie, and opposite Buffalo.

1764-1791.—Origin.—Four years after the British conquest of Canada, in 1764, Colonel John Bradstreet built a blockhouse and stockade near the site of the later Fort Erie, which was not constructed until 1791. When war with the United States broke out, in 1812, the British considered the new fort untenable, or unnecessary, and evacuated and partly destroyed it, in May, 1813.—C. K. Remington, *Old Fort Erie*.

1814.—Siege and the destruction. See U. S. A.: 1814 (July-September).

1866.—Fenian invasion. See CANADA: 1866-1871; IRELAND: 1858-1867.

ERIE, Lake, most southern of the five Great Lakes, drained by the St. Lawrence River.

Indian name. See NIAGARA: Name, etc.

1679.—Navigated by La Salle. See CANADA: 1669-1687.

1813.—Perry's naval victory. See U. S. A.: 1812-1813.

ERIE CANAL, waterway traversing New York State and connecting the Great Lakes with the Hudson River. See BARGE CANAL; CANALS: American; Erie Canal; NEW YORK: 1817-1825; 1890-1900.

ERIE INDIANS. See HURONS; IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY: Their conquests.

ERIE RAILROAD. See RAILROADS: 1850-1860; 1921: Twenty rail systems.

ERIGENA, John Scotus (c. 810-880), Irish philosopher and theologian. Gave medieval philosophy its logical character; combined in his system pantheism and neo-Platonism, and was the forerunner of the scholastics. His chief work "De Divisione Naturae" was condemned by the church.—See also EDUCATION: Medieval: 9th-15th centuries; MYSTICISM.

ERIN, ancient and poetical name for Ireland. See IRELAND.

ERITREA, Italian colony in northeastern Africa, on the shore of the Red sea. (See AFRICA: Map.) It has a coast-line of about 650 miles and a total area of about 50,000 square miles, though authorities differ as to the area. The population inclusive of Europeans was estimated in 1921 to be 450,000. Italy's first foothold in this territory was secured when in March, 1870, it purchased Assab and the neighboring region from the sultan Berehan of Raheita for a coaling station. Assab was declared an Italian colony July 5, 1882. Various treaties were concluded with the sultan of Aussa between 1883 and 1888 enlarging the Italian territory. "On the first day of January, 1800, a decree was issued by the Italian Government uniting the various Italian possessions on the west coast of the Red Sea into one colony, which was given the name of the Colony of Eritrea, 'so named after the Erythracum Mare of the Romans.' At first the form of government was a military one, but after the defeat of the Italian forces by the Abyssinians this was changed to a civil administration directly responsible to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Rome. [See also ITALY: 1895-1800.]

... The frontiers were defined by a French-Italian convention (January 24, 1900), fixing the frontier between French Somaliland and the Italian possessions at Rahtala, and also by various agreements with Great Britain and Abyssinia. A tripartite agreement between Italy, Abyssinia, and Great Britain, entered into on the fifteenth of May, 1902, placed the territory of the Kanama tribe on the north bank of the Setit, within Eritrea. The convention of May 16, 1900, settled the Abyssinia-Eritrea frontier in the Afar country, the boundary being fixed at sixty kilometres from the coast.' In the southern part of the colony there are several small sultanates, for example Aussa and Raheita, which, although still possessing a certain similitude of independence, are nevertheless under Italian protection. The Dahlak archipelago and other groups of islands in the Red Sea, but near the African shore, belong to Eritrea. . . . The Afar region, in the extreme south, is partly in Eritrea and partly in Abyssinia, while the Afar people are found in French Somaliland in considerable numbers. . . . In former times they were bold and terribly successful pirates, and to-day their descendants are the only fishermen in the Red Sea who dare hunt the big and combative *dugong*. The line between Eritrea and French Somaliland is just north of the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, on the opposite shore of which stands Perim, with which place Massawa is connected by a submarine cable giving telegraphic connection to all parts of the

world. There are land telegraph lines pretty well over the colony and fairly good roads. One railway, sixty-five miles long, connects Massawa with Asmara, the capital of the colony; wisely chosen as such, for it stands on the Hamasen plateau, at an elevation of seventy-eight hundred feet above the sea.—J. K. Goodrich, *Africa of to-day*, pp. 145-148.

ALSO IN: A. B. Wyde, *Modern Abyssinia*, ch. v-ix.

ERIVAN, important Armenian center in Transcaucasian Russia. It is the capital of the government of the same name, and is a leading Armenian episcopal see. The population of the city in 1919 was about 90,000.

ERLANGEN UNIVERSITY, Germany. See UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES: 1604-1906.

ERMANARIC, or Hermanaric (fl. 350-376), king of the East Goths; built up a kingdom which extended from the Danube to the Baltic; drove the Vandals out of Dacia; and compelled the allegiance of the neighboring tribes. See GOTHs: 350-375; 376.

ERMELAND, diocese in east Prussia; formed into a bishopric in 1243. See PRUSSIA: 13th century.

ERMYN STREET, corruption of Eormen street, the Saxon name of one of the great Roman roads in Britain, which ran from London to Lincoln. See ROMAN ROADS IN BRITAIN.

ERNEST AUGUSTUS (1771-1851), king of Hanover, formerly duke of Cumberland. See GERMANY: 1817-1840; HANOVER, OR BRUNSWICK-LUNEBURG: 1837.

ERNESTINE LINE OF SAXONY. See SAXONY: 1180-1553.

ERPEDITANI. See IRELAND: Tribes of early Celtic inhabitants.

ERRAZURIZ, Federico (d. 1901), Chilean political figure. See CHILE: 1896; 1901.

ERSE MANUSCRIPTS AND LANGUAGE. See CELTS: Ancient Irish sagas; PHILOLOGY: 11.

ERSKINE, David Montagu (1776-1825), British diplomat. See U. S. A.: 1808-1810.

ERTANG, sacred book of the Manicheans. See MANICHEANS.

ERVINE, St. John Greer (1883-), Irish dramatist and novelist. See DRAMA: 1892-1921.

ERYTHEA, ancient name. See CADIZ: Location.

ERYTHRÆ, ERYTHRÆAN SIBYL.—Erythræ was an ancient Ionian city on the Lydian coast of Asia Minor, opposite the island of Chios or Scio. It was chiefly famous as the home or seat of one of the most venerated of the sibyls—prophetic women—of antiquity. The collection of Sibylline oracles which was sacredly preserved at Rome appears to have been largely derived from Erythræ. The Cumean Sibyl is sometimes identified with her Erythræan sister, who is said to have passed into Europe.—See also SIBYLS.

ERYTHRÆAN SEA.—The Erythræan sea, in the widest sense of the term, as used by the ancients, comprised "the Arabian Gulf (or what we now call the Red sea), the coasts of Africa outside the straits of Bab el Mandeb as far as they had then been explored, as well as those of Arabia and India down to the extremity of the Malabar coast." The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea is a geographical treatise of great importance which we owe to some unknown Greek writer supposed to be nearly contemporary with Pliny. It is "a kind of manual for the instruction of navigators and traders in the Erythræan Sea."—E. H. Bunbury, *History of ancient geography*, ch. 25.—"The Erythræan Sea is an appellation . . . in all appearance

deduced [by the ancients] from their entrance into it by the straits of the Red Sea, styled Erythra by the Greeks, and not excluding the gulph of Persia, to which the fabulous history of a king Erythras is more peculiarly appropriate."—W. Vincent, *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, bk. 1, preliminary disquisition.—See also ATLANTIC OCEAN: Ancient geography.

ERYX, town originally Phœnician or Carthaginian on the northwestern coast of Sicily. It stood on the slope of a mountain which was crowned with an ancient temple of Aphrodite, and which gave the name Erycina to the goddess when her worship was introduced at Rome. See PUNIC WARS: FIRST.

ERZEBERGER, Mathias (1875-1921), German statesman and leader of the Center or Catholic party; urged the end of the World War on the basis of no annexations and no indemnities, 1917; was minister without portfolio in the cabinet appointed, February 13, 1919; in June, 1919, became vice-premier and minister of finance. He was assassinated in 1921.—See also GERMANY: 1917 (July-October); WORLD WAR: 1918: XI. End of the war: a, 6; a, 8.

ERZERUM, town and vilayet of Armenia (see ARABIA: Map), 120 miles southeast of Trebizond; considered the strongest fortress in the Turkish empire. Before railroads were introduced was important point on line of caravan traffic; belonged to Turkey since 1517; has been objective point in wars between Russia and Turkey (see TURKEY: 1877-1878); was captured by the Russians under Grand Duke Nicholas and General Yudenich, February 16, 1916, which put an end to the projected Turkish invasion of Egypt during the World War.—See also WORLD WAR: 1916: VI. Turkish theater: d, 1 and 2.

1919-1920.—Importance in the Armenia-Turkish boundary question. See ARMENIA: 1919-1920; SÈVRES, TREATY OF (1920): Part III: Political clauses: Armenia.

ERZINGAN, city eighty miles west of Erzerum, Armenia. On July 25, 1916, it was captured by the Russian general, Yudenich. See WORLD WAR: 1916: VI. Turkish theater: d, 6.

ESARHADDON, king of Assyria and Babylonia; ruled from 681 to 668 B. C.; famous for his conquests. See ASSYRIA: Later Assyrian Empire; EGYPT: B. C. 670-525.

ESCALANTE, Silvestre Velez de, Franciscan friar and explorer. See COLORADO: 1776-1858; UTAH: 1540-1776.

ESCALON. See ASCALON.

ESCH, town in Luxemburg, occupied by the Americans in 1918. See WORLD WAR: 1918: XI. End of the war: c.

ESCH-CUMMINS ACT (1920). See RAILROADS: 1916-1920; 1920: Esch-Cummins Act.

ESCHEATED HONOURS. See HONOURS, ESCHATED.

ESCHENBACH, Wolfram von. See WOLFRAM VON ESCHENBACH.

ESCOCÈS, political faction of free masons in Mexico. See MEXICO: 1822-1828.

ESCOMBOLI. See STAMBOUL.

ESCORIAL, largest building in Spain and most notable monument of the Griego-Romano style. See ARCHITECTURE: Renaissance: Spain; SPAIN: 1550-1563.

ESCURRA, Juan Antonio, Paraguayan president, deposed in 1904. See PARAGUAY: 1902-1915.

ESCUYER, or Esquire, shield bearer to the knight. See CHIVALRY.

ESDRAELON, or Plain of Jezreel, famous valley in Palestine to which some refer the name

Armageddon. Here Gideon defeated the Midianites, and it was the scene of Napoleon's victory over the Turks (1799). In September, 1918, the Turkish army was finally defeated in this region by the British.—See also MEGIDDO; PALESTINE; Land; WORLD WAR: 1918: VI. Turkish theater: c, 16.

ESHER, Reginald Baliol Brett, 2nd Viscount (1852-), British public official, member of committee on imperial defense; made a report on conditions in India. See INDIA: 1921-1922; WAR, PREPARATION FOR: 1907-1909: British army reorganization.

ESKIMO, or **ESKIMAUAN**, FAMILY.—“Save a slight intermixture of European settlers, the Eskimo are the only inhabitants of the shores of Arctic America, and of both sides of Davis Strait and Baffin Bay, including Greenland, as well as a tract of about 400 miles on the Behring Strait coast of Asia. Southward they extend as far as about 50° N. L. on the eastern side, 60° on the western side of America, and from 55° to 60° on the shores of Hudson Bay. Only on the west the Eskimo near their frontier are interrupted on two small spots of the coast by the Indians, named Kennayans and Ugalezes, who have there advanced to the sea-shore for the sake of fishing. These coasts of Arctic America, of course, also comprise all the surrounding islands. Of these, the Aleutian Islands form an exceptional group; the inhabitants of these on the one hand distinctly differing from the coast people here mentioned, while on the other they show a closer relationship to the Eskimo than any other nation. The Aleutians, therefore, may be considered as only an abnormal branch of the Eskimo nation. . . . As regards their northern limits, the Eskimo people, or at least remains of their habitations, have been found nearly as far north as any Arctic explorers have hitherto advanced; and very possibly bands of them may live still farther to the north, as yet quite unknown to us. . . . On comparing the Eskimo with the neighbouring nations, their physical complexion certainly seems to point at an Asiatic origin; but, as far as we know, the latest investigations have also shown a transitional link to exist between the Eskimo and the other American nations, which would sufficiently indicate the possibility of a common origin from the same continent. As to their mode of life, the Eskimo decidedly resemble their American neighbours. . . . With regard to their language, the Eskimo also appear akin to the American nations in regard to its decidedly polysynthetic structure. Here, however, on the other hand, we meet with some very remarkable similarities between the Eskimo idiom and the language of Siberia, belonging to the Altaic or Finnish group. . . . According to the Sagas of the Icelanders, they were already met with on the east coast of Greenland about the year 1000, and almost at the same time on the east coast of the American continent. . . . Between the years 1000 and 1300 they do not seem to have occupied the land south of 65° N. L. on the west coast of Greenland, where the Scandinavian colonies were then situated. But the colonists seem to have been aware of their existence in higher latitudes, and to have lived in fear of an attack by them, since, in the year 1266, an expedition was sent out for the purpose of exploring the abodes of the Skraelings, as they were called by the colonists. . . . About the year 1450, the last accounts were received from the colonies, and the way to Greenland was entirely forgotten in the mother country. . . . The features of the natives in the Southern part of Greenland indicate a mixed descent from the Scandinavians and Eskimo, the former, however, not having left the slightest sign

of any influence on the nationality or culture of the present natives. In the year 1585, Greenland was discovered anew by John Davis, and found inhabited exclusively by Eskimo.”—H. Rink, *Tales and traditions of the Eskimo, introduction and ch. 6.*—“In 1869, I proposed for the Aleuts and people of Innuitt stock collectively the term Orarians, as indicative of their coastwise distribution, and as supplying the need of a general term to designate a very well-defined race. . . . The Orarians are divided into two well-marked groups, namely the Innuits, comprising all the so-called Eskimo and Tuskis and the Aleuts.”—W. H. Dall, *Tribes of the extreme Northwest (Contributions to North American Ethnology, v. 1, pt. 1).*—See also ALASKA: Natives; GREENLAND; INDIANS, AMERICAN: Cultural areas in North America: Eskimo area; Linguistic characteristics.

ALSO IN: H. Rink, *Eskimo tribe.*

ESKISHEHR, town in western Asia-Minor. A center on the Bagdad railroad, over which a bitter contest was waged between Greeks and Turks in 1921 and 1922. See GREECE: 1921.

ESMERALDA, cruiser sold by Chile to Japan. See ECUADOR: 1888-1899.

ESNA BARRAGE, dam across the Nile, near Esna, Egypt. See EGYPT: 1900-1912.

ESNE, in early English law the slave who worked for hire. See THEOW.

ESNES, town in northeastern France, taken by Allies in 1918. See WORLD WAR: 1918: II. Western front: r.

ESPARTERO, Baldomero (1792-1870), Spanish general and statesman. See SPAIN: 1833-1846.

ESPERANTO, international language now in use by individuals and groups in practically all countries, being urged by its advocates for official recognition.—See also INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE: Esperanto; Other proposed languages.

ESPÉREY, Louis Franchet d' (1856-), French commander in the World War. Commanded the 5th Army at the Marne, 1914; held other important commands; took charge of the Allied forces at Saloniki in 1917-1918.—See also WORLD WAR: 1914: I. Western front: p, 5; p, 7; 1918: V. Balkan theater: c, 8, ii; HUNGARY: 1918 (November).

ESPINOSA, Battle of. See SPAIN: 1808 (September-December).

ESPIONAGE, World War. See WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: II. Espionage.

ESPIONAGE ACT, United States: Act of June 15, 1917, and its results.—“The so-called Espionage Act of June 15, 1917, among other things, conferred upon the President full power to control all exports from the United States. Title VII, which relates to this matter, reads as follows: Sec. 1. Whenever during the present war [World War] the President shall find that the public safety shall so require, and shall make proclamation thereof, it shall be unlawful to export from or ship or take out of the United States to any country named in such proclamation any article or articles mentioned in such proclamations, except at such time or times, and under such regulations and orders, and subject to such limitations and exceptions as the President shall prescribe, until otherwise ordered by the President or by Congress: *Provided, however,* That no preference shall be given to the ports of one State over those of another. . . . Sec. 3. Whenever there is reasonable cause to believe that any vessel, domestic or foreign, is about to carry out of the United States any article or articles in violation of the provisions of this title, the collector of customs for the district in which such vessel is located is hereby

authorized and empowered, subject to review by the Secretary of Commerce, to refuse clearance to any such vessel, domestic or foreign, for which clearance is required by law, to forbid the departure of such vessel from the port, and it shall thereupon be unlawful for such vessel to depart."—W. F. Willoughby, *Government organization in war time and after*, pp. 122-123.—"The espionage act prohibits the gathering of information to be disclosed to the enemy, at places connected with the national defense, such as dock yards, arsenals and munition plants; and the disclosing of plans of defense or the disposition of armed forces to the enemy. . . . An act amending the espionage law was signed May 16 [1918], providing penalties for seditious utterances or for publishing disloyal statements with intent to cripple or hinder the prosecution of the war."—C. Kettleborough, *Congressional legislation, 1917-1918 (American Political Science Review, Nov., 1918, pp. 670, 673)*.—"The free speech controversy. . . [during the World War] has chiefly gathered about the federal Espionage Act. This Act, . . . as originally enacted on June 15, 1917, established three new offenses: (1) false statements or reports interfering with military or naval operations or promoting the success of our enemies; (2) causing or attempting to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty in the military and naval forces; (3) obstruction of enlistments and recruiting. Attorney General Gregory reports that, although this Act proved an effective instrumentality against deliberate or organized disloyal propaganda, it did not reach the individual, casual, or impulsive disloyal utterances. Also some District Courts gave what he considered a narrow construction of the word 'obstruct' in clause (3), so that as he puts it, 'most of the teeth which we tried to put in were taken out.' . . . On May 16, 1918, Congress amended the Espionage Act by what is sometimes called the Sedition Act, adding nine more offenses to the original three, as follows: (4) saying or doing anything with intent to obstruct the sale of United States bonds, except by way of bona fide and not disloyal advice; (5) uttering, printing, writing, or publishing any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language, or language intended to cause contempt, scorn, contumely or disrepute as regards the form of government of the United States; (6) or the Constitution; (7) or the flag; (8) or the uniform of the Army or Navy; (9) or any language intended to incite resistance to the United States or promote the cause of its enemies; (10) urging any curtailment of production of any things necessary to the prosecution of the war with intent to hinder its prosecution; (11) advocating, teaching, defending, or suggesting the doing of any of these acts; and (12) words or acts supporting or favoring the cause of any country at war with us, or opposing the cause of the United States therein. Whoever commits any one of these offenses in this or any future war is liable to a maximum penalty of \$10,000 fine or twenty years' imprisonment, or both."—Z. Chafee, Jr., *Freedom of speech in war time (Harvard Law Review, June, 1919, pp. 933-936)*.

Trials under the Espionage Act.—"In *Masses Publishing Co. v. Patten* Judge Hand was asked to enjoin the postmaster of New York from excluding from the mails *The Masses*, a monthly revolutionary journal, which contained several articles, poems, and cartoons attacking the war. The Espionage Act of 1917 made non-mailable any publication which violated the criminal provisions of that act, already summarized in this article. One important issue was, therefore, whether the post-

master was right in finding such a violation. This case did not raise the constitutional question whether Congress could make criminal any matter which tended to discourage the successful prosecution of the war, but involved only the construction of the statute, whether Congress had as yet gone so far. Judge Hand held that it had not and granted the injunction. He refused to turn the original Act, which obviously dealt only with interference with the conduct of military affairs, into a prohibition of all kinds of propaganda and a means for suppressing all hostile criticism and all opinion except that which encouraged and supported the existing policies of the war, or fell within the range of temperate argument."—*Ibid.*, pp. 960-961.—In the case of *United States v. Kraft*, tried in the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, in 1918, "The defendant was convicted of violating the third section of the Espionage Act of June 15, 1917, by uttering in the presence of soldiers of the United States army statements intended to cause insubordination, mutiny, disloyalty and refusal of duty on the part of such soldiers. The trial judge charged the jury that they might find a verdict of guilty only if satisfied that the statements alleged had actually been uttered and had been uttered with the intention on the part of the defendant to cause insubordination, mutiny, disloyalty, and refusal of duty. He refused to charge the jury that in order to convict the prosecution must prove that such insubordination, etc., had actually resulted from the defendant's remarks. This court held on appeal that the jury had been correctly charged. A violation of the clause of the statute in question results even from an entirely unsuccessful attempt to stir up mutiny and disloyalty in the army or navy. To make the defendant's guilt dependent upon the results of his criminal efforts would be equivalent to making it depend not upon what he did in the way of counseling disloyalty, but upon what his hearers did in the way of following his directions. In other words, the defendant could do all in his power to bring about disloyalty, but as long as he did not succeed he committed no crime. Such a construction is entirely foreign to the purpose of the Espionage Act, which aims to prevent not merely the results of disloyal propaganda but the propaganda itself."—R. E. Cushman, *Judicial decisions on public law (American Political Science Review, Nov., 1918, pp. 691-692)*.—"The United States Supreme Court did not have an opportunity to consider the Espionage Act until 1919, after the armistice was signed and almost all the District Court cases had been tried. Several appeals from conviction had resulted in a confession of error by the government, but at last four cases were heard and decided against the accused. Of these three were clear cases of incitement to resist the draft, so that no real question of free speech arose. Nevertheless the defense of constitutionality was raised, and denied by Justice Holmes. His fullest discussion is in *Schenck v. United States*."—Z. Chafee, Jr., *Freedom of speech in war time (Harvard Law Review, June, 1919, pp. 966-967)*.—"In three cases, convictions under the Espionage Act of 1917 were sustained notwithstanding the objection that, since the offense charged consisted solely of written or spoken utterances, the result was a violation of the First Amendment prohibiting the Congress from making any law 'abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.' The defendants had been found guilty of attempts or conspiracies to obstruct recruiting. In no case was it proven that the obstruction has occurred. Mr. Justice Holmes implied that the First Amendment imposes restriction on punishment for the use of

language as well as on the use of censorship. In *Schenck v. United States* he says: 'We admit that in many places and in ordinary times the defendants in saying all that was said in the circular would have been within their constitutional rights. But the character of every act depends upon the circumstances in which it is done. . . . When a nation is at war, many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right. It is thus apparent that the practical effect of the free speech amendment depends upon the scrutiny which an appellate court casts at the relation between the evidence offered and the verdict of the jury. In *Frohwerk v. United States* it was remarked that 'we do not lose our right to condemn either measures or men because the country is at war.' . . . The opinion in *Debs v. United States* adds little to the previous discussion except to point out that expressions which, under all the circumstances, would probably obstruct recruiting, are not protected because 'part of a general program and expressions of a general and conscientious belief.' The three cases can be fully understood only in the light of all the utterances involved. Space forbids their enumeration here, but there can be no doubt that all had pretty clearly implied nobility in any one who refused to acquiesce in the draft or contribute to the prosecution of the war.'—T. R. Powell, *Constitutional law in 1918-1919 (American Political Science Review, Feb., 1920, pp. 64-66)*.

Repeal of the amendment to section 3 (1921).—The amendment (passed May 16, 1918) to title 1, section 3 (Espionage Act) which provided penalties for seditious utterances and disloyal statements was repealed by the resolution of March 3, 1921, and this section of the Act of June, 1917, was restored to its former force, which dealt only with clearance of vessels carrying articles forbidden by the act.

See also CENSORSHIP: World War; SUPREME COURT: 1917-1921; SOCIALISM: 1918-1919; Debs's trial; U. S. A.: 1917-1919; Effect of the war.

ALSO IN: T. F. Carroll, *Freedom of speech and of the press in war time (Michigan Law Review, v. 17, p. 621)*.—W. R. Vance, *Freedom of speech and of the press (Minnesota Law Review, v. 2, 1918, p. 239)*.—*Harvard Law Review, Feb., 1919 (editorial), pp. 417-420*.—*American Journal of International Law, Jan., 1918, pp. 51-50*.

ESQUILINE, highest of the hills in Rome. See SEVEN HILLS OF ROME.

ESQUIRE, Escuyer, or Squire. See CHIVALRY.

ESQUIROS, Battle of (1521). See NAVARRE: 1442-1521.

ESSAD TOPTANI, Pasha (c. 1863-1920), Albanian leader. After rendering substantial aid to the Allies in 1916, he was driven out by the Austro-Germans, who overran most of Albania; in 1920, while in Paris, he was assassinated. See ALBANIA: 1908-1914; 1920 (June 13); WORLD WAR: 1914: III. Balkans: e.

ESSÆANS. See ESSENES.

ES SALT, town of Palestine, elevation 2700 feet, twenty miles northeast of north end of Dead Sea; captured May 1, 1917, by British, although in counter-attacks some British guns were lost. See WORLD WAR: 1918: VI. Turkish theater: c, 6; c, 20.

ESSAY CONCERNING HUMAN UNDERSTANDING, famous philosophical treatise by John Locke. See EDUCATION: Modern: 17th century; Milton; ETHICS: 18th-19th centuries.

ESSELENIAN FAMILY.—'The present

family was included by Latham in the heterogeneous group called by him Salinas. . . . The term Salinan (is now) restricted to the San Antonio and San Miguel languages, leaving the present family . . . [to be] called Esselenian, from the name of the single tribe Esselen, of which it is composed. . . . The tribe or tribes composing this family occupied a narrow strip of the California coast from Monterey Bay south to the vicinity of the Santa Lucia Mountain, a distance of about 50 miles.'—J. W. Powell, *Seventh annual report (Bureau of ethnology, pp. 75-76)*.

ESSEN, city of Rhenish Prussia near the Ruhr (see GERMANY: Map). From about 950 to 1803, it was governed by the abbess of a Benedictine nunnery; part of Prussia, 1803-1807; under the Napoleonic grand dukes of Berg, 1807-1814; was assigned to Prussia, 1815; of late years it has been famous for the vast Krupp steel and munitions works located there. See CAPITALISM: 19th-20th centuries.

ESSEN CONGRESS (1907). See LIQUOR PROBLEM: Germany: 1902-1907.

ESSENES.—'Apart from the great highroad of Jewish life, there lived in Palestine in the time of Christ a religious community which, though it grew up on Jewish soil, differed essentially in many points from traditional Judaism, and which, though it exercised no powerful influence upon the development of the people, deserves our attention as a peculiar problem in the history of religion. This community, the Essenes or Essæans, is generally, after the precedent of Josephus, placed beside the Pharisees and Sadducees as the third Jewish sect. But it scarcely needs the remark, that we have here to deal with a phenomenon of an entirely different kind. While the Pharisees and Sadducees were large political and religious parties, the Essenes might far rather be compared to a monastic order. There is indeed much that is enigmatical in them as to particulars. Even their name is obscure.

. . . The origin of the Essenes is as obscure as their name. Josephus first mentions them in the time of Jonathan the Maccabee, about 150 B. C., and speaks expressly of one Judas, an Essene, in the time of Aristobulus I (105-104 B. C.). According to this, the origin of the order would have to be placed in the second century before Christ. But it is questionable whether they proceeded simply from Judaism, or whether foreign and especially Hellenistic elements had not also an influence in their organization. . . . Philo and Josephus agree in estimating the number of the Essenes in their time at above 4,000. As far as is known, they lived only in Palestine, at least there are no certain traces of their occurrence out of Palestine. . . . For the sake of living as a community, they had special houses of the order in which they dwelt together. Their whole community was most strictly organized as a single body. . . . The strongest tie by which the members were united was absolute community of goods. 'The community among them is wonderful [says Josephus], one does not find that one possesses more than another. For it is the law, that those who enter deliver up their property to the order, so that there is nowhere to be seen, either the humiliation of poverty or the superfluity of wealth, but on the contrary one property for all as brethren, formed by the collection of the possessions of individuals.' 'They neither buy nor sell among each other; but while one gives to another what he wants, he receives in return what is useful to himself, and without anything in return they receive freely whatever they want'. . . . 'There is but one purse for all, and common expenses, common clothes, and common food in com-

mon meals. For community of dwelling, of life, and of meals is nowhere so firmly established and so developed as with them. And this is intelligible. For what they receive daily as wages for their labour, they do not keep for themselves, but put it together, and thus make the profits of their work common for those who desire to make use of it. And the sick are without anxiety on account of their inability to earn, because the common purse is in readiness for the care of them, and they may with all certainty meet their expenses from abundant stores.' . . . The daily labour of the Essenes was under strict regulation. It began with prayer, after which the members were dismissed to their work by the presidents. They reassembled for purifying ablutions, which were followed by the common meal. After this they again went to work, to assemble again for their evening meal. The chief employment of members of the order was agriculture. They likewise carried on, however, crafts of every kind. On the other hand, trading was forbidden as leading to covetousness, and also the making of weapons or of any kind of utensils that might injure men. . . . The Essenes are described by both Philo and Josephus as very connoisseurs in morality. . . . Their life was abstemious, simple and unpretending. 'They condemn sensual desires as sinful, and esteem moderation and freedom from passion as of the nature of virtue.' They only take food and drink till they have had enough; abstaining from passionate excitement, they are 'just dispensers of wrath.' At their meals they are 'contented with the same dish day by day, loving sufficiency and rejecting great expense as harmful to mind and body.' . . . There is not a slave among them, but all are free, mutually working for each other. All that they say is more certain than an oath. They forbid swearing, because it is worse than perjury. . . . Before every meal they bathe in cold water. They do the same after performing the functions of nature. . . . They esteem it seemly to wear white raiment at all times. . . . They entirely condemned marriage. Josephus indeed knew of a branch of the Essenes who permitted marriage. But these must at all events have formed a small minority. . . . A chief peculiarity of the Essenes was their common meals, which bore the character of sacrificial feasts. The food was prepared by priests, with the observance probably of certain rites of purification; for an Essene was not permitted to partake of any other food than this. The meals are described as follows by Josephus: 'After the bath of purification they betake themselves to a dwelling of their own, entrance into which is forbidden to all of another faith. And being clean they go into the refectory as into a sanctuary. . . . The priest prays before the meal, and none may eat before the prayer. After the meal he prays again. At the beginning and end they honour God as the giver of food. Then they put off their garments as sacred and go back to their work till evening. Returning, they feed again in the same manner.' In their worship, as well as in that of other Jews, the Holy Scriptures were read and explained; and Philo remarks, that they specially delighted in allegorical interpretation. They were extraordinarily strict in the celebration of the Sabbath. They did not venture on that day to move a vessel from its place, nor even to perform the functions of nature. In other respects too they showed themselves to be Jews. Though they were excluded from the temple they sent gifts of incense there. . . . Concerning their doctrine of the soul and of its immortality, Josephus expresses himself most fully. If we may trust his account, they taught that bodies are perishable, but souls im-

mortal, and that the latter dwelt originally in the subtlest æther, but being debased by sensual pleasures united themselves with bodies as with prisons; but when they are freed from the fetters of sense they will joyfully soar on high, as if delivered from long bondage. To the good (souls) is appointed a life beyond the ocean. . . . But to the bad (souls) is appointed a dark, cold region full of unceasing torment."—E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish people in the time of Jesus Christ*, v. 2.

ESSENTIAL OILS. See CHEMISTRY: Practical application: Essential oils and perfumes.

ESSEX, Arthur Capel, 1st Earl of (in Capel line) (1632-1683), English statesman; 1672-1677, privy councillor and lord-lieutenant of Ireland; 1679, commissioner of the treasury; 1682, leader of Monmouth's faction; arrested after the discovery of the Rye House Plot; imprisoned in 1683 and probably committed suicide.

ESSEX, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of (1566-1601), English courtier; favorite of Queen Elizabeth after the death of Leicester; 1596, one of several men appointed to the command of an expedition which defeated the Spanish fleet and pillaged and captured Cadiz; 1597, created earl marshal of England; 1599, lieutenant and governor-general of Ireland. Brought up on various charges, imprisoned, 1601, and condemned to death.—See also SPAIN: 1596; ULSTER: 1585-1608.

ESSEX, Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of (1591-1646), English soldier; 1630, lieutenant-general of army sent against Scottish covenanters; 1642, appointed to the command of the parliamentary army. See ENGLAND: 1642 (January-August); 1643 (August-September); 1644 (January-July); 1644-1645.

ESSEX, Walter Devereux, 1st Earl of (1541-1576), English nobleman. Created knight of the Garter and earl of Essex in 1572, as reward for his services in suppressing the northern rebellion under the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; unsuccessful in his attempt to subdue and colonize Ulster, 1573-1576. See IRELAND: 1559-1603.

ESSEX, originally the kingdom formed by that body of the Saxon conquerors of Britain, in the fifth and sixth centuries, who acquired, from their geographical position in the island, the name of the East Saxons. It covered the present county of Essex, and London and Middlesex. See ENGLAND: 477-527.

ESSEX, famous American frigate in the War of 1812. For nearly two years it played havoc with British shipping.

ESSEX, Forest of. See EPPING FOREST.

ESSEX JUNTO.—In the Massachusetts election of 1781, "the representatives of the State in Congress, and some of the more moderate leaders at home, opposed Governor Hancock, the popular candidate, and supported James Bowdoin, who was thought to represent the more conservative elements. . . . It was at this time that Hancock is said to have bestowed on his opponents the title of the 'Essex Junto,' and this is the first appearance of the name in American politics. . . . The 'Junto' was generally supposed to be composed of such men as Theophilus Parsons, George Cabot, Fisher Ames, Stephen Higginson, the Lowells, Timothy Pickering, &c., and took its name from the county to which most of its reputed members originally belonged. . . . The reputed members of the 'Junto' held political power in Massachusetts [as leaders of the Federalist party] for more than a quarter of a century."—H. C. Lodge, *Life and letters of George Cabot*, pp. 17-22.—According to Chief Justice Parsons, as quoted by Colonel Pickering in his "Diary,"

the term "Essex Junto" was applied by one of the Massachusetts royal governors, before the Revolution, to certain gentlemen of Essex county who opposed his measures. Hancock, therefore, only revived the title and gave it currency, with a new application. The name first came into national use in 1798, when President Adams accused the Federal leaders (mainly Essex county men) in Massachusetts, of trying to force a war with France. These men later opposed the embargo and the War of 1812, so that the term "Essex Junto" became synonymous with New England Federalism.—See also U. S. A.: 1789-1792.

ESSIGNY, town in France south of St. Quentin, which was taken by the Germans in 1918. See **WORLD WAR**: 1918: II. Western front: d, 2.

ESSLING, or **Aspern, Battle of** (1809). See **AUSTRIA**: 1809-1814; **GERMANY**: 1809 (January-June).

ESSUVII, Gallic tribe established anciently in the modern French department of the Orne.—Napoleon III, *History of Caesar*, bk. 3, ch. 2, note.

ESTAING, Charles Hector, Comte d' (1729-1794), commander of French fleet sent to the United States. See U. S. A.: 1778 (July-November); 1779 (September-October).

ESTATES, Assembly of.—"An assembly of estates is an organised collection, made by representation or otherwise, of the several orders, states or conditions of men, who are recognised as possessing political power. A national council of clergy and barons is not an assembly of estates, because it does not include the body of the people, the plebs, the simple freemen or commons."—W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 15, sect. 185.—See also **ESTATES**, **THREE**.

ESTATES, **Laws governing**. See **EQUITY LAW**: 1786.

ESTATES, **Three**.—"The arrangement of the political factors in three estates is common, with some minor variations, to all the European constitutions, and depends on a principle of almost universal acceptance. This classification differs from the system of caste and from all divisions based on differences of blood or religion, historical or pre-historical. . . . In Christendom it has always taken the form of a distinction between clergy and laity, the latter being subdivided according to national custom into noble and non-noble, patrician and plebeian, warriors and traders, landowners and craftsmen. . . . The Aragonese cortes contained four brazos or arms, the clergy, the great barons or ricos hombres, the minor barons, knights or infanzones, and the towns. [See also **CORTES**: Early Spanish.] The Germanic diet comprised three colleges, the electors, the princes and the cities, the two former being arranged in distinct benches, lay and clerical [see also **DIET**: Germanic]. . . . The Castilian cortes arranged the clergy, the ricos hombres and the comunidades, in three estates. The Swedish diet was composed of clergy, barons, burghers and peasants. . . . In France, both in the States General and in the provincial estates, the division is into gantz de l'église, nobles, and gantz des bonnes villes. In England, after a transitional stage, in which the clergy, the greater and smaller barons, and the cities and boroughs, seemed likely to adopt the system used in Aragon and Scotland, and another in which the county and borough communities continued to assert an essential difference, the three estates of clergy, lords and commons, finally emerge as the political constituents of the nation, or, in their parliamentary form, as the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons. This familiar formula in either shape bears the impress of history. The term commons is not in itself

an appropriate expression for the third estate; it does not signify primarily the simple freemen, the plebs, but the plebs organised and combined in corporate communities, in a particular way for particular purposes. The commons are the communities or universities, the organised bodies of freemen of the shires and towns. . . . The third estate in England differs from the same estate in the continental constitutions, by including the landowners under baronial rank. In most of those systems it contains the representatives of the towns or chartered communities only."—W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 15, sect. 185, 193.—"The words 'gens de tiers et commun état' are found in many acts of the 15th century [in France]. The expressions 'tiers état,' 'commun état,' and 'le commun' are used indifferently. . . . This name of Tiers État, when used in its ordinary sense, properly comprises only the population of the privileged cities; but in effect it extends much beyond this; it includes not only the cities, but the villages and hamlets—not only the free commonalty, but all those for whom civil liberty is a privilege still to come."—Thierry, *Formation and progress of the Tiers État in France*, v. 1, pp. 61, 60.—See also **EUROPE**: Modern Period: Rise of the middle classes; **FRANCE**: 1787-1789; 1789 (May); 1789 (June); **SUFFRAGE**, **MANHOOD**: 1300-1600.

ESTATES, or "**States**," of the Netherland Provinces. See **NETHERLANDS**: 1584-1585.

ESTATES GENERAL. See **STATES GENERAL**.

ESTE, House of.—"Descended from one of the northern families which settled in Italy during the darkest period of the middle ages, the Este traced their lineal descent up to the times of Charlemagne. They had taken advantage of the frequent dissensions between the popes and the German emperors of the houses of Saxony and Swabia, and acquired wide dominions in Lunigiana, and the March of Treviso, where the castle of Este, their family residence, was situated. Towards the middle of the 11th century, that family had been connected by marriages with the Guelphs of Bavaria, and one of the name of Este was eventually to become the common source from which sprung the illustrious houses of Brunswick and Hanover. The Este had warmly espoused the Guelph party [see **GUELFS**], during the wars of the Lombard League. . . . Towards the year 1200, Azzo V, Marquis of Este, married Marchesella degli Adelardi, daughter of one of the most conspicuous Guelphs at Ferrara, where the influence of the House of Este was thus first established."—L. Mariotti (A. Gallenga), *Italy*, v. 2, pp. 62-63.—The Marquesses of Este became, "after some of the usual fluctuations, permanent lords of the cities of Ferrara [1204] and Modena [1288]. About the same time they lost their original holding of Este, which passed to Padua, and with Padua to Venice. Thus the nominal marquess of Este and real lord of Ferrara was not uncommonly spoken of as Marquess of Ferrara. In the 15th century these princes rose to ducal rank; but by that time the new doctrine of the temporal dominion of the Popes had made great advances. Modena, no man doubted, was a city of the Empire; but Ferrara was now held to be under the supremacy of the Pope. The Marquess Borsò had thus to seek his elevation to ducal rank from two separate lords. He was created Duke of Modena [1453] and Reggio by the Emperor, and afterwards Duke of Ferrara [1471] by the Pope. This difference of holding . . . led to the destruction of the power of the house of Este. In the times in which we are now concerned, their dominions lay in two masses. To the west lay the duchy of Modena and Reggio; apart from it to the east lay the duchy of

Ferrara. Not long after its creation, this last duchy was cut short by the surrender of the border-district of Rovigo to Venice. . . . Modena and Ferrara remained united, till Ferrara was annexed [1598] as an escheated fief to the dominions of its spiritual overlord. But the house of Este still reigned over Modena with Reggio and Mirandola, while its dominions were extended to the sea by the addition of Massa and other small possessions between Lucca and Genoa. The duchy in the end passed by female succession to the House of Austria [1771-1803].—E. A. Freeman, *Historical geography of Europe, ch. 8, sect. 3-4*.—"The government of the family of Este at Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio displays curious contrasts of violence and popularity. Within the palace frightful deeds were perpetrated; a princess was beheaded [1425] for alleged adultery with a stepson; legitimate and illegitimate children fled from the court, and even abroad their lives were threatened by assassins sent in pursuit of them (1471). Plots from without were incessant; the bastard of a bastard tried to wrest the crown from the lawful heir, Hercules I; this latter is said afterwards (1493) to have poisoned his wife on discovering that she, at the instigation of her brother, Ferrante of Naples, was going to poison him. This list of tragedies is closed by the plot of two bastards against their brothers, the ruling Duke Alfonso I. and the Cardinal Ippolito (1506), which was discovered in time, and punished with imprisonment for life. . . . It is undeniable that the dangers to which these princes were constantly exposed developed in them capacities of a remarkable kind."—J. Burckhardt, *Civilization of the period of the Renaissance in Italy, pt. 1, ch. 5*.—For the facts of the ending of the legitimate Italian line of Este, see PAPACY: 1597.

ESTERHAZY, Ferdinand Walzin (1847-1910), French officer, implicated in the Dreyfus case. He was dismissed from the army, and in 1899 confessed that he had written the bordereau which led to the condemnation of Dreyfus. See FRANCE: 1894-1906.

ESTHONIA, Baltic state, formerly a Russian government and one of Baltic provinces. In 1918 she declared herself free and was gradually recognized by all of the powers. The total population in 1921 was 1,750,000, and the area about 23,160 square miles.—See also BALTIC PROVINCES; BALTIC STATES: Esthonia.

Origin and name. See AESTH.

Christian conquest. See LIVONIA: 12th-13th centuries.

Agricultural labor law. See CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 1873-1921.

Relief work of the American relief administration. See INTERNATIONAL RELIEF: American relief administration.

ESTIENNE, Henri (1531-1598), French writer. See FRENCH LITERATURE: 1552-1610.

ESTIENNE, of Stephanus press in Paris. See PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1496-1508.

ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT, Paul Henri Benjamin, Baron d' (1852-), French publicist, winner of Nobel prize for peace. See NOBEL PRIZES: Peace: 1909.

ESTRADA, Alonzo de (d. c. 1530), Spanish officer, hostile to Cortés; royal treasurer of Mexico, 1524; left with others in charge of the government during Cortés' absence to the Honduras, 1524-1526; became acting governor, 1527.

ESTRADA, Emilio (d. 1912), president of Ecuador, 1911-1912. See ECUADOR: 1911-1912.

ESTRADA, Juan, president of Nicaragua in 1911, from January until May. See CENTRAL AMERICA: 1911.

ESTREMOS, or Ameixal, Battle of (1663). See PORTUGAL: 1637-1668.

ESTRÉES, town in northeastern France, taken by the Allies in 1918. See WORLD WAR: 1918: II. Western front: 0, 2.

ESTRUP, Jacob Bronnum (1825-1913), Danish statesman. See DENMARK: 1875-1901.

ESZTERGOM, or Gran, free town of Hungary, twenty-five miles northwest of Budapest. It was destroyed by the Tartars in 1241 and held by the Turks between 1543 and 1683. See HUNGARY: 1526-1567; 1683-1699.

ETA, early inhabitants of Japan. See JAPAN: Inhabitants and their origins.

ETAIN, town of France twelve miles from Verdun; scene of repeated attacks in the World War during the battle of Verdun, 1916.

ETCHEMIN INDIANS. See ALGONQUIAN FAMILY.

ETCHOE, Battle of (1761). See SOUTH CAROLINA: 1750-1761.

ETEOBUTADÆ, name of deme in Greek tribe. See PHYLÆ.

ETHANDUN, or Edington, Battle of (878). See ENGLAND: 855-880.

ETHBAAL (fl. B. C. 10th century), king of Tyre. See CARTHAGE: Founding.

ETHEL, Anglo-Saxon title of sons and daughters of the king. See ÆTHEL.

ETHEL, family land, or land held in full ownership in early England. See ALOD; FOLCLAND.

ETHELBALD. See ÆTHELBALD.

ETHELBERT. See ÆTHELBERHT.

ETHELFRITH. See ÆTHELFRITH.

ETHELRED. See ÆTHELRED.

ETHELSTAN. See ÆTHELSTAN.

ETHELWULF. See ÆTHELWULF.

ETHER, a drug. See CHEMISTRY: Practical application: Drugs.

ETHER OF SPACE, hypothetical medium supposed to fill all known space. See SCIENCE: Modern: 20th century: Ether theory.

ETHICS: Derivation of name.—"The terms 'ethics' and 'ethical' are derived from a Greek word *ethos* which originally meant customs, usages, especially those belonging to some group as distinguished from another, and later came to mean disposition, character. They are thus like the Latin word 'moral,' from *mores*. . . . Customs were not merely habitual ways of acting; they were ways approved by the group or society. To act contrary to the customs of the group brought severe disapproval. This might not be formulated in precisely our terms—right and wrong, good and bad,—but the attitude was the same in essence. The terms ethical and moral as applied to the conduct of today imply of course a far more complex and advanced type of life than the old words 'ethos' and 'mores,' . . . but the terms have a distinct value if they suggest the way in which the moral life had its beginning."—J. Dewey and J. H. Tufts, *Ethics*, pp. 1-2.

Origin of moral sentiments.—Primitive man.—"Notwithstanding that so much of the life of primitive man is lived on the nonmoral plane, and that much which is reckoned unto him for goodness is merely negative goodness, still in certain of his activities growing out of his clan relationships we discover the beginnings of all human morality. For . . . the true starting point of the moral evolution of mankind is to be sought in the altruistic sentiments nourished in the atmosphere of the kinship group. There is scarcely an ethical sentiment which does not appear here at least in a rudimentary form. Out of the most sacred and intimate relationships of the group we find springing up the

maternal virtues of patience, tenderness, and self-denial, and filial virtues of love, obedience, and reverence; out of the fellowship of the men in hunting and in war we see developing the manly virtues of courage, fortitude, self-control, and, above all, self-devotion to the common good; out of the hearth worship of ancestors we observe springing up many of those religious-ethical feelings and sentiments which form one of the chief moral forces in civilization; out of the sacrificial meal shared with the gods and the spirits of the dead through offerings of portions of the food and drink, we see forming customs of incalculable moral value in the ethical training of the race. A great part of the history of morals consists in the record of how these earliest forms of social virtues, first nourished by the customs, habits, and practices of the kinship group, have been gradually refined and developed into wider and richer forms of ethical sentiment and feeling."—P. V. N. Myers, *History as past ethics*, pp. 17-18.

Egypt.—"By the dawn of history there had been developed in ancient Egypt an enlightened and discriminating conscience. . . . But though the moral development, like the development of all other phases of Egyptian civilization, was early checked and thereafter made but slow progress, the essential refinement and clarification of the moral sense during prehistoric times, or in the obscure period of the earliest dynasties, is shown by various testimonies, as; for instance, in the moralization of the Osirian myth, . . . in the abandonment of the practice of human sacrifices at the tomb, and in the transition, concerning the conception of the life after death, from the continuance to the retribution theory. . . . This early standard of goodness is embodied in the so-called Negative Confession, in which the soul before the Osirian tribunal pleaded his innocence of the forty-two sins condemned by the Egyptian code of morality. . . . The moral standard of the Egyptians has been compared to that of the Romans after it had felt the influence of Stoicism and Christianity. Like the Roman ideal of excellence at its best, the Egyptian ideal tended to develop a strong and manly type of character, particularly in the ruling class. . . . Nor was the influence of the moral ideal of Egypt confined to the Egyptian land. . . . Later she made a rich bequest to European morality, a bequest only less important perhaps than that made by Judea. Her ideas of the future life, her meditations on death and the final judgment, reënforced the teachings of Christianity. . . . It is not without significance that Christian monasticism, with all its otherworldliness, had its beginnings in Egypt."—*Ibid.*, pp. 33-44.

Babylonia and Assyria.—"The ethical development . . . in Babylonia and Assyria . . . was such as to lift these peoples far above the low moral plane of primitive society. 'In the seventh century before Christ, if not earlier, the Babylonians and Assyrians possessed a system of morality which in many respects resembled that of the descendants of Abraham.' The ethical movement found its truest expression in the so-called penitential hymns, which are in spirit altogether like the penitential psalms of the Hebrew Scriptures. They exhibit the same intense yearning of the penitent soul for reconciliation and union with a god conceived as just and holy and piteous. . . . The great gods were conceived as the creators, the sustainers of man; as loving, compassionate, merciful, and forgiving. The religious-moral ideal was here verging toward the highest that man has ever been able to form, and could this standard have been steadily upheld and the lower abandoned, then Babylonia

and Assyria like Judea might have made precious contributions to the moral life of humanity. But this was not done. The tablets holding magical formulas and incantations, wholly devoid of all ethical character, outnumber a thousand to one those exhaling the spiritual perfume of genuine moral feeling and aspiration."—P. V. N. Myers, *History as past ethics*, pp. 46-48.

China.—"With the exception of the teachers of the ancient Hebrews, the leaders of thought of no people have so insistently interpreted life and history in terms of ethics as have the sages of the Chinese race. And, excepting the Hebrew teachers, no moralists have so emphasized duties while leaving rights—upon which the Western world in modern times has laid such stress—to take care of themselves. . . . The teachings of two great moralists, Confucius and Mencius, have been a vital force in the shaping of the moral ideal of China. . . . The duties given the highest place in this standard of character are filial obedience, reverence for superiors, a conforming to ancient custom, and the maintenance of the just medium. . . . The moral ideal of the Chinese has undergone little modification for upward of two millennia, such, for instance, as the ideal of the European peoples has undergone in a like period, because throughout this long term the influences acting upon the national life have been practically unchanged. . . . But now that the long-continued isolation of China has been broken, and she is being subjected to all the potent influences of the civilization of the West, it is certain that her social and mental life will be remolded and cast in new forms."—*Ibid.*, pp. 53-74.—See also ASIA: European influence; CHINESE LITERATURE; CONFUCIANISM; Ethics.

Japan.—"As in China, so in Old Japan the family rather than the individual was the social unit. . . . This organization of early Japanese society, with the family and its outgrowth, the clan, forming the basis of the fabric, was, as we shall learn, a potent force in the creation of the moral type of the nation. . . . Throughout all the past the vital religious element in the life of the Japanese peoples has been the Shinto cult, and this is now the established religion of the state. The system in its essence is ancestor and hero worship, the spirits of the dead being revered as guardian divinities. This cult has created moral feelings and family duties like those called into existence by the same cult in China. . . . [The] doctrine of the divine nature of the monarchy has exerted a profound influence upon the moral ideal of Japan and has had consequences of great moment. It has made unquestioning obedience and absolute loyalty to the Emperor the religious duties and preëminent virtues of the subject. In times preceding the twelfth century there grew up in Japan a feudal system which in many respects was remarkably like the feudal system of medieval Europe. . . . This system exerted a great influence upon the moral type. It developed a martial ideal of character known as Bushido, many of the virtues of which are almost identical with corresponding virtues in the European ideal of chivalry. . . . Along with the Chinese classics Confucianism was introduced into Japan about the middle of the sixth century of our era, and being in perfect accord with the native system of Shinto and with the Japanese ways of thinking, this cult of ancestors tended to reënforce native ethical tendencies and thus contributed essentially to make the virtues of filial obedience and reverence for superiors prominent in the growing type of character. Buddhism was introduced into Japan in the sixth century of our era. Its incoming had deep import for the moral life of the Japanese people.

... It helped to make gentleness, courtesy, and tenderness distinctive traits of the Japanese character. . . . [But] of all the influences which for more than two thousand years have been at work shaping and molding the moral ideal of the Japanese nation, those now entering from the Occidental world will doubtless leave the deepest impress upon the ethical type."—*Ibid.*, pp. 77-80.

India.—"The ethical evolution in India was . . . profoundly influenced by a prehistoric event, namely, the subjection of the original non-Aryan population of the land by an intruding Aryan people. As a result of the long and bitter struggle the two races became separated by a sharp line of race prejudice and hatred. . . . The population of the conquered districts of the peninsula became divided into two sharply defined classes. These constituted a model upon which Indian society was framed. Other classes were formed, and these gradually hardened into castes. . . . Four great castes arose: namely, priests or Brahmans, warriors and rulers, peasants and merchants, and sudras. Below these castes were the pariahs, or outcasts, made up of the most degraded of the natives. . . . Religion came in to consecrate this division of the people into privileged and nonprivileged classes. The sacred scriptures declare that the Brahmans sprang from the mouth of Brahma, the warriors from his arms, the peasants and traders from his thighs, and the sudras from his feet. . . . The rooted belief and dogma of the natural inequality of men has made Brahmanic ethics a thing of grades and classes, and has thus rendered impossible the evolution of a true morality, which required for its basis genuine sentiments of equality and brotherhood. . . . Of the different standards of morality of the several castes, that of the Brahman is . . . the highest. The study of the sacred books is for him the chief duty. . . . Among the secondary duties are the observance of the rules of purification, the practice of austerities, and doing no injury to created beings. . . . Here is a morality as pure and lofty as any taught by Hebrew prophets. But as in Judaism so in Brahmanism . . . as time passed there resulted an almost complete overshadowing of natural by ritual morality. . . . As there came a protest and reaction in Judea issuing in Christianity, so did there come a protest and reaction in Brahmanic India issuing in Buddhism. . . . Buddha interprets anew to men the divine message that all which is required of them is purity and justice and tenderness toward all creatures . . . and Buddhism, with its ethical enthusiasms and fresh hopes, marks a new era in the moral evolution of the peoples of the Eastern world."—P. V. N. Myers, *History as past ethics*, pp. 97-118.

Persia.—"The moral ideal of Persia, while doubtless largely the creation of the ethical feelings and convictions of the Iranian race, developed through many centuries of race experiences, nevertheless bears the unmistakable imprint of a unique personality. That the Zarathustra of tradition represents a real historical personage, there can hardly be longer a reasonable doubt. The time of Zarathustra's mission probably falls in the first half of the sixth century B. C. . . . The sum of what we may believe to have been his moral teachings was that man's full duty is purity and sincerity in thought, word, and deed, and an untiring warfare against evil."—*Ibid.*, p. 126.

Israel.—"After the conception of a just God and the ideal of the suffering Servant of Yahweh, . . . [the] doctrine of immortality, with its correlate teaching of future rewards and punishments, was perhaps the most important product, in its moral consequences, of the life and ethical experiences of

ancient Israel. It exercised little or no influence, at least no decisive influence, upon the moral evolution in Judaism, but, adopted by Christianity, it was given new force and currency, and for eighteen hundred years and more has been one of the great bulwarks and sanctions of morality in the Western world."—*Ibid.*, p. 167.

Greece, Ancient: B. C. 5th century.—Sophists and Socrates.—"The beginnings of ethics [in Greece] were a consequence of the rise of democracy among the states of Greece, which took place during the fifth century before Christ. . . . The sophists were the first Greeks to be professionally engaged in higher education; and consequently men of conservative tendencies were intensely prejudiced against them. They were doing for money what had always been the work of friendship, to be paid for only with respect and affection. . . . They gave scientific expression to a widespread spirit of unbelief. . . . Among the sophists the question was definitely raised: What is the natural basis, the permanent element . . . of morality, as distinguished from what is mere artifice and convention? . . . That there was such a permanent element seems to have been at first unquestioned. . . . Protagoras, the greatest of the sophists, maintained that there is, indeed, a universal element in morality, but one which, as he says, is 'not of natural or spontaneous growth.' . . . All men must have some laws; but one people has one code, and another has perhaps a radically different code, to each of which, equally and indifferently, the moral feelings are caused by training to attach themselves. What *seems* right to any people *is* right so far as that people is concerned. . . . The position of Socrates with reference to this whole movement of thought is peculiar. . . . As a constructive critic, Socrates . . . came between two fires. On the one hand he was very generally classed with the sophists as one who was impiously tampering with the moral convictions of the young men; and on the other hand the sophists and their friends looked upon him as a malicious enemy of free thought."—T. D. Laguna, *Introduction to the science of ethics*, pp. 105-113.

Greece, Ancient: B. C. 4th century.—Three schools of Greek ethics.—Platonic and Aristotelian systems.—Skeptics, cynics, stoics and eclectics.—"At the beginning of the fourth century . . . looms up the . . . question: What is goodness in general, and what is human happiness? And this soon becomes the primary issue between ethical thinkers. It divides them into three well-marked schools, holding the following distinctive theories: I. Hedonism, according to which happiness consists in pleasure, and unhappiness in pain, and things in general are good or bad according as they tend to produce pleasure or pain. II. Rigorism, according to which happiness is identical with virtue, and unhappiness with vice, and nothing else is good or evil. III. Energism (or the self-realization theory), according to which happiness consists in the moral exercise of man's faculties, and especially of his highest faculty (supposed to be pure reason); and things in general are good or evil according as they produce favorable or unfavorable conditions for such exercise. . . . The three views thus defined persisted side by side, with various compromises and harmonizations, throughout the whole history of the ancient science of ethics. Energism had decidedly the least influence in ancient times, but it has had an immense influence upon modern thought, especially in the nineteenth century. . . . The many-sidedness of Socrates's moral philosophy is such that it is no wonder that after his death his disciples at once sepa-

rated into at least three different schools, each emphasizing a different aspect of the master's doctrine. The leaders of these schools were, at first, naturally enough, certain of his older pupils: Euclid of Megara, Antisthenes of Athens, and Aristippus of Cyrene. Euclid [not the mathematician] was of a speculative turn of mind, and set himself to drawing the conclusions that followed from asserting that virtue is one; that it is knowledge of the good; that the only absolute good is virtue itself; and that what can be truly known must be eternal. And he emerged with the beautiful doctrine, that all that exists is one perfect being; all variety and change, and especially all evil, being an illusion. Antisthenes was an ardent reformer; and what struck him as important was the fact that virtue was in itself sufficient to make life worth living, and that, as the only unconditionally good thing, all else was to be despised in comparison with it. To the genial Aristippus the significant point was that the virtuous life was full of pleasure. After a few years, a much younger pupil of Socrates rose to a prominence in which he overshadowed all his elders. This was Plato of Athens. At the outset he stood closest to Euclid; but he developed all sides of Socrates's doctrine in a remarkable way. . . . According to Aristippus . . . what makes the happy life worth living is the pleasure in it. . . . Outside of the Cyrenaic school the pleasure-theory found important advocates [i. e. Epicurus (B. C. 341-270)]. Plato, in an early work (the *Protagoras*), adopted in a tentative way the main principles of the school, but tried to show that wisdom ought still to be considered as the sum of all virtue. . . . The great significance of Plato's ethics (as of all his thought) lies in its synthetic character. It is the result of a large-minded attempt to do justice to all the various one-sided views which others had assumed. His chief inspiration came from Socrates; but in the working out of his system Protagoras's conception of specific moral feelings, trained to their part by habituation, has a subordinate, but very important place. By the rigorist Antisthenes he was probably not affected; difference of character, as well as of social position, put a chasm between them. But that virtue is a good in itself, and not simply as a means to pleasure, was a doctrine that early appealed to his own generous nature. . . . More explicitly, he believes that pleasures differ according to the faculty whose exercise gives rise to them . . . that to know is the highest pleasure of which man is capable. . . . The ethics of Aristotle differs from that of Plato's riper years less in its contents than in its metaphysical basis. . . . We find, however, a great advance in precision of statement, due in part to controversy with other pupils of Plato. . . . If now we compare the Platonic and Aristotelian systems of ethics, the most important difference that emerges lies in Aristotle's insistence that moral virtue can never be a subject of exact knowledge, but must ever remain in the domain of individual perception, or tact. Plato's more direct followers in the Academy refused to follow this lead. They still hoped for an ethics of the mathematical pattern—a system of the individual and the state might be guided. . . . It is somewhat surprising to find that while Aristotle's school suffered very little change save a gradual decline, Plato's school underwent a series of striking revolutions. Some seventy years after Plato's death, Arcesilas introduced a thorough-going skepticism into the Academy; and this held sway there for two hundred years. The skeptics, of whom the greatest was Carneades (B. C. 213-120), denied the possibility of exact knowledge altogether. . . . In the first century B. C., this skep-

ticism gradually gave way to a dogmatic eclecticism, which professed to harmonize the ethical teachings of Plato, Aristotle, and the older stoics, and presented the strange mixture that resulted, as a perfect science. . . . As the ancient energism was essentially aristocratic, so the democratic spirit is represented by the rigorism of the cynics and stoics. Happiness, they declared, is open in its fullness to every man. All classes are artificial. The virtue of master and slave, of the high-born and the lowly, of man and woman, are the same; and where virtue is present all inequalities are leveled. There are no conditions of fortune, to which virtue is subject in expressing itself in conduct; and the life according to virtue is the supreme good. . . . Among the disciples of Antisthenes was the famous Diogenes of Sinope (who sought 'a man' in the daytime with a lantern, and made himself at home in a tub). Diogenes and the later cynics (perhaps Antisthenes also) lived and dressed as common beggars. Crates of Thebes gave away considerable wealth on joining them, and influenced his betrothed wife Hipparchia to do the same. At the end of the fourth century the school became merged in stoicism. . . . The last of the great ethical systems of the pagan era, and (until the rise of Christianity) the strongest positive moral influence in the world, was stoicism, founded by Zeno of Citium about the end of the fourth century. . . . What is new in the ethics of Zeno and his successors is, first, a half metaphysical, half religious background; and secondly, a genetic theory of the relation of morality to instinct. Beyond this we have only elaborations of cynicism."—*Ibid.*, pp. 102-163.—See also EUROPE: Ancient: Greek civilization: Philosophy; HELLENISM: Hellenism and the Romans.

Greece, Ancient: B. C. 2nd-A. D. 4th centuries.—Græco-Roman ethics.—"In the history of Græco-Roman civilization the introduction of Hellenic philosophy into Rome—along with other elements of Hellenism—is a change of great moment; but in the development of Ethical theory its importance is of a secondary kind as the Romans never emerged from the state of discipleship to Greek teachers—at least as regards any fundamental points of philosophical doctrine. . . . Epicureanism gained hearers and followers among Romans open to new ideas; not long after, Stoicism was represented in Rome by Panætius; . . . early in the 1st century we find Philo there, teaching a semi-sceptical phase of Academic doctrine; nor were Peripatetics wanting. . . . The Academy, in its sceptical or its eclectic phase, had a still more famous advocate in Cicero, whose work, if we were studying the history of ethical literature, would claim a large share of our attention. . . . But in the development of ethical doctrine the importance of Cicero is comparatively small, since he scarcely exhibits any real independence of philosophic thought. . . . Stoicism . . . among all the products of Greek speculation, was that with which the moral consciousness of Rome had most real affinity. . . . The intensified religiousness of later Stoicism takes on a peculiar warmth of emotion in the meditations of the Stoic emperor, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. . . . The view of Plutarch and others whom he represents is due to a combination of . . . Neo-Pythagorean influences with Platonic doctrine. But the general tendency that we are noting did not find its full expression in a reasoned philosophical system until we come to the latest-born of the great thinkers of antiquity—the Egyptian, Plotinus. . . . The ethics of Plotinus represent, we may say, the moral idealism of the Stoics cut loose from nature. Neo-Platonism is originally Alexandrine. . . . But however Oriental may have been

the cast of mind that eagerly embraced the theosophic and ascetic views . . . the forms of thought by which these views were philosophically reached are essentially Greek. . . . At the same time we ought not to overlook the affinities between the doctrine of Plotinus and that remarkable combination of Greek and Hebrew thought which Philo Judaeus had expounded two centuries before; nor the fact that Neo-Platonism was developed in conscious antagonism to the new religion which had spread from Judea and was already threatening the conquest of the Greco-Roman world, and also to those fantastic hybrids of Christianity and later paganism, the Gnostic Systems; nor finally that it furnished the chief theoretical support in the last desperate struggle that was made under Julian to retain the old polytheistic worship."—H. Sidgwick, *Outlines of the history of ethics*, pp. 94-95, 98-100, 105-108.

Christian ethics.—A. D. 1st-4th centuries.—Beginnings.—Relation of Christianity to the age.—Its inheritance and new ideals.—Development of asceticism.—Disputes and doctrines of the early fathers.—"Christianity floated into the Roman Empire on the wave of credulity that brought with it . . . [a] long train of Oriental superstitions and legends. In its moral aspect it was broadly distinguished from the systems around it, but its miracles were accepted by both friend and foe as the ordinary accompaniments of religious teaching. . . . We may conclude that what is called the evidential system had no prominent place in effecting the conversion of the Roman Empire. . . . The causes were the general tendencies of the age. . . . Christianity . . . proclaimed, amid a vast movement of social and national amalgamation, the universal brotherhood of mankind. . . . To a world . . . distracted by hostile creeds and colliding philosophies, it taught its doctrines, not as a human speculation, but as a Divine revelation, authenticated much less by reason than by faith."—W. E. H. Lecky, *History of European morals*, v. 1, pp. 373-374, 385-388.—"Christianity inherited the notion of a written divine code acknowledged as such by the 'true Israel' now potentially including the whole of mankind, or at least the chosen of all nations,—on the sincere acceptance of which the Christian's share of the divine promises to Israel depended. And though the ceremonial part of the old Hebrew code was altogether rejected, and with it all the supplementary jurisprudence resting on tradition and erudite commentary, still God's law was believed to be contained in the sacred books of the Jews, supplemented by the records of Christ's teaching and the writings of His apostles. By the recognition of this law the Church was constituted as an ordered community essentially distinct from the State, the distinction between the two being sharpened and hardened by the withdrawal of the early Christians from civil life, to avoid the performance of idolatrous ceremonies imposed as official expressions of loyalty; . . . by the persecutions which they had to endure. . . . Nor was the distinction obliterated by the recognition of Christianity as the state religion under Constantine. . . . Obedience, patience, benevolence, purity, humility, alienation from the 'world' and the 'flesh' are the chief novel or striking features which the Christian ideal of conduct suggests, so far as it can be placed side by side with that commonly accepted in Greco-Roman Society. . . . Partly the changes in the external conditions of Christianity. . . . partly the natural process of internal development, continually brought different features into prominence; while again, the important antagonisms of opinion, that from time to time expressed themselves in

sharp controversies within Christendom, sometimes involved ethical issues;—even in the Eastern Church until the great labor of a dogmatic construction began in the 4th century. Thus, for example, the anti-secular tendencies of the new creed . . . were exaggerated in the Montanist heresy; . . . on the other hand, Clement of Alexandria . . . maintained the value of pagan philosophy for the development of Christian faith into true knowledge (Gnosis). . . . Then we have to observe that when the Church through Constantine, entered into organic relation with civil society, the tendency of its more enthusiastic members to advocate an ascetic breach with man's natural life took a new direction. . . . A distinction was established between ordinary Christian virtue and monastic virtue. . . . At first the tendency to seek the complete isolation of the desert predominated; afterwards it became the accepted view that most of those who aspired after the more perfect way needed the support and control of an ordered community of persons with similar aspirations. . . . While the newly imported monasticism was spreading and gaining strength in the West, a development in Christian morality of a different kind took place through the more precise conception of the relation between human and divine agency in Christian good conduct which resulted from the Pelagian controversy; and more generally, through the impressive ethical influence of Augustine. By Justin and other apologists the need of redemption, faith, grace, is indeed recognized, but the theological system depending on these notions is not sufficiently developed to come into even apparent antagonism with the freedom of the will. . . . Under the influence of Ambrose and Augustine, the four cardinal virtues furnished a generally accepted scheme for the treatment of systematic ethics by subsequent ecclesiastical writers."—H. Sidgwick, *Outlines of the history of ethics*, pp. 112-125, 127-130, 134.

5th-15th centuries.—Medieval ethics.—Systematizing of traditional ethics in western Christendom.—Ritualism in the East.—Rise of Mohammedanism.—Scholasticism (12th-14th centuries).—Humanism (14th century).—The patristic age of Christianity comes to an end with Gregory the Great who is, in the West, the connecting link between the ancient and the medieval period. "The historical task of the Mediaeval Church in relation to the peoples whom it embraced in itself, determined also the ecclesiastical treatment of Ethics. This had reference partly to the regulation and education of the peoples by the rules of the Canon Law, especially those relating to the Confessional, and partly to the reproduction of the results of the Ancient Church in the Collections of Sentences and in Scholastic Science. In all this the externalization and legalization that distinguished the earlier period, as well as the operation of the non-Christian ancient influences, continued to go on. The moral Ideal, however, continued to be monasticism and the asceticism of desensualization; and this holds even of mysticism and its strivings."—C. E. Luthardt, *History of Christian ethics before the Reformation*, p. 285.—"In the East, a petrified creed and ritual and the despotism of secular rulers chilled intellectual activity. The Eastern Empire appeared to be strong for a while under Justinian, but it was strong only in appearance. The fairest parts of Italy were soon wrested from it by the Lombards. . . . In the sixth and beginning of the seventh century, the Persians ravaged the Asiatic provinces and carried their arms almost to the gates of Constantinople. A few years after the victories of Heraclius the Mohammedans began the career of conquest which tore

from the Empire the provinces that embraced the three patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria."—G. P. Fisher, *History of Christian doctrine*, p. 200.—The rise and development of Mohammedanism, so important in medieval political history, is of no less significance in the history of medieval ethics. Here was the beginning of the great rival religion and moral code with which Christianity has to compete in its modern program of world extension. "The great revolution which in the seventh century of the Christian era agitated all Arabia and gave a new trend to vast currents of world history was essentially a moral revolution. It was the moral degradation of the Arab tribes, still clinging to an outgrown, idolatrous worship incapable longer of giving moral guidance to its followers, that stirred the soul and inspired the message of Mohammed. . . . Like all the other ethical systems of Asia, save those of genuine Christianity and Buddhism, the Islamic system lays special emphasis upon the performance of particular prescribed acts. . . . Instead of relying upon general principles for the guidance of the moral life, it lays its emphasis upon specific outer observances, such as almsgiving, fasting, pilgrimages, and stated prayers. The tendency of such a code of precise rules and commands . . . is to externalize morality and render the moral life conventional and mechanical. . . . Taken as a whole the ethical rules and commands of the Koran constitute an admirable code. . . . The very fact that, notwithstanding some serious defects and limitations, the code has been accepted by so large a part of the human race, and has, for over a thousand years, given moral guidance and inspiration to such vast multitudes, goes to prove that the great body of its rules and prescriptions of conduct are in general in line with the elemental laws of the moral world."—P. V. N. Myers, *History as past ethics*, pp. 288-289, 292.—Following the period of political confusion and intellectual decay of the tenth century, Christian ethics gained renewed impetus from the Hildebrandian movement of reform in the church of the eleventh century and developed along the intellectual line known as Scholasticism early in the twelfth century. The leaders in this movement were called the Schoolmen. "Anselm [c. 1100] stands at the head of the first period of Scholasticism, and he combines in himself the dialectical and the mystical element. These two elements then become separated, and the former is represented by Abelard in his Ethics which he seeks to construct from the conscience, while the latter is represented by Bernard of Clairvaux, in whom the mystical tendency of Ethics and the monastic disposition of the age are effectively embodied."—C. E. Luthardt, *History of Christian ethics before the Reformation*, pp. 285, 310-311.—"Thomas Aquinas [1225-1274] marks the culmination of Scholasticism both in its theology generally and in its ethics. As his combination of Aristotle and Augustine embraces and concludes the previous preparatory efforts in his system, he has become a standard for the theology, and especially for the ethics of the Roman Church, down to the present time. . . . With Duns Scotus [c. 1308] begins the dissolution of the alliance between theology and philosophy upon which the formal system of Thomas Aquinas rests. . . . Duns Scotus puts the primacy of the will in the place of the primacy of knowledge; and the conception of blessedness is consequently determined otherwise by him than by Thomas Aquinas, it being regarded not so much as a blessed vision of God, but rather as the disappearing of the will in the union of love with God as it rises to ecstasy. This view was especially cul-

tivated in the Franciscan order."—*Ibid.*, pp. 333, 346-347.—"Mysticism found its completest, but also its most questionable development in the sphere of the German mind, and in accordance with its subjective inwardness in the Dominican Order. . . . The ascetic ideal of life could not but come into collision with the actual reality of life and its claims, and thereby call forth a reaction of the moral thinking in the secular sense. . . . The secular way of thinking, characteristic of antiquity, found its most influential expression in opposition to the ecclesiastical-ascetic thinking in Humanism, which threatened the Church with a new heathenism of culture—a danger which was only averted by the Reformation in its own sphere. . . . The effect of Humanism in Germany was to promote Christianity, but the opposite was predominantly its attitude in Italy. . . . Petrarca (d. 1374) paid homage to the thought of the Stoics, and Marcellius Ficinus a follower of Plato, and the Platonic Academy, founded in Florence . . . in 1440 put Plato and Neo-Platonism straightway in the place of Christ and Christianity. Laurentius Valla, again, proclaimed his allegiance to the philosophy of Epicurus. The consequence of all this was the renewal of the ancient moral way of thinking, which declared the natural in itself to be moral. This gave rise to a paganism such as Erasmus saw reviving in Rome. . . . It belongs to the merits of the Reformation, that it averted this danger of a paganizing of Christendom by its return to the original powers of the moral life, and that it opened up to it the fountain of another moral spirit. This merit also belongs to the ethics of the Reformation."—C. E. Luthardt, *History of Christian ethics before the Reformation*, pp. 353, 375, 387-388.—See also EDUCATION: Medieval: 9th-15th centuries; EUROPE: Middle Ages: Scholastic revival.

15th-16th centuries.—Ethical influences of the Reformation and the Counter Reformation.—"A new era began with the Reformation. Faith became personal trust in God, the value of the individual was recognized, and ordinary vocations were regarded as the true sphere of moral life. But its greatest work was the placing of the Scriptures in the hands of the common people. Problems as to the relation of the individual to the State, and of the State to the Church, now arose. There was also a tendency to separate philosophical and Christian Ethics (Melancthon and Keckerman), though Amesius insisted on Ethics as purely theological. The Counter-Reformation produced Jesuistic casuistry against vigorous individual protests (Pascal). The verbal inspiration theory of Scripture developed in the post-Reformation period a new dogmatism, and Christian Ethics was a part of Dogmatic. The merit of having separated the two is usually ascribed to Danaeus and Calixtus. While Roman Catholic Ethics largely followed tradition and casuistic refinement in dealing with 'Cases' Protestant Ethics tended to be moulded from this time onwards, by the current philosophies, and within the various Churches, by the authorized Confessions of Faith."—D. Mackenzie, *Ethics and morality (Christian)*, (*Hastings' encyclopedia of religion and ethics*, v. 5, p. 468).

17th century.—Beginning of modern ethics.—"Modern Moral Philosophy starts with the wisdom of the Greeks as its working capital [Cambridge Platonists]. But from the first it had to deal with a more complex situation. . . . Where the Greek philosophers had something to appeal to which all men were in a measure ready to recognize in the State and the traditional laws and customs which the State maintained, the first problem of modern philosophy was to find a higher authority to which

either State or Church might appeal. . . . Thus modern systems have moved between the poles of an authoritative moral law and an unconstrained self-direction of human nature. . . . The ball is set rolling by Hobbes, in whose system the element of law, identified here with State law, becomes merely derivative. By the 'law of nature,' as we find it at this stage, each man seeks his own preservation. . . . [Thus] Hobbes reduces morality to egoism as its ultimate basis. . . . Butler, the form of whose theory is still determined by the questions set by Hobbes, elaborates a complete theory of the natural constitution of man in which conscience is, by the very law of constitution and with the approval of self-love itself established as the authoritative guide. . . . But to fall back on the supernatural was in effect to abandon the position and leave the way open for other lines of thought."—L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in evolution*, pt. 2, pp. 207-208, 211-212.

18th-19th centuries.—Hedonism and energism.—Schools of the classical period.—Utilitarianism.—German influence.—Hegelianism.—Self-assertion.—"In the eighteenth century (which is the classical period in English ethics) the first place was taken by the psychological question: How do we perceive the distinctions between right and wrong, good and bad? The principal writers were divided into three schools, according as they professed: I. Intuitionism, or the view that the moral quality of conduct is its agreement or disagreement with an intuitively perceived body of law. II. Sentimentalism, according to which the moral quality of conduct or character is its capacity for stimulating a certain class of sensations or feelings. III. Utilitarianism (or the derivative theory), according to which the moral quality of conduct is its tendency to increase or decrease the general sum of pleasure; and the appreciation of this quality is not an innate faculty, but is developed in each man's experience from an original desire for pleasure."—T. D. Laguna, *Introduction to the science of ethics*, pp. 103-104.—"All the thinkers with whom we shall have to deal were hedonists in their general theory of values. All are agreed that pleasure is the sole ultimate good and pain the sole ultimate evil. I say this in spite of the fact that Shaftesbury (the founder of the moral-sense school) expressly rejects hedonism, and declares for the Aristotelian view; for in the details of his argument it is on the hedonistic theory that he constantly relies. The general acceptance of hedonism is largely due to the influence of John Locke, who gave forcible expression to it in his celebrated *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690),—a work which formed the background of English thought in the eighteenth century, and by which almost all the ethical writers were directly affected. . . . It was, then, not about values in general, but about moral values in particular, that men disagreed, and especially about the mode in which these values are perceived. . . . The student should realize that the difference between particular writers are not always so sharp as the main lines of cleavage between the three schools would lead us to expect. John Locke . . . is a curious mixture of intuitionism and the derivative theory. Joseph Butler (*Sermons upon Human Nature*, 1726), who partly on account of his position as a bishop of the English church, but far more on account of the simplicity, earnestness, and winning common sense of his writings, has had a lasting influence upon English ethics, shows affiliations with both of the nativistic schools. . . . Of the intuitionists [may be mentioned particularly] . . . Samuel Clarke (1706) and Richard

Price (1758); of the sentimentalists, Francis Hutcheson (1725 and 1755) and David Hume (1740 and 1751); of the utilitarians, John Gay (1731), William Paley (1785), and Jeremy Bentham (1789)."—*Ibid.*, pp. 198-200.—"The nineteenth century is marked by a revival of the ancient controversy between hedonism and energism, with regard to the nature of happiness. (In the eighteenth century the principal adherents of all schools had been more or less definitely hedonists, with only an occasional imperfect expression of the energistic view.) The hedonistic side was championed by descendants of the old utilitarians. The cause of energism was supported by men who were strongly influenced by the German idealistic philosophy that had its rise in the speculations of Immanuel Kant."—*Ibid.*, p. 104.—"All three lines of the classical English thought persisted; but utilitarianism came to possess an overshadowing importance. At the same time, however, it underwent certain decided modifications in its structure and temper. . . . Utilitarianism had lost its theological stamp. It was a theory of psychologists and of political reformers. Some of its most important adherents, including the most distinguished of all,—John Stuart Mill,—did not even believe in the existence of an omnipotent deity. The consequence was that less and less emphasis came to be placed upon the supernatural sanctions of morality, the rewards and punishments of a future world, and more upon the empirically observed sanctions. . . . In the latter part of the eighteenth century, the center of ethical speculation shifted from England to Germany. . . . Kant's work in ethics is in origin an attempt to rehabilitate intuitionism, and to demonstrate its reasonableness as against the moral-sense theory and utilitarianism. . . . Fichte, like Kant, looks upon the moral life as an everlasting struggle with sensuous inclination, in which we gradually approach an indefinitely distant ideal—the completed self. Fichte emphasizes, as Kant does not, the fact that man's moral life, in which his only true good consists, is essentially a social life—the fulfilling of a vocation, to which his actual relations with the society in which he lives call him. . . . But it was with the invasion of England and America by the Hegelian philosophy (which took place in the last quarter of the nineteenth century) that hedonism was first seriously weakened in its hold on English ethical thought. Hegel's system is a genial toning-down of Fichte's, under the influence of Plato and, especially, of Aristotle. . . . This moral theory, with the larger metaphysical system in which it was contained, was carried over into the English-speaking world by a band of veritable apostles—men who were burningly convinced of the essential truth of its doctrines, and filled with pity or contempt for all who could continue to think along the traditional English lines. The success of their endeavors was most rapid. By the end of the century almost all the principal chairs of philosophy in Great Britain and America were filled by Hegelians. At the present time [1914], though a strong tide of opposition to Hegelianism has arisen, the ablest critics recognize that there is much in the system, perhaps especially in its ethical doctrines, that is of permanent importance for science. . . . In the ethical controversies of the last quarter of the century, the two chief points at issue were (1) the significance for ethics of the Darwinian theory of evolution . . . and (2) the Hedonism which the utilitarian school still maintained as they received it from their eighteenth-century forbears, and which the Hegelians contemptuously repudiated. In the long controversy which raged over this latter point, a multitude of considerations were

presented on both sides, in part repeated from ancient writers, in part new."—T. D. Laguna, *Introduction to the science of ethics*, pp. 235-245.—"During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the theory was frequently advanced, that obligation and self-denial are wholly unnecessary for morality, and, indeed, that they belong only to a low, or false, type of morality. A higher type would consist simply in self-assertion. Nietzsche and Guyau are the chief representatives of this way of thinking. The former regards the Christian morality about him as essentially a slave-morality, a conspiracy of the under dogs to mitigate their wretchedness and, if possible, hold in check the tyranny of their oppressors. This is well enough for them; but for their masters, the aristocracy of art, science, and war, unscrupulous egoism is the only sane principle of life. Guyau's theory is less sensational. The true end of life, he declares, is the limitless expansion of life itself; and the only motive which it needs is its own inherent energy. The sense of compulsion, like the need of external rewards and punishments, is a mark of weakness. The strong will do what is good just because they are strong."—*Ibid.*, p. 405.

20th century.—Modern tendencies.—Social ethics.—"No such striking contributions to ethical theory in the established lines have appeared during the last twenty-five years as marked the preceding quarter century. Sidgwick's analysis of the morality of common sense, union of utilitarian criterion with intuitionist grounding of obligation and insistence upon the uniqueness of the moral (1874), Green's penetrating examination of the presuppositions of the moral consciousness (1883), Martineau's impressive presentation of certain high and fine factors in conscience (1885), Paulsen's catholic restatement of eudemonism (1889) had approached the subject on the level of the best thought of their day, but for the most part had employed familiar categories. Spencer's *Principles of Ethics* in its completed form falls within the period of our present survey, but the *Data of Ethics* had appeared in 1879 and *Justice* in 1891, and Wundt had in 1886 made use of custom and religion in explaining facts of the moral life. On the other hand, within the period in question the genetic study of morality has taken advantage both of the wealth of new material offered by anthropology and of the methods of interpretation suggested by social psychology. In common with law, religion, and art, ethics has found the comparative method indefinitely broadening in its outlook, and although the full bearing of the results in this field upon the criteria of conduct is far from having been fully adjudicated it is safe to say that a different perspective and a different relative emphasis is certain to prevail. The genetic method with its partially discerned implications for ethical theory has been one outstanding characteristic of the period. Second, and not yet so fully represented in the technical literature, is a return of interest to the economic, political, and social problems which marked the ethics of Aristotle, Adam Smith, German idealism, and the Utilitarians, but had in this country [United States] been rather timidly left to publicists or economists. This interest . . . reinforced by the Great War, . . . [became] a leading trend as a result of the reconstructions that [came] . . . with peace. . . . Partly because of the general influence of Darwin in replacing mere description by causal analysis, partly by a far more intelligent account of what savage conduct means to the savage, partly by a better psychology, we have abandoned largely the old categories as inept. Although we are still

largely in the descriptive stage so far as our study of the history of morality is concerned we have at least gained two working conceptions which change our whole perspective. These are: First, group life. Second, the moral as an intimate, inseparable part of the whole process of preserving, controlling, and valuing—hence not to be understood in isolation as moral sense, or as practical reason, or under any similar category. These working conceptions have made possible more adequate views of custom, of the origins of right and duty, of the psychology of the self. They enter into the question in which is focused the relation between moral origins and moral standards. . . . Developments . . . have come . . . as the result of the scientific conception of evolution. If, however, we ask what has affected most intensely the ethical thought of the period we must find an answer, not in science, but in the economic, political, and family life. . . . Democracy and socialism have confronted aristocracy and the cult of the superman. . . . Social ethics has been faced by new types of individualism. Feminism is suggesting radical changes in codes for [women and for men in relation to woman]. . . . The tide is now setting strongly toward increased liberty, yet for those who look back over many similar tides in human civilization . . . there is ground for belief that the new forces will set their own limits."—J. H. Tufts, *Ethics in the last twenty-five years* (*Philosophical Review*, Jan., 1917, pp. 28, 32, 40-41, 45).

ALSO IN: G. H. Lewes, *History of philosophy*.—A. W. Benn, *Greek philosophers*.—L. Stephen, *History of English thought in the 18th century*.—J. Watson, *Hedonistic theories from Aristippus to Spencer*.—L. A. Selby-Bigge, *British moralists*.—C. M. Williams, *Review of systems of ethics founded on the theory of evolution*.—W. R. Sorley, *Recent tendencies in ethics*.—G. Gore, *Scientific basis of morality*.

ETHIOPIA.—The Ethiopia of the ancients, "in the ordinary and vague sense of the term, was a vast tract extending in length above a thousand miles, from the 9th to the 24th degree of north latitude, and in breadth almost 900 miles, from the shores of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean to the desert of the Sahara. This tract was inhabited for the most part by wild and barbarous tribes—herdsmen, hunters, or fishermen—who grew no corn, were unacquainted with bread, and subsisted on the milk and flesh of their cattle, or on game, turtle, and fish, salted or raw. The tribes had their own separate chiefs, and acknowledged no single head, but on the contrary were frequently at war one with the other, and sold their prisoners for slaves. [See also AFRICA: Races of Africa: Prehistoric peoples.] Such was Ethiopia in the common vague sense; but from this must be distinguished another narrower Ethiopia, known sometimes as 'Ethiopia Proper' or 'Ethiopia above Egypt,' the limits of which were, towards the south, the junction of the White and Blue Niles, and towards the north the Third Cataract. Into this tract, called sometimes 'the kingdom of Meroë,' Egyptian civilisation had, long before the eighth century [B. C.], deeply penetrated. Temples of the Egyptian type, stone pyramids, avenues of sphinxes, had been erected; a priesthood had been set up, which was regarded as derived from the Egyptian priesthood; monarchical institutions had been adopted; the whole tract formed ordinarily one kingdom, and the natives were not very much behind the Egyptians in arts or arms, or very different from them in manners, customs, and mode of life. Even in race the difference was not great. The Ethiopians were darker in complexion than the Egyptians, and possessed

probably a greater infusion of Nigrific blood; but there was a common stock at the root of the two races—Cush and Mizraim were brethren. In the region of Ethiopia Proper a very important position was occupied in the eighth century [B. C.] by Napata. Napata was situated midway in the great bend of the Nile, between lat. 18° and 19°. . . . It occupied the left bank of the river in the near vicinity of the modern Gebel Berkal. . . . Here, when the decline of Egypt enabled the Ethiopians to reclaim their ancient limits, the capital was fixed of that kingdom, which shortly became a rival of the old empire of the Pharaohs, and aspired to take its place. . . . The kingdom of Meroë, whereof it was the capital, reached southward as far as the modern Khartoum, and eastward stretched up to the Abyssinian highlands, including the valleys of the Atbara and its tributaries, together with most of the tract between the Atbara and the Blue Nile. . . . Napata continued down to Roman times a place of importance, and only sank to ruin in consequence of the campaigns of Petronius against Candacé in the first century after our era.”—G. Rawlinson, *History of ancient Egypt*, ch. 25.—See also **ABYSSINIA**; **ARABIA**: Sabæans; **EGYPT**; c. B. C. 1200-670; B. C. 670-525; **LIBYANS**; **SEMITES**.

ALSO IN: A. H. L. Heeren, *Historical researches, Carthaginians, Ethiopians, etc.*, pp. 143-249.

ETHNOLOGY.—The term ethnology is derived from the Greek word “*ethnōs*” meaning people. When the term was first used scientifically, it designated the description of a people. This is the meaning of the title “Ethnology” for A. H. Kean’s book published in the latter part of the nineteenth century. He merely describes the various peoples of the world, but draws no comparisons and advances no theories about their civilizations. At the present time ethnology has come to mean more than mere descriptive material out of a traveler’s notebook. Ethnology has been defined as the science of culture. It uses the descriptive data analytically and synthetically. In this feature ethnology differs from ethnography, which is the systematic description of non-historic peoples, the old ethnology before it became theoretical. Any science of this kind necessarily evolves conflicting theories, many of which are still unsettled in ethnology. Two important theories in ethnology are the diffusionist point of view versus that of independent origin. The former group believes that the fundamental features of culture were invented only once and then spread to all parts of the world. The defenders of the theory of independent origin hold that the most universal things in culture were invented over and over again as use for them arose. Many arguments can be set forth favoring and opposing each of these theories and the best anthropological opinion of to-day favors neither theory to the exclusion of the other. Ethnologists are seeing more clearly than ever that each culture must be interpreted according to its own setting and history rather than wedged into any *a priori* notion about cultures in general. This suggests another contested field of ethnology. The classical English school insists on the formulation of general laws of cultural development, a kind of hold-over of the rule of evolutionary doctrine as it was applied by Spencer and Tylor to all fields of human development. On the other hand, the historical school of American anthropologists conceives the development of culture as a series of unique happenings which must be studied with regard to their specific settings and are not amenable to generalized treatment. This point of view has been adopted by most professional students of

ethnology as a working basis, but unfortunately it has not been expounded outside of strictly scientific journals so that the numerous sociologists, philosophers and economists who resort to ethnological data to illustrate their theories about society, still cling to the older concepts formed under the influence of the evolutionary theories which dominated scientific thought in the late nineteenth century.—See also **ANTHROPOLOGY**: Ethnology.

See also **AMERICA**: Prehistoric; Theory of a cultural wave across Asia; **EUROPE**: Prehistoric period: Earliest remains; **FRANCE**: People; **INDIA**: People; **INDIANS, AMERICAN**; **JAPAN**: Inhabitants and their origins; **PACIFIC OCEAN**: B. C. 2500-A. D. 1500; **Peoples**; **PHILOLOGY**: 3.

ETIENNE, Eugene (1844-1921), French minister of war in 1913. See **WORLD WAR**: Diplomatic background: 4.

ETRURIA, kingdom formed by Napoleon out of the ancient duchy of Tuscany. See **FRANCE**: 1801-1803; 1802 (June-October); 1807-1808 (August-November); **PORTUGAL**: 1807.

ETRURIA, Ancient. See **ETRUSCANS**.

ETRUSCAN ARCHITECTURE. See **ARCHITECTURE**: Classic: Etruscan.

ETRUSCAN MUSEUM. See **VATICAN MUSEUMS**.

ETRUSCANS.—“At the time when Roman history begins, we find that a powerful and warlike race, far superior to the Latins in civilisation and in the arts of life, hemmed in the rising Roman dominion in the north. The Greeks called them Turrhenoi, the Romans called them Etrusci, they called themselves the Rasenna. Who they were and whence they came has ever been regarded as one of the most doubtful and difficult problems in ethnology. One conclusion only can be said to have been universally accepted both in ancient and in modern times. It is agreed on every hand that in all essential points, in language, in religion, in customs, and in appearance, the Etruscans were a race wholly different from the Latins. There is also an absolute agreement of all ancient tradition to the effect that the Etruscans were not the original inhabitants of Etruria, but that they were an intrusive race of conquerors. . . . It has been usually supposed that the Rasenna made their appearance in Italy some ten or twelve centuries before the Christian era. . . . For some six or seven centuries, the Etruscan power and territory continued steadily to increase, and ultimately stretched far south of the Tiber, Rome itself being included in the Etruscan dominion, and being ruled by an Etruscan dynasty. The early history of Rome is to a great extent the history of the uprising of the Latin race, and its long struggle for Italian supremacy with its Etruscan foe. It took Rome some six centuries of conflict to break through the obstinate barrier of the Etruscan power. The final conquest of Etruria by Rome was effected in the year 281 B. C. . . . The Rasennic people were collected mainly in the twelve great cities of Etruria proper, between the Arno and the Tiber. [Modern Tuscany takes its name from the ancient Etruscan inhabitants of the region.] This region was the real seat of the Etruscan power. . . . From the ‘Shah-nameh,’ the great Persian epic, we learn that the Aryan Persians called their nearest non-Aryan neighbours—the Turkic or Turcoman tribes to the north of them—by the name Turan, a word from which we derive the familiar ethnologic term Turanian. The Aryan Greeks, on the other hand, called the Turkic tribe of the Rasenna, the nearest non-Aryan race, by the name of Turrhenoi. The argument of this book is to prove that the Tyrhenians of Italy were of kindred race with the

Turanians of Turkestan. Is it too much to conjecture that the Greek form *Turrhene* may be identically the same word as the Persian form *Turan*?—I. Taylor, *Etruscan researches*, ch. 2.—“The utmost we can say is that several traces, apparently reliable, point to the conclusion that the Etruscans may be on the whole included among the Indo-Germans. . . . But even granting those points of connection, the Etruscan people appears with scarcely less isolated. ‘The Etruscans,’ Dionysius said long ago, ‘are like no other nation in language and manners’; and we have nothing to add to his statement. . . . Reliable traces of any advance of the Etruscans beyond the Tiber, by land, are altogether wanting. . . . South of the Tiber no Etruscan settlement can be pointed out as having owed its origin to founders who came by land; and that no indication whatever is discernible of any serious pressure by the Etruscans upon the Latin nation.”—T. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. 1, ch. 9.—“Archæology has thrown some light on this strange people. Researches in North Italy prove that it never entered the Peninsula from the north. Researches in Etruria itself prove that the earliest Etruscan civilization resembled that which prevailed in the Eastern Mediterranean in the last days of the Aegean period. After all, the old legends were right. The ancients told how the Etruscans came from the east; archaeological evidence is now accumulating to confirm the legends. Precisely when they came or why is still obscure, nor can we identify them yet with any special tribe in prehistoric Greece, Pelasgian or other. Probably they were driven from their old homes, like the Phœnicians who built Carthage and the Phœacians who built Marseilles.”—F. Haverfield, *Authority and archaeology sacred and profane*, pt. 2, p. 305.—See also ITALY: Ancient; RELIGION: B. C. 750-A. D. 30; ROME: Ancient kingdom: B. C. 753-510; and Map of ancient Italy.

ET TIREH, strongly fortified village in Palestine near Gilgal. See WORLD WAR: 1918: VI. Turkish theater: c, 14.

ETYMOLOGY. See PHILOLOGY: 8.

EUBŒA.—“The island of Eubœa, long and narrow like Krête, and exhibiting a continuous backbone of lofty mountains from northwest to southeast, is separated from Bœotia at one point by a strait so narrow (celebrated in antiquity under the name of the Eurîpus) that the two were connected by a bridge for a large portion of the historical period of Greece, erected during the later times of the Peloponnesian war by the inhabitants of Chalkis [Chalcis]. Its general want of breadth leaves little room for plains. The area of the island consists principally of mountain, rock, dell, and ravine, suited in many parts for pasture, but rarely convenient for grain culture or town habitations. Some plains there were, however, of great fertility, especially that of Lelantum, bordering on the sea near Chalkis, and continuing from that city in a southerly direction towards Eretria. Chalkis and Eretria, both situated on the western coast, and both occupying parts of this fertile plain, were the two principal places in the island: the domain of each seems to have extended across the island from sea to sea. . . . Both were in early times governed by an oligarchy, which among the Chalkidians was called the Hippobotæ, or Horse feeders,—proprietors probably of most part of the plain called Lelantum.”—G. Grote, *History of Greece*, pt. 2, ch. 12.—See also NEGROPONT; GREECE: Map of ancient Greece.

B. C. 447.—Revolt against Athens. See ATHENS: B. C. 447; GREECE: B. C. 449-445.

EUBOIC TALENT. See TALENT.

EUCHITES.—In the fourth century a group of wandering Christian fanatics appeared in Mesopotamia and spread over Armenia, Asia Minor, and Syria. They believed that marriage was sinful and that spiritual purity came from long prayer. The Greeks called them Euchites although they were commonly known as Massalians. “In the eleventh century, in Thrace there was a numerous sect called Euchites, who were Enthusiasts like the ancient monastic sect of that name, but also Dualists.”—G. P. Fisher, *History of Christian doctrine*, pp. 202-203.—See also MYSTICISM.

EUCKEN, Rudolf Christoph (1846 -), German philosopher. Studied with Reuter and Trendelenburg; became professor of philosophy at the university of Jena, 1874; evolved a theory of practical idealism which he called “Activism”; won the Nobel prize for literature, 1908. See HISTORY: 33; NOBEL PRIZES: Literature: 1908.

EUCLED, Greek mathematician, who lived in Alexandria at the beginning of the third century, B. C. His book “The Elements” of geometry is the basis for that study, even to the present day. Aside from this, he wrote several other works of great importance on the mathematical sciences. See HELLENISM: Science and invention; SCIENCE: Ancient Greek science.

EUCLID, or Euclides (5th century B. C.), Greek philosopher, a native of Megara. See ETHICS: Greece, Ancient: B. C. 4th century.

EUDES (d. 808), king of France, 887-898. See FRANCE: 877-987; PARIS: 885-886.

EUDES, Duke of Aquitaine (c. 665-735), sovereign of the region from the Loire river to the Pyrenees, southern France. With the help of Charles defeated the invading Arabs at the battle of Poitiers in 732. See AQUITAINE: 681-768.

EUDISTES, a religious order in France. See FRANCE: 1005-1006.

EUDOXIA (c. 400 A. D.), Byzantine empress. See ROME: Empire: 400-518.

EUDOXIANS, sect which derives its name from Eudoxius of Germanica, bishop of Constantinople, who was prominent in the Arian controversy in the fourth century. “The most lasting result of the activity of Eudoxius was the Arianism of the Germans. . . . To the council of 381 and the orthodox theologians of that time ‘Arians’ and ‘Eudoxians’ were synonymous conceptions.”—*New Schaff-Herzog religious encyclopedia*, v. 4, p. 201.

EUDOXIUS (d. 370), bishop of Constantinople, leader of the Eudoxians. See EUDOXIANS.

EUFULA, city in southeastern Alabama, Barbour county, on the western bank of the Chattahoochee river. It was the scene of a serious election riot during the Reconstruction period. See ALABAMA: 1874.

EUGENE, the name of several popes. See EUGENIUS.

EUGENE, Ferdinand Pius, Archduke of Austria (1863-), Austrian commander in the Bainsizza district during the World War. See WORLD WAR: 1915: III. Eastern front: c; 1917: IV. Austro-Italian front: d, 2.

EUGENE OF SAVOY (François Eugène) Prince (1663-1736), famous Austrian general. See AUSTRIA: Introduction; HUNGARY: 1600-1718; 1683-1690; GERMANY: 1704; 1706-1711; ITALY: 1701-1713; NETHERLANDS: 1708-1700; 1710-1712.

EUGENIANS, ancient tribal name of southern Ireland. See HY-NIALS.

EUGENICS: Meaning and purpose.—“We know that the old rule, ‘Increase and multiply,’ meant a vast amount of infant mortality, of starvation, of chronic disease, of widespread misery.

In abandoning that rule, as we have been forced to do, are we not now left free to seek that our children, though few, should be at all events fit, the finest, alike in physical and psychical constitution, that the world has seen? Thus has come about the recent expansion of that conception of *eugenics*—or the science and art of being well-born, and of breeding the human race a step nearer towards perfection—. . . Eugenics is beginning to be felt to possess a living actuality which it was not felt to possess before. Instead of being a benevolent scientific fad, it begins to present itself as the goal to which we are inevitably moving. . . Human eugenics need not be, and is not likely to be, a cold-blooded selection of partners by some outside scientific authority. But it may be, and is very likely to be, a slowly growing conviction—first among the more intelligent members of the community, and then by imitation and fashion among the less intelligent members—that our children, the future race, the torch-bearers of civilisation for succeeding ages, are not the mere result of chance or Providence, but that, in a very real sense, it is within our grasp to mould them, that the salvation or damnation of many future generations lies in our hands, since it depends on our wise and sane choice of a mate. . . Eventually, it seems evident, a general system, whether private or public, whereby all personal facts, biological and mental, normal and morbid, are duly and systematically registered, must become inevitable if we are to have a real guide as to those persons who are most fit or least fit to carry on the race. Unless they are full and frank, such records are useless. But it is obvious that for a long time to come such a system of registration must be private.”—H. Ellis, *Eugenics and St. Valentine (Nineteenth Century and After, May, 1906)*.—“‘Eugenics,’ wrote Francis Galton [1822-1911], who founded the science and coined the name, ‘is the study of agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations, either physically or mentally.’ Accepting Galton’s definition, we shall for our purposes slightly extend it by saying that applied eugenics embraces all such measures, in use or prospect either individually or collectively, as may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations of man, either physically or mentally, whether or not this was the avowed purpose. It is one of the newest of sciences. It was practically forced into existence by logical necessity. The science of eugenics is the natural result of the spread and acceptance of organic evolution, following the publication of Darwin’s work on *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, in 1850. It took a generation for his ideas to win the day; but then they revolutionized the intellectual life of the civilized world. Man came to realize that the course of nature is regular; that the observed sequences of events can be described in formulas which are called natural laws; he learned that he could achieve great results in plant and animal breeding by working in harmony with these laws. . . . However great may be the superiority of his mind, man is first of all an animal, subject to the natural laws that govern other animals. He can learn to comply with these laws; he can, therefore, take an active share in furthering the process of evolution toward a higher life. That, briefly, is the scope of the science of eugenics, as its founder, Sir Francis Galton, conceived it.”—P. Popenoe and R. H. Johnson, *Applied eugenics*, pp. 147-148.

Early history of eugenics.—Galton’s studies published, 1865.—Contents.—The teaching of eugenics is not wholly new. “The early Greeks

gave much thought to it, and with the insight which characterized them, they rightly put the emphasis on the constructive side; they sought to breed better men and women, not merely to accomplish a work of hygiene, to lessen taxes, and reduce suffering, by reducing the number of unfortunates among them. . . . For nearly two thousand years after this, [however] conscious eugenic ideals were largely ignored. Constant war reversed natural selection, as it is doing to-day, by killing off the physically fit and leaving the relatively unfit to reproduce the race; while monasticism and the enforced celibacy of the priesthood performed a similar office for many of the mentally superior, attracting them to a career in which they could leave no posterity. At the beginning of the last century a germ of modern eugenics is visible in Malthus’ famous essay on population, in which he directed attention to the importance of the birth-rate for human welfare, since this essay led Darwin and Wallace to enunciate the theory of natural selection, and to point out clearly the effects of artificial selection. . . . Eugenics . . . owes its beginning to Darwin’s cousin, Francis Galton. . . . He contributed largely to founding the science of meteorology, opened new paths in experimental psychology, introduced the system of finger prints to anthropology, and took up the study of heredity, published in 1865 a series of articles under the title of *Hereditary Talent and Genius*, which contained his first utterances on eugenics. . . . This was an elaborate and painstaking study of the biographies of 977 men who would rank, according to Galton’s estimate, as about 1 to 4,000 of the general population, in respect to achievement. The number of families found to contain more than one eminent man was 300, divided as follows: Judges, 85; Statesmen, 39; Commanders, 27; Literary, 33; Scientific, 43; Poets, 20; Artists, 28; Divines, 25. The close groupings of the interrelated eminence led to the conclusion that heredity plays a very important part in achievement. The greater success of real sons of great men as compared with adopted sons of great men likewise indicated, he thought, that success is due to actual biological heredity rather than to the good opportunities afforded the scion of the illustrious family. Galton’s conclusion was that by selecting from strains that produced eminence, a superior human stock could be bred.”—P. Popenoe and R. H. Johnson, *Applied eugenics*, pp. 150-152.—See also EVOLUTION: Mendel’s law.—Galton’s program included “1. Dissemination of a knowledge of the laws of heredity so far as they are surely known, and promotion of their farther study. . . . 2. Historical inquiry into the rates with which the various classes of society (classified according to civic usefulness) have contributed to the population at various times, in ancient and modern nations. . . . 3. Systematic collection of facts showing the circumstances under which large and thriving families have most frequently originated; in other words, the *conditions* of Eugenics. . . . 4. Influences affecting Marriage. Exactly the same kind of considerations apply to marriage. The passion of love seems so overpowering that it may be thought folly to try to direct its course. But plain facts do not confirm this view. Social influences of all kinds have immense power in the end, and they are very various. If unsuitable marriages from the Eugenic point of view were banned socially, or even regarded with the unreasonable disfavour which some attach to cousin-marriages, very few would be made. The multitude of marriage restrictions that have proved prohibitive among uncivilised people would require a volume to describe. 5. Persist-

ence in setting forth the national importance of Eugenics. There are three stages to be passed through. *Firstly* it must be made familiar as an academic question, until its exact importance has been understood and accepted as a fact; *Secondly* it must be recognised as a subject whose practical development deserves serious consideration; and *Thirdly* it must be introduced into the national conscience, like a new religion."—F. Galton, *Eugenics: Its definition, scope and aims* (*Sociological Papers*, 1904, pp. 47, 49-50).

Modern development.—"Through the munificence of Mr. Galton and the co-operation of the University of London the beginning of the attainment of these eugenic ideals has at length been rendered possible. The senate of the University has this year [1906] appointed Mr. Edgar Schuster, of New College, Oxford, to the Francis Galton Research Scholarship in Natural Eugenics. It will be Mr. Schuster's duty to carry out investigations into the history of classes and of families, and to deliver lectures and publish memoirs on the subject of his investigations. It is a beginning only, but the end no man can foresee."—H. Ellis, *Eugenics and St. Valentine* (*Nineteenth Century*, May, 1906).—"In all parts of Europe, the ideas of eugenics have gradually spread. In 1912 the first International Eugenics Congress was held at London, under the auspices of the Eugenics Education Society; more than 700 delegates were in attendance. Germany, Sweden, Switzerland and Austria are united in an International Eugenics Society and the [world] war led to the information of a number of separate societies in Germany. Hungary has formed an organization of its own, France has its society in Paris, and the Italian Anthropological Society of Denmark has similarly recognized eugenics by the formation of a separate section. The Institut Solvay of Belgium, a foundation with sociological aims, created a eugenics section several years ago; and in Holland a strong committee has been formed. Last of all, Sweden has put a large separate organization in the field. In the United States the subject has interested many women's clubs, college organizations and Young Men's Christian Associations, while the periodical press has given it a large amount of attention."—P. Popenoe and R. H. Johnson, *Applied eugenics*, p. 155

ALSO IN: W. B. Castle, *Heredity*.—W. Bateson, *Mendel's principles of heredity*.—J. A. Thomson, *Heredity*.—C. W. Saleeby, *Parenthood and race culture*.—E. Schuster, *Eugenics*.—C. B. Davenport, *Heredity in relation to Eugenics*.—H. H. Goddard, *Feeble-mindedness*.—A. Binet and T. Simon, *Method of measuring the development of intelligence of young children* (tr. by C. T. Harrison).

EUGENIE (Marie - Eugénie - Ignace-Augustine de Montijo) (1826-1920), empress of France, wife of Napoleon III, daughter of the count of Montijo, a grande dame of Spain. During the absence of the emperor, in the campaign of the Italian War of Liberation and at the front in the Franco-Prussian War, for which she is considered partly responsible, she acted as regent at Paris. At the fall of the empire she fled to England where she remained until her death. Her memoirs were edited by M. Fleury and published in 1920.

EUGENIUS (d. 304), secretary of Theodosius. He was proclaimed emperor of Gaul in 392. See **ROME**: Empire: 370-395.

EUGENIUS I, pope, 654-657.

Eugenius II, pope, 824-827.

Eugenius III, pope, 1145-1153.

Eugenius IV (1383-1447), pope, 1431-1447.

See **CHRONOLOGY**: Christian era; **PAPACY**: 1431-1448

EUGUBINE TABLES, name given to seven bronze tablets, the inscriptions of which are in the Umbrian language. See **PHILOLOGY**: 9.

EULENBURG, Prince Philip (1847-), German diplomat, attacked by Maximilian Harden in the latter's paper. See **GERMANY**: 1007-1008.

EUMENES (c. 360-316 B.C.), Macedonian general under Alexander the Great; after his death, in 323 B.C., became the governor of Cappadocia, Paphlagonia and the sea-coast of Pontus. See **MACE DONIA**: B. C. 323-316.

EUMOLPHIDÆ, priestly family, the descendants of Eumolpus, a Greek legendary priest. See **PHYLÆ**.

EUPATRIDÆ.—"The Eupatridæ [in ancient Athens] are the wealthy and powerful men, belonging to the most distinguished families in all the various gentes, and principally living in the city of Athens, after the consolidation of Attica: from them are distinguished the middling and lower people, roughly classified into husbandmen and artisans. To the Eupatridæ is ascribed a religious as well as a political and social ascendancy. They are represented as the source of all authority on matters both sacred and profane."—G. Grote, *History of Greece*, pt. 2, ch. 10.—See also **GREECE**: B. C. 8th century.

EUPEN, town formerly part of Rhenish Prussia, ten miles southwest of Aix-la-Chapelle; ceded to Belgium after the World War. See **BELGIUM**: 1010 (June 28): Treaty of Versailles; 1920 (January).

EUPHEMIOS, ninth century emperor of Syracuse. See **SICILY**: 827-878.

EUPHRATES, river of western Asia, rising in Armenia, and flowing into the Persian Gulf. With its tributary, the Tigris, it forms the most important river system of southwestern Asia. In ancient times the two rivers flowed to the sea through separate channels, but alluvial deposits at mouth of the Euphrates gradually caused it to unite with the Tigris at Kurna, about 60 miles from the gulf. The historical importance of the river can hardly be over-estimated. Its valley was the cradle of primitive civilization, and the banks of the river are lined with ruins, testifying to the splendor that once flourished there.—See also **TIGRIS-EUPHRATES VALLEY**.

ALSO IN: A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*.—F. R. Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*.—H. V. Geere, *By Nile and Euphrates*.

EUPOLIS (c. 446-411 B.C.), Greek dramatic poet. See **DRAMA**: Greek comedy.

EURIC, or Evaric, king of the Visigoths, c. 466-484. See **GOTHIS**: 453-484.

EURIPIDES (480-406 B.C.), Greek tragic dramatic poet. Broke away from tradition, and modernized drama to deal with human suffering. "If any single man could be held responsible for the inevitable growth of individualism, it would be perhaps Euripides (Euripides first; for though he did not exert nearly as great an influence on the world as Socrates, he reached a larger public in his own and the two next generations)."—J. B. Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 576 and footnote.—"Attic Greek in his hands had begun to assume the form in which it remained for a thousand years as the recognized literary language of the east of Europe and the great instrument and symbol of civilization."—G. Murray, *Euripides and his age*, p. 11.—See also **DRAMA**: Origin.

EUROKS, or Yuroks, tribe of American aborigines. See **MODOCS**.

EUROPAL, revised Esperanto. See **INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE**: Other proposed languages.

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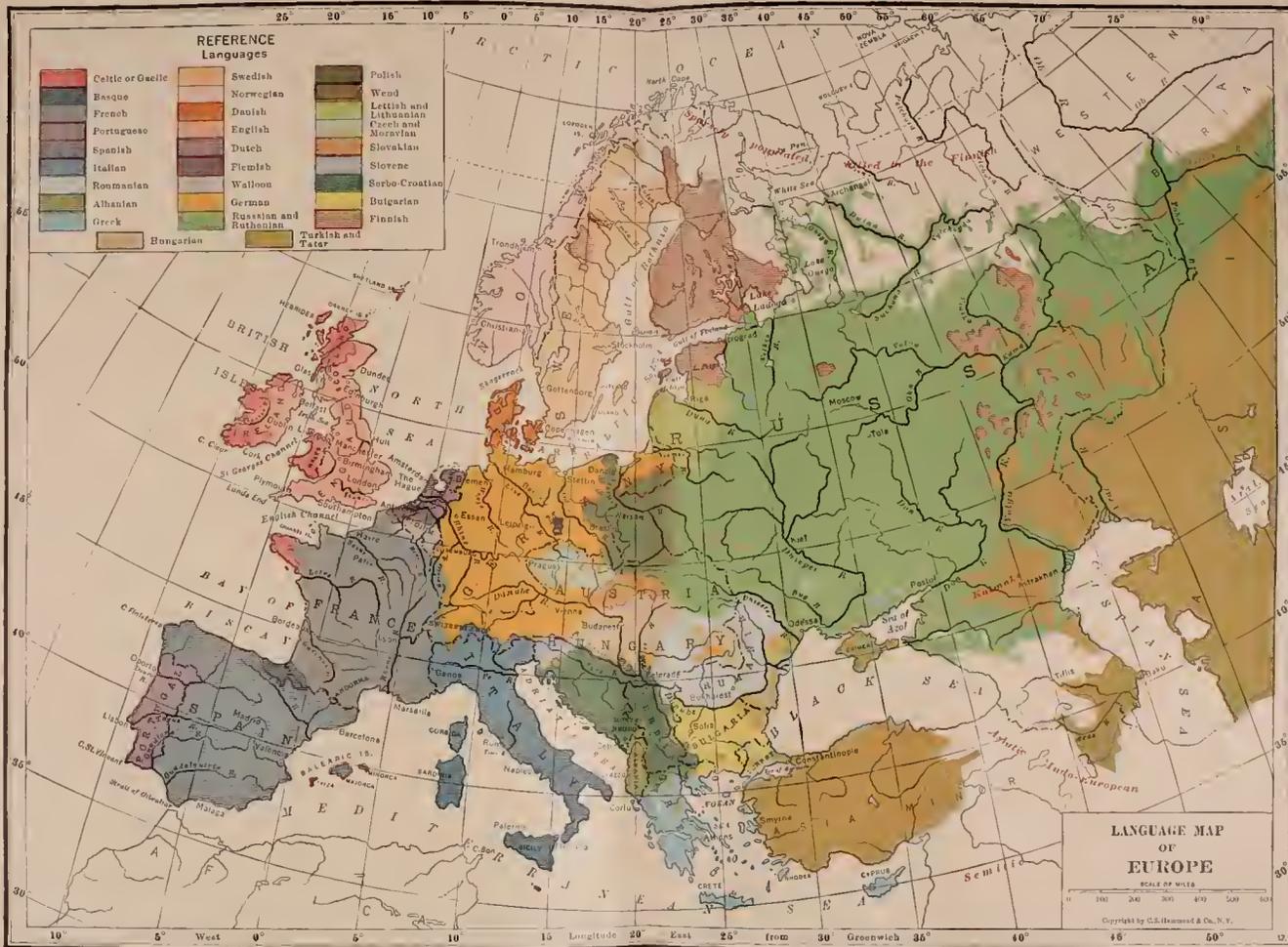
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ment.—Results of the revolution revealed by 1855.—Successes due to the leadership of the middle classes.

Russia's part in European history.—Causes for its late development.—Lack of homogeneity.—Lack of contact with Europe until after the Renaissance.—Peter the Great and the shifting of Russian currents westward.

Wars of the Great Powers (1848-1878).—Crimean War.—Solferino campaign, and the unification of Italy.—Austro-Prussian conflict.—Franco-Prussian War.—Balkan uprisings.—Significance of the Treaties of Frankfort (1871) and Berlin (1878).

Imperialism.—Its growth from nationalism.—Meaning and motives of Imperialism.

Russia in the nineteenth century.—Chief factors in the Russian liberal movement.—Emancipation of the Serfs.—Effect of Industrial revolution in Russia.—Rise of Marxian socialism.—Bolshevik movement.

Conflicting currents leading to the World War.—Conflict between the spirit of nationality and world economics.—Internationalism.—Problems brought about by imperialism.—Economic and militant unrest in Europe.

New map of Europe.—Before and after the World War.

New balance of powers.—Re-adjustment of the states of Europe.—Purpose of the new "balance."—The Great Powers.

League of Nations foundation of peace treaty.—Early steps in League movement.—Purpose of League.

Economic aftermath.—Lack of employment, profiteering and disillusionment of the soldier.—Revolutionary organizations formed.—Economic exhaustion after the war.

Far-reaching effects of the World War.—Outlook in 1921 and 1922.—Financial status of the nations.—Orgy of paper money making.

Intellectual development.—Expansion of science.—International character of inventions.—Influence of economics.—Hope for the future.

Geography.—Influence of contours and climate on population.—Routes of invasion.—Historical Europe.—Influence of Mediterranean on civilization.—"A map of the world or, preferably, a globe will show there is really but one ocean and that all land forms part of some island. The largest and most compact island is the 'Old World' with the broad tract of Asia to the east, the tongue of Africa to the south, and the 'shoulder' of Europe to the north-west. In the days before the discoveries of the great ocean routes, invasions of Europe could come only from the east and south, being limited actually to two natural routes, between the Urals and the Nile delta. A barrier of ice closed the northern sea, the Tundra was barren and inhospitable, and great impenetrable forests extended as far south as lat. 52° N., stretching in a broad belt from Western Europe to the Pacific Ocean. Consequently the penetration of Asia into Europe could only be effected south of the forest belt. . . . Europe can thus be likened to an almost closed circle with a double break on the south-east; and this isolation with a localised point of contact with the outer world has given it a political and economic history all its own. For this reason the north-west shoulder of Europe has been called a *continent*, although its physical features are but a continuation of those of Asia, Europe and Asia together forming the *geographical continent* of Eurasia. A vegetation

map will enable you to see the easiest routes of entry from Asia to Europe. From lat. 52° N. to lat. 45° N.—and, indeed, one might say as far south at lat. 30° N.—there are extensive grassy plains broken here and there by semi-deserts. These regions were inhabited by herdmen and horsemen, nomads who wandered and still wander in search of plunder or new feeding-grounds for their stock. Horde after horde rode from Central Asia through the Gate of Dzungaria westward into Europe until checked by the forested Carpathians. The main bodies of invaders turned either into the plains of the south or the more open regions of the forest-lands of the north-west. Smaller bands pushed on through the mountain passes or the Moravian Gate into the 'island' steppe of Hungary. . . . The change of environment from grass to forest land after possibly centuries of occupation, produced a change in the lives and occupations of the people. Instead of nomads they became settlers, cultivating the lands adjacent to their new homes. Such settlements necessitated organized labour, so that laws and customs also gradually changed. The forests of Europe became dotted with village communities, each administering its own local affairs, but claiming some affinity with other communities of the same tribe. New invaders were naturally tempted to seize these lands already cleared and under cultivation, so that migration has been ever westward along certain well-

marked inland routes of least resistance or along the coasts and river valleys of the Mediterranean. Among the rivers and swamps, the boat to some extent displaced the horse, so that we may say the herdmen and horsemen of Asia became the ploughmen and boatmen of Europe. Therefore, in these lands of the north-west, with their network of waterways, a new type of society developed, which differed entirely from the types of society of Asia or Africa. Many important phases of European history are the results of the struggles of the agriculturists already within the continent against the pastoralists desirous of entering. Those peoples who entered Europe through the Uralo-Caspian Gate differed considerably from those who crossed over from Asia Minor by way of the islands and peninsulas of the Ægean Sea. The former occupied the plains of the north, the latter the lands of the Mediterranean. Their racial differences were accentuated by geographical features and climate. The flow of the rivers shows that Europe, in general, slopes towards the north-west and the south-east from a watershed extending in an almost unbroken line from Mount Yalping Nor in the Urals, whence rise the Petchora and other rivers, to Mount Maladetta in the Pyrenees. The northern lands slope away from the sun, the southern lands towards it. Climatically, Europe falls into three divisions: the Mediterranean, with its very warm, dry summer and warm, moist winter, during which cereals and other crops are grown; the north-west temperate lands, with a climate tending to bleakness in winter; and an eastern region, which may be taken broadly as beyond the 32° F. winter isotherm—an area icebound and for the most part, snowclad during the winter months. The peoples of the north-west remained barbarian long after the Mediterranean races had become highly civilised, while those of the frozen east even lagged behind those of the north-west. Many European movements trace their origin to the struggle between the peoples of the north-west and those of the Mediterranean, as, for example, the expansion of the Roman Empire to the north, the barbarian invasions to the south, and the numerous attempts made by strong races from mediæval times to our own to obtain a 'through route' from north to south. Not until comparatively recent times have the peoples of the east—the Russians—really begun to take their place among the nations of the world. . . . Historical Europe, as we have thus defined it, comprises the areas draining to the northern and southern seas. To this we should perhaps add the Atlas regions—the Barbary States—since these, from early to modern times, have been linked intimately with the lands of the opposite shores by the waterway of the Western Mediterranean. The approximate limit eastwards is a line from Petrograd along the Volga and Don to the Sea of Azov. This is 'inner' Europe—the Europe of history. Surrounding 'inner' Europe is a fringe of debatable land—the north-eastern states of Africa, Syria, Asia Minor, and Russia beyond the Volga—possession of which has always been subject to dispute between Europeans and Asiatics. This is 'outer' Europe, to which, of course, no definite boundaries can be assigned. The Mediterranean is the home of European civilisation. There are many reasons for this. Situated between the forests to the north and the semi-deserts to the south, it was a transition zone in which periodicity of climate broke the hard control of the great belts of forest and desert, and allowed man to come in with his cultivated plants and domesticated animals. The warm climate mitigated the penalty of poverty; clothing and shelter were not so essential

as in the north-west or in Russia, while there was no season when Nature refused to give supplies of food. The beautiful sunshine, the blue sky, and the many other pleasing features of the Mediterranean, stimulated thought rather than hard work, and thought and the exchange of thought is the necessary beginning for a higher civilisation. It was possible, too, for places in the various parts of the coast to communicate easily and freely with each other. The Mediterranean is practically tideless; therefore there are no long stretches of sandy foreshore. Boats could be landed anywhere, and towns sprang up on the open bays—e.g., at Ver'ce, Naples, Genoa, Marseilles, and Barcelona—and not at river mouths, silted up as they were with sandbanks. Great storms seldom threatened to wreck even the smallest of boats, for the leeward side of the many islands was sure to offer shelter. Nether was it necessary, except on very rare occasions, to go out of sight of land. The mountainous mainland and islands could be distinctly seen in the clear atmosphere."—W. H. Barker and W. Rees, *Making of Europe*, pp. 1-4, 6, 7.

PREHISTORIC

Earliest remains of man.—"Man emerges from the vast geologic history of the earth in the period known as the Pleistocene or Glacial and Post glacial. . . . It is our difficult but fascinating task to project in our imagination the extraordinary series of prehistoric material events which were witnessed by the successive races of Palaeolithic man in Europe. . . . Throughout this long epoch western Europe is to be viewed as a peninsula, surrounded in all sides by the sea and stretching westward from the great land mass of eastern Europe and of Asia, which was the chief theatre of evolution both of animal and human life."—H. F. Osborn, *Men of the old Stone Age*, pp. 18-19.—The chronology of the remains of prehistoric man is established through the geologic condition of the soil in which they are found; the remains of mammals found in the same stratum and the human anatomy together with the evidences of human industry are correlated. Pithecanthropus Erectus, the very earliest fossil of man, was found in Java and is beyond the European problem not only because of the distance geographically but also chronologically for even the oldest specimens found in Europe show a great advance over the Java fossil. To understand the significance of the discoveries of fossil man in Europe and to see the results of these discoveries in the proper correlation with the geographical and climatic conditions of a world which was still changing with comparative rapidity, the following table serves as a good introduction and summary.

HEIDELBERG MAN.—PITHECANTHROPUS.—"In 1907 a lower jaw, known now as the Heidelberg or Mauer jaw, was discovered by workmen in the sand-pit of Mauer near Heidelberg. The Mauer jaw is indeed a most remarkable specimen. The first general outcome of an inspection of the photographs or of the excellent casts (which may now be seen in many museums) is a profound impression of its enormous strength. . . . By every part of the specimen save one, this impression is confirmed. This massiveness, together with the complete absence of any prominence at the chin, would have caused great hesitation in regard to the pronouncement of a decision as to the probable nature of the fossil. The one paradoxical feature is the relatively small size of the teeth. All of these have been preserved, though on the left side the crowns

of four have been removed by accident in the process of clearing away some adherent earth and pebbles. The net result shows that the teeth are actually within the range of variation provided by human beings of races still extant, though commonly regarded as 'primitive,' if not pithecoïd (such as the aboriginal race of Australia). Yet these teeth are implanted in a jaw of such size and strength as render difficult the reference of the specimen to a human being. The most striking features of the Mauer jaw have been mentioned already. Before entering upon a further discussion of its probable nature, it will be well to note some of the other distinctive characters. Thus the portion . . . known technically as the ascending ramus is of great size, and particularly wide, surpassing all known human specimens in this respect. The upper margin of this part is very slightly excavated, a slight depression . . . replacing the very definite 'sigmoid' notch found in almost all human jaws (though the relative shallowness of this notch has been long recognized as distinctive of the lowest human types). The difference in vertical height between the uppermost points of the condyle . . . and the coronoid process . . . is therefore unusually small. On the other hand, the lower margin of the bone is undulating, so that it presents a hollow on each side, as well as one near the middle line in front. The two halves of the bone are definitely inclined to one another and this convergence is faintly marked in the two rows of teeth behind the canines. The latter teeth do not project markedly above the level of those adjacent to them. The incisor teeth are remarkably curved in their long axes, with a convexity in front. The prominences called 'genial tubercles' behind the chin are replaced by a shallow pit or fossa. . . . Of the three larger anthropoid apes available for comparison [with the Heidelberg jaws], it is hard to say which presents the closest similarity. The Gibbons do not appear to approach so nearly as these larger forms. Among the latter, no small range of individual variations occurs. My own comparisons shew that of the material at my disposal the mandible of an Orang-utan comes nearest to the Mauer jaw. But other mandibles of the same kind of ape (Orang-utan) are very different. The chief difficulty in assigning the possessor of the Mauer jaw to a pithecoïd stock has been mentioned already. It consists in the inadequate size of the teeth. In addition to this, other evidence comes from the results of an examination of the grinding surfaces (crowns) of the molar teeth. These resemble teeth of the more primitive human types rather than those of apes. Finally the convergence of the two rows when traced towards the canine or eye-tooth of each side, points in the same direction. . . . If the ape be thus rejected, the next question is, Would the Mauer jaw be appropriate to such a cranium as that of Pithecanthropus? I believe an affirmative answer is justifiable. It is true that an excellent authority (Keith) hesitates on the ground that the mandible seems too massive for the skull, though the same writer recognizes that, in regard to the teeth the comparison is apt. This is a difficult point. For instance the *H. moust. hauseri* . . . has a mandible which is far 'lower' than the capacity of the brain-case would lead one to expect. Therefore it seems that the degree of correlation between mandible and capacity is small, and to predict the size of the brain from evidence given by the jaw is not always safe. It is to be remembered that special stress was laid by Professor Dubois . . . on the fact that the teeth of Pithecanthropus when compared with the skull-cap are inadequately small, if judged by the ape-standard

of proportion. The characters of the teeth, in so far as upper and lower molars can be compared, present no obstacle to such an association, and in fact provide some additional evidence in its favour. The crucial point seems therefore to be the massiveness of the jaw. With regard to this, the following remarks may be made. First, that the skull-cap of Pithecanthropus is on all sides admitted to shew provision for powerful jaw-muscles. And further, in respect of actual measurements, the comparison of the transverse width of the Javanese skull-cap with that of the Mauer jaw is instructive. For the skull-cap measures 130 mm. in extreme width, the jaw 130 mm. . . .

TABLE SHOWING CORRELATION OF GEOLOGIC PERIODS, CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT TYPES OF MAN AND CLIMATIC CONDITIONS IN EARLY EUROPE*

(Adapted from H. F. Osborn, in *Men of the Old Stone Age.*)

Geological Periods	Periods of Cultural Development	Type of Man	Climate, Flora, Fauna
	Prehistoric		
	Neolithic		
Post-glacial	8. Azilian-Tardenoisian 6. Solutrean 7. Magdalenian 5. Aurignacian	Upper Paleolithic Cro-Magnon Grimaldi	Recent Forest, Meadow Reindeer Period, Arctic Tundra, Steppe, Alpine
IV Glacial	25,000 years 4. Mousterian 50,000 years	Neanderthal	Forest, Meadow Cold Fauna Arrival Steppe, Tundra Fauna
3d Inter-Glacial	3. Acheulean 75,000 years 2. Chellean 100,000 years 1. Pre-Chellean 125,000 years 150,000 years	Lower Paleolithic Pittdown	Last Warm African-Asiatic Fauna Also Forest, Meadow, Eurasiatic Fauna
III Glacial	Cold Tundra Fauna Woolly Mammoth and Rhinoceros. First Steppe and Reindeer.		
2d Inter-glacial	200,000 years 225,000-250,000 275,000-300,000 325,000 350,000	Heidelberg	Warm African-Asiatic Fauna
II Glacial	First Cold Fauna 400,000 years		
1st Inter-Glacial	425,000 years 450,000		Warm African-Asiatic Fauna
	475,000 years Cold Forest Bed	Pithecanthropus (Trinil)	
I Glacial	Fauna in S. Britain 500,000 years		
Pliocene	525,000		Pliocene Warm Forest

* To be read upward for chronological sequence

"Passing from the consideration of Pithecanthropus to that of human beings, the general results of the comparisons that can be made will shew that the gap separating the jaw of Mauer from all modern human representatives is filled by human jaws of great prehistoric antiquity. The progress of an evolutionary development is accordingly well-illustrated by these specimens. And although *Homo heidelbergensis* is seen to be separated from his modern successors by great differences in form as well as a vast lapse of time, still

the intervening period does provide intermediate forms to bridge the gulf. Not the least interesting of many reflections conjured up by the Mauer jaw, is that this extraordinary form should be met with in a latitude so far north of that corresponding to the Javanese discoveries. This difference, together with that of longitude, suggests an immense range of distribution of these ancestral types."—W. L. H. Duckworth, *Prehistoric man*, pp. 10-16.—See also ANTHROPOLOGY: Physical.

PILTOWN MAN.—Late in 1912, in the locality of Piltown, Sussex, England, several fragments of bones of the "Dawn man" were recovered from a gravel deposit by Dr. Smith Woodward and Mr. Dawson. "The question of the geological age of these now celebrated specimens is naturally of first importance. It has been suspected by some that geologically they are not old at all; that they may even represent a deliberate hoax, a negro or Australian skull and a broken apejaw, artificially fossilized and 'planted' in the gravel-bed, to fool the

irregularly fractured flints, were also found in and around the gravel-pit. 3. One flint implement of Old Stone Age type was discovered *in situ* in the bed which lies immediately above the Dawn Man stratum. In brief, the discoveries of the Dawn Man finally refer his remains to the Palaeolithic (Old Stone Age), but the more precise date is not settled. . . .

"The temporal bone and its mastoid process, the back of the head and the whole brain-case, as well as the brain cast, are human in character, although of low type, while the lower jaw and dentition are prevailingly simian. And while this regional distribution of human and simian characters was unexpected and in a way unprecedented, it means, as Professor Elliot Smith has noted, that the erect pose of the body, the freeing of the hands from locomotive functions, and the human development of the brain were associated in the Piltown man with a more conservative or simian structure of the dentition and jaw. . . . Palaeontologists and com-



Neanderthal Man

Piltown Man

Cromagnon Man

RECONSTRUCTION OF HEADS OF PREHISTORIC MEN

Modelled by Prof. J. H. McGregor on casts of the original skulls
(Models in American Museum of Natural History.)

scientists. Against this suggestion tell the whole circumstances of the discovery. . . . None of the experts who have scrutinized the specimens and the gravel-pit and its surroundings has doubted the genuineness of the discovery. All agree that the Dawn Man dates at the very latest from the Old Stone age, and for the following reasons: 1. The dark stratum which yielded the human remains also contained a number of mammalian fossils, representing a primitive elephant (Stegodon), a mastodon (Mastodon arvernensis), a rhinoceros, a hippopotamus, a horse and a beaver. The mastodon and the stegodon belonged to species which were characteristic of the Pliocene epoch and on that account Professor Keith at first regarded the human remains as equally old; but Dr. Smith Woodward and Mr. Dawson maintained that the mastodon and rhinoceros teeth had been washed into the gravel bed from an older formation, because they had been rolled and were water-worn. The hippopotamus and the beaver may be of either Upper Pliocene or Pleistocene age. A fragmentary fossil antler of a red deer was found near by, but its association with the other remains is doubted. 2. 'Eoliths,' or

parative anatomists likewise recognize and value the differences between men and apes. They realize that even the lowest existing races of mankind are extremely superior to apes in mentality, in power of speech and in ability to use the hand as an organ of the will and intelligence. But they also believe that all these higher faculties, marvelous as they are, find their beginnings in the psychic and physical life of the apes, that the key to the mental and structural adaptations of mankind is to be found in the Primates alone among mammals. Such being the general viewpoint of palaeontologists and comparative anatomists, it need hardly be said that, to them, the Piltown man, far from disproving the 'Darwinian theory,' is indeed a sort of 'man in the making.' He is one of the innumerable experiments made in Nature's vast laboratory, an early branch of the prehuman stock which had achieved a low human stage of brain and brain-case, but which in face and dentition still bore unmistakable traces of derivation from large-brained, primitive anthropoid apes."—W. K. Gregory, *Dawn man of Piltown, England*, pp. 190-191, 198-200.—The Heidelberg jaw and possibly

the Piltdown skull are generally held to belong to the Chellean period. From the Acheulean period, which lies above, we have no human remains.—See also ANTHROPOLOGY: Physical.

NEANDERTHAL SKELETON, MAN IN THE MOUSTERIAN STAGE.—“The skeletons from Mauer and Piltdown are isolated phenomena. They do not link human life in Europe to anything that has gone before. They cannot therefore be brought forward as evidence that the continent of Europe was the scene of the development of Man . . . for their owners may just as well have been immigrants from some other region. . . . When we reach the Mousterian stage we at last find ourselves tolerably well supplied with material for the study of the physical characters of the tool-makers. . . . Le Moustier is situated near to the village of Les Eyzies on the right bank of the Vézère, [a tributary of the Dordogne, which is] a tributary of the Garonne flowing through the department of La Dordogne. Here . . . there is a little cave” in which remains have been discovered which “have been accepted as typical of the stage,” in the development of man, “called from the name of the place in question the Mousterian stage.”—R. A. S. Macalister, *European archaeology*, v. 1, pp. 204, 284, 285.—If we are very poor in human fossils of the lower Pleistocene, or Chellean, we are very rich in those of the Middle Pleistocene which corresponds almost to the Mousterian of the archæologists. We know already that this epoch is very different from the preceding one. It corresponds with the last glacial invasion. The flora and fauna of central and southern Europe were at the same time different from the flora and fauna of Chellean times and from the flora and fauna of today. They manifest a climate much more humid and much colder. The great extinct species of mammals were covered with a thick fleece: most of the species which still live, the reindeer, musk ox, glutton, wild goat, chamois, marmotte, inhabit only the northern countries or high mountains. From the archaeological point of view, there are also many changes. The flints are smaller, less thick, finer. The dominant types are the *pointes* and *raclours* cut and retouched on one face only. One sees for the first time some trace of the use of bone. We are then in the presence of conditions of a *milieu* quite different from those of the Chellean and much more severe: man obliged to protect himself against the rigors of the climate must modify his habitat. He took refuge in the caverns, he lived there, he died there, he left there the bones which we exhume today with so much interested curiosity. In 1856 a skull pan, the thigh bones, upper bone of each arm, shoulder blade, collar bone, and fragments of ribs were taken from the little grotto of Feldhofer, situated between Dusseldorf and Elberfeld (Rhenish Prussia) in the ravine called Neanderthal. This is the famous discovery called the Neanderthal man saved by Fühlrott and described by Schaaflausen.—Based on M. Boule, *Les Hommes fossiles*, p. 176.—“The only existing race [whose physiology] approaches that of the Neanderthal skull is the Australian, and even this does so only remotely. In the Australian skull the torus is rarely, if ever, so completely continuous and uniform as in the Neanderthal; its dimensions are less and its characters different. In the Neanderthal skull the torus receives additional emphasis from the presence of a corresponding depression which runs parallel with it along its upper margin. . . . This trough is spoken of as the frontal fossa; nothing resembling it occurs in the Australian skull. In the Australian skull it is the glabellar region of the torus that is most pro-

tuberant, projecting farthest immediately above the root of the nose, which looks as if it had been squeezed in close under the glabella; this gives an appearance of concentration—almost indeed of ferocity—to the Australian face. In the Neanderthal skull the torus does not descend in this fashion; it rises well above the eyes and root of the nose, recalling its disposition in the chimpanzee.”—W. J. Sollas, *Ancient hunters*, p. 187.—This skeleton was the first to attract scientific attention, and consequently man of this period is commonly spoken of as Neanderthal from the name of the locality in which the remains were discovered. These, however, are not the best source from which we obtain knowledge of man at this period. In 1864 at the congress of the British association, Busk, an English geologist, presented a human skull which had been found in 1848 in a quarry at Gibraltar. Busk compared this skull with that of Neanderthal. We cannot doubt the great antiquity of the Gibraltar skull. It is contemporaneous with the fauna of the deep deposits of the caverns described by Busk, which presents a southerly aspect of the fauna of the middle pleistocene. The human skull, and the bones of animals are in the same state of fossilization. The year 1866 was marked by the discovery of the jaw of La Naulette almost as celebrated as the skull pan of Neanderthal. Found by Dupont, an eminent Belgian geologist, in an intact bed, at Naulette near Dinant it was well dated by the animal debris of the Middle Pleistocene which accompanied it. The year 1886 was signalized by the very important discovery in the grotto of Spy in Belgium. Here all the desirable scientific conditions were realized. The stratigraphy was well established by a geologist, the fauna accompanying the human remains is that of the middle Pleistocene. The flints are of the Mousterian form.—Based on M. Boule, *Les Hommes fossiles*, pp. 180-181.—In Le Moustier “Mousterian man appears to have found a home for a prolonged period, and has left behind him very numerous and interesting relics. His chief occupations were hunting and fishing, and from the abundance of the remains of the horse, wild cattle and reindeer, we may infer that these animals were his mainstay. . . . But he hunted also many others, especially musk-ox, chamois and red deer. And now and again mammoth and woolly rhinoceros; while occasionally bears, lion, hyæna, glutton, arctic fox and other carnivores were overcome. . . . Le Moustier is particularly notable for the discovery there in 1907 of a human skeleton, that of a youth of sixteen years, which had obviously been covered up in Paleolithic times. This is one of several similar discoveries recorded from the caves of France. In the cave of La Chapelle-aux-Saints in the Department of Corrèze, for instance, the skeleton of a man about fifty years of age was revealed. . . . The body had obviously been buried in a grave, and not merely covered over with debris. Again in the cave of La Ferrassie, Dordogne, yet another skeleton has been unearthed. This discovery is particularly interesting, inasmuch as there is evidence in the cave-deposits of a succession of culture stages. At the very bottom occurred a bed of red sand, above which came a layer containing Acheulean implements, and overlying that a strata characterised by the presence of Mousterian artifacts. . . . It was at the bottom of this upper stratum that the skeleton lay. The succeeding layers contained artifacts differing from those of Mousterian type, and belonging to the Aurignacian stage of culture.”—J. Geikie, *Antiquity of man in Europe*, pp. 68-70.

We now reach a series of recent discoveries of

such interest that they must be described at more length. The first is that of the skeleton of La Chapelle-aux-Saints [found in August, 1908]. This fortunate discovery furnished the least incomplete and best preserved human Mousterian fossil known up to that time. The age of the skeleton is established as clearly as possible. The bed was very rich in cut flints comprising principally the two classic Mousterian types: *pointes* and *raclours*. The parts of the skeleton which have been reassembled are the skull and lower jaw, twenty-one vertebrae or fragments, about twenty ribs or fragments of ribs, a clavicle, two humerus, almost complete, the two radius, incomplete, the two cubitus, some bones of the hand, some pieces of the iliacs, the two rotulas, portions of the two tibiae, a tatus, a calcaneum, the five right metatarsals, two pieces of the left metatarsals, and a phalange. In January, 1900, a Swiss dealer in antiquities who had for too long exploited, on account of the Germans, the beds of Dordogne, made known the circumstances in which he had found and exhumed a human skeleton at Le Moustier, on August 10, 1908. The scientific value of this document is still singularly lessened by the penury of stratigraphic and serious paleontologic gifts. There is at La Ferrassie (Dordogne) a shelter under rocks of which M. Capitan and Peyrony explored during ten years the numerous superimposed layers, rich in objects worked by the Paleolithics. [Human remains were found on September 17, 1909, by Monsieur Peyrony.] At his invitation and that of his collaborator, Monsieur Capitan, several persons went to La Ferrassie, to be present and collaborate at the extraction of the skeleton, Messieurs Cartailhac, Breuil, Bouyssonie, and M. Boule assured themselves (1) that the stratigraphic plane is sensibly the same as that of La Chapelle-aux-Saints at the base of a Mousterian archaeological bed, reposing, according to Messieurs Capitan and Peyrony, on an Acheulean bed; (2) that it was a question of an individual of the Neanderthal type; (3) that the bones of that human fossil had retained their anatomic connection, and that they lay in the middle of the beds intact, but without trace of sepulture. The same bed yielded in 1910 to Monsieur Peyrony, a second skeleton, lying not far from the first. This denotes an individual more frail, of smaller stature, very probably feminine. Finally in 1912 there were collected some portions of the skeletons of two children. It seemed that we had there the remains of a whole family dead, perhaps by accident, buried by a falling in of the cave. In 1911, Dr. Henri Martin discovered at La Quina (Charente) a human skeleton in a clearly Mousterian milieu. The well-preserved parts of the head have the same character as those of the skull pan of Neanderthal, as the skull and the mandible of La Chapelle-aux-Saints. To sum up, of about twenty discoveries of which the generally satisfying state permits attribution to the middle Pleistocene about half consist only of pieces that are too fragmentary. The others have furnished etiological documents, lending themselves to complete morphological studies: The Neanderthal type of human fossil is thus known to us today by documents well preserved, easy to study and accounting for about fifteen individuals at least. We are then today in possession of a complete collection of material, relating to a homogeneous human type very different from all existing human types. This human type, which presents numerous characters of inferiority, must be designated under the name of *homo Neanderthalensis*. Here follows a very brief description of this type, based principally on the skeleton of La Chapelle-aux-Saints: The head of the man of La

Chapelle-aux-Saints, appears strange, even to the eyes of those unfamiliar with anatomy. It strikes us first by its very considerable dimensions, considering the small stature of the subject to which it belonged. It strikes us next by its bestial aspect, or it might be better to say by an *ensemble* of simian characters. The skull of elongated form is very elliptic; the eye sockets are enormous; the forehead is very tapering; the occipital region very projecting and depressed. The long face projects forward; the orbits are enormous; the nose, separated from the forehead by a deep depression, is short and very large; the superior maxillary forms a sort of muzzle; the mandible is robust, thick; the chin rudimentary. Seen from above, all the skulls of the Neanderthal man appear remarkably uniform. They are dolichocephalic. The cranial boxes are much more protuberant at the back than in front where the frontal is greatly narrowed. From a prolonged and careful study one can say that Neanderthal man was of small massive stature, with very short legs. The head was extremely large; the facial part very much developed in relation to the cerebral part. The cephalic index was medium; the skull very flat. The supraorbital arches were enormous, forming a continuous ridge; the forehead retreated; the occiput projected and was compressed vertically. The face was long and protuberant, with the cheek bones flat and retreating; the superior maxillary presented the form of a muzzle; but was devoid of canine fosses. The orbits were very large and round; the nose projecting, and prominent. The upper lip was long; the lower jaw robust and without a chin. The teeth were large (but distinctly human) and the back molars preserved their primitive traits. The vertebral column and bones of the members presented numerous pithecoïdal characters, denoting a biped or vertical attitude less perfect than in man of our own times. The cephalic mean capacity was about 1400 ccm. The cerebral conformation presented numerous simian or primitive characteristics, especially in the great relative reduction of the frontal lobes, and the general design of the circumvolutions.—Based on M. Boule, *Les Hommes fossiles*, pp. 180-193, 238.—“The total aspect of Neanderthal man may be characterized in the following manner: An enormous head placed upon a short and thick trunk, with limbs very short and thick-set, and very robust; the shoulders broad and stooping, with the head and neck habitually bent forward; . . . the arms relatively short as compared with the legs; the lower leg, as compared with the upper leg, shorter than in any of the existing races of men; the knee habitually bent forward without the power of straightening the joint or of standing fully erect; the hands extremely large and without the delicate play between the thumb and fingers characteristic of modern races. . . . Thus the ordinary attitudes characteristic of *Homo neanderthalensis* would be quite different from our own and most ungainly.”—H. F. Osborn, *Men of the old Stone Age*, pp. 243-244.

ALSO IN: H. B. von Buttel-Reepen, *Man and his forerunners*.

GRIMALDI MAN.—“Among the numerous human skeletons yielded by the caves of Mentone, two were discovered at a great depth in a cave known as the ‘Grotte des Enfants.’ The excavations were set on foot by the Prince of Monaco, and these particular skeletons have been designated the ‘Grimaldi’ remains. Their chief interest (apart from the evidence as to a definite interment having taken place) consists on the alleged presence of ‘negroid’ characters. The skeletons are those of a young man . . . and an aged woman. The late Professor

Gaudry examined the jaw of the male skeleton. He noted the large dimensions of the teeth, the prognathism, the feeble development of the chin, and upon such grounds pointed out the similarity of this jaw to those of aboriginal natives of Australia. Some years later Dr. Verneau, in describing the same remains, based a claim to (African) negroid affinity on those characters, adding thereto evidence drawn from a study of the limb bones. In both male and female alike, the lower limbs are long and slender, while the forearm and shinbones are relatively long when compared respectively with the arm and the thighbones. From a review of the evidence it seems that the term 'negroid' is scarcely justified, and there is no doubt that the Grimaldi skeletons could be matched without difficulty by skeletons of even recent date. Herein they are strongly contrasted with skeletons of the Neanderthal group. And although modern Europeans undoubtedly may possess any of the osteological characters claimed as 'negroid' by Dr. Verneau, nevertheless the African negro races possess those characters more frequently and more markedly. . . . Caution in accepting the designation 'negroid' is therefore based upon reluctance to allow positive evidence from two or three characters to outweigh numerous negative indications; and besides this consideration, it will be admitted that two specimens provide but a feeble basis for supporting the super-structure thus laid on their characters. Lastly Dr. Verneau has been at some pains to shew that skulls of the 'Grimaldi-negroid' type persist in modern times. Yet the possessors of many and probably most such modern crania were white men and not negroes. Enough has however been related to shew how widely the skeletons from the 'Grotte des Enfants' differ from the Palaeolithic remains associated as the Neanderthal type."—W. L. H. Duckworth, *Prehistoric man*, pp. 50, 52.

CROMAGNON MAN.—"There is a widely spread notion that our remote ancestors were a race of giants. Hitherto, as we have passed from type to type into a remote past that takes us well within the Glacial Period, the samples of ancient humanity preserved to us have been one and all people of a low stature—only five feet or a little over. Now we proceed to consider the oldest race of great stature that has yet been discovered, one which flourished in the south of France when the last of the cold periods was lifting from Europe. The first examples of this race were discovered in 1868, when a railway was being constructed in the valley of the Vézère, a tributary of the Dordogne. A cutting made in the debris at the foot of the limestone cliffs which flank the valley of the Vézère at Cro-Magnon, brought to light the skeletons of a man, of a woman, and part of the skull of a third individual. Hence this ancient type or race is usually named Cro-Magnon. We now know ten individuals of that race of which eight are men and two are women. The stature of five of the men can be estimated with some degree of exactness—it varies from 1820 to 1870 mm. (5 ft. 11½ in. to 6 ft. 1½ in.). The woman, as is usually the case in tall races, was evidently of a smaller stature; we can estimate the height of one only; she was young and measured 1560 mm. (5 ft. 3½ in.). The discovery of the human remains at Cro-Magnon in 1868 was made at the time when scientists were beginning to realize that the history of ancient man could be deciphered in the caves and old rock shelters along the valleys of the Dordogne and Vézère, and when a band of young men was arising in France who knew how to interpret the human signs found there. We owe our knowledge of the Cro-Magnon race to the

French School of Anthropologists. . . . The Cro-Magnon race was discovered at a period when, under Darwin's influence, anthropologists expected to find man becoming more primitive in mind and body as his history was traced into the past. The discovery at Cro-Magnon showed that the evolution of human types was not an orderly one, for, in size of brain, and in stature, the race which flourished in the south of Europe at the close of the Glacial Period was one of the finest the world has ever seen. Yet they must have been grim-visaged and savage-looking men. . . . It is in France itself that we find evidence as to the period at which the Cro-Magnon men appeared in Europe. Their brains were large and we naturally expect signs of a high mental development. In their hands art reached a stage of realism which has never been surpassed; they engraved the animals they hunted on bone and ivory with the accurate eye and hand of the true artist. Their implements of flint and bone are characteristic; hence the strata in the floors of caves formed during the time of the Cro-Magnon race can be recognized. The chief period of the Cro-Magnon race is named the Magdalenien, because in the La Madeleine rock shelter in the valley of the Vézère, three miles above Cro-Magnon, remains of their civilization are found abundantly. . . . The explorations of the caves on the shores of the Riviera near Mentone, under the auspices of the Prince of Monaco, have extended our knowledge of the Cro-Magnon type. The remains of the two negroids of Grimaldi, it will be remembered, were found in the Grotte des Enfants below strata which had accumulated in the course of long ages to a depth of 8½ metres—over 28 feet. The Grimaldi remains rested in a stratum which was evidently formed in a warm period, for it contained the remains of animals which we associate with a semi-tropical climate. In a stratum nearly 3 feet above the one containing the negroids was found the skeleton of a splendid specimen of the Cro-Magnon race. Remains of the fauna of a cooler climate then appear. If the reindeer then sought the climate it now prefers we may conclude that the temperature of the south of France resembled that which now prevails in the north of Europe and did so for a long period, for in the strata formed over the Cro-Magnon burial, to the extent of 20 feet, remains of the reindeer occur. There is evidence to show that the Cro-Magnon type persisted in Europe throughout the long period marked by the presence of the reindeer. The Cro-Magnon man was tall; the individual found in the Grotte des Enfants stood about 6 ft. 3 in. in life. His long collar bones show he was wide-shouldered, with a great breadth of chest. His thigh bones were long and straight and their shafts shaped like a razor, so strongly pronounced was the ridge for the attachment of muscles on its posterior aspect. The leg bones, or tibiae, as in the Grimaldi and in negroid races, were relatively and absolutely long. There are in this and a number of other features—the short, wide face, the prominent cheek bones and pointed chin—also traces of the negroid in the Cro-Magnon race. By the end of the reindeer period the Cro-Magnon race seems to have been absorbed by other races. The type has been identified amongst the Neolithic inhabitants of Switzerland. In form of head the natives of England who buried their dead in long mounds or barrows have much in common with the Cro-Magnon race. Although there is no race in Europe to-day that can be regarded as representative of this Palaeolithic people, yet in Germany, Switzerland, France, and Britain individuals of this type are not rare. They are the

tall men of commanding mien. It is likely enough that Cro-Magnon blood may be in their veins, but time and civilization have lengthened their faces, reduced the prominence of their cheek bones, diminished the strength of their jaws, and opened out their eye-sockets, thus removing the lowering sour visage which characterized the Cro-Magnon face."—A. Keith, *Ancient types of man*, pp. 64-66, 69, 71-73.—See also FRANCE: People.

Stone Age: Divisions.—With this brief description of the skeletal remains of ancient man as an introduction we can now turn to the remains of the culture of these people. In the strata where these fossils are found there are usually buried with them the same implements which they had fashioned. As the archaeologist digs down he finds the tools becoming more and more crude and asymmetrical. Archaeologists have divided the Stone Age, the period in which all these ancient types of man existed into two major periods: The Paleolithic and the Neolithic. In the Paleolithic period, brittle flint was used in stone work and the processes of chipping and flaking were employed. The flint comes in large nodules and the flaking process was used to shape a fragment broken from the nodule into the approximate shape of the implement; then the chipping was done around the edges to give it a sharp blade and also to reduce it to the final shape of the finished tool. In the Neolithic period, on the other hand, tough stones were used and other processes were introduced. A tough stone cannot be handled in the same way in which brittle stones had been hewn into shape. The technical processes of the Neolithic period were battering, grinding, pecking and polishing. The development of the Paleolithic period has been worked out very carefully and as can be seen from the table above, archaeologists here separated it into the lower and upper Paleolithic division, each with four stages of industrial development. The names Chellean, Acheulean, etc., refer to the particular Paleolithic stations in France and Belgium where the implements of this stage were found in preponderance. Some stations have in their succeeding strata, examples of practically all stages of Paleolithic industry.

PRE-CHELLEAN.—"In considering the Pre-Chellean [Heidelberg and Piltdown man] implements found at St. Acheul in 1906, we note that at this dawning stage of human invention the flint workers were not deliberately designing the form of their implements but were dealing rather with the chance shapes of shattered blocks of flint, seeking with a few well-directed blows to produce a sharp point or a good cutting edge. This was the beginning of the art of 'retouch,' which was done by means of light blows with a second stone instead of the hammer-stone with which the rough flakes were first knocked off. The retouch served a double purpose: Its first and most important object was further to sharpen the point or edge of the tool. This was done by chipping off small flakes from the upper side, so as to give the flint a saw-like edge. Its second object was to protect the hand of the user by blunting any sharp edges or points which might prevent a firm grip of the implement. Often the smooth, rounded end of the flint nodule, with crust intact, is carefully preserved for this purpose. . . . It is this grasping of the primitive tool by the hand to which the terms 'coup de poing,' 'Faustkeil,' and 'hand-axe' refer. 'Hand-stone' is, perhaps, the most fitting designation in our language, but it appears best to retain the original French designation, *coup de poing*. As the shape of the flint is purely due to chance, these Pre-Chellean implements are interpreted by

archaeologists chiefly according to the manner of retouch they have received. Already they are adapted to quite a variety of purposes, both as weapons of the chase and for trimming and shaping wooden implements and dressing hides. Thus Obermaier observes that the concave, serrated edges characteristic of some of these implements may well have been used for scraping the bark from branches and smoothing them down into poles; that the rough *coups de poing* would be well adapted to dividing flesh and dressing hides; that the sharp-pointed fragments could be used as borers, and others that are clumsier and heavier as planes. . . . The inventory of these ancestral Pre-Chellean forms of implements, used in industrial and domestic life, in the chase, and in war, is as follows: *Grattoir*, planing tool; *Racloir*, scraper; *Perçoir*, drill, borer; *Couteau*, knife; *Percuteur*, hammer-stone; *Pierre de jet*, throwing stone; Prototypes of *coup de poing*, hand-stone. It includes five, possibly six, chief types. The true *coup de poing*, a combination tool of Chellean times, is not yet developed in the Pre-Chellean, and the other implements, although similar in form, are more primitive. They are all in an experimental stage of development. Indications that this primitive industry spread over southeastern England as well, and that a succession of Pre-Chellean into Chellean culture may be demonstrated, occur in connection with the recent discovery of the very ancient Piltdown race."—A. F. Osborn, *Men of the old Stone Age*, pp. 128-130.

CHELLEAN.—"All over the world may be found traces of a Stone Age, ancient or modern, primitive implements of stone and flint analogous to those of the true Chellean period of western Europe but not really identical when very closely compared. These represent the early attempts of the human hand, directed by the primitive mind, to fashion hard materials into forms adapted to the purposes of war, the chase, and domestic life. . . . Compared with the Pre-Chellean flint workers the Chellean artisans advanced both by the improvement of the older types of implements and by the invention of new ones. As observed by Obermaier, the flint worker is still dependent on the chance shape of the shattered fragments of flint which he has not yet learned to shape symmetrically. In the experimental search after the most useful form of flint which could be grasped by the hand, the very characteristic Chellean *coup de poing* was evolved out of its Pre-Chellean prototype. This implement was made of an elongate nodule, either of quartzite or, preferably, of flint, and flaked by the hammer on both sides to a more or less almond shape; as a rule, the point and its adjacent edges are sharpened; the other end being rounded and blunted. Like most, if not all, of the Chellean implements, it was designed to be grasped by the bare hand and not furnished with a wooden haft or handle. It is not impossible that some of the pointed forms may have been wedged into a wooden handle, but there is no proof of it. In size the *coup de poing* varies from 4 to 8 inches in length, and examples have been found as large as 9½ inches. That it served a variety of purposes is indicated by the existence of four well-defined, different forms: first, a primitive, almond-shaped form; second, an ovaloid form; third, a disk form; and fourth, a pointed form resembling a lance-head. De Mortillet speaks of it as the only tool of the Chellean tribes, but in its various forms it served all the purposes of axe, saw, chisel, and awl, and was in truth a combination tool. Capitan also holds that the *coup de poing* is not a single tool but is designed to meet many various needs.

The primitive almond and ovaloid forms were designed for use along the edges, either for heavy hacking or for sawing; the disk forms may have been used as axes or as sling-stones; the more rounded forms would serve as knives and scrapers; while the pointed, lance-shaped forms might be used as daggers, both in war and in the chase. The Chellean flint workers also developed especially a number of small, pointed forms from the accidentally shaped fragments of flint, showing both short and long points carefully flaked and chipped. Thus, out of the small types of the Pre-Chellean there evolved a great variety of tools adapted to domestic purposes, to war, and to the chase."—*Ibid.*, pp. 148-149, 152-154.

ACHEULEAN.—"There is a close sequence between the *coup de poing* of the Chellean workers and its development into the finer and more symmetrical forms of the Acheulean. The latter, according to Obermaier, is distinguished by the flaking of the entire surface, by the far more skilful fashioning, and by the really symmetrical almond form which is attained by retouching both the surface and the edges. This more refined retouch becomes the means of producing symmetrical instruments, with straight, convex, or concave cutting edges, as well as finer and lighter tools. The early Acheulean industry belonged to a warm temperate climatic period and directly succeeds the Chellean, as shown in a most perfect manner in the quarries of the type station of St. Acheul on the Somme. In these earlier strata the prevailing forms of *coup de poing* are the 'pointed oval' and the 'lance-pointed,' the latter showing very simple chipping, a broad point, and a thick base. The oval *coups de poing* are smaller than the Chellean tools of the same kind, carefully fashioned on all sides and round the base, and very symmetrical; there are four distinct varieties of these: the almond type, oval almond-shaped, elongate oval, and subtriangular—the latter evolving into the finely modelled type of late Acheulean times: It may have been from these oval types that the disc form was finally evolved. There is wide difference of opinion regarding the use of these thin ovaloid, triangular, and disc forms. Obermaier considers that they may have been clamped in wood, or furnished with a shaft, thus forming a spear head. Another suggestion is that they were used with a leather guard to protect the hand; and there is no doubt that in either case they would have served as effective weapons in chase or war. Another view is that of Commont, who believes that not a single implement down to the very end of Acheulean times can be regarded as a weapon of war; this author maintains that many of these implements, including those dressed on both edges, were still in various ways grasped by the hand, although they do not present the firm, blunted grip of the ancient *coups de poing*. We also note the development of a type of *coup de poing*, with cutting blade fashioned straight across the end: this primitive chisel or adze-shaped tool may have been used as a chopper, or as an axe, in fashioning wooden tools. In the lance-pointed *coup de poing* of narrow, elongate shape, the flaking is very simple and the edges are continued into the short base, generally very thick, and often showing part of the original crust of the flint nodule, which is well adapted for the grip of the hand. This implement, which serves the original idea of the *coup de poing*, develops into the round-pointed and lance-pointed forms. There is no question that, whether in industrial use, in war, or in the chase, these implements were held only by the hand. The small implements of the early Acheulean included a great variety of designs developing out

of the far more primitive tools of Chellean and Pre-Chellean times, namely, the planing tool, the scraper, the borer, and the knife. Each of these types develops its own variety, often fashioned with great care, primitive blades, straight-edged cutting tools, with the back rounded or blunted for the grip of the fingers, scrapers with straight or curved edges, and *perçoirs* or borers. The scraping and planing tools, doubtless used for the dressing of hides, are now more carefully fashioned. We also observe the *racloir* and the scraper finished to a point which is the precursor of the graving tool of the Upper Paleolithic. Characteristic of this stage is the systematic use of large 'flakes' or outlying pieces of flint struck off from the core, which were used as scrapers or planes, or developed into small 'haches,' or *coups de poing*. The core or centre of the flint nodule still constitutes the material out of which the large typical implements are fashioned; but the *flake* begins to lend itself to a great variety of forms, as witnessed in the evolution of the Levallois knives of the Upper Acheulean and the highly varied flake implements of the Mousterian and Aurignacian industries."—H. F. Osborn, *Men of the old Stone Age*, pp. 169-172.

MOUSTERIAN.—"Two instruments are especially typical of the Mousterian industry [Neanderthal man] from beginning to end; these are the 'pointe' and the 'racloir.' The former, pointed and spear-shaped, is from 1 to 4 inches in length; the latter is a broad scraper, from 1 to 2 inches in width; and both have the distinctive peculiarity of being composed of a large flake of flint struck off from a larger bulb or nodule and of being retouched only on one side, leaving on the opposite side the smooth conchoidal surface of the flake. This point and scraper are highly characteristic not only of the early stages but of the Mousterian industry throughout its entire course, including even the late La Quina types, and their manner of making is obviously a modified usage of the late Acheulean discovery of the flakes of Levallois. . . . A matter of the greatest interest in the industrial development of western Europe at this time is the fact that this discovery of the *utilization of the flake*, whether in the 'lames de Levallois' or in the Mousterian point and scraper, led to the decline of the *coup de poing*. The retouched flakes of various shapes were easier to make and to repair and served equally well the purposes of skinning and dismembering game which had been previously served by the ancient *coup de poing*. . . . The Mousterian industry of the Neanderthals was thus devoted mainly to the development of the smaller forms of implements, for the most part retouched on one side only, and with a constant improvement of technique. . . . The most striking features of all the implements which may have been used in the chase are: first, the absence of any definite proof of their attachment to a shaft or handle; and second, the absence of any barbed or headed type of point. The use of the barb . . . appears to be a relatively recent discovery of the later cultures of Upper Paleolithic times."—*Ibid.*, pp. 250, 251, 253, 255.

AURIGNACIAN.—"There is evidence of various kinds that the Cro-Magnons arrived in western Europe, bringing in their Aurignacian industry, while the Neanderthals were still in possession of the country and practising their Mousterian industry. Thus in the valley of the Somme, Commont believes he has recognized a level of flints, exhibiting the primitive Aurignacian 'retouch' of Dordogne, but occurring beneath a late Mousterian level. Additional evidence of a contact between the in-

dustries of these two races is found at the stations of La Ferrassie, of Les Bouffia, and especially of the Abri Audit, where there is a distinct transition period, in which the characteristic types of the late Mousterian are found intermixed with a number of flints suggesting the early Aurignacian; here it would appear that the development of the Aurignacian is partly a local evolution, and not an invasion of wholly new types of implements. Breuil suggests that these mixed layers may perhaps be explained by the supposition that we have here degenerate or modified Mousterian tools, more or less influenced by contact with the Aurignacian industry of the Cro-Magnon race. Again, the burial customs of the Neanderthals were in many respects followed by the Cro-Magnons; they chose, in fact, the same kind of burial sites, namely, at the entrances of grottos or in proximity to the shelter. Some degree of ceremony must have marked burials, for with the remains were interred implements of industry and warfare together with offerings of food. Most of the Neanderthal burials were with the body extended; the two burials of the Grimaldi race were with the limbs in a flexed position and tightly bound to the body, probably with skin garments or thongs. The Cro-Magnon burials are either with the body extended, as in the Grottes de Grimaldi, or with the limbs flexed, as in the Aurignacian burial of Laugerie Haute. Whether the Neanderthals were exterminated entirely or whether they were driven out of the country is not known; the encounter was certainly between a very superior people, both physically and mentally, who possibly had the use of the bow and arrow, and a very inferior and somewhat degenerate people that had been already reduced physically and perhaps numerically by the severe climatic conditions of the fourth glaciation. The Neanderthals were dispossessed of all their dwelling-places and industrial stations by this new and vigorous race, for at no less than eighteen points the Aurignacian immediately succeeds upon the Mousterian industry and in a few instances Cro-Magnon burials occur very near the Neanderthal burial sites. . . . From recent excavation we know that at least from the Aurignacian period on these people also made bone tools. This negative evidence for earlier periods by no means proves that such tools did not exist for bone can decay and is more easily crushed than stone. Therefore it is not remarkable that we do not find bone tools at earlier stages, it is rather remarkable that we find them preserved from a period as early as the Aurignacian. Ceremonial wands, needles, tools, spear and javeline points, daggers, harpoon and fish hooks were made of bone. Another feature of Early European life is the art of prehistoric man."—H. F. Osborn, *Men of the old Stone Age*, pp. 250-255, 269-272.

Paleolithic art and culture.—"His canvas was the walls of the caverns and the sculptors found in bone, stone and ivory together with cave walls for bas-reliefs, ample material. The earliest art dates back to the Aurignacian period. The strongest proof of the unity of heredity as displayed in the dominant Cro-Magnon race in Europe from early Aurignacian until the close of Magdalenian times is the unity of their art impulse. This indicates a unity of mind and of spirit. It is something which could not pass to them from another race, like an industrial invention, but was inborn and creative. These people were the Palaeolithic Greeks; artistic observation and representation and a true sense of proportion and of beauty were instinct with them from the beginning. Their stone and bone industry may show vicissitudes and the

influence of invasion and of trade and the bringing in of new inventions, but their art shows a continuous evolution and development from first to last, animated by a single motive, namely, the appreciation of the beauty of form and the realistic representation of it. . . . In the archaic drawings of the caverns of Pair-non-Pair, La Grèze, and La Mouthe most of the animal figures are somewhat heavily and deeply engraved; the proportions are not true; the head is usually too small, with a large, short body which is often lightly modelled, resting on thin extremities. Quadrupeds are frequently represented with but two legs, as in the case of the mammoth. That the powers of observation were only gradually trained is shown by the fact that details which in later drawings are well observed are here overlooked; the profile drawings of animals, with one fore leg and one hind leg represented, are quite like those of children. The Cro-Magnon artist undertook this plastic work, choosing chiefly for his subject the female figure. These small plastic models were probably designed as idols; the figures are often misshapen; in the face the eyes frequently are not indicated at all; in some cases the ear is indicated; they recall the style of the modern cubists. More care is given to the sculpture of the form of the body than of the face. The ivory statue known as the Venus of Brassempouy lies at the base of the middle Aurignacian; of the same epoch are the female statuettes of Sireuil, and the torso from Pair-non-Pair, whereas the soapstone figurine of Mentone and the ivory statuettes of Trou Magrite, Belgium, belong to the late Aurignacian. The spread of these idols, which are altogether characteristic of the earlier period of the Upper Palaeolithic, is traced eastward to Willendorf, Austria, and to Brünn, Moravia. The chief divisions of Upper Palaeolithic art are as follows: (1) Drawing, engraving, and etching with fine flint points on surfaces of stone, bone, ivory, and the limestone walls of the caverns. (2) Sculpture in low or high relief, chiefly in stone, bone, and clay. (3) Sculpture in the round in stone, ivory, reindeer and stag horn. (4) Painting in line, in monochrome tone, and in polychromes of three or four colors, usually accompanied or preceded by line engraving, with flint points or low contour reliefs. (5) Conventional ornaments drawn from the repetition of animal or plant forms or the repetition of geometric lines.

"We have already traced the art of engraving, as it first appears in late Aurignacian times, into the Solutrean; in the latter it is but feebly represented. Its further development in early Magdalenian times is found in the engravings made with more delicate or more sharply pointed flint implements, capable of drawing an exceedingly fine line; these were doubtless the early Magdalenian *microliths*. The animal outlines, with an indication of hair, are frequently sketched with such exceedingly fine lines as to resemble etchings; the figures are often of very small dimensions and marked by much closer attention to details, such as the eyes, the ears, the hair both of the head and the mane, and the hoofs; the proportions are also much more exact, so that these engravings become very realistic. Breuil ascribes to the early Magdalenian the engraved mammoth tracings of Combarelles. Engravings of this period are also found in the grottos of Altamira in Spain, and of Font-de-Gaume in Dordogne, and to this stage belongs the group of does at Altamira, distinguished by the peculiar lines of the hair covering the face. The subjects chosen are chiefly the red deer, reindeer, mammoth, horse, chamois, and bison. The striated

drawings of Castillo and Altamira, which partly represent hair and are partly indications of shading, belong to this period. . . . The beginnings of painting in Aurignacian times, consisting of simple contours and crude outlines in red or black, with little or no attempt at shading, pass in early Magdalenian time into a long phase of monochromes, either in black or red, in which the technique pursues a number of variations, from simple linear treatment, continuous or dotted, to half tints or full tints, gradually encroaching on the sides of the body from the linear contour. . . . The grandest cavern thus far discovered in France is that of Niaux (1906), which from a small opening on the side of a lime-stone mountain and 300 feet above the River Vic de Sos extends almost horizontally 4,200 feet into the heart of the mountain. Not far from Tarascon on the Ariège it lay near one of the most accessible routes between France and Spain. Passing through the long gallery beyond the borders of the subterranean lake which bars the entrance, at a distance of half a mile we reach a great chamber where the overhanging walls of limestone have been finely polished by the sands and gravels transported by the subglacial streams; on these broad, slightly concave panels of a very light ochre color are drawings of a large number of bison and of horses, as fresh and brilliant as if they were the work of yesterday; the outlines drawn with black oxide of manganese and grease on the smooth stone resemble coarse lithography. The animals are drawn in splendid, bold contours, with no cross-hatching, but with solid masses of bright color here and there; the bison, as the most admired animal of the chase, is drawn majestically with a superb crest, the muzzle most perfectly outlined, the horns indicated by single lines only, the eyes with the defiant expression highly distinctive of the animal when wounded or enraged. Here for the first time are revealed the early Magdalenian methods of hunting the bison, for upon their flanks are clearly traced one or more arrow or spear heads with the shafts still attached; the most positive proof of the use of the arrow is the apparent termination of the wooden shaft in the feathers which are rudely represented in three of the drawings. There are also many silhouettes of horses which strongly resemble the pure Asiatic steppe type now living in the desert of Gobi, the Przewalski horse, with erect mane and with no drooping forelock; in contrast to the bison, the eyes are rather dull and stupid in expression. There are also drawings of other types of horses, a very fine ibex, a chamois, a few outlines of wild cattle, and a very fine one of the royal stag; we find no reindeer or mammoth represented. In some of the narrower passages the rock has been beautifully sculptured by water, and the artists have been quick to take advantage of any natural lines to add a bit of color here or there and thus bring out the outline of a bison. . . . In Magdalenian times the Cro-Magnon race undoubtedly reached its highest development and its widest geographic distribution, but it would be a mistake to infer that the boundaries of the Magdalenian culture also mark the extreme migration points of this nomadic people, because the industries and inventions may well have spread far beyond the areas actually inhabited by the race itself. Absence of Magdalenian influence around the northerly coasts of the Mediterranean is certainly one of the most surprising facts. Breuil has suggested that Italy remained in an Aurignacian stage of development throughout Magdalenian times and indicates that there is much evidence that Magdalenian culture never penetrated into this peninsula, for in Italy the Aurignacian

industrial stage is succeeded by traces of the Azilian. This geographic gap, however, may be filled at any time by a fresh discovery. In Spain, also, the Magdalenian culture is known only in the Cantabrian Mountains, but never farther south, one of the earliest sites found in this region being the grotto of Peña la Miel, visited by Lartet in 1865, and one of the most famous, the cavern of Altamira, discovered by Sautuola in 1875; to the northeast is the station of Banyolas. So far the eastern provinces of Spain have not yielded any implements of engraved or sculptured bone. In contrast to this failure to reach southward, the Magdalenian culture is widely extended through France, Belgium, England, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and as far east as Russia. It would appear either that the men of Magdalenian times wandered far and wide or that there was an extensive system of barter, because the discovery of shells brought for personal adornment from the Mediterranean seashores to various Magdalenian sites in France and in central Europe seems to indicate a widespread intercourse among these nomadic hunters and a system of trade reaching from the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic to the valley of the Neckar in Germany and along the Danube in Lower Austria."—H. F. Osborn, *Men of the old Stone Age*, pp. 315-316, 320-322, 306-308, 408-411.

Neolithic period: Question of gap between or continuance from Paleolithic period.—Oldest culture in Scandinavia: Neolithic.—The contrasts [between the Paleolithic and Neolithic Age] are numerous and striking. The Neolithic planes are often isolated from the Paleolithic by the intercalation of a sterile bed, denoting a longer or shorter period of inoccupation, all the pre-historians since Edouard Lartet, have held that the two great divisions of the Age of Stone are separated by a lacuna, corresponding to a revolution. The more moderate in the matter were content to speak of a simple hiatus in our knowledge. "After the Magdalenian epoch," said M. Cartailhac, "there is—in our knowledge—a break in the continuity; a very long period of transition is still very obscure. And when we again see light, great changes have been accomplished; progress of the first order has been realized, the sum of the importations appear considerable. Thus, the reindeer has disappeared absolutely [in France and central Europe]; the populations are sedentary and practice agriculture; the implements and arms of stone are often polished; pottery is known . . . monuments are raised; art no more reproduces living nature." In the main, all of these theorists are right. It is clear that if the neolithic indicates an order of things quite new, notably the arrival of populations with industries and customs very different from those of the last Paleolithics, by virtue of the general principle of continuity the lacuna could not exist everywhere; from one day to another, the period of transition appears less obscure. The hiatus has, in effect, been filled, at least in great part, by Piette's beautiful researches in the cave of Le Mas d'Azil. The archaeological historian can today invoke numerous *faits à l'appui* of the existence of a period of transition of long duration, with multiple local aspects. What were then the populations of these intermediary ages? Unfortunately we have not many osteologic documents to respond to that question. There is at Oinet, near Nordlingen, in Bavaria, an interesting grotto, which was excavated in 1907 and 1908 by R. Schmidt, where thirty-three skulls were found. Of these the skulls of women and children, the most numerous, were ornamented with wolf teeth, and pierced shells, resembling those of Mas d'Azil.

Outside of some cervical vertebrae there was no trace of other parts of the skeletons, in consequence probably of special funeral rites. Twenty skulls have been reconstructed. They offer already an extraordinary *melange* of types. There are dolichocephalic forms, brachycephalic forms and intermediary forms. The Maglemose station has not delivered any human skeletons, and we know very little of the man of the Danish kitchen middens: Osborn's hypothesis that those of Maglemose must have belonged to the great blond race of the North is then up to the present quite groundless, although very plausible. On the other hand the kitchen middens of Mugeim, [Portugal] are very rich in human skeletons. Two very distinct types have been recognized. The first, and most numerous, is dolichocephalic, of short stature, and feeble cranial capacity. It seems that we are here in the presence of very old representatives of *Homo Mediterraneus*, and not of the descendants of the type of Cro-Magnon. From the anthropologic point of view, the Azilian and Tardenoisian remains offer us characteristics of transition by the persistence of physical types more or less apparent in the men of the Reindeer Age, [later Paleolithic] and by the appearance, timid at first, then more and more frequent of a brachycephalic type, newly come to European countries.—Based on M. Boule, *Les Hommes fossiles*, pp. 321, 338.

"The place of . . . origin [of Neolithic man] is obscure, but some at any rate seem to have arrived from the east, importing a totally new culture. These people may have been partly newcomers and partly the old Paleolithic folk *in situ* modified by this new culture. The birth-place of the new culture may have been at the head of the Persian Gulf . . . or in a more northerly locality, as far north even as South Siberia. It seems that we have to deal rather with a series of people held together by a common civilisation than with a single race, for skeletons of this period indicate a mingling of types. It is still a moot point whether or not all this differentiation took place before the arrival of the civilisation in the west, or whether part at least did not take place *in situ* in Western Europe, either from development from the older Paleolithic races, or by development of the newcomers themselves. There is anyhow the result of such a differentiation in Western Europe, for the type round the Mediterranean basin is different from that which occupied the backbone of the Continent, and this is different again from that which arrived at a slightly later date and occupied the northern area; and naturally hybrids were developed from these types. It has been said above that we probably have to deal with a series of peoples held together by a common culture. This culture consisted of: Agriculture. The domestication of animals. The manufacture of pottery. The polishing of stone implements. Later the discovery of metal smelting [this at a not much later date in regions rich in copper ores]."—M. C. Burkitt, *Prehistory*, p. 157.—The Neolithic culture can be explained to a great extent by forces from without. The changes in climate took away a large amount of the food supply and the people could no longer rely on the hunter, so domestication of animals became necessary. The dog was the first animal to be domesticated and after that the ox, sheep, goat and pig were added. For vegetable diet Neolithic man turned to agriculture. Wheat was the most common of the cereals but barley, oats and rye were also cultivated. Flax was used for textiles. Together with the beginning of agriculture went the development of the potter's art. No wheel was used and firing was done in the open, but crude as

the products were, the step was a significant one. "It is impossible to over-estimate the influence that agriculture and the domestication of animals have had on human civilisation. Not only has it increased the density of population, but it has also produced a communal life, by concentrating people who have a mutual interest in flocks, herds, and land cultivation. The increase in numbers helped to exterminate the hunting population of the country. . . . The earliest industries are very similar to those of the Azilio-Tardenoisian age, there being a large number of pigmy chipped flints along with developed flat trapeze-shaped flints. These were probably hafted in a wooden frame and formed what may be described as the teeth of a saw, or the working edge of a sickle. . . . These early times were also characterised by the Campigny pick, and a sort of hatchet (Campigny hatchet) the straight working edge of which is made by the removal of two flakes on either side. Scrapers of all shapes and sizes abound. The next later stage is when tongue-shaped hatchets were frequently polished; these are known as 'celts,' and were often hafted, stag's horn being sometimes used for the purpose. . . . In late Neolithic times we find great Megalithic erections connected with the burial of the dead, and these continue into the succeeding Bronze Age. They are sometimes of the nature of large single upright monoliths, known as Menhirs, which are of almost universal occurrence. There is also the Dolmen, consisting of a circle of monoliths, on which rests an immense slab of rock; this was probably a tomb. How these primitive folk managed to lift these lids on to the pillars of the dolmen is of course a complete mystery. . . . Another kind of Megalithic tomb is the so-called passage chamber grave, or *allée couverte*. This consists of a chamber of large flat upright flags, on which are laid cross flags for the roof. Sometimes when the chamber is large the roof is vaulted, or corbelled. Access to the chamber is gained by a long passage, made also of upright flags with a flagged roof. . . . The last type of Neolithic-Megalithic tomb is the stone 'cist.' The chamber of the *allée couverte* ceases to exist, the passage is shorter, and the end of the passage is used instead of a chamber. These are the latest Neolithic-Megalithic buildings known."—*Ibid.*, pp. 157, 158, 160, 161.—"The northwestern corner of Europe, including Scandinavia; Denmark and the Baltic plain of Germany, throughout the prehistoric period has been characterized by backwardness of culture as compared with the rest of Europe. It was populated from the south, deriving a large part of such primitive civilization as it possessed from the south and the southeast as well. . . . The Paleolithic . . . Age was entirely unrepresented in Sweden. The earliest and simplest stone implements discovered in the southern part of that country betray a degree of skill and culture far above that so long prevalent in France and Germany. Stone is not only rubbed and polished into shape, but the complicated art of boring holes in it has been learned. Norway also seems to be lacking in similar evidence of a human population in the very lowest stage of civilization. . . . In Denmark some few very rude implements have been found. . . . The kitchen middens, or shell heaps of Jutland, for which the region is most notable . . . abound in stone implements. They all represent man in the Neolithic stage."—W. Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, pp. 501, 507, 508.

Lake Dwellings of Switzerland.—Next in period and interest, come the Lake dwellings of Switzerland, where we find evidence of successive stages of culture, running into the Bronze Age.

"The most indubitable testimony that the Alpine race did not appear in western Europe, armed *cap-à-pie* with bronze and other attributes of culture, is afforded by the lake dwellings of Switzerland. Here in the pile-built villages of the Swiss lakes we can trace an uninterrupted development of civilization from the pure stone age through bronze and into iron. Beginning at a stage of civilization, as Schraeder in his great linguistic work observes, about equal to that of the ancient Aegean speaking peoples judged by the root-words known to us; not only knowledge of the metals, but of agriculture, of the domestication of animals, and of the finer arts of domestic life, have little by little been acquired. Equally certain it is that no change of physical type has occurred among these primitive Swiss, at least until the irruptions of the Teutonic Helvetians and others at the opening of the historic period. In the outlying portions of Europe, perhaps even in Gaul, it is extremely doubtful whether any closer connection between race and culture exists than in the Alps."—W. Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, p. 501.—See also LAKE DWELLINGS.

Bronze Age: Gradual rise of culture.—Primitive trade.—Clothing.—Towards the close of the Neolithic Age the inhabitants of western Europe had achieved as high a culture as was possible without the knowledge of metals. There are scholars who have tried to explain the development of culture by their biological change, especially as regards cranial capacity. By this time the biological type of Europe had become stable; the changes which have occurred since then are only minor variations that are appearing constantly in every race. When the term stable is used in connection with a racial type it is only a relative term. Since the end of the Paleolithic period there has been a constant acceleration in the rate of cultural change in western Europe. Since there has not been a corresponding change in the physical development of the European, the hypothesis of a correlation between the development of culture and physical type must be discarded. The transition from the Stone Age to the Bronze Age involves greater change than the change from Paleolithic to Neolithic industry, for here entirely new material demanding new technical processes is put into use. By bronze is meant a mixture of copper and tin. Besides bronze these people knew only one other metal, namely gold. It is well to remember, however, that the change from stone to bronze was not abrupt. Bronze and stone implement are found side by side, and in some parts of Europe the introduction of metal was made at a much later date than in others. If we look backward on prehistoric Europe, with its wastes and forests, we see its primitive culture rising slowly and painfully, by successive stages. No doubt this progressiveness was substantially aided by the incoming of peoples, but also by the primitive trade which must have existed from very early times, and of which we find traces in the amber of the north, which was carried to the south, in flints which have been discovered at long distances from their place of origin. How did these ancient European people dress? Of the dress of the Old Stone Age no evidence is left, though it is probable that the people were driven to clothe themselves in the skins of beasts, as they were driven to take refuge in the caves, for protection from the weather. In the Lake Dwellings of the New Stone Age, fragments of coarse net, made of flax fibres or straw, have been found. Rough spindle whorls also appear in the remains found in the Lake Dwellings. Up to the Bronze Period, we have no evidence of

the use of wool for garments; but some time between the later Neolithic and the late Bronze Period, the process of spinning and weaving wool into cloth was invented, and quite elaborate garments were made. Here we are indebted to Scandinavian burial customs for our knowledge. In a tumulus, or burial mound, near Rihe in Jutland, was found the remains of a body together with two caps, a coarse woolen cloak, two shawls, with long fringes, a woolen shirt, and cloth which appeared to have been used for leggings. In another tumulus, on the same farm, four bodies were found which had been clothed in woolen garments, and near Aarhus the discovery was made of the remains of a woman who had been wrapped in a shirt, a cloak which had been fashioned with sleeves, and two shawls. Authorities believe that all this apparel belongs to the Bronze Age, chiefly because weapons and ornaments of bronze were found with the garments.

SCANDINAVIA.—"Tardy in its human occupation and its stone culture Scandinavia was still more backward, as compared with the rest of Europe, in its transition to the age of bronze. . . . Nowhere else in Europe does the pure stone age seem to have been so unduly protracted. A necessary consequence of this was that stone working reached a higher stage of evolution here than anywhere else in the world save in America. . . . Bronze culture when it did at last appear in this remote part of Europe, came upon the scene suddenly and in full maturity. Whether this was as early as the eighth to the tenth century B. C. as Montelius avers, is disputed by many. . . . From what part of the world this knowledge of bronze ultimately came, we leave an open question, as also whether it came from Phœnician traders or direct from Greece as Worsaae affirms. . . . This bronze age, like that of stone, lasted a very long time—far longer than anywhere else on the continent."—W. Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, pp. 509-510.—Montelius believes that the art of working in bronze was learned by the Scandinavians through intercourse with other people, and was not accompanied by the immigration of strangers.

GREECE.—"Greece as portrayed in the Homeric poems, was in the transition between the Bronze and the Iron Ages. Though iron is mentioned, bronze was still used for almost all purposes, even for weapons. It is probable that Homer's description of the heroic age of Greece would in more than one respect apply to the south of Scandinavia three thousand years ago, at least if we do not allow our eyes to be dazzled by the poetic shimmer which hangs around the heroes of the Trojan war. That the condition of Greece during its Bronze Age was actually in many ways like that of the North during the same stage of its civilisation, has also been proved by the remarkable finds . . . made in Greece. It should however be borne in mind that the Bronze Age both began and ended in that country earlier than in the North."—O. Montelius, *Civilization of Sweden in heathen times*, p. 88.

Iron Age.—"In a secluded valley in Upper Austria, close to the border line of Salzburg, by the little Alpine hamlet of Hallstatt, a remarkable necropolis was discovered . . . which marked an epoch of archaeological research. . . . The primitive cultures here unearthed, represented by all kinds of weapons, implements and ornaments, bore no resemblance to any of the then known classical ones of the Mediterranean basin. Its graves contained no Roman coins or relics. There was nothing Greek about it. . . . It was obviously prehistoric; there was no suggestion of a likeness to the

early civilizations of Scandinavia. . . . It was even more primitive than the Etruscan, and entirely different from it, especially in its lack of the beautiful pottery known to these predecessors of the Romans. . . . Later discoveries all over eastern Europe south of the Danube, from the Tyrol over to the Balkan peninsula, as well as throughout northern Italy, Württemberg, and even over into northeastern France, the wide extension of this civilization proves that it must in a large measure have developed upon the spot, and not come as an importation from abroad. On the other hand, its affinity in many details with the cultures both of Italy and Greece proved that it had made heavy drafts upon each of these. . . . The primitive stage of European civilization, to which the term Hallstatt is specifically applied by archaeologists [from this find] is characterized by a knowledge both of bronze and iron, although the latter is relatively insignificant. Its rarity indicates that we have to do with the very beginnings of its use. In this early combination of bronze and iron the Hallstatt culture is in strong contrast with the rest of Europe. Almost everywhere else, as in Hungary, for example, a pure bronze age—sometimes one even of copper also—intervenes between the uses of stone and iron. Here, however, the two metals, bronze and iron appear simultaneously. . . . The Hallstatt civilization of bronze and iron roughly overlies the present area occupied by the brachycephalic Alpine race; yet this type is not always identified with the Alpine culture. It appears to have appeared in Europe in a far lower stage of civilization, and to have subsequently made progress culturally upon the spot.”—W. Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, pp. 400, 407.—“Hallstatt culture extended from the Iberian peninsula in the west to Hungary in the east, but scarcely reached Scandinavia, North Germany, Armorica or the British Isles where the Bronze Age may be said to have lasted down to about 500 B. C. Over such a vast domain the culture was not everywhere of a uniform type and Hoernes recognises four geographical divisions distinguished mainly by pottery and fibulae, and provisionally classified as Illyrian in the South West, or Adriatic region, in touch with Greece and Italy; Celtic in the Central or Danubian area; with an off-shoot in Western Germany, Northern Switzerland and Eastern France; and Germanic in parts of Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Posen. The Hallstatt period ends, roughly, at 500 B. C., and the Later Iron Age takes its name from the settlement of *La Tène*, in a bay of the Lake of Neuchâtel in Switzerland. This culture, while owing much to that of Hallstatt, and much also to foreign sources, possesses a distinct individuality, and though soon overpowered on the Continent by Roman influence, attained a remarkable brilliance in the Late Celtic period in the British Isles. That the peoples of the Metal Ages were physically well developed, and in a great part of Europe and Asia already of Aryan speech, there can be no reasonable doubt. A skull of the early Hallstatt period, from a grave near Wildenroth, Upper Bavaria, is described by Virchow as long-headed, with a cranial capacity of no less than 1585 c.c., strongly developed occiput, very high and narrow face and nose, and in every respect a superb specimen of the regular-featured, long-headed North European. But owing to the prevalence of cremation the evidence of race is inadequate. The Hallstatt population was undoubtedly mixed, and at Glasinatz in Bosnia, another site of Hallstatt civilisation, about a quarter of the skulls examined were brachycephalic. Their works, found in great abundance in the graves, especially of the

Bronze and Iron periods, but a detailed account of which belongs to the province of archaeology, interests us in many ways. The painted earthenware vases and incised metal-ware of all kinds enable the student to follow the progress of the arts of design and ornamentation in their upward development from the first tentative efforts of the prehistoric artist at pleasing effects. Human and animal figures, though rarely depicted, occasionally afford a curious insight into the customs and fashions of the times. On a clay vessel, found in 1806 at Lahse in Posen, is figured a regular hunting scene, where we see men mounted on horseback, or else on foot, armed with bow and arrow, pursuing the quarry (nobly-antlered stags), and returning to the pent-house after the chase.”—A. H. Keane, *Man, past and present*, pp. 28-29.

SCANDINAVIA.—“During the Iron Age the inhabitants of Sweden became first acquainted with iron, silver, brass, lead, glass, stamped coins (of foreign production), and learnt the art of soldering and gilding metal, &c., &c. And as works of iron could not, like those of bronze, be produced only by casting, the smith’s craft came to have far greater significance than it had had during the Bronze Age. But of the new discoveries of this period one of the most important was the art of writing, which the inhabitants of the North seem to have acquired soon after the beginning of the Christian era. The earliest alphabetical symbols in Sweden—indeed the only ones used in that country during the whole of heathen times—were the *runes*.”—O. Montelius, *Civilization of Sweden in heathen times*, p. 80.

See also INVENTIONS: Ancient and medieval: Early industrial processes.

ALSO IN: J. Dechelette, *Manuel archéologique*.—L. Dominian, *Frontiers of language and nationality in Europe*.—R. Livi, *Anthropologia*.

INTRODUCTION TO HISTORIC PERIOD

Distribution of races of Europe.—Before discussing the distribution of races in Europe it is well to understand thoroughly the concept of race as it is now used in anthropological treatises. It is obvious that the peoples of the world differ in physical characteristics from one another. But likewise do the people of a single country, a single community differ; and again people chosen at random from two distinct countries may look very much alike. Beginning with the family and the community there is variation among the members due to heredity and selection. Then members of two different communities may represent two different types and lastly the various types are linked together to form a race. This means that a race is the most extensive classification of mankind. In the nineteenth century it was customary to divide mankind into a great many races. Deniker as an exponent of this divided the peoples of Europe into six primary races, the Northern, the Littoral or Atlantic-Mediterranean, the Eastern, the Adriatic or Dinaric, the Ibero-Insular, and the Western or Cevenole, and added to this four secondary races, the Sub-Northern, North-Western, Vesterland, and Sub-Adriatic. Although some of these classifications have been retained, they are regarded from a different point of view. They are no longer considered races but merely types and variations of types. The present tendency is to reduce the number of existing race to three large divisions; the White, Mongoloid and Negroid. Of course under such a wide classification all the peoples of Europe are members of one race—the white—and therefore what we are discussing are not *races* of Eu-

rope but *types*. Ripley still calls his divisions, races, but in reality they are the three general types of the white race as found in Europe. They are: Teutonic, Alpine and Mediterranean. Before discussing these classifications in detail it is necessary to state briefly the standards which are used in determining races and type. Race is a purely biological classification and we must regard only physical characteristics in any discussion of racial classification. One feature of physical appearance is insufficient as a basis for division, so anthropologists have decided on the following group of criteria: head form, skin, hair and eye color, stature. All of these features are extremely variable in our race and the measurements of individuals from different races may coincide. Head form is measured by the cephalic index which is derived in the following way: The length of the head is taken from the glabella, a point between the eyes to the furthestmost point at the back of the head; the width of the head is taken at the widest point approximately over the ears. From these measurements an index is derived by the following formula:

$$\frac{\text{Width} \times 100}{\text{Length}} = \text{Cephalic Index}$$

The cephalic index is classified in the following groups:

$$\begin{aligned} X - 74.99 &= \text{Dolichocephalic} \\ 75.00 - 79.99 &= \text{Mesocephalic} \\ 80.00 - X &= \text{Brachycephalic} \end{aligned}$$

In other words the higher the index the broader the head. A factor of great assistance in identification of racial types is the connection between the proportions of the head and the form of the face. In Europe a relatively broad head is accompanied generally by a rounded face. It is important to bear in mind the fact that the shape of the head bears no direct relation to intellectual power or intelligence and therefore to culture. The term dolichocephalic can only be applied to a race or a type if one makes the mental reservation that such a generalization is very sweeping and may be contradicted by a multitude of individual measurements and even by group measurements. As to Europe, if we follow Ripley's classification of Teutonic or Northern, Alpine or Central and Mediterranean or Southern we find that the Northern types are generally dolichocephalic, the Alpine type both dolichocephalic and brachycephalic and the Southern type, dolichocephalic. The next standard is skin color. The range of skin color in every race is very great. Even in the white race there are some individuals with a darker skin color than many Mongols. This is particularly true of the Southern European types. With skin color there is usually associated eye and hair color. In Europe the range of eye color is from light blue to dark brown, the former being characteristic of the Northern type and the latter of the Southern with a mixture of the two in the Central or Alpine group. With the blue eyes goes blond hair and with the brown eyes dark hair making up the two well known types, blond and brunet, which characterize the Northern and Southern types respectively. The range of variability in each type of the skin, hair and eye color is so great that it can not be used as a safe index of racial type. It is very inferior to such a standard as head form as expressed in the cephalic index. Finally stature—here again the variability is very great. Much of this variability has been traced to the influences of geographical environments and economic condition. The standard of

living in the Scandinavian countries has risen considerably in the last century and the stature of the population has increased about 1½ inches. This fact alone would not prove any correlation between stature and economic condition, if there were not other observations to substantiate it from other countries. In the European types we can generally associate tall stature with the Northern peoples and short stature with the Southern peoples, but this statement must not be applied too rigidly for in this case as in the preceding standard of pigmentation, there is considerable variability within the type.

To summarize then the three European types we have: Northern (Teutonic of Ripley; Nordic of Deniker): dolichocephalic or long headed; long face, very light hair, blue eyes, tall stature, narrow acquiline nose. Central (Alpine of Ripley): brachycephalic; broad face, light chestnut hair, hazel-grey eyes, medium stature with tendency to stockiness; shape of nose variable, but often broad and heavy. Southern (Mediterranean of Ripley, Atlantic-Mediterranean of Deniker): dolichocephalic, long face, dark brown or black hair, dark eyes, stature medium height, slender, shape of nose rather broad. In spite of these distinctions between the physical type of European population it must be remembered that there is no such thing as a pure type anywhere on the continent. In no other part of the world, save possibly modern America, is there such an amalgamation of various peoples as there has been in Europe for centuries. There is a continual disappearance of tribes and appearance of new peoples. Even if the environment were uniform, pure types would be exceedingly rare. Rarely is an individual found who combines more than two traits of his racial type. So it must be borne in mind when racial types are classified that such divisions are the results of group averages and that every member of the group does not possess all the characteristics enumerated. . . .

It is a commonplace that the languages of the world are divided into large stocks or families. The one which has been most thoroughly studied is the "Aryan," "Indo-European," or "Indo-Germanic." It is generally agreed that Sanskrit was probably the oldest form of this linguistic family and that from somewhere in Asia this language spread over a large part of Asia and most of Europe. The Indo-European languages of Europe fall into four groups: Romance, Celtic, Teutonic and Latin-Slavic, and to these must be added Greek and Albanian. "The only non-Aryan language in Western Europe is Basque, spoken by a people dwelling on both sides of the Pyrenees. There seems little doubt that it is the last remnant of a great family of agglutinative languages which prevailed widely throughout Europe and probably also on the Southern shores of the Mediterranean in Neolithic times. . . . The Hungarian language belongs to the Finno-Ugrian stock, and was, of course, brought in by one of the numerous tribes of Mongoloid origin who wandered into Eastern and Central Europe during the Dark Ages. This language is now, however, spoken by a people who approximate to the Alpine type of Central Europe and have lost their Asiatic features. On the other hand, the Bulgarians, another Finnic people, have settled in the Eastern half of the Balkan Peninsula, and have exchanged their original language for a Slavonic one; while the Roumanians physically resembling their neighbours of Slavonic speech have exchanged a Slavonic tongue for a Romance one. . . . It has of course always been known that the Romance languages owe their present distribution not to the circumstance that they were car-

ried to the lands in which they now prevail by a single race, but to the fact that these lands were once under the influence of a common civilization. Hence, although we meet the expression 'Latin race' in newspapers and reviews, we do not encounter it in manuals of ethnology. The origin, growth and distribution of the Celtic, Teutonic and Slavic branches of the Aryan family are, however, shrouded in much obscurity, and this fact has enabled writers to employ these terms now in a linguistic and now in an ethnological sense. The tall fair-haired barbarians who swarmed down from the Alps upon the Italian plains were called by the classical writers Celts, though in the first century before the Christian era, at the time of Cæsar's conquest of Gaul, a distinction between the Celts and the Teutons began to be made. The Slavs do not, however, figure prominently in European history till Byzantine times. [From this brief survey it is quite clear that the three racial types of Europe are affiliated with diverse languages. The correlation of these two features will be discussed again].—A. L. Kroeber and T. T. Waterman, *Source book in anthropology*, pp. 182-184, 178.—See also ARYANS: Distribution; PHILGLOGY.

Migrations.—That man has veritable propensity for migration is shown in the history of every part of the globe. But there is always some cause for a great shifting of population. Reduced to simplest terms the cause is either an expulsion, or attraction, the former often resulting from a lack of food. Sooner or later almost every country has a population that exceeds its food supply. Then migration begins. Movements of men following the laws of physics are always in the line of least resistance and the control of migrations is due mainly to geographical conditions. The evidences for migrations are to be sought in physical characteristics of peoples, their material culture, their customs, folk lore and language. Although many of the phases of culture may be borrowed without a corresponding change in population, they may become good sources of evidence when used judiciously. "After the close of the Palaeolithic period the main existing races of Europe began to appear. Various branches of the Mediterranean race first spread over southern and western Europe and the British Islands as Neolithic man. The pygmy dolichocephals of Neolithic times, whose remains have been found in Switzerland, may possibly be representatives of a race that has disappeared, leaving traces of its short stature in other countries. During the Neolithic period the forerunners of the Alpine race expanded westwards along the mountainous forest-zone of Europe and up the valley of the Danube, and settled in central France. The Northern, or Nordic, race extended into western Europe later. As in western Asia, so in Europe, the Alpine race consists of short and tall stocks. On the whole, this race has kept faithfully to its upland habitat, but in Neolithic times members of it spread across western Germany to Denmark and south-western Norway, coming in contact with the tall, fair dolichocephals of the Northern race. Thus in north-central Europe a tall, broad-headed people arose who brought the fashion of erecting round barrows into Britain. According to Rice Holmes, bronze was brought to Britain by more typical members of the Alpine race, possibly about 1800 B. C., and the first of various invasions of Celtic-speaking peoples probably arrived here about 800 B. C. The Umbrians passed south into Italy during the bronze age, but were checked and driven up into the Apennines by the rise of the Etruscan power early in the first millennium B. C.

The Etruscans are said by tradition to have come from Lydia, but this may have been mainly a cultural drift. [See also ETRUSCANS; ITALY: Ancient.] The mixed peoples of Northern and Alpine descent, in which the Northern blood predominated, appear to have possessed exceptional virility. The ancient writers indiscriminately termed them Keltoi, and described them as tall, fair-haired, and grey-eyed. [See also CELTS: Early history.] The earliest historical movement of this stock was that of the Achæans, who about 1450 B. C., with their iron weapons mastered the bronze-using inhabitants of Greece. [See also ACHÆA; GREECE: Indo-European migrations.] Later the Cimmerians, whom we are not justified in calling Kelts, from their home north of the Black Sea wandered into Thrace and crossed over to Asia Minor, others, when hard pressed by the Scythians, passed round the east side of the Black Sea to Asia Minor. [See also CIMMERIANS.] Celtic-speaking peoples during long periods swarmed across the Rhine into France, and were there firmly established at latest by the seventh century B. C. They are believed to have occupied Spain at the beginning of the sixth century B. C., and about the same time may have made their first appearance in Italy. A later and much more important wave, shortly before 400 B. C., broke up the Etruscan power and took Rome. A repetition of earlier movements westward across the Rhine is to be found in the case of the Belgæ, a Kelto-Teutonic people, who considerably before the first century B. C. occupied the north-eastern part of Gaul and about the same time acquired part of the south of Britain. [See also BRITAIN: Celtic tribes.] . . . Thenceforward the great movements in and from northern Europe were mainly those of purely Teutonic peoples. The Cimbric neighbours of and probably akin to the Teutoni, driven from the north of Denmark, it is said, by inundations, made their way into the Danube Valley, then turned west and ravaged Gaul; finally, they invaded Italy and were destroyed by the Romans in 101 B. C. [See also CIMBRI AND TEUTONES.] During the last two or three centuries before the Christian era the Teutonic peoples appear to have been pressing the Celtic peoples across the Rhine; this movement was stopped by the Romans from the time of Julius Cæsar onwards. Augustus actually reduced the whole of west Germany, but after his time the Romans had to be content with the Rhine as their frontier. In the latter part of the second century A. D., the Teutonic pressure became formidable on the Danube frontier, to which the campaigns of Marcus Aurelius gave a temporary relief. [See also GERMANY: 3rd century.] Not long afterwards the Goths were moving in a southeasterly direction, and early in the third century A. D. came in conflict with the Romans in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea. In the fourth century, when the Roman Empire was weak, the Goths, Vandals, and other Teutonic peoples made their way into the Balkan Peninsula and adjacent regions. [See also GOTHS; TEUTONES; VANDALS.] Early in the fifth century the Vandals moved westwards, overran Gaul and Spain, and formed a kingdom in the north of Africa. The result of this movement of the Vandals was that the Roman frontier in western Germany was destroyed, and the Alemanni and Bavarians pushed their way southwards as far as the Alps. [See also ALEMANNI.] A few years later the Visigoths penetrated into Italy and captured Rome in 410 A. D. [See also GOTHS: 376; 378]; thence they moved into the south of France and Spain, where their kingdom lasted until the beginning of the eighth century. [See also GOTHS: 400-403 to 453-484;

507-509; 507-511.] In the second quarter of the fifth century A.D., the Romans had to abandon all their territories west of the lower Rhine to the Franks, who for some three quarters of a century or more had been pushed westwards by the Saxons. The Frankish movements were brought to a head by Clovis, who towards the end of the fifth century succeeded in conquering almost the whole of Gaul. About 507 he deprived the Visigoths of southern Gaul of most of their possessions. [See also FRANKS: 481-511.] . . . Huns, coming from central Asia, appeared in Europe in the latter part of the fourth century, and were welded by Attila into a powerful kingdom, in central Europe. They conquered all the Teutonic peoples in this region, and through pressure from them the Burgundians were forced to move westwards into the east of France. [See also HUNS.] The disruption of the Huns resulted from their defeat at Chalons. Then the Ostrogoths, who had been subject to the Huns, began to assert their strength against the Romans. Under their king Theodoric they conquered Italy, where their kingdom lasted till about 554. [See also GOTHs: 350-375; 473-474; 473-488; 553.] In the meantime other Teutonic nations had been coming southwards to the Danube region, among them the Langobardi, who by this time had settled in what is now Austria. [See also LOMBARDS.] Some time in the sixth century a new wave of invasion spread from Asia, known as that of the Avars. They swept across Russia, driving Bulgars, Slavs, and others before them, till they reached the lower Danube, on the left bank of which Justinian gave them land. In 562 they fought with the Franks on the Elbe, Langobardi and Avars combined and crushed the Gepidae, who were dominant after the departure of the Ostrogoths, and in 567 the Langobardi, under their King Alboin, moved into Italy, where they permanently settled. This was the last of the great Teutonic migratory movements. The Avars were thus left in command of the greater part of the Danube valley. [See also AVARS.] Later, with the Slavs, who had reached Hungary across the Carpathians in the sixth century, they overran the Balkan Peninsula, nearly capturing Constantinople in 625; they were finally crushed in 796 by Pippin I. of Italy, acting for Charlemagne. In 635 the Bulgars, who had come with the Huns from the south Russian steppe, revolted from the Avar dominion and subsequently crossed the Danube into the Balkan Peninsula and effected settlements in Italy in 680. The Hungars had advanced from the Urals to the Volga in 550, and reached the Danube about 886. Joined by the Magyars and other Turki tribes they dominated the Slavs, and founded the kingdom of Hungary in Pannonia, which absorbed all that remained of the successive Hun and Avar empires of the fifth and sixth centuries. [See also HUNGARY: Origin; 896.] The westward migration of Asiatics into Europe ceased about the seventh century; their advance was for the future directed into Syria and along the north coast of Africa, but in the eighth century the Arabs with Berbers pushed into Spain and France from Mauretania, and later made incursions into other Mediterranean countries. We have seen that the British Isles were early inhabited by a branch of the Mediterranean stock, and were subsequently conquered by invasions of Keltic-speaking peoples. In the third century A.D. Teutonic peoples appeared in the British seas, and this movement increased in intensity during the following centuries, bringing the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles from Denmark into our country. About the same time the Saxons were raiding in Normandy and Picardy, and established themselves about

Bayeux. From the end of the eighth century onwards we find a series of maritime movements, often on a large scale, from Scandinavian countries. They brought about Scandinavian settlements in the British Isles in the course of the ninth century, and on the north coast of Europe, especially in Normandy. [See also BARBARIAN INVASIONS: 5th-6th centuries; ENGLAND: 449-473 to 547-633; 855-880; 979-1016; 1066; NORMANS; SCANDINAVIAN STATES: 8th-9th centuries.] At the same time other movements spread across the Baltic, the chief settlements being Kief and Novgorod, which led ultimately to the foundation of the Russian Empire by the Varangians in the course of the tenth century. [See also VARANGIANS; RUSSIA: 9th-12th centuries.] The Turks approached Europe from south of the Caspian Sea: in 1063 the Seljuks had crossed the Euphrates and in 1084 occupied Asia Minor; Jerusalem was captured in 1071. After the lapse of two centuries the Osmanli or Ottomans began a fresh advance from Phrygia, gradually establishing themselves in the Balkan peninsula; Macedonia was occupied in 1373, in 1385 they extended northwards and took Sophia, in 1453 Constantinople was taken, and in 1460 the Morea. [See also TURKEY: 1063-1073; 1240-1326; 1326-1359; 1360-1389.] Nearly a century later they conquered Hungary, which was under Turkish dominance from 1552 to 1687. The Slavs, who belong to the Alpine race, seem to have had their area of characterisation in Poland and the country between the Carpathians and the Dnieper; they may be identified with the Venedi. Lefevre emphasises the mixture of races embodied in the Slavs, between whom and the Germanic peoples constant overlapping has taken place. The great south and west movements of the Teutonic peoples were followed by corresponding advances of Slavonic tribes, who spread across the Oder and Elbe and down the Vistula to the Baltic. Their wide distribution over north-east Germany by the sixth century is attested by place-names. During the last millennium the German language has regained the ground lost, but the broad-headed Slavic type persists. The south-westward expansion of the Slavs had by the end of the sixth century carried them across Bohemia as far as the eastern Alps; thence they went across Pannonia and Illyria to the Adriatic, and in combination with the Avars occupied most of the Balkan Peninsula. By about the ninth century they had extended across the area occupied by the Finns and established themselves at Novgorod, and apparently penetrated to the Oka and Upper Volga. Their northward expansion was uninterrupted, but in the south-east it was checked by the advent of the Turks. The southern division of Slavs was cut off from the northern by the Magyar empire and later by the growth of the Roumans. [See also SLAVS.] This general survey of movements shows that the Neolithic trend of Asiatic peoples from east to west has been continued during the first millennium of our era by steppe peoples, in this case arriving north of the Caspian; the Osmanli, who came in somewhat later, alone followed the old route of the Alpine race. Although the hordes of Asiatic nomads made a profound impression in Europe and led to many movements of population, only in relatively few places did they effect permanent settlements. The Northern race, once settled along the shores of the Baltic and North Sea, constituted a fresh source of disturbance. They were a people lightly attached to the soil, and streams of migration radiated west and south; there was no special inducement to move east, and in any case advance in that direction was checked by invasions from Asia. On the other hand, the occur-

rence of gold in Ireland and the rich soil of France and northern Italy were strong attractions for migrating west and south. The Alpine peoples had developed the art of metal-working, first in bronze and later in iron, and, having command of the trans-European trade-routes, had advanced in civilization. Their culture profoundly affected the Nordic tribes with whom they came in contact, and with whom they mixed to a greater or less extent. It is these who formed the vanguard of the migrations from northern Europe. It is interesting to note that, despite all the movements which have taken place, the distribution of the racial elements in the population of Europe is very similar to that of late Neolithic times."—A. C. Haddon, *Wanderings of peoples*, pp. 40-49.—See also BARBARIAN INVASIONS.

Correlation of race, nationality and language.

—The correlation of these three features has been the subject of a long series of furious debating and writing. With this question there is always associated the desire to prove that the white race is superior to the others. One of the early exponents of this theory was Gobineau whose thesis is: the superiority of the white race and within it, of the Aryan family. More recently Madison Grant in the "Passing of the Great Race" again lauds the Nordic type as the one progressive, intelligent people. H. G. Wells seems to have a similar notion for he attempts in his "Outline of History" to show that the Greeks are affiliated with the Nordic type in order to explain their civilization. In all these discussions the bases of classification are hopelessly confused. Race is a biological concept; language is a feature of culture and nationality and is a purely arbitrary, unstable, territorial division, a comparatively recent development. "We see thus that in the history of Europe the races appeared first, the languages second and the nationalities last. The three great European races have been established roughly in their present position since the Bronze Age, perhaps even since the Neolithic. The great linguistic divisions, Romance, Celtic, Teutonic, Slavonic and Finno-Ugrian, occupy approximately the same geographical areas which they occupied a thousand years ago, but nationality is a phenomenon which scarcely existed before the Renaissance. Political accidents have determined why certain linguistic areas have attained to the dignity of independent States while others have been divided between two or more States and others again are in the position of submerged nationalities. This may be best illustrated by the political history of the Iberian Peninsula. The physical characters of the inhabitants of this part of Europe are remarkably uniform, the population being dolichocephalic and brunet. There is not a single brachycephalic province in Spain. Throughout the Peninsula four languages are spoken, the pre-Aryan Basque in three Northern provinces, Guipúzcoa, Viscaya and Alava, and three Romance tongues, Catalan in the Eastern portion of the Peninsula, Castilian throughout the centre from north to south, and Portuguese in the west extending across the Northern frontier of Portugal into the Spanish province of Galicia. If race in the physical sense was to decide political boundaries then the whole Peninsula ought to be under a single Government; if language, then, (setting aside the Basques) we should have three States, viz: Portugal, Castile, and Catalonia. As a matter of act, we have two—Portugal and another embracing Castilians and Catalans which we call Spain. When we look into the cause of this we find that it is due to a marriage contracted in the 15th century between a Queen of Castile and a King of Aragon; if, on the other hand, as Freeman

has pointed out, Isabella of Castile had married the King of Portugal instead of the King of Aragon, we should still have had one race and four languages in the Peninsula, but different nations from those which we find to-day. Since the inhabitants of Portugal and Castile would have formed a nation which we should still probably call Spain, while Aragon and Catalonia would have either formed a separate nation or would have become absorbed into France. [Europe offers one of the severest tests to anthropology in the unravelling of this problem. When we compare again the distribution of racial type in relation to language we see how very impossible it is to draw political frontiers along these lines. Rarely do the boundaries coincide, and political self determination for such scattered communities, as the linguistic colonies around the Baltic would create a veritable chaos.] . . . If then ethnologists would agree to denominate the three main physical types in Europe the Nordic, Alpine or Alpine-Armenoid and the Mediterranean, and to use the term 'Celtic,' 'Teutonic' and 'Slavonic' solely as linguistic terms as is now being done with the term 'Aryan,' an immense amount of confusion would be saved. By persisting in their use as racial terms we are only inviting confusion, as all must admit when we reflect that Celtic languages are spoken by peoples of Nordic type in Scotland, Mediterranean type in Ireland, and Alpine type in Brittany; Teutonic languages by peoples of Nordic type in Britain, Holland, Scandinavia and North Germany, and by members of the Alpine race in South Germany, Switzerland and Austria, while Slavonic tongues are spoken by Nordic peoples upon the shores of the Baltic and by Alpine ones in the Balkans, and, lastly, we find the Romance languages spread among the three races. These are spoken among peoples of Nordic type in Northern France and Belgium, among peoples of Alpine type in Central France and Northern Italy and among peoples of Mediterranean type in Southern France, Spain, Portugal and Italy. . . . Teutonic speech seems to have been communicated to peoples of Alpine stock by southerly and westerly migrations of the tall, blonde dolichocephals of Northern Europe. These problems are, however, all subordinate to the main one in the relations of race and language in Europe, viz., to which of the three European races must we ascribe the original introduction of Indo-European languages into our continent?"—A. L. Kroeber and T. T. Waterman, *Source book in anthropology*, pp. 181-184.—See also PHILOLOGY.

Geographic background.—"In many respects Europe may be considered the most favoured among the continents. The Caspian Sea, the Black Sea, 'the long intervention of the Mediterranean,' the Atlantic 'with its Baltic bulge and polar tentacles,' give the continent a matchless 'oceanic' position. There is therefore practically no desert in Europe, though the rainfall is uncertain in the Iberian peninsula and in eastern Russia. Steppe land is at a minimum compared with central Asia. And though the Alps, the core of the continent, are not inconsiderable in height, they do not form 'centres of repulsion' like the Himalayas or the Pamirs, which even birds avoid in their flight. West and south of the great Russian levels and Prussian plains, the development of the surface tends rather to beauty than to infertility. Moreover, no coast-line is so highly 'articulated,' and therefore good harbours are plentiful, along with navigable rivers facilitating commerce from the inmost centres of the country almost to every point upon the circumference. The broad result is that man has had freer development here than in any other continent, 'nature,'

having less coercive power over him than in Africa, Australia, Asia, or even the two Americas. Why then, in culture, did the continent ostensibly lag behind the north-east nook of Africa and all the other primary civilisations? . . . To say that the races were 'by nature' unoriginal is to give no explanation of how they not only came to acquire culture, but to climb to the supremest heights of civilised attainment. . . . The sober view of the case seems to be that the original European races were all potentially capable of progress, but were simply hampered by special conditions. What these conditions were we, of course, can never actually know. But positive factors of explanation may lie along such lines as these. The whole of southern Europe is mountainous, . . . indeed practically bisecting Europe in ancient days and causing peninsular life to evolve out of harmony with the 'hinterlands.' Then, again, the forests seem to have been considerable, and the valley bottoms and plains marshy and malarial, as many of them still remain. The general 'fragmentation' of the country would thus lead to a prolongation of the hunting and pastoral stages, and tillage would gain but slowly, not only through want of great fertile nuclei, but also through lack of protection from predatoriness on whatever scale. Even in later Roman times forests and quaking bogs abounded in 'Germany,' striking terror to the very soul of legionaries. The woodlands therefore might be as great an obstacle to advance in tillage in these times as the eastern forests of America to the Pilgrim Fathers, and probably encouraged methods of warfare similar to that of the forest Indians. Where the trees ceased on the borders of the great Russian plains, the pastoralist would have to be faced in all his ferocity. . . . The great rivers of the country, of course, still availed for travel, when, in the genial season, rain made the country a sea of mud. In winter, when the rivers were frozen over so was the mud, and even the swamps became traversible by the frost. Indeed, winter in Russia is the great season of travel. But the open horizons never seem to have presented any real obstacle to the advance of even the greatest masses of men. . . . So long as Europe remained uncultivated there would be no great plunder for the pastoralist, for it is tillage alone that makes wealth superabundant—at any rate, until these days of the exploitation of coal and iron, when manufactures are a still greater source of wealth. For centuries upon centuries, therefore, the country may have laboured simply under local antagonisms—its population and its riches thinning out west and south to the surf of the Atlantic, which was but a waste of waters until the discovery of America shifted the whole centre of gravity to the occident. But, when Greece and Rome began to manifest power and riches, their stores not only roused the predatoriness of the nearer 'barbarians,' but tempted tribes out of the very heart of Asia."—A. R. Cowan, *Master-clues in world-history*, pp. 73-77.—"We see the hunters of prehistoric Europe wandering through the tropical forests, especially in the regions which are now France and Spain, but also across the land-bridges at Gibraltar and Sicily, which connected Europe and Africa until far down in the Neolithic age. This intimate connection between southern Europe and northern Africa made culture diffusion across the Mediterranean easy, and before the end of the Quaternary Age the entire Mediterranean was fringed with communities of Paleolithic hunters. Today their weapons of flint are found encircling practically the whole Mediterranean. This fact brings the Near East into the great current of prehistoric life. Whether the rate of advance

was uniform and the successive stages therefore contemporaneous at first all around the Mediterranean is uncertain. If compared with the southern shores of the Mediterranean, Europe was undoubtedly at a serious disadvantage, as the northern mantle of ice crept southward and thousands of years of rigorous cold set in. It is now evident that the south-eastern corner of the Mediterranean eventually drew away from prehistoric Europe, and probably from prehistoric Asia also. The great Pleiocene rift in north-eastern Africa, which we call Egypt, furnished a home in every way so sheltered, so generously supplied by nature, and in climate so benign, that it enabled the savage Stone Age hunters of the Sahara, who had taken refuge there in Quaternary times, to leave Europe far behind in the advance toward civilization. As the Euphrates valley followed in this advance, it was in touch with the Nile culture, and there thus grew up the Egypto-Babylonian culture-nucleus on both sides of the inter-continental bridge connecting Africa and Eurasia."—J. H. Breasted, *Place of the Near Orient in the career of man (Journal of the American Oriental Society, June, 1919, pp. 164-165)*.

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ANCIENT

Greek civilization

Its heritage.—Cretan and Ægean civilizations.—"That Crete itself—the 'Mid-Sea Land,' a kind of halfway house between three continents—should have been the cradle of our European civilization was, in fact, a logical consequence of its geographical position. An outlier of mainland Greece, almost opposite the mouths of the Nile, primitive intercourse between Crete and the farther shores of the Libyan Sea was still further facilitated by favorable winds and currents. In the eastern direction, on the other hand, island stepping-stones brought it into easy communication with the coast of Asia Minor, with which it was actually connected in late geological times. But the extraneous influences that were here operative from a remote period encountered on the island itself a primitive indigenous culture that had grown up there from immemorial time. . . . The continuous history of the Neolithic age is carried back at Knossos to an earlier epoch than is represented in the deposits of its geographically related areas on the Greek and Anatolian side. But sufficient materials for comparison exist to show that the Cretan branch belongs to a vast province of primitive culture that extended from southern Greece and the Ægean Islands throughout a wide region of Asia Minor and probably still further afield. . . . It is interesting to note that the first quickening impulse came to Crete from the Egyptian and not from the oriental side—the eastern factor, indeed, is of comparatively late appearance. My own researches have led me to the definite conclusion that cultural influences were already reaching Crete from beyond the Libyan Sea before the beginning of the Egypt-

tian dynasties. . . . The high early culture, the equal rival of that of Egypt and Babylonia, which thus began to take its rise in Crete in the fourth millennium before our era, flourished for some two thousand years, eventually dominating the Aegean and a large part of the Mediterranean Basin. To the civilization, as a whole, I ventured, from the name of the legendary king and lawgiver of Crete, to apply the name of 'Minoan,' which has received general acceptance. [See *ÆGEAN CIVILIZATION: Minoan Age.*] . . . Eastern elements are more and more traceable in Cretan culture and are evidenced by such phenomena as the introduction of chariots—themselves perhaps more remotely of Aryan-Iranian derivation—and by the occasional use of cylinder seals. . . . In spite of the overthrow which about the twelfth century before our era fell on the old Minoan dominion and the onrush of the new conquerors from the north, much of the old tradition still survived to form the base for the fabric of the later civilization of Greece."—A. Evans, *Origins of civilization in Europe (Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1916, pp. 439-444)*.—"From the close of the third millennium B. C., when Europe was slowly emerging from the Stone Age, Greece was constantly overrun by migrating shepherd chieftains and their clansmen, who, we believe, spoke an Aryan tongue and held Aryan institutions. They came overland from the north through a mountainous region, and brought with them, as precious possessions, the patriarchal system (basis of a strong polity), a rich spoken language, and a store of myths, but no writing so far as has been ascertained. . . . This invasion of a pastoral fighting folk, known to us through Homer as the Achæans, was a gradual infiltration from a remote past of chieftains and their retainers, at no time very numerous. . . . Tradition leads us to believe that some came from civilized lands, where their sires had already acquired great wealth; the last wave of Achæan invaders may even have brought iron. . . . Mercantile enterprise carried Ægeans, notably Cretans, to distant lands, in search of raw materials for their own use and for trade. Europe was a rich field for exploration, yielding hides, wool, and, above all, metals; for copper, tin, and iron were all to be found within the areas drained by the Danube. Dr. Mackenzie thinks, 'By the beginning of the Bronze Age, the valley of the Rhone must have played a dominant role of communication between the great world of the Mediterranean and the north; by that time it was probably already the high continental trade route towards the tin mines of Britain'—or of Brittany as M. Siret would suggest. The Black Sea gave them another highway, for by sailing to its eastern end they made connections with land routes from the region south-east of the Caspian, which was especially rich in tin. . . . Simultaneously with the Cretan expansion under King Minos there came increase of power and wealth among the lords of Argos, Mycenæ, and other pre-Hellenic capitals of Greece. Thucydides says: 'the dwellers on the sea-coast began to grow richer and live in a more settled manner; and some of them, finding their wealth increase beyond their expectations, surrounded their towns with walls.' These princes were kinsmen of the Minoans with an Achæan admixture. . . . The shaft-graves of Mycenæ and the bee-hive tomb of Vaphio contained art treasures of Cretan origin, made in the era just preceding the supposed reign of King Minos. It further appears that the increasing wealth of the Achæo-Pelasgian lords attracted Minoan artists and artisans to the chief pre-Hellenic centres on the mainland—a peaceful invasion. Mycenæan architecture is not so ob-

viously derived from Crete. The Pelasgians were themselves great builders, having at their command a better, more enduring stone than any the island produced."—C. H. and H. B. Hawes, *Crete the forerunner of Greece, pp. 146-151*.—"Simultaneously with its eastern expansion, which affected the coast of Phœnicia and Palestine as well as Cyprus, Minoan civilization now took firm hold of mainland Greece, while traces of its direct influence are found in the west Mediterranean basin—in Sicily, the Balearic Islands, and Spain. . . . Some vanguard at least of the Aryan Greek immigrants came into contact with this high Minoan culture at a time when it was still in its most flourishing condition. The evidence of Homer itself is conclusive. Arms and armor described in the poems are those of the Minoan prime, the fabled shield of Achilles, like that of Herakles described by Hesiod, with its elaborate scenes and variegated metal work, reflects the masterpieces of Minoan invention. Or, if we turn to the side of religion, the Greek temple seems to have sprung from a Minoan hall, its earliest pediment schemes are adaptations from the Minoan tympanum—such as we see in the Lion's Gate—the most archaic figures of the Hellenic goddesses, like the Spartan Orthia, have the attributes and attendant animals of the great Minoan mother."—A. Evans, *Origins of civilization in Europe (Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1916, pp. 443-444)*.—"As the Greek nomads ceased to wander and gradually shifted to a settled town life, they found Phœnician merchandise in every harbor town. The very garment which the Greek townsman wore he called by a Phœnician name (*chiton*) as he heard it from the Oriental traders along the harbor shores. As he continued to receive these products of Oriental art and industry, the Greek slowly learned the craftsmanship that produced these things. . . . Thumbing the Phœnician's papyrus invoices, the Greek tradesman eventually learned the meaning of the curious alphabetic signs, and then began to use them himself for the writing of Greek words, employing some of the signs as vowels, which were not represented in the Phœnician alphabet. . . . Thus after the destructive Greek invasion had crushed out the earliest literary culture that had arisen in Europe, both writing and its physical equipment were again introduced into Europe from the Orient. Such contributions from Oriental life make it perfectly just to say that Europe was at that time receiving civilization from the Orient for the second time. . . . As the Greek maritime ventures extended to all ports of the eastern Mediterranean, Greek merchants and gradually also Greek travelers, came into direct and firsthand contact with the vast fabric of civilized life in the Near Orient, especially after 600 B. C. . . . Under these circumstances it is not remarkable that archaic Greek sculpture shows unmistakable evidences of Egyptian influence. The impression of the magnificent cities of Egypt and Asia upon the minds of travelers like Hecataeus and Herodotus was not exhausted in literary expression alone. Greek builders must likewise have seen these cities and added definite impressions as well as sketches to the vague references to the splendors of the Orient with which all Greeks were familiar in the Homeric poems. Greek architecture then responded sensitively and promptly to the tremendous stimulus of the vast architectural monuments of the Orient. . . . While we have thus followed the great drift of civilized influence as we can discern it especially in monumental forms which have come out of the Orient into the West, we have found that these things suggest influences less material and not so easily exhibited in visualized

forms; just as the cathedral architecture of Europe, drawing its fundamental forms from the Orient, suggests the Oriental origin of the religion which it housed. . . . But Hellenic genius never permitted the Greeks to remain merely passive recipients of culture from without. Building on foundations largely Oriental, they erected a splendid structure of civilization which nobly expressed their marvelous gifts, and brought them an unchallenged supremacy which was already evident in the sixth century B. C. The leadership in civilization then passed finally and definitely from the Orient to Greece. In recognizing this fact we have reached the culmination of that vast synthesis which we are the first generation of men to be able to make—a synthesis which enables us to trace the developing life of man from a creature but little superior to the simians, through unnumbered ages of struggle and advance, leading us from the cave savages of southern France through the conquest of civilization in the Orient, its transition to Europe, and thus through the supreme achievement of Greek genius, to the highly developed life of man at the present day.”—J. H. Breasted, *Origins of civilization* (*Scientific Monthly*, Mar., 1920, pp. 249-268).—See also **ÆGEAN CIVILIZATION**; **CRETE**.

Freedom of culture from Oriental domination.—Before the appearance of the Greeks, the scattered tribes and communities throughout Europe had attained a certain degree of culture. Rude traders had forced their way along the rivers, and through the forests, and established the river routes which made the trade highways of Europe down through the Middle Ages until late modern times. Bronze and iron had long been known in northern and western Europe; the Phœnicians were plying their trade with Britain and the Baltic Sea, the potters of Spain, Italy, and France were busily at work, and their products, with that of the skilled bronze and copper smiths of the same countries, were finding their way as far as the British Channel. But in spite of its growth in culture, Europe had no civilization before the coming of the Greeks. That is the great gift which Greece came bearing in her hand. Greece, herself, owed much to Egyptian civilization, and still more to the Minoans, whose lands she usurped. But, we must not lay too much stress on the influence of either of these. She transmuted the good which she received in the alembic of her own consciousness, and the civilization which she bequeathed to us was all her own. Greek civilization is not made up of vases and statuary alone. The spirit that inspired it made it great, and this was never the possession of Egypt or of Crete. “The most important dowry of Minoan civilization to Greece was its ships. Drawn over a sea-way made easy, by countless stepping-stones, and which brought them at the end of every radius of their course in touch with an existing civilization, the Greek became a searover, and, like his national hero, Odysseus, ‘many men’s cities he saw and learned their mind.’ He mixed and competed with the merchants of Tyre and Sidon; he met Babylonian caravans in the bazaars of Lydia and Synope; he went as merchant or mercenary to Syria and to Egypt, fought in the armies of Nebuchadnezzar and sacked Jerusalem, in the armies of the Pharaohs and scratched his name on the colossi of Abû-Simbel; met Phrygian, Lydian and Assyrian. And when Persian power gathered up all the old civilizations of the Orient, the Greek was in daily, close, and by no means always unfriendly relation with the great cosmopolitan empire.”—R. Briffault, *Making of humanity*, pp. 119-120.—“The greater impulses to culture radiated from Egypt and Mesopotamia, be-

ing filtered through all the meshes of Asia Minor—the home of obscure but imperial Hittites, of trafficking Phœnicians, and still pastoral Hebrews, of Semitic and Aryan cultures innumerable. The Greeks of Europe refined upon these, not because they were ‘miraculous’ in their intelligence, which some scholars put forward as an ‘explanation,’ but simply because their relative freedom from the tyranny of kings and priests permitted an efflorescence which was denied to the vaulting human spirit in other directions. The mixture of races, the mountainous character of the country which induced diversity, while at the same time the long withdrawing gulfs encouraged the friction of customs and ideas along with every exchange of material products—these and other prosaic enough considerations should account for the Grecian outburst, which is only marvellous in the sense that the human intelligence is ‘miraculous’ to begin with. . . . The creative forces in Greek culture were practically those in operation elsewhere, though commerce (in which the Greeks piratically supplanted the Phœnicians) was of special account in their civilisation, that again being obviously a result of the total geographical conditions.”—A. R. Cowan, *Master-clues in the world-history*, pp. 77-79.

Secularism and skepticism.—“The primitive Greeks had, like every other race, their religious traditions and customs, their rituals and their mythology; and many eastern cults became inevitably acclimatized among them. But religion with the Greek tribes, as with the Norse, the Germanic, the Latin populations, stands for something altogether different as regards its character and the place it occupies in human life, from the religions of the eastern river-lands. And the difference depends upon the circumstance that the whole sphere of religious thought in the East was from the first indissolubly bound up with the chief source of class power and privilege; it was the religion of a theocracy whose power and authority rested wholly upon religious ideas, and whose culture accordingly moved exclusively within the orbit of religion. The religious rites and beliefs of the Greeks were, like those of other people, chiefly associated with the fertility of the soil, with the operations of agriculture, with seed-time and harvest. . . . With the Greeks the supernatural was merely an attempt at explanation, a form of speculation issued from the popular mind. It was democratic; it had no vested interest at its back, no consecrated guardians watchful, with all the force of self-preservative instincts, for the inviolate protection of its sanctity. The poets were at liberty and welcome to remodel traditional fables, to play with popular mythology as their fancy dictated. No inevitable connection was even recognized between morality and religion; there were rites due to the gods and to the dead, but relations with the living were a matter of natural justice. . . . Greece, like her goddess Athênê, appears to rise panoplied and full grown, and almost without a transition we find ourselves transported, as if by the stroke of her magic spear, into a modern atmosphere. Between an age of dim fable and the height of Athenian intellectual splendour scarcely two hundred years have elapsed; though in reality the development of Hellas has been silently proceeding for some eight centuries. In passing from Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Judæa, into Greece, we step into a world which is actually closer to us than are the ten centuries intervening between the passing of Hellenism and the rebirth of Europe, a world which is western and modern, in which we move among the topics, problems, tendencies, discussions, criticisms, which occupy our own thought. It is not merely because

our intellectual heritage is Grecian that we feel at home there, it is not merely that the structure of our ideas, of our conceptions, our modes of expression, the forms of our literature, are the progeny of Greek thought; it is because Greece owed its own life, as we ours, to the liberation of the human mind from the gyves and shackles which weighed it down in the theocratic East. Greece made the European world. . . . All those varied culture-contacts would have availed little—they were little more than Phœnician and Minoan had enjoyed—had they not worked upon a material of new quality. The Greeks were, as none of those people had been, almost completely protected from the influence of tradition and from every form of power-thought. Therein lies the differentiating character of the reaction. No sacredness attached in their eyes to the culture which they took over from Cretan and Mycenaean. And those with which they came into relation through their intercourse with Persian, Phœnician, Egyptian, Babylonian, were approached with curiosity, interest, acquisitiveness, but with no superstitious reverence.”—R. Briffault, *Making of humanity*, pp. 117-118, 121.—“It is not, observe, that the Greek was more ingenious, cleverer, but simply that he was able to look at things secularly, that is, with his mind dissociated from the obsession of religious traditions and views. . . . Thus it was that when the Greek tribes came in contact with, and culled the fruits of the old civilizations, the civilizations of the Orient, they transformed them into a new power, a new phase of human evolution.”—*Ibid.*, pp. 124-135.—“The chief strength of the Greeks lay in their freedom from hampering intellectual tradition. They had no venerated classics, no holy books, no dead languages to master, no authorities to check their free speculation. As Lord Bacon said, they had no knowledge of antiquity and no antiquity of knowledge. . . . It was in these conditions that the possibilities of human criticism first showed themselves. The primitive notions of man, of the gods, and the workings of natural forces began to be overhauled on an unprecedented scale. The intelligence developed as exceptionally bold individuals came to have their suspicions of simple, spontaneous, and ancient ways of looking at things. Ultimately men appeared who professed to doubt everything.” But the Greeks were no exception in the general resentment against criticism. “Anaxagoras and Aristotle were banished for thinking as they did, Euripides was an object of abhorrence to the conservative of his day, and Socrates was actually executed for his godless teachings. The Greek thinkers furnish the first instance of intellectual freedom, of the self-detachment and self-abetting vigor of criticism which is most touchingly illustrated in the honest know-nothingism of Socrates. They discovered scepticism in the higher and proper significance of the word, and this was their supreme contribution to human thought.”—J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the making* (*Harper's Magazine*, Oct., 1920, p. 664.)—See also ATHENS: B. C. 461-431: Age of rationalism and skepticism; B. C. 336-332.

Philosophy.—Eleatics, Epicureans, Plato, Aristotle.—“The Eleatic philosophers, who appeared early in the Greek colonies on the coast of Italy, thought hard about space and motion. Empty space seemed as good as nothing, and as nothing could not be said to exist, space must be an illusion; and as motion implied space in which to take place, there could be no motion. So all things were really perfectly compact and at rest and all our impressions of change were the illusions of the thoughtless and the simple minded. Since one of the chief satisfactions of the metaphysicians

is to get away from the welter of our mutable world into a realm of assurance, this doctrine exercised a great fascination over many minds. The Eleatic conviction of unchanging stability received a new form in Plato's doctrine of eternal 'ideas,' and later developed into the comforting conception of the 'Absolute,' in which logical and world-weary souls have sought refuge from the times of Plotinus to those of Josiah Royce. But there was one group of Greek thinkers whose general notions of natural operations correspond in a striking manner to the findings of the most recent science. These were the Epicureans. Democritus was in no way a modern experimental scientist, but he met the Eleatic metaphysics with another set of speculative considerations which happened to be nearer what is now regarded as the truth than theirs. He rejected the Eleatic decisions against the reality of space and motion on the ground that, since motion obviously took place, the void must be a reality, even if the metaphysician could not conceive it. He hit upon the notion that all things were composed of minute indestructible particles (or atoms) of fixed kinds. Given motion and sufficient time, these might by fortuitous concourse make all possible combination. And it was one of these combinations which we call the world as we find it. For the atoms of various shapes were inherently capable of making up all material things, even the soul of man and the gods themselves. There was no permanence anywhere; all was no more than the shifting accidental and fleeting combinations of the permanent atoms of which the cosmos was composed. This doctrine was accepted by the noble Epicurus and his school and is delivered to us in the immortal poem of Lucretius on the nature of things. The Epicureans believed the gods to exist, for, like Anselm and Descartes, they thought we had an innate idea of them. But the divine beings led a life of elegant ease and took no account of man; neither his supplications and sweet-smelling sacrifices, nor his neglect and blasphemies ever disturbed their calm. Moreover, the human soul was dissipated at death. So the Epicureans flattered themselves that they had delivered man from his two chief apprehensions, the fear of the gods and the fear of death. For, as Lucretius says, he who understands the real nature of things will see that both are the illusions of ignorance. Thus one school of Greek thinkers attained to a complete rejection of superstition in the name of natural science. In Plato we have at once the scepticism and the metaphysics of his contemporaries. He has had his followers down through the ages, some of whom carried his scepticism to its utmost bounds; others of whom availed themselves of his metaphysics to rear systems of arrogant mystical dogmatism. He put his speculations in the form of dialogues—ostensible discussions in the marketplace or in the houses of philosophic Athenians. The Greek word for logic is *dialectic*, which really means 'discussion,' argumentation in the interest of fuller analysis, with the hope of more critical conclusions. The dialogues are the drama of his day employed in Plato's magical hand as a vehicle of discursive reason. . . . Plato's indecision and urbane fairmindedness are called irony. Now irony is seriousness without solemnity. It assumes that man is a serio-comic animal, and that no treatment of his affairs can be appropriate which accords him a consistency and dignity which he does not possess. . . . Human thought and conduct can only be treated broadly and truly in a mood of tolerant irony. It helies the logical precision of the long-faced, humorless writer on politics and ethics. . . . Plato made terms with the welter of things, but

sought relief in the conception of supernal models, eternal in the heavens, after which all things were imperfectly fashioned. He confessed that he could not bear to accept a world which was like a leaky pot or a man running at the nose. In short, he ascribed the highest form of existence to ideals and abstractions. . . . Ever since his time men have discussed the import of names. Is there such a thing as love, friendship, and honor, or are there only lovely things, friendly emotions in this individual and that, deeds which we may, according to our standards, pronounce honorable or dishonorable. If you believe in beauty, truth, and love as such you are a Platonist. If you believe that there are only individual instances and illustrations of various classified emotions and desires and acts, and that abstractions are only the inevitable categories of thought, you would in the Middle Ages have been called a 'nominalist.' . . . Previous to Aristotle, Greek thought had been wonderfully free and elastic. It had not settled into compartments or assumed an educational form which would secure its unrevised transmission from teacher to student. It was not gathered together in systematic treatises. Aristotle combined the supreme powers of an original and creative thinker with the impulses of a text-book writer. He loved order and classification. He supplied manuals of Ethics, Politics, Logic, Psychology, Physics, Metaphysics, Economics, Poetics, Zoology, Meteorology, Constitutional Law, and God only knows what not, for we do not have by any means all the things he wrote. And he was equally interested and perhaps equally capable in all the widely scattered fields in which he labored. And some of his manuals were so overwhelming in the conclusiveness of their reasoning, so all-embracing in their scope, that the mediæval universities may be forgiven for having made them the sole basis of a liberal education and for imposing fines on those who ventured to differ from 'The Philosopher.' He seemed to know everything that could be known and to have ordered up all earthly knowledge in an inspired codification which would stand the professors in good stead down to the day of judgment. Aristotle combined an essentially metaphysical taste with a preternatural power of observation in dealing with the workings of nature. In spite of his inevitable mistakes, which became the curse of later docile generations, no other thinker of whom we have record can really compare with him in the distinction and variety of his achievements. It is not his fault that posterity used his works to hamper further progress and clarification. He is the father of book knowledge and the grandfather of the commentator. After two or three hundred years of talking in the market-place, those Greeks predisposed to a speculation had thought all the thoughts and uttered all the criticisms of commonly accepted beliefs and of one another that could by any possibility occur to those who had little inclination to fare forth and extend their knowledge of the so-called realities of nature by painful and specialized research and examination. This is to me the chief reason why, except for some advances in mathematics, astronomy, geography, and the refinements of scholarship, the glorious period of the Greek mind is commonly and rightfully assumed to have come to an end about the time of Aristotle's death. Why did they not go on as modern scientists have gone on, with vistas of the unachieved still ahead of them? In the first place, Greek civilization was founded on slavery and a fixed condition of the industrial arts. The philosopher and scholar were stopped from fumbling with those every-day processes that were associated with the mean life of the slave and servant. Con-

sequently there was no one to devise the practical apparatus by which alone profound and ever-increasing knowledge of natural operations is possible. The mechanical inventiveness of the Greeks was slight, and hence they never came upon the lens; they had no microscope to reveal the minute, no telescope to attract the remote; they never devised a mechanical timepiece, a thermometer to a barometer, to say nothing of cameras and spectroscopes. Archimedes, it is reported, disdained to make any record of his ingenious devices, for they were unworthy the noble profession of a philosopher. Such inventions as were made were usually either toys or of a heavy practical character. So the next great step forward in the extension of the human mind awaited the disappearance of slavery and the slowly dawning suspicion and repudiation of the older metaphysics, which first became marked some three hundred years ago."—J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the making* (*Harper's Magazine*, Oct., 1920, pp. 665-668).—See also GREEK LITERATURE: Development of philosophical literature; EPICUREANISM; ETHICS: Greece, Ancient: B. C. 4th century.

Political development and fall.—"Greek life, at the time when Athens had taken a lead in repelling the Persians and had attained the zenith of its prosperity as an influence in the world, was city life; it was the period when the city state [the political unit of the Greeks] was seen at its best. In the earlier history of the Greek peninsula there had been the households of the Homeric kings, and the homes of a free Yeomanry, such as Hesiod describes. [But later] we find independent cities like Athens, inhabited partly by resident aliens, but very largely by free citizens both rich and poor. . . . Athens . . . afforded conditions and opportunities for the free political life of the individual citizens . . . and this it was which provided the real Greek contribution to economic and social progress. The oppressive subjection of the Egyptian population to the Pharaohs is at least partly accounted for by the control which the rulers had over . . . the food supply. A population that is economically dependent for the means of life can scarcely expect to be economically free. . . . The economic or industrial city enjoys a very different position [and] . . . is a type of social organization which shows a high degree of vitality. The influence of the introduction of money in facilitating personal independence has often been overlooked, and it is necessary to lay stress upon its importance as exhibited in Greece. The substitution of money taxation . . . is one considerable step in this direction; the man who is bound to render work of any kind is necessarily restricted [in his movements]. The man who pays taxes is free to move. . . . It is evident from the history of Athens that it contained a large number of poor citizens; many of these were doubtless men . . . who had been forced to leave the land and seek a living in the town. Others were men of alien extraction [who had no vote, no political power or duties but] . . . were compelled to pay a tax. It appears that the greater part of the industrial work in Athens itself was carried on by wage-earners; there were factories in which slave labor was employed, but on the whole it seems that slaves were employed in rural occupations and in mining, and that the greater part of the Athenian artisans were economically free."—W. Cunningham, *Western civilization*, pp. 02, 03, 07.—Greek civilization, even in Athens, which has been called a "superlative democracy," saw no horror in slavery; for in almost all the city states it was of a mild nature, and lost much of its sting perhaps by reason of the fact that no foreigner had civic rights. "Never were minds more free from cant or pretence

than the minds of the Athenians, and particularly those of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Yet not one of these declares against the institution of slavery. If they had unequivocally thought it wrong, they would unequivocally have said so. On the contrary, they thought it part of the natural order of things. . . . Aristotle remarks, in his matter of fact way, that some men are born to be masters and others to obey. . . . [When Attic power was at its zenith its 100,000 citizens were obeyed by 365,000 slaves.] Slavery, in the long run exercised a very pernicious influence on Greek culture, and contributed greatly to its downfall. Slaves were for the most part foreigners, of the children of foreigners, and were bought from dealers, or were captives of warfare. Thus the great majority were not Greeks. Even free foreigners or aliens had no voice in public affairs, and consequently the slaves could have but small influence on the social and intellectual questions, which were settled between the citizens themselves. To the Athenians . . . the State was a sort of partnership for mutual benefit, that benefit being the safety and comfort of the common life. The full citizen was a sort of partner, and had an equal voice at those meetings for mutual interest which were called meetings of the Assembly or which went by other names."—T. G. Tucker, *Life in ancient Athens*, pp. 60, 73.—"We are accustomed to think of ancient history as moving with slow and dignified tread when compared with the rapid strides of more recent centuries; but let us look back for a moment over the history of Athens during the [fifth century B.C.]. . . . At the beginning of the century she was a small, unimportant state, with few people and little wealth. In the year 500 B.C. the great ruler of the most powerful kingdom in the world had decreed her destruction. At the end of the first quarter of the century Athens had swept the fleets of Persia from the sea, had wrested provinces from Persian sway, and was the chief member of a powerful confederacy. When the first half had been reached the little state had become the eye and center not only of Greece, but of all the Mediterranean world, mistress of the sea and of a large empire, the recipient of rich tithes from many tributary states. Her art had been raised from the crudest beginnings to a place that has never been equalled; her literature had become a model for all succeeding generations; her schools of thought had opened the book of philosophy for the whole world. Fifty years more and her empire was gone, her fleets destroyed, her wealth all dissipated, and she had fallen back to the level of a secondary state to foster those arts and schools which were henceforth to be her empire and her wealth."—H. C. Butler, *Story of Athens*, p. 312.—"Unfortunately, the golden age of Greek civilization was a very short period, lasting only a few hundred years (pre-eminently the sixth, the fifth and the fourth century B.C.); for Greece was fated to remain a group of rival states which could not unite and permanently co-operate. It may be idle to try to guess what Greece might have given the world, could these city-states have become a federated republic, similar to modern Switzerland, for example, and could they have given united loyalty to the leadership of their great men; but it is not idle to assert that political and social disintegration shortened this most wonderful of epochs. That is to say, Greece had either to unite and rule the world or to be ruled by the strong arm of the foreigner who could rule the world. The fates, or rather the inability to solve her economic and social problem, made Greece incapable of choosing the former. The political effect was that the city-

states of Greece lost their independence and became, first, part of the Macedonian empire, and, later, part of the Roman. The cultural effect was that the learned Greek and his pupils became the school-masters of the Mediterranean world, and, as is so often the case with schoolmasters, ceased to be intellectually progressive. In other words, after the downfall of the city-states the scientific enterprise commences to be given up and its place is taken more and more by other interests and by a mere endeavor to acquire what in the meantime has become a traditional wisdom."—W. T. Marvin, *History of European philosophy*, p. 68.

"In most of the departments of life [the Greek race] was intellectually by far the ablest . . . of its time. It failed in one of them—in the one in which failure is fatal—politics. The Greek was a political monomaniac. His political ideal could only have been realised permanently in a world where all were of equal ability and equal honesty. It was an ideal which in practical life tended to bring the second-rate man to the control of the affairs of the state. Therein lay its fatal defect. The time must come when one of the neighbouring races, under the leadership of a man or men of first-class ability, would curb the liberty of a race whose ideal of liberty precluded that discipline, that subordination of the individual, which is necessary for effective action. And the time was not long deferred. It came in the middle of the fourth century. The superior race which had entrusted its fortunes to politicians succumbed utterly to a race which, though inferior to it in nearly every department of life, was directed by the masterminds of statesmen. Democracy proved itself jealous of its greatest children. It preferred that mediocrity whose mental-workings it could understand, to a higher capacity whose breadth of view it could not grasp and therefore suspected. It is true that, now and again, at great crisis, it entrusted its fortunes to its most capable men; but its confidence was not lasting, because it was opposed to the very spirit which had produced and which pervaded democracy as understood by the Greek. . . . The fundamental idea of ancient democracy was that each citizen should participate personally in the government of the state by membership of the Assembly. Personal attendance at its meetings was absolutely requisite for the exercise of this right, inasmuch as the principle of representation was not recognised. In the initial stage of free communities the principle worked, no doubt, satisfactorily; but as the communities became larger this form of assembly became to a greater or less degree an anomaly. It was a question of distance and employment. . . . The larger the state grew, the less representative became the attendance; in fact the legislative power tended to pass more and more under the control of that section of the people which resided in the immediate neighbourhood of the place of meeting. In the case of Attica this defective feature in the constitution of the city state had peculiar and important influence on its political and economic history. The normal policy must have been largely controlled during the greater part of the fifth century by the town population of Athens and Piræus, and this despite the fact which is stated by Thucydides that even at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War the majority of the population of Attica resided in the country. . . . The issue at stake in the Peloponnesian War was not the fate of certain Greek states of the size of English counties. The issue was whether the most powerful race of the day should combine in the struggle for the mastery of the world, or should succumb by reason of division and

subdivision to some racial neighbour less powerful but more unified than itself. The victory of Athens would have meant a Hellenic Empire. The victory of Sparta and her allies meant a Greece hopelessly divided against itself. Speculation of what might have been had things turned out otherwise is idle dreaming, but the war must be reckoned among those whose issues have affected the history of the world up to our own time. Had Athens won in Sicily: had she used the great resources of that island against her dispirited rivals at home: had she subdued them, and led them in a war of conquest against the barbarian, she might have founded a Hellenic Empire, in which the Hellenic might have become more conscious of his racial responsibilities than of his individual rights. Had that come about, the whole course of subsequent history would have been immensely modified."—G. B. Grundy, *Thucydides and the history of his age*, pp. 136, 137.

Reasons for greatness.—Defects.—"The great characteristic which distinguished the most advanced of the Greeks from all other tribes or peoples was their assertion of intellectual independence. By them first the powers of the mind were resolutely used for the discovery of truth; and the fact that any such attempt was made at the cost of whatever failures and delusions marked the great chasm between the eastern and western Aryans, and insured the growth of the science of modern Europe. The Greek found himself the member of a human society with definite duties and a law which both challenged and commended itself to his allegiance. But if the thought of this law and these duties might set him pondering on the nature and source of his obligations, he was surrounded by objects which carried his mind on to inquiries of a wider compass. He found himself in a world of everlasting change. . . . Mythological explanations might be developed to any extent; but they amount to nothing more than the assertion that all phenomena are the acts of individual beings. The weak point of the system lay in the forming of cosmogonies. It might be easy to say that the mountain and the sea, that Erebus and Night, were all the children of Chaos: but whence came Chaos? In other words, whence came all things? The weakest attempt to answer this question marked a revolution in thought; and the Greek who first nerved himself to the effort achieved a task beyond the powers of Babylonian and Egyptian priests with all their wealth of astronomical observations. He began a new work, and he set about its accomplishment by the application of a new method. Henceforth the object to be aimed at was a knowledge of things in themselves, and the test of the truth or falsity of the theory must be the measure in which it explained or disagreed with ascertained facts. The first steps might be like the painful and uncertain totterings of infants: but the human mind had now begun the search for truth, and the torch thus lit was to be handed down from one Greek thinker to another, and from these to Galileo, Copernicus, and Newton."—G. W. Cox, *The Greeks and the Persians*, pp. 14, 15-16.—"Without underestimating a debt which the Greeks themselves acknowledged, it remains true to regard science and philosophy alike as in essence an original creation of the Greek genius. What grew up in Greece during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. was the spirit of disinterested inquiry proceeding on rational methods. By the term disinterested I mean detached from ulterior objects. Geometry for the Greek was something more than the art of land measurement, astronomy something more than a means of regulating the calendar or foretelling an eclipse. It was a study of the nature of the heav-

ens, an attempt to penetrate the construction of the material universe. So with geometry. It might begin as an investigation of the relations of particular triangles, squares, and oblongs, but it developed into an attempt to grasp the nature of space relations and to understand them as depending on simple common principles. This is to say that in the hands of the Greeks these subjects first became sciences. But a still greater subject also became in their hands matter for disinterested rational inquiry. They developed what Aristotle called the science of Reality, or, as we call it, Philosophy—the attempt to approach by the rational criticism of experience the problem of the nature and origin of the universe and of man's place therein. They propounded the fundamental questions which still occupy the highest intellects of mankind. They laid the foundations of method and bequeathed to Europe the terminology which all exact thinking requires. Even when we speak of method we are using an Aristotelian term, and when we distinguish one subject from another we are employing the Latin translation of the word which Aristotle introduced. . . . It is with the advent of the Greek that the seal is placed upon the claim of the Mediterranean to be the birthplace of the highest type of human civilization, the centre from which a unity of the spirit was to spread, until, by material force as well as by the conquering mind, the European or Western man was recognized as in the forefront of the race. The supremacy of the Greek lay in his achievement in three directions, as a thinker, as an artist, and as the builder of the city-state. For our present purpose the first and the last are the most important and the first the most important of all. The city-state was important as the first example of a free, self-governing community in which the individual realized his powers by living—and dying—with and for his fellows. This new type of human community was of the highest moment in the sequel. In many points it was a model to the Romans, and thus became a fulcrum for the upward movement of the Western world. In the works, too, of the Greek philosophers, especially of Plato and Aristotle, it inspired the earliest and some of the deepest reflections on the nature of social life and government. But it never acquired the permanence of the political units needed to build up the European Commonwealth. For this nations were required, and the Greeks were a race and not a nation."—F. S. Marvin, *Unity of western civilization*, pp. 167, 168, 22.—See also above: Political development and fall.

Spread of Hellenism.—Oriental mysticism.—"Alexander's conquests soon exercised a widely extended influence on the commerce, literature, morals, and religion of the Greeks. . . . The connection of the Greeks with Assyria and Egypt, nevertheless, aided their progress in mathematics and scientific knowledge; yet astrology was the only new object of science which their Eastern studies added to the domain of the human intellect. From the time Berosus introduced astrology into Cos, it spread with inconceivable rapidity in Europe. It soon exercised a powerful influence over the religious opinions of the higher classes, naturally inclined to fatalism, and assisted in demoralizing the private and public character of the Greeks. . . . The general corruption of morals which followed from the Macedonian conquests, was the inevitable effect of the position in which mankind were everywhere placed. . . . The conquests of Alexander effected as great a change in religion as in manners. The Greeks willingly adopted the superstitious practices of the conquered nations.

and, without hesitation, paid their devotions at the shrines of foreign divinities; but, strange to say, they never appear to have profoundly investigated either the metaphysical opinions or the religious doctrines of the Eastern nations. They treated with neglect the pure theism of Moses, and the sublime religious system of Zoroaster, while they cultivated a knowledge of the astrology, necromancy, and sorcery of the Chaldaeans, Syrians, and Egyptians. The separation of the higher and lower ranks of society, which only commenced among the Greeks after their Asiatic conquests, produced a marked effect on the religious ideas of the nation. . . . The absurdities of popular paganism had been exposed and ridiculed, while its mythology had not yet been explained by philosophical allegories. No system of philosophy, on the other hand, had sought to enforce its moral truths among the people, by declaring the principle of man's responsibility. The lower orders were without philosophy, the higher without religion. . . . The education of the lower orders, which had always depended on the public lessons they had received from voluntary teachers in the public places of resort, was henceforward neglected; and the priests of the temples, the diviners and soothsayers, became their instructors and guides. Under such guidance, the old mythological fables, and the new wonders of the Eastern magicians, were employed as the surest means of rendering the superstitious feelings of the people, and the popular dread of supernatural influences, a source of profit to the priesthood. While the educated became the votaries of Chaldaeans and astrologers, the ignorant were the admirers of Egyptians and conjurers."—G. Finlay, *History of Greece*, v. 1, pp. 7, 9, 10, 12, 13.—"The Greeks first articulately conceived and deliberately pursued the ideal of Freedom. . . . They meant by it not merely freedom from physical or political constraint but also inward freedom from prejudice and passion, and they held that knowledge and freedom rendered one another possible. . . . [But, to their minds,] freedom and enlightenment was not in thought or practice designed for all men, but only for Greeks, and among them only in reality for a privileged minority. The notion of a civilized world or even a civilized Greece was, if present at all, present only in feeling or imagination, not in clear vision or distinct thought, still less as an ideal of practical politics. On the other hand the ideal so narrowly conceived was not *in principle* confined to a 'chosen people,' or to one strain of blood. It supplied a programme extensible to all who could show their title to be regarded as members of the common race of humanity. As the special features of Greek civilization faded, the lineaments of this common humanity emerged more clearly into view, and the Greek, when he was compelled to give up his parochialism and provincialism, found himself already in spirit prepared to take his place as a citizen of the world. He had learned his lesson, and to him the whole world went to school, first to learn of him what civilization meant and then to better his instructions. . . . In a word, modern thought, scientific and philosophic alike, has a unitary origin. It is derived from the Greek. The mode of this derivation is not simple, and would require considerable space to examine in detail. In outline it must suffice to say that the Greek culture was spread over the Eastern Mediterranean through the conquests of Alexander, and that as its capital Alexandria gradually replaced Athens. It flowed westward with the Roman conquests, when, as the Roman poet said, captured Greece took captive her barbarous conqueror and introduced the arts into rustic Latium."—F. S. Marvin, *Unity of western*

civilization, pp. 76-79, 168.—See also HELLENISM.

See also ÆGEAN CIVILIZATION; ATHENS; GREECE. ALSO IN: J. A. Harrison, *Story of Greece*.—J. D. Forrest, *Development of western civilization*.—A. J. Hubbard, *Fate of empires*.—H. B. Cotterill, *Ancient Greece*.—W. S. Ferguson, *History of Greece*.—G. Grote, *History of Greece*.

Roman civilization

Its origins.—Greek influences.—Characteristics of Roman culture.—"In 600 B. C. Italy was perhaps still called Hesperia, the Evening Land. The west, in which Homer had seen the golden sunset, seemed to men of that age to be the final Eldorado. But sailors' tales of its unrequited riches had reached the eastern Mediterranean so early that Phœnicians, before 1100 B. C., had sailed past Italy, and had found silver in Spain and tin in the far-off island of Britain. There is a certain fascination in imagining ourselves back in an era in which Europe, whose roads are now all carefully mapped—Europe, whose fields have been sown and ploughed and reaped for ages—lay mapless and full of mystery, and excited men's minds with the hope of gold. Adventurers set sail for her coasts in the same spirit in which Cortes and Pizarro sailed for Mexico and Peru. Phœnicia planted Carthage [about 822 B. C.] as a great outpost and naval base for the western Mediterranean. Europe began to stretch her arms towards Africa, as she still stretches them to-day, and Sicily, lying midway, became a battlefield. It is, indeed, this change of the battle-ground which strikes us in the opening of European history. In due time, no doubt, Rome sought out again the old battlefield in the East. It was part of her ruthless mission to bring Asia, Africa, and Europe into that triple contact which is to become even still closer than it is to-day. Just as the eyes of the modern world are turning rather to the Pacific than to the Atlantic, so, after the Greeks had destroyed the Persian fleet off the eastern shores of Europe [battle of Mycale, 479 B. C.], men became aware that a new era had already begun. The maritime race along the southern and the western coasts of Europe became keener, and the goals were extended. Presently Romans and Carthaginians would meet in Spain, Britain would become a prize, and bold seamen would sail over the German Ocean to the shores of the Baltic in search of amber. The islands acted like magnets and drew them from coast to coast."—W. R. Paterson, *Nemesis of nations*, pp. 220-221.—"The process of early civilisation in the Italian peninsula is historically clearer than in the Balkan termini settled by the Greeks. For Greeks themselves colonised southern Italy [about the middle of the eighth century B. C.] to such an extent that it was called 'greater Greece.' But their numbers and cohesion were not sufficiently great to enable them to unify the peninsula upon specifically Hellenistic lines, and political hegemony went to the ruder races of the north."—A. R. Cowan, *Masterclues in world-history*, p. 83.—But though political power was lost the Greeks obtained over their vanquishers an intellectual mastery such as no other people has ever made. "The superiority of Greece in all that concerned art and thought, was so unquestionable that (the Romans) absorbed eagerly all that Greece had to give. There is perhaps no instance in history of one people so influencing another. What was national in their [Roman] literature, religion, and thought was thrown aside, and they took over Greek forms and Greek ideas in every department of their religious, artistic and intellectual life."—A. J. Grant, *History of Europe*, p.

99.—“The oracles delivered by the Greek Sibyl, the prophetess of Apollo of Delphi, are deeply revered in Italy; gathered in the Sibylline Books, they are regarded by the Roman townsmen as mysterious revelations of the future. There are also other means of piercing the veil of the future, for the townsmen tell the peasant how the Etruscans are able to discover in the liver or the entrails of a sheep killed for sacrifice hints and signs of the outcome of the next war; but the peasant does not know as we do that this art was received by the Etruscans from the Babylonians by way of Asia Minor, whence the Etruscans have brought it to the Romans. An art like this appealed to the rather coldly calculating mind of the Roman. To such a mind, lacking a warm and vivid imagination, the Greek myths opened a new world. To such a mind the gods required only the fulfillment of all formal ceremonies, and if these were carried out with legal exactness, all would be well. As the Roman looked toward his gods he felt no doubts or problems, like those which troubled the spirit of Euripides. The Roman saw only a list of mechanical duties easily fulfilled. Hence he was fitted for great achievement in political and legal organization, but not for new and original developments in religion, art, literature, or even science.”—J. H. Breasted and J. H. Robinson, *Outlines of European history*, pp. 251, 252.—“Rome conquered the Western world with her roads, her armies, her laws, her language, and impressed even on barbarians the culture which she had herself adopted and developed. The Latin races which were in the van of civilisation up to the seventeenth century were the daughters of Rome and had little direct teaching from Greece. All this is perfectly true, but . . . assuming that the Romans were the carriers of enlightenment to the North and West of Europe, why did they depend so completely on Greek teaching; why did they one and all confess that this was the unique source of their progress? They came in due time into contact with the culture of Carthage, of Syria, of Egypt. But the splendours of these countries were never to the Romans more than mere curiosities, whereas Greek culture was the very breath of their intellectual life. Virgil, a very great poet, frames every one of his works on Greek models, and translates even from second-rate Greek work. Horace, a very great artist, prides himself on having made Greek lyrics at home in his country, and Lucretius, whose reputation for originality among modern critics is mainly due to the total loss of the original which he copied, himself claims as his main credit that he had ventured to reproduce a yet uncopied species of Greek poetry. It is hard to conceive a more complete case made out for the unparalleled influence of Hellenic genius upon proud and dominant neighbours.”—J. P. Mahaffy, *What have the Greeks done for modern civilization?* pp. 3-4.—“The Romans and the Greeks come before us in ancient history as great contrasts, both in character and achievement. Greece is the fountain head of art, science, philosophy; from Rome, Europe has derived its ideas of law and government. The Greeks were changeable, the Romans were conservative; the whole bent of the Greek mind was æsthetic and speculative; the Romans were practical and excelled pre-eminently in administration and war. But it must always be remembered that the Romans and the Greeks were nearly akin to one another. . . . Despite the vast difference in their destinies, despite the fact that Rome established the most enduring of all known empires, and Greece established nothing in the political sphere which was enduring at all, they start from the same point. Rome, like Athens . . . begins as a

city state.”—A. J. Grant, *History of Europe*, p. 67.

“Cicero [106-43 B.C.] already speaks with the cosmopolitan accent of modern civilisation. . . . It is not difficult to recognise the historical circumstances which probably were in the main instrumental in producing this change. With the rise of the Macedonian Empire, the intense but restricted culture of the Greeks became the culture of the world, losing much no doubt in intensity as it gained in expansion. The Greek went out into the world, and found that the barbarian whom he had thought to be incapable of rational cultivation was at least capable of reproducing his own culture. The conquest of the world by Hellenism had the necessary effect of changing the Hellenic conception of the world. The literature, the art, the philosophy of the Hellenic world might be on a lower plane than that of the Hellenic city, but it was Hellenic. If the Greek himself was thus compelled to admit that the barbarian was capable of entering into the commonwealth of Greek civilisation, if the Macedonian Empire convinced the philosophers of the homogeneity of the human race, this was necessarily and even more definitely the consequence of the Roman Empire. The Latin conqueror indeed was himself, to the Greek, one of the barbarians, and more or less the Latin recognised this,—more or less he was compelled to recognise that his intellectual and artistic culture came to him from the Greek. The Latin brought indeed, in his genius for law and administration, his own contribution to the cosmopolitan culture of the world, but that was all he brought. It was impossible for him to imagine himself to be the man possessed of reason and capable of virtue and to deny these qualities to others. The Roman Empire continued and carried on the work of the Macedonian Empire in welding the countries of the Mediterranean basin into one homogeneous whole. The homogeneity of the human race was in the Roman Empire no mere theory of the philosophers, but an actual fact of experience, a reality in political and social conditions. If the philosopher had learned to believe in the homogeneity of mankind under the Macedonian Empire, he was confirmed and strengthened in his belief by the experience of the Roman.”—A. J. Carlyle, *History of mediæval political theory in the west*, v. 1, pp. 10-11.—“Among the best of the Romans Hellenism produced a type seldom excelled in the world’s history; a type as superior to the old Roman model as the nobleman is to the burgher in most countries; a type we see in Rutilius Rufus, as compared with the elder Cato. . . . Hellenistic philosophy made itself a home in Italy, and acquired pupils who in the next generation became masters in their way, and showed in Cicero and Lucretius no mean rivals of the contemporary Greek. Lucretius is so essentially a Roman figure, and his poem so Roman a poem, that I will not turn aside to criticise it at any length. But as the author himself tells us, his philosophical masters were Democritus and Epicurus, his poetical masters Empedocles and Ennius, so that he claims originality only for having been the first to treat this Greek system of philosophy in Latin—perhaps in Latin poetry. . . . Yet, still, there is far more originality in Lucretius than he claims for himself. . . . However little he may have been appreciated by his compeers, posterity has recognised the first great success in reproducing Greek thought and Greek artistic style in a Roman dress. . . . The Romans were, indeed, imitators and pupils; but what pupils! . . . Till the poem of Lucretius and the works of Cicero, we may say that nothing in Latin worth reading existed on the subject. Who-

ever wanted to study philosophy, therefore, down to that time (60 B. C.) studied it in Greek. Nearly the same thing may be said of the arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture. There were, indeed, distinctly Roman features in architecture, but they were mere matters of building, and whatever was done in the way of design, in the way of adding beauty to strength, was done wholly under the advice and direction of the Greeks. The subservience to Hellenism in the way of internal household ornament was even more complete. No painting or sculpture from native artists would now be tolerated at Rome. . . . Much more serious was the acknowledged supremacy of the Greeks in literature of all kinds, and still more their insistence that this superiority depended mainly upon a careful system of intellectual education. . . . This is the point where Polybius, after his seventeen years' experience of Roman life, finds the capital flaw in the conduct of public affairs. In every Hellenistic state, he says, nothing engrosses the attention of legislators more than the question of education, whereas at Rome a most moral and serious government leaves the training of the young to the mistakes and hazards of private enterprise. . . . [The work of Terence had shown that] the Latin tongue had, after all, a future of its own, and was destined to pursue an independent course in literature. This latter expectation was realised by the rise of Lucilius, the first original Latin poet. . . . The attempt of Nævius to create a national poetry had failed, for the time was not ripe. The attempt of Lucilius succeeded, as the long line of Roman satirists abundantly proves. But the reaction in prose literature is still more remarkable. There were circulated during these days at least two specimens of Latin prose-writing which were essentially Roman, and yet in no wise lacking either force or purity. These were the speeches of Caius Gracchus—of which fragments remain—and the letters of his mother, Cornelia. Such books showed that Latin eloquence had powers of its own, and need not build entirely upon Greek rhetoric. . . . Thus even in letters Roman culture began to take its place beside Greek, and the whole civilised world was divided into those who knew Greek letters and those who knew Roman only. There was no antagonism in spirit between them, for the Romans never ceased to venerate Greek letters or to prize a knowledge of that language. . . . With Cicero Latin prose became distinctly a rival of the best Greek prose, and no critic who has honestly studied the great roll of Latin writers down to the Middle Ages can deny that here the Romans have produced a literature as first-rate, and as independent, as ever was produced by a people coming late in history, and therefore necessarily starting with great models before them."—J. P. Mahaffy, *Silver Age of the Greek world*, pp. 103-107, 110-111, 145.—See also LATIN LITERATURE; HELLENISM: Hellenism and the Romans.

Passing of the Roman Republic.—Gradual acquisition of a foreign empire.—Inadequacy of the republican constitution to guarantee peace and secure law and order.—"The motive power which brought about the expansion of Rome beyond the limits of the city was largely the necessity of defense against the intrusion of neighboring tribes living outside Latium, especially the Semnites and their kinsmen, who endeavored to seize the territory of the Latin tribes. The Latins found the leadership and the protection of the city invaluable under such circumstances, and a permanent league naturally developed uniting the tribes of Latium under the leadership of the city of Rome. The obligation to bear arms, if they owned land, gave to the peas-

ants of Latium the right to demand citizenship, and the men of all the straggling Latin communities, over thirty in number, were at length received as Roman citizens. It was herein that the Roman Senate displayed a sagacity which cannot be too much admired. While the Greek city always jealously guarded its citizenship and would not grant it to any one born outside its borders, the Roman Senate conferred citizenship as a means of expansion and increased power."—J. H. Breasted and J. H. Robinson, *Outlines of European history*, pt. 1, p. 254.—Sicily, the first really foreign possession, had, however, to be ruled as outside of the federation. This brought on the Second Punic War, which in its turn proved to be the first step toward true imperialism. "In times of real difficulty the Romans were accustomed to give to their state—the concentration and rapidity which a military crisis demand by the appointment of a dictator. He held office only for half a year, but during that time he was absolute. It was in effect the reestablishment of the monarchy for a limited period. . . . The theory of the Roman constitution was that all power emanated from the people. . . . But in fact it was the Senate which ruled, and its rule [was] immensely strengthened by the great [Punic] war [218-201 B. C.] through which it had guided the state with such success. . . . A more difficult task than even the defeat of Hannibal now lay before Rome. She would be pushed forward by ambition. . . . She would acquire dominion over distant countries. . . . but would she be able to govern them? How would her government of them affect her character and the nature of her institutions? Here was the great political question of the future, and the future was to show that the Roman republic was not equal to the new task."—A. J. Grant, *History of Europe*, pp. 94, 95.—Macedonia was the next conquest which was undertaken. Corinth (146 B. C.) like Carthage, was destroyed, and with these two powerful rivals removed the republic had nothing to fear. But a more subtle enemy weakened the rugged moral fiber of the conquerors. Conquest brought great wealth, and with wealth came corruption. Luxury was alien to their nature, and indulgence sapped the foundation of their character. The simplicity of Roman life was broken by the emergence of a rich capitalist class, and men used to the despotic power which they wielded over the provincials, did not easily adapt themselves to the restrictions of the republic on their return. "The Senate became more than ever the most efficient part of the government of Rome, but the Senate was more influenced than any other part of the State by the moral corruption which the winning of the empire had brought with it."—W. W. Fowler, *Rome*, p. 105.—"Two men of the noble class . . . [the Gracchi] endeavored to better the situation. . . . Both men lost their lives in the struggle. . . . A revolution began, with intermittent civil war which lasted a century [and in which military leaders used their power to gain their own ascendancy]. Such were the methods of Marius and Sulla. Marius [156-86 B. C.] on behalf of the people and distribution of lands; Sulla in defense of the Senate and the wealthy of Rome (81-79 B. C.). Sulla and the Senate triumphed . . . [but] at Sulla's death the struggle broke out anew. . . . Thus military leadership became the controlling power of the Roman world; and it was evident to the practical statesman that the old machinery of the Republic could never again restore order and stable government in Italy."—J. H. Breasted and J. H. Robinson, *Outlines of European history*, pp. 265, 266.—"It should be remembered . . . that there is a sense in which the transmarine wars of

Rome may be said to have been undertaken at least partly in self-defence. Rome was becoming dependent on foreign countries for her food supply; to have Sicily and Sardinia under her own control, rather than that of her possible enemies, was coming to be a matter of vital importance; the rich lands, in which Carthage stood, offered a very special temptation to hungry citizens. The first step of interference in Sicily appears to have been taken, far less from any scheme of ambition, than in the hope of disarming the possible hostility of Mamertine raiders and pirates [Campanian mercenaries, hired by the ruler of Sicily, who later seized a portion of the island for themselves]. . . . Doubtless there were proconsuls who were ambitious of military reputation, but there is comparatively little evidence of wanton aggression by the Roman state; it was, in fact, an extension rendered necessary for self-defence in changed conditions. In precisely the same way, the preservation of other alien communities in their rights and privileges was apparently a generous policy, and the hardships inflicted in republican times were not due to public oppression but to public neglect. The State provided no adequate securities against official rapacity and the private greed of Roman capitalists. The Roman Republic was indeed condemned, and it was inevitable that some other form of government should take its place. It had obviously failed in the two points which had lain at the foundation of all Roman prosperity. (i) One condition which the Romans aimed at securing was that of immunity from attack; they had made war in order to procure peace, and a guarantee for peace. But their dominion had become the prey of ambitious generals who led rival legions against one another. So long as a popular leader had the unfettered command of a distant province, there was at least the danger that he would build up a power which should make him an object of envy to other generals and a danger to the republic. The risk of attack from without seemed to be gone, but there was little hope of immunity from war at home. (ii) The second point, on which the well-being of the Roman dominion had rested, was the maintenance of law and order; this may be gathered from the freedom that was given to the allied communities, and the enforcement of law by Roman Praetors in other areas. The story of the maladministration of the provinces shows how entirely this condition of economic prosperity was lacking. The *publicani* and *negotiatores* were exhausting the most fertile areas; the private ambition of the generals induced chronic warfare, and the private greed of the speculators rendered the cultivation of the soil or the maintenance of industry a hopeless task. The pressing need of society was the establishment of peace, and the maintenance of such order that agriculture and the arts of life might revive. Only by the successful assumption of universal dominion could the dangers from ambitious generals be abated; only by the establishment of a strong personal rule and a reformed administration could internal order be secured."—W. Cunningham, *Western civilization*, pp. 160-161, 168-169.—The empire thus superseded the republic in the first century B. C.—See also **ROME: Republic.**

Imperialism.—Its administrative excellence.—"The words in which the Romans delighted as expressing their national characteristics, all tell the same tale: *gravitas*, the seriousness of demeanour which is the outward token of a steadfast purpose; *continentia*, self-restraint; *industria* and *diligentia*, words which we have inherited from them, need no explanation; *constantia*, perseverance in conduct; and last, not least, *virtus*, manliness, which origi-

nally meant activity and courage, and with ripening civilisation took on a broader and more ethical meaning. . . . But it is essential to note that this hard and practical turn of the Roman mind was in some ways curiously limited. It cannot be said that they excelled either in industrial or commercial pursuits. It was in another direction that their practical work drew them: to the arts and methods of discipline, law, government. We can see this peculiar gift showing itself at all stages of their development:—in the agricultural family which was the germ of their later growth, in the city-state which grew from that germ, and in the Empire, founded by the leaders of the city-states, and organized by Augustus and his successors. It is seen too in their military system, which won them their empire; they did not war merely for spoil or glory, but for clearly realized practical purposes. . . . [Nevertheless the Romans prized glory as the great achievement. In the pursuit of glory,] they refused to recognize defeat, [while] common sense enabled them to profit by adverse fortune. . . . Thus they went on from defeat to victory, conquest and government."—W. W. Fowler, *Rome*, pp. 13, 14, 15.—The three great forces which have moulded modern civilization:—Christianity, Greek thought and philosophy, Roman law, had their meeting place, and scattering place in Rome. It cannot be too often said that the greatest gifts of the Romans were their clear, logical reasoning powers in the region of law and order, and their great powers of administration, and of governing subject races. As has so often been pointed out, except in these fields, they were not an original people, and were therefore all the more fitted to assimilate, and spread Greek thought and Christian doctrine throughout the huge empire of varied nations and tongues which by their administrative genius they held together for a longer period than any other empire has yet endured. Moreover, their influence cast a seeming bond of unity over the motley races of Europe, which in a measure still endures. "If, when measured by the whole of humanity, Europe seems . . . to possess a unity of its own, it is because the civilization of the different European nations was derived from the same original source and was received, in the main, through the same channels. In the period of the widest expansion of the Roman empire one government extended over all that part of Europe which had been reclaimed from primitive barbarism. . . . Law, religion, and administration emanated from one centre and were directed toward one end. That centre was the imperial will, and that end its universal domination. From the Mediterranean to the North Sea, and the British Isles, from the shores of the Atlantic to the confines of Asia, Europe was politically one. . . . But the Roman empire was more than a European state, it was an international power, holding sway over vast areas in Asia and Africa; a world empire in which the Mediterranean that ancient highway of nations had become an inland waterway, and presiding over the destinies of men not only on the Rhine and the Danube, but on the Nile and Euphrates. . . . [In the reign of Trajan (A. D. 98-117) when it] reached the maximum of its territorial area. . . . its borders were almost coincident with the limits of civilization."—D. J. Hill, *History of diplomacy in Europe*, v. 1, pp. 1-3.—"The establishment of the Roman Empire . . . is the culminating fact of ancient history. . . . Its first great service was the establishment of peace. The years from the battle of Actium onwards for two centuries are without question the most peaceful period in the history of the lands embraced within the circuit of the Roman Empire. An army of

some 400,000 men sufficed to keep order in countries where there are now many millions of soldiers. The Latin language in the West and the Greek language in the East were already widespread, but it was after the establishment of the Roman Empire that the Latin language became the national language in the western provinces, and thus the modern French, Spanish, and Italian languages began to develop. [See also PHILOLOGY: 9; 11.] But it was not only the language of Rome that was accepted by the peoples of Western Europe, it was the ideas of her civilization, and especially the ideas of Roman law. . . . Although the foundations of Roman law are to be traced during the Republic, it was under the empire that it developed into a massive and logical system, which later generations looked back upon almost as a revelation, and which lies now at the basis of the legal systems of all European lands, though it has influenced the development of English law less than any other. Nor is it altogether true to say that the establishment of the Roman Empire was the overthrow of liberty. It meant the overthrow of free speech in Rome, and the historian sees with regret the loss of the dignity, and of the independence of the Senate and of the people of the city of Rome. But for the vast majority of the inhabitants of the empire there was gain not only in prosperity, but in liberty as well."—A. J. Grant, *History of Europe*, pp. 138, 139.—"To most of her subjects Rome allowed a very fair measure of self-government. . . . In the west, where there were no ancient civilizations . . . Rome introduced the elements of civil life. Round her military stations grew up centres . . . which became the great cities of Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, and South Germany. . . . [Over this supremely practical people, Greek thought and philosophy gained a strong hold at an early date. One school of philosophy], the Stoic, really chimed in with much that was best in the old Roman character."—C. R. L. Fletcher, *Making of western Europe*, v. 1, pp. 9, 10.—"The Stoics were the Pharisees of 'pagan philosophy.' As the Pharisees were the most Hebraic of the Hebrews, so it was Stoicism that came to be characteristic of the Roman creed."—T. G. Tucker, *Life in Roman world of Nero and St. Paul*, p. 407.—See also **ROME: Empire.**

Effect of imperial dominion on the constitution.—Development of Roman law.—"Until the conquests [of Rome] had proceeded quite far, Roman law was not more noteworthy than any other barbaric law. . . . The Romans laid a tremendous emphasis upon private rights; but, on the other hand, the state was regarded as a necessary means to secure the rights of the individual. The peculiar feature was the appeal to self-interest; and self-interest could be secured only through the state. So the state was both extremely autocratic and extremely democratic. This feature of Roman life was developed, largely at least, by the expansion of the state and the demands made upon the administrative system. The expansion was so rapid and the works and the public domain were so vast that individual enterprise had to be depended upon for practically all administrative purposes. When the Empire was established, administrative methods had been so far reduced to a system that public officials could manage public affairs with less abuse than was found unavoidable under the contract system. But in the earlier days it had seemed necessary to put up at auction the duties of collecting rents from the public domain, of fitting out ships and provisioning armies, of constructing roads, aqueducts, and other public works. Thus public ends were best served by private enterprise.

This led to a greater recognition of the rights of the individual, which the preservation of the patriarchal family had already made greater than among any other ancient people, and to the further emphasis of the idea of private property which had likewise received marked development under the influence of the family institutions. . . . The Romans formed a concentrated national state with an organization based on the administrative system of a single city. The struggle for existence was so severe that by the time they had conquered security war had come to have an æsthetic value for them, and so was carried on for its own sake. Their great end became war, though at the beginning their wars had economic causes or were carried on in self-defense. . . . War for the Romans was a permanent occupation. So, most naturally, the Romans came to have both a superior military organization and more intense national feelings. . . . The Roman political constitution, like that of the Greeks, fell to pieces under the stress of new conditions. But Rome never went through what she would acknowledge to be a revolution. . . . The constant pressure of external enemies made necessary a stable constitution; and the unassailable strength of the ruling classes and landlords—never overthrown, as at Athens, by the rapid rise of the industrial classes—permitted internal changes only by gradual stages. Practical necessities led to minute alterations from time to time, until the revolution was accomplished. The establishment of the republic meant little more than the change from a life-archon to annual archons and from a single ruler to two who might check one another. From the establishment of the republic (509 B. C.) to the end of the second Punic War (201 B. C.), the senate, composed of the aristocracy, was the real government of Rome. Though but a consultative body, the senate, like all legislatures, was able to make constant inroads on the executive; and had in this case particular advantages because the magistrates were elected for but a year, and were usually drawn from the classes strongest in the senate. The popular assemblies were seldom held, being called only when the magistrates summoned them. [See also **SENATE, ROMAN; ROME: Republic: B. C. 133.**] While the senate, however, was thus profiting by knowing its own mind and by having functions too indefinite to be curtailed, the conquests of the Roman armies, which the senate at first did so much to advance by supplying both wise plans and effective leaders, were sweeping together an empire whose government was to prove an impossible task even for the senate—for any magistrate or assembly, indeed, known to the constitution of the city-republic. . . . Not until she had circled the Mediterranean with her conquests, and had sent her armies deep into the three continents that touch its international waters, did she pause in the momentous undertaking of bringing the whole world to the feet of a single city. And her constitutional life itself felt every stroke of these conquests. This constant stress of war was of the deepest consequence to her politics. It soon became impossible to administer the vast empire by means of a municipal constitution. And yet no new system seemed possible to the Romans. They simply attempted to extend their city constitution over the whole world. . . . The problem was finally solved, not by raising the provincials to a real citizenship, but by bringing Rome to the level of the provinces by overthrowing the constitution and giving her a master like those of the provinces. Under the consuls the provinces had been administered as the property of Rome; under the emperors they were administered as integral parts of Rome.

These changes were made gradually. The transition period extended from the beginning of the agrarian movement of Tiberius Gracchus (133 B. C.) to the death of Augustus (14 A. D.). . . . By the end of the long reign of Augustus, the emperor had become the state personified. Every legislative and executive function was vested in him, and the magistrates became his personal representatives. His household officials took the place of the private contractors and irresponsible governors, and the system of administration employed was the admirable one which the Romans had worked out in the management of their private estates. Since the whole empire had become the private estate of the emperor, it would have seemed intolerable to continue the old system of irresponsible administration which had permitted speculators to exploit the provinces. The emperors began to look upon the empire as a whole, and that whole was larger than Rome. They could not but take as much interest in the prosperity of some of their fairest provinces as they took in Rome itself. This was especially true when the emperors, beginning with Trajan [A. D. 98-117], were most frequently themselves provincials. Finally, after all freemen had come to possess equal privileges, or rather to bear equal burdens, Caracalla's universal enfranchisement was but the recognition of an accomplished fact. The universal state was for the first time realized. . . . The Roman Empire . . . may be regarded as the embodiment of Greek political conceptions, rendered necessary by the gathering-together of all the nations of the world and the attempt to hold them all in one political community. The conception of the state which had come from the Socratic period would have been valueless but for the administrative capacity of the Romans. . . . The development of Roman law was . . . determined by the exigencies arising from the extension of Roman rule to foreign peoples. . . . The influence of Greek thought was unquestionably important. . . . The first codification of the primitive practices was the basis of all later law. The *Twelve Tables* was for a long time the only law, except a small body of decrees of the senate and a few legal principles established by agitation. [See also CODES: B. C. 509; ROME: Republic: B. C. 451-449.] In applying these simple principles the *prætor*, consciously or unconsciously, became the source of new law. This body of law, the *jus civile*, was applicable to Roman citizens only, it having been inconceivable that a foreigner should have a part in the sacred Roman customs. But with the growth of intercourse with foreigners, it became necessary to have established processes for cases arising between two aliens or between an alien and a Roman citizen. The precedents established in these equity cases before the *prætor* of the foreigners became the *jus gentium*. With the extension of the empire the latter law became the more important. The subject localities were permitted to retain their local institutions; but cases arising between natives of the province and Roman citizens, or between natives of two different provinces or even two different localities of the same province, had to be judged by the *jus gentium*, and the Roman governor had to exercise the function of the *prætor perigrinus*. Thus a great body of miscellaneous precedents strongly impregnated with Roman legal principles was developed. And this body of law came to be regarded as more natural and more equitable than the *jus civile*. The increasing complexity of the relations between the residents of the different sections of the empire naturally led to an examination of the *jus gentium* by lawyers and to the use of its leading principles in the interpretation of Roman law in general. At

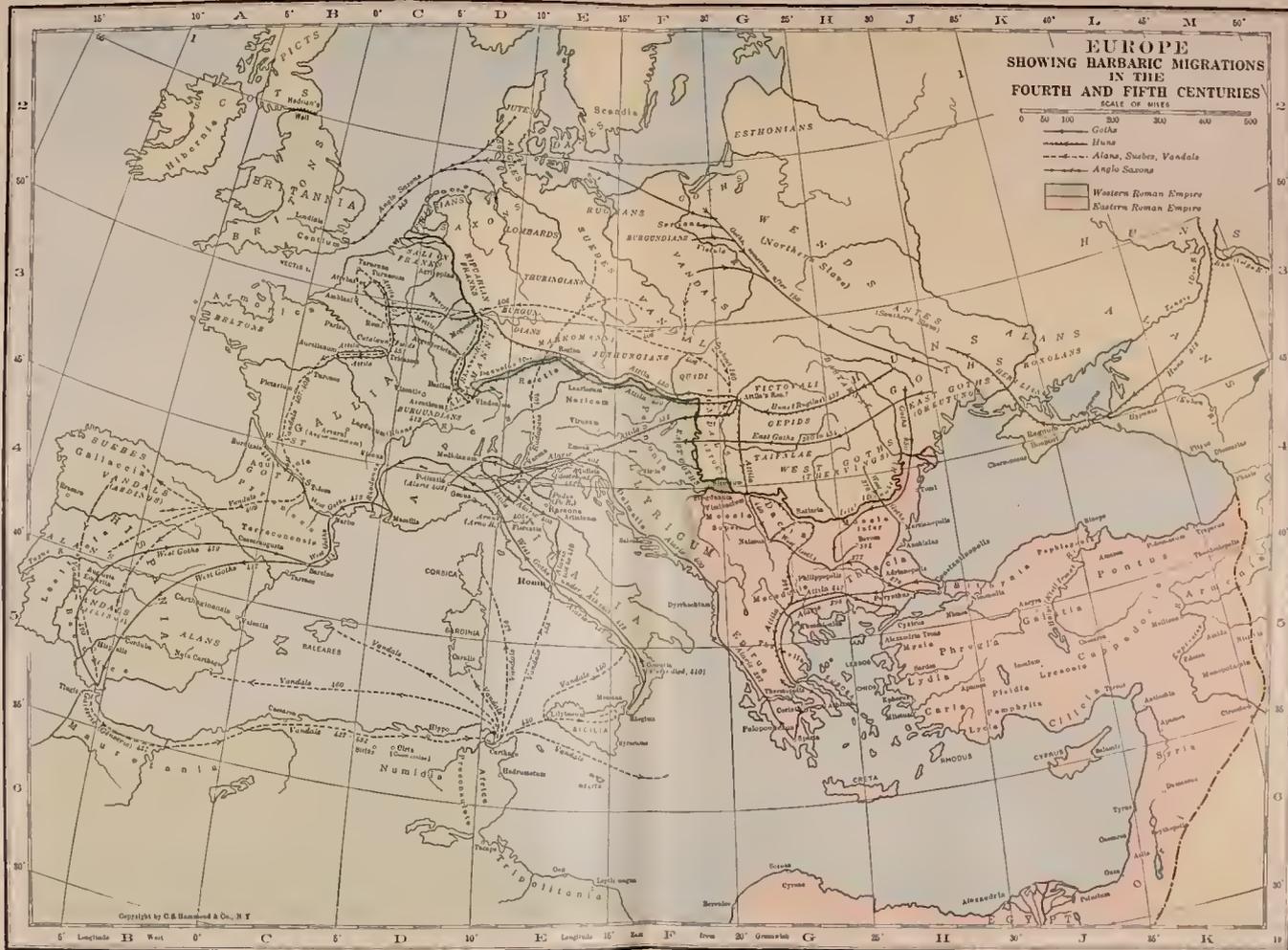
this point the Roman lawyers were assisted by the conceptions borrowed from the Greeks, and especially from the Stoics. The Stoics were setting forth the idea of a world-citizenship corresponding to their conception of an ethical community of all men. . . . With the disappearance of Roman citizenship, or rather with its universalization, the *jus civile* necessarily disappeared, and the *jus gentium*, reduced to some order, became Roman law. Thus by the union of the practical codes of the Romans and the formative legal conceptions of the Greeks, Roman legal principles, which had originally been developed in their local application, were *universalized*. The development beyond this point was only a matter of amplification and arrangement. This great theoretical development was given the law chiefly by private jurists. The opinions of these great lawyers soon came to be recognized as of greater authority than the decisions of the courts. This development by commentators went on from the time of Cicero [106-43 B. C.] until about 250 A. D. After the opinions of the *juris-consults* had been recognized by custom for some time, and no other great lawyers arose to further expand the law, the emperors gave legal sanction to them. In addition to these important legal opinions, the *senatus consulta* and the imperial *constitutiones* entered into the body of the law. [See also CONSULTA, SENATUS.] The shaping forces, however, were found in the opinions of the *jurisconsults*. Naturally, the difficulty of harmonizing conflicting opinions and of choosing the real authorities in the great mass of law thus developed became greater and greater as time passed. Hence, after the legal principles had been worked out thoroughly, the demand arose for codification. This demand was an evidence of the decay of the Roman state; for during the period of vigor and expansion of institutional life, codification was impossible, and was probably never thought of. The Theodosian code of the latter part of the fourth century of our era was of considerable importance because of its influence on the earlier legislation of the Teutonic rulers. But the great codification was, of course, that made by Trebonian at the command of Justinian (529 A. D.). This gave Roman law its permanent shape and served as the basis for the new study of Roman law by the men of the Middle Ages. By the fourth century, A. D., the old republican legislation, the *prætorial edicts*, and the imperial constitutions had been almost completely fused by the jurists. The distinction between the *jus civile* and the *jus gentium* was by that time entirely obliterated. In the Justinian code the imperial constitutions and all other legislative acts became the *Codex*, the work of the philosophical lawyers became the *Pandects*, the summary statement of the whole was known as the *Institutions*, and the special decrees issued to fill gaps and clear the whole of inconsistencies were codified as the *Novels*. The whole was the *Corpus juris civilis*. [See also CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS.] This constituted the definite legal contribution of the Romans, made possible only when their empire was passing away. The contribution of the Romans was thus the framework of the institutional life of society. What the Greeks had stated as an ideal they practically realized, though in a cruder form—a universal society and a universal law. But the social organization had been too far perfected before the consummation of Hebrew life for the Hebrew element to be blended with the others in the constitution of the empire. . . . The importance for modern society of the Roman political system is not so much that it worked in the practical administration of the empire as that it served as a guide for the

organization of Europe."—J. D. Forrest, *Development of western civilization*, pp. 55-59, 61-64, 66.—See also CIVIL LAW.

Graeco-Roman knowledge.—"The century that saw the end of the Roman Republic and the beginning of the Empire may be accounted the apogee of Roman culture. The glory of Alexandria was on the wane. There were richer prizes in the new world-capital. It was the time of Cæsar and of Augustus, of Cicero and of Pompey, of Lucretius and of Virgil. . . . In what regard, let us ask, would a highly enlightened Alexandrian, or his compeer at Rome, heritor of the Greek tradition and fully abreast of the knowledge of his time, differ, in his larger world ideas, from a man of the same temper and standing now? It is evident enough from the pages of Lucretius, of Cicero, of Pliny, of Strabo, and of Cleomedes, that in many ways the difference was slight. The youth of that time were taught the geometry of Euclid. It is taught to the youth of our time with little addition and little change. The trigonometry of the Greeks was but slightly developed, their algebra scarce at all. Their system of notation was not decimal. It follows that they had no logarithms. The calculus was quite unknown. Their processes of computation were clumsy. . . . They understood that the earth is a sphere, and that it hangs, so far as any one may see, in empty space. Their minds had reached the conception that it rests on nothing. . . . They were metallurgists of long standing; but of chemical theory they had next to none. Their ideas of heat and other natural forces were of the crudest. They had not deciphered the hieroglyphics of the rocks. Of true conceptions of the age of the earth, or its formation, or of world formation in general, they could have had none at all."—C. Snyder, *World machine*, pp. 146-148.—It is to be noted that, whether because of the prevalence of slave labor, which is deadly to industrial initiative, or from some other cause, neither the Greeks nor the Romans made any independent addition to the sum total of industrial invention or scientific discovery. The arts of weaving textiles, making pottery, and glass, working in metals, of building, sculpture, painting, writing, had all been handed on to them from the East. The sciences of Astronomy and Mathematics were of oriental origin, and so little understood in Rome that Julius Cæsar sent to Egypt for students to work out the calendar which bears his name. The Romans, of a more practical nature than the Greeks, might conceivably have turned their minds into a more utilitarian direction, but, while the national life of Rome was still at an impressionable stage, it fell under the influence of Greece, and thenceforth continued to echo the abstractness of Greek thought. Moreover, the career of conquest in which Rome set out unduly elevated military to the detriment of civil life, so that it was looked upon as rather derogatory to engage in industrial pursuits, and the best minds of the nation were occupied solely in the business of war and administration. Nevertheless, the Romans were great master builders and engineers. They excelled in mining and drainage. They built great aqueducts, and bequeathed the art of road-making to the world. No one before them had built a solid road. "Above all people, before or since, the Greeks developed a love for harmony and proportion. . . . In Sculpture, architecture, drama, oratory and philosophy . . . [they] still rank among the world's masters. [Their contributions to civilization] were intellectual and spiritual. Above all the Greeks gave us the ideal of freedom regulated by self-control. . . . [Rome] a century before the birth of Christ unified new West and

old East into a Graeco-Roman world."—W. M. West, *Story of modern progress*, pp. 8, 9.—As far as pure thought and intellectual reasoning could go the Greeks had gone. But their knowledge was empirical, and lacking in the means of making precise experiments and observations. No new inventions appear until late in the Middle Ages, and knowledge had to wait until that time before it could be said to have become scientific.

Intellectual bankruptcy of the Graeco-Roman civilization.—**Neoplatonism and barbarism.**—**Adaptation of Christianity to the Graeco-Roman world.**—"The melancholy decline of Hellenism in the later Roman Empire was accompanied by the development of new types of intellectual enthusiasm based upon entirely different presuppositions in regard to man's origin and chief business in life. One of the great modern historical discoveries is that what we term 'medieval' thought was to all intents and purposes completely elaborated in the later Roman Empire, before the Germans disrupted the western portions of the vast commonwealth organized by Augustus. An emotional revolution had begun as early as Plutarch and had gradually served to denature the traditions of the intellectual life as they had come down from Athens. Reason became an object of suspicion; its impotence seemed to have been clearly proved; the intellectual class sought solace not so much in the restraints of Stoicism as in the *abandon* of Neoplatonism, and the vagaries of theurgy and of oriental mysticism. The clarity and moderation which we associate with Hellenism gave place to the depreciation of reason and a corresponding confidence in the supernatural. [See also NEOPLATONISM.] Plotinus [c. 205-270] maintained that only the meaner things of life come within the scope of reason; that the highest truth is supernatural; that it is through intuition rather than reason that we may hope to approach our highest aspirations. Harnack has well said that Neoplatonism, however lofty and inspiring in some of its aspects, implied nothing less than intellectual bankruptcy. 'The contempt for reason and science (for these are condemned when relegated to a second place) finally leads to barbarism, because it results in crass superstition, and is exposed to all manner of imposture. And, as a matter of fact, barbarism succeeded the flourishing period of Neoplatonism. . . . The masses grew up in superstition, and the Christian Church, which entered on the inheritance of Neoplatonism, was compelled to reckon with this and come to terms with it. Just when the bankruptcy of the ancient civilization and its lapse into barbarism could not have failed to reveal themselves, a kindly destiny placed on the stage of European history certain barbarian nations, for whom the work of a thousand years had as yet no existence. Thus the fact is obscured, though it does not escape the eye of one who looks below the surface, that the ancient world must necessarily have degenerated into barbarism of its own accord, because of its renunciation of this world. There was no longer any desire either to enjoy it, to master it, or to know it as it really is. A new world had been disclosed for which everything in this world was to be given up, and men were ready to sacrifice insight and understanding, in order to possess that other world with certainty. In the light which radiated from the world to come, that which in this world appeared absurd became wisdom, and wisdom became folly. It was just at this period that historical Christianity received its formulation in the works of the church fathers. It is suggestive that the greatest of these, Augustine, had been attracted both by the teachings of the Persian, Manes, and by the seductions



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of Neoplatonism."—J. H. Robinson, *New history*, p. 112.—"As the Vedas offer a glimpse into the antecedents of Greek mythology, so Hebrew studies open up vistas into the antecedents of Christian dogma. Christianity in its Patristic form was an adaptation of Hebrew religion to the Graeco-Roman world, and later, in the Protestant movement, a readaptation of the same to what we may call the Teutonic spirit. In the first adaptation, Hebrew positivism was wonderfully refined, transformed into a religion of redemption, and endowed with a semi-pagan mythology, a pseudo-Platonic metaphysics, and a quasi-Roman organization. In the second adaptation, Christianity received a new basis and standard in the spontaneous faith of the individual; and, as the traditions thus undermined in principle gradually dropped away, it was reduced by the German theologians to a romantic and mystical pantheism. Throughout its transformations, however, Christianity remains indebted to the Jews not only for its founder, but for the nucleus of its dogma, and ethical doctrine. . . . The poetic legends and patriarchal worship that had formerly made up the religion of Israel were transformed into two concrete and formidable engines—the Bible and the Church."—G. Santayana, *Life of reason*, pp. 69, 81.—"No judgment could well be shallower . . . than that which condemns a great religion for not being faithful to that local and partial impulse which may first have launched it into the world. A great religion has something better to consider: the conscience and imaginations of those it ministers to. The prophet who announced it first was a prophet only because he had a keener sense and clearer premonition than other men of their common necessities; and he loses his function and is a prophet no longer when the public need begins to outrun his intuitions. Could Hebraism spread over the Roman Empire and take the name of Christianity without adding anything to its native inspiration? Is it to be lamented that we are not all Jews? Yet what makes the difference is not the teaching of Jesus—which is pure Hebraism reduced to its spiritual essence—but the worship of Christ—something perfectly Greek. Christianity would have remained a Jewish sect had it not been made at once speculative, universal, and ideal by the infusion of Greek thought, and at the same time plastic and devotional by the adoption of pagan habits. . . . There were, we may say, two things in Apostolic teaching which rendered it capable of converting the world. One was the later Jewish morality and mysticism, beautifully expressed in Christ's parables and maxims, and illustrated by his miracles, those cures and absolutions which he was ready to dispense, whatever their sins, to such as called upon his name. This democratic and untrammelled charity could powerfully appeal to an age disenchanted with the world, and especially to those lower classes which pagan polity had covered with scorn and condemned to hopeless misery. The other point of contact which early Christianity had with the public need was the theme it offered to contemplation, the philosophy of history which it introduced into the western world, and the delicious unfathomable mysteries into which it launched the fancy. Here, too, the figure of Christ was the centre for all eyes. Its lowliness, its simplicity, its humanity were indeed, for a while, obstacles to its acceptance; they did not really lend themselves to the metaphysical interpretation which was required. Yet even Greek fable was not without its Apollo tending flocks and its Demeter mourning for her lost child and serving in meek disguise the child of another. Feeling was ripe for a mythology loaded with pathos. The

humble life, the homilies, the sufferings of Jesus could be felt in all their incomparable beauty all the more when the tenderness and tragedy of them, otherwise too poignant, were relieved by the story of his miraculous birth, his glorious resurrection, and his restored divinity. The gospel, thus grown acceptable to the pagan mind, was, however, but a grain of mustard-seed destined to branch and flower in its new soil in a miraculous manner."—*Ibid.*, pp. 84-86.—See also CHRISTIANITY: A. D. 35-64; 100-300: Need in Roman empire, etc.

ALSO IN: P. Van Myers, *Eastern nations and Greece*.—G. W. Cox, *Athenian empire*.—J. H. Roscher, *Our Hellenic heritage*.—T. G. Glover, *Pericles to Philip*.—G. B. Grundy, *Thucydides and history of his age*.—G. Ferrero, *Short history of Rome*.—F. Tenney, *Influence of race mixture on late Roman empire* (*American Historical Review*, July, 1916).

"Fall of Rome."—Infiltration of the barbarians.—Eastern empire survives under Constantinople.—"It was the destiny of Rome to perish through its conquests. It is, in fact, soon annihilated by the Empire it has founded. In proportion as the East flourishes once more and the West expands; in proportion as the prosperity, the number and the power of the middle classes and the provincial aristocracies increase; the immense Empire assumes the form, no longer of a formidable engine of political and military dominion, but of one of those highly refined urban States that Hellenism had produced in the East. Created by a puritan and strictly national aristocracy of diplomatists and warriors, the Empire falls into the power of an aristocracy and bureaucracy, cosmopolitan, pacifist, lettered, philosophical; whose amalgamation is effected throughout the Empire, not any longer by a real or imaginary community of origins, traditions and history, but by a brilliant, though superficial, literary and philosophical culture, and by the political religion of the Empire and the emperor. The force of cohesion which internally binds together the enormous bulk of the Empire is no longer merely warfare and law; it is, above all, the urban civilization of the Hellenized East. In the same way as the Emperor at Rome, so do the rich families in the provinces dispense part of their wealth to beautify the cities; to increase the profits, the comforts and pleasures of the people; they build palaces, villas, theatres, temples, baths, aqueducts; they are liberal of corn, oil, amusements, money; they endow public services or establish charitable foundations. The Empire is covered with great and small cities, which rival each other in splendour and beauty; all expand through the constant influx of the poor populations of the campaigns, of artisans, of peasants grown rich. Schools are opened wherein the young of the middle class, by learning rhetoric, literature, philosophy, and law, prepare themselves for the bureaucratic functions which, from generation to generation, increase and ramify. It is this lettered and philosophical bureaucracy which introduces into the Roman law, originally empiric, the philosophical and systematic spirit; which introduces into the administration, originally authoritative, the juridic spirit. And it is thus that, during the second century, the Empire displays, in the sunshine of the Pax Romana which illumines the world, its innumerable cities all resplendent with marbles. But, alas, for but a brief period; for a fresh dissolution commences. The urban and cosmopolitan civilization which had linked, one with another, the various parts of this incongruous empire, begins, in the course of the third century, to act as a dissolvent force, which throws this brilliant world back into

the chaos from which it had drawn it. Little by little, with the spontaneous growth of the cities and of their luxury, that which the urban civilization consumes, exceeds the fertility of the campaigns, and these become depopulated; drained by the cities which absorb their population and their wealth. What human force will ever drive from the cities the rural populations after they have once tasted the conveniences, the pleasures, and the vices, of a refined civilization? Hereafter the Empire is devoured alive by the cities which swarm upon its enormous body. To nourish the populations which there crowd together; to amuse them and to dress them, the campaigns are harassed by a terrible fiscal regimen; agriculture is ruined; the material arts perish; finances break down; the administration falls into disorder; and soon the day will come when within the empire, by a monstrous inversion of the natural relations of things, the craftsmen of pleasure and luxury will multiply endlessly, while there will no longer be any peasants to till the fields, any bakers to make the bread, any sailors to plough the seas, any soldiers to defend the frontiers. It is the beginning of a social dissolution, the history of which is not yet written; in the midst of which there supervenes the greatest moral fermentations the world has ever undergone for the mysticism, the cosmopolitanism, the antimilitarism, the conflict which causes the old educated classes and the ancient Greco-Roman culture to clash with the barbarians, who invade the empire from without and from below, as well as the innumerable religious aberrations in formation; culminates in Christianity, which elaborates a superior morality, but whose spirit denies the very essence of the Empire; and destroys the vital substance of that ancient civilization. The Empire defends itself with the fury of despair, but without success. East and West separate, and the West, abandoned to itself, falls into decay."—G. Ferrero, *Europe's fateful hour*, pp. 01-03.—"It is questionable, therefore, if the European tribes could ever have overcome the empire of their own power and inclination. For many of them were inclined to look upon it rather with reverence and awe, and the dream of some of their leaders was merely to keep it going on the old lines with but a transfusion of blood. Though we are largely groping in the dark it seems reasonable to believe that the 'Germanic' tribes cantoned in central Europe were becoming sedentary under Roman example and tuition, were clearing their woods and draining their swamps like American pioneers later, and that the continent might have been won for agricultural civilisation centuries earlier than actually happened but for the uncontrollable barbarism of the dim Asiatic backgrounds. In the early Christian centuries the great plains disgorged westwards a barbaric tide impelled either by drought or set on the move after the completion of some inward imperial process, and instinctively marching forward for fresh booty as hordes of lemmings and buffaloes migrate in millions towards the sea. The Huns, who were more barbarous than the Romans, burst into Europe. They crumpled up the immense kingdom of the centenarian Hermanic [Ostrogothic king, c. 269-375], and, gathering up the *débris* of the defeated nations, surged towards the Atlantic. Though Attila was defeated in Gaul [battle of Chalons, 451], he seems to have remained practically as powerful as before. Turning south and east he destroyed Aquileia and actually threatened Rome, but was dissuaded for whatever reason. [See also BARBARIAN INVASIONS: 423-455.] Had he lived, it would probably only have been to the end of creating a greater atmospheric depression of the Mediterranean civilisation

than actually occurred. As it was, the Germanic tribes, disbanded under the enormous pressure which had originated perhaps beyond the Oxus, broke through the far-flung Roman barriers, and began a vigorous cantoning of themselves within various parts of the huge body politic, which it became their idea to exploit in the immemorial fashion but to the profit of a new caste. Already the immense structure had become practically bisected because of the co-existence of two different gravitational points, near the bases of the Alps and the Balkans respectively, and ministering to two worlds of west and east differing wholly in speech and much in economic interest and racial and religious ideas."—A. R. Cowan, *Master-clues in world-history*, pp. 90-92.—The "Fall of Rome dwelt on so much by historians as a definite break in the history of Europe was a decline so gradual that even the date 476 which by earlier historians was given as that of its final drop over the precipice is no more than a landmark in its continued descent."—C. R. L. Fletcher, *Making of western Europe*, v. 1, p. 78.—See also **ROME: Empire: 476.**—"The Roman Empire was still intact when Theodosius the Great died in 395. It was governed by a vast and elaborate bureaucracy of which we have an impressive picture in the official list of offices, which has come down to us, the so-called *Notitia Dignitatum*. A century later the western portion of the Empire was in a state of disintegration. We find kings of the Franks, Alemanni, Burgundians, West Goths, East Goths, and Vandals, each ruling over a more or less well-defined portion of the ancient Roman Empire. It is no longer possible to trace the process of dissolution in detail; indeed, the changes were so complicated, so varied, and so gradual that even if we were as well informed about the fifth century as we are in regard to the nineteenth, it would probably be impossible to give a clear account of the revolution, simply because it was inherently irregular and obscure."—J. H. Robinson, *Fall of Rome (Address before New England History Teachers' Association, Apr., 1906)*.—"With the settlement of the Visigoths in Southern Gaul [419], we may claim . . . to have reached at last the dividing line between the Old and New worlds. The futile timid Emperor Honorius . . . has left a mark on history which nothing can efface. . . . Honorius perceived that the only thing now to be done was to accept the logic of facts, to commence the recognition of nationalities within the boundaries of the West to pretend that it was all with the goodwill of Rome, and maintain a nominal suzerainty over all for Rome. . . . In Western Europe the Western Empire is henceforth but the shadow of a shade. . . . The deposition of Romulus at Ravenna in the year 476 can neither be dismissed as wholly unimportant, nor, on the other hand can it be taken as the beginning of Medieval as opposed to Ancient history. . . . [for, although with Romulus the long line of Augustan rulers disappeared from Rome] the 'Severance of the West' from the authority of the Roman Emperor at Constantinople must be placed a great deal later than 476."—C. R. L. Fletcher, *Making of western Europe*, v. 1, pp. 78, 96.—The history of Rome "explains how an empire is constituted and disintegrated; how a historic aristocracy is broken up, and how a democracy can perish of exhaustion; by what internal processes a republic is converted into a monarchy; a military and national State transformed into a state of lofty culture, and little by little exhausts itself entirely in intellectualism, exoticism, humanitarianism, cosmopolitanism. It shows how an authoritative régime ends by gradually enchainning itself in a very complicated juridical

system; it produces many revolutions and reactions; a great variety of repercussions of internal politics upon external, and conversely. . . . We see how a political religion is destroyed by a lofty literary and philosophical culture, and a new mystic religion arises which shapes itself from the debris of this same culture; as well as all kinds of minglings, contacts, encounters and conflicts between young and old peoples; between ancient civilizations and barbarisms; between different States, religions and laws. . . . It is a well-known fact that, above all during the last three centuries, after powerful States had begun to reconstruct themselves upon the political compartment of the Middle Ages, Rome, its history, its literature, its military system, its legislation, were regarded as an historical mirage, projected by the past in front of the generations which sought the road to the future. It has furnished different models to all generations for the resolution of the most opposite political problems. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Rome is the example which all the great monarchies founded in Europe held before them; in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the history of the Roman Republic, by the fervent cultus of Brutus, by the scandalous romance of the Julii Claudii which Suetonius and Tacitus transmitted, fomented the opposition against absolute monarchy. After the French Revolution Rome once more supplied to monarchy, as argument and means of persuasion, the Cæsarean vindications of Drumann, Duruy, and Mommsen, and the panegyrics lavished on the imperial government. It may even be said that the most celebrated histories of Rome written in the nineteenth century were only written in view of the conflict which had begun between the republic and the monarchy."—G. Ferrero, *Europe's fateful hour*, pp. 94-95.—While Rome disintegrated "Constantinople [made capital of the Eastern Empire in 330] continued, but actually began to flourish more than ever, and, until the advent of the Saracens, was the only centre of light and leading in the obscured Mediterranean world. The different fates of the capitals are to be explained less in terms of psychology than of geography and economics. Constantinople is one of the most 'inevitable' capitals of the world, occupying a unique concentrating position at the junction of two continents and two of the greatest inland seas. No point was more clearly predestined as an *entrepôt*, and no situation lent itself so admirably to defence from the military point of view. [See also CONSTANTINOPLE.] Better than Rome, it could not only draw sustenance from its immediate surroundings, but its continental granaries were not only more accessible but less easily cut across the Roman lines of aliment. Thus, while the barbarians battered in vain at the eastern gates of the empire, they made enormous breaches in the west, and when Genseric and his Vandals captured Carthage [439] and stopped the grain supplies from north-west Africa, Rome collapsed—became frustrated like an annuitant suddenly deprived of a pension. [See also HUNS: 429-430.] Pastoralism, with its origins in the steppelands of inner Asia, thus gained ground not only over the beginnings of tillage civilisation in the great Russian plains, but also in the western woodlands and clearings right down through the Iberian and Italian peninsulas to the very fields of Carthage. Learning disappeared, culture became utterly obscured, commerce degenerated once more into naked piracy, war became more and more sectional while becoming more and not less ferocious; in a word, the Dark Ages descended upon the greater part of Europe. These may not have been so black as they are sometimes painted, but it is common

ground at any rate that there was very sensible decline which it is here suggested was due fundamentally to a triumph of relative nomadism over tillage—the climate and ethnos of central Asia over those of western Europe. [See also AGRICULTURE: Ancient; Discouragement, etc.] That may have been inevitable, but at any rate it was only temporary. The barbarians rotted down, or were so completely absorbed in all the more southerly lands they conquered that to-day there is hardly a trace of the 'Teutonic' type in North Africa, Spain, or Italy. They died and gave no sign, though it is not impossible the ethnic impression may ultimately have stood for good as well as barm in fashions that we cannot discover. Barbarians did not cease irrupting for centuries. They came not only from the east and surged right up to the walls of Constantinople; but swarmed out of Scandinavia as pirates not one whit less ferocious than Huns or Mongols. It cannot have been drought which set the Norsemen on the move, though it may have been scarcity however caused. But at any rate they plied their trade with an activity and daring which are unparalleled in the predatory annals of the sea, scouting to enormous distances from their northern base, and founding dynasties here and there which lasted for centuries. In their case, too, however, the political impression was probably out of all proportion to the ethnic, and who is of Norse descent to-day in Sicily or even Normandy no man can say. It speaks volumes for the strength of the tillage impulses that they revived in Europe, under such enormous distractions from east and north. But revive they did, and were even stimulated by influences which, though predatory in their origin, became transmuted into great civilising forces."—A. R. Cowan, *Master-clues in world-history*, pp. 90-95.—"In Italy . . . as in Spain and Gaul, the laws, the administrative system and the language remained Roman. But the emancipation of Italy and the western provinces from direct imperial control . . . has rightly been regarded as marking the opening of a new epoch. . . . It made possible in the West the development of a Romano-German civilisation; it facilitated the growth of new and distinct states and nationalities; finally it gave a new impulse to the influence of the Christian Church, and laid the foundations of the power of the bishops of Rome."—H. F. Pelham, *Outlines of Roman history* (ed. 4), p. 598.—See also **ROME: Empire.**

See also **AGRICULTURE: Ancient: Development of servile system, etc.; ARCHITECTURE: Classic: Roman; COMMERCE: Ancient: B. C. 200-A. D. 800; EDUCATION: Ancient: B. C. 6th-A. D. 5th centuries: Rome; GUILDS: Roman; LATIN LITERATURE: MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 8; 9; PAINTING: Roman; SCULPTURE: Roman; SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: B. C. 3rd century.**

MIDDLE AGES

Definition.—Extent of barbarian civilization.—Assimilation of ancient and barbarian cultures the function of the Middle Ages.—Meaning of the term "dark ages."—"We commonly say that ancient history closed with the year 476 A. D. The great fact which marks the close of that age and the beginning of a new one is the conquest of the Western Roman Empire by the German tribes, a process which occupied the whole of the fifth century and more. [See **ROME: Empire: 455-476.**] . . . At this moment all the other provinces of the West were occupied, or just about to be occupied, by new German kingdoms, some faintly acknowledging the supremacy of the empire, others not at

all. When we turn to the close of medieval history we find no such general agreement as to the specific date which shall be selected to stand for that fact. . . . For the purpose of the present sketch the date 1520 must be chosen, because, although upon the political side, the whole Reformation period is clearly in the full current of modern international politics, still, in other directions, it just as plainly marks the transition from medieval to modern times. . . . It is a transition age. Lying, as it does, between two ages, in each of which there is an especially rapid advance of civilization, it is not itself primarily an age of progress. As compared with either ancient or modern history, the additions which were made during the middle ages to the common stock of civilization are few and unimportant. . . . The most evident general meaning of the age is that which has been hinted at above. It is assimilation. The greatest work which had to be done was to bring the German barbarian, who had taken possession of the ancient world and become everywhere the ruling race, up to such a level of attainment and understanding that he would be able to take up the work of civilization where antiquity had been forced to suspend it and go on with it from that point. Progress had ceased in the ancient world. Having brought civilization up to a certain point, the classical peoples seem to have been able to carry it no further. Even in those fields where the most remarkable results had been attained, as in that of the Roman law, nothing further seemed to be possible, except to work over the old results into new forms. Only in a single line, and that more or less in opposition to the general society of which it formed a part—only in the Christian church was there any evidence of energy and hopeful life. The creative power of antiquity seems to have been exhausted. But if the barbarians were physically the stronger race, and gifted with some legal and political notions worthy to join with those of the Romans in equal partnership, they were in other regards rude and barbarous—children in knowledge and understanding—in the actual point of civilization which they had reached by themselves, scarcely, if indeed at all, above the level of the best tribes of North American Indians. In capacity for civilization, in their ability to meet a corrupt civilization of a higher grade than their own, and not be permanently injured by it—though certainly some of the best of them, the Franks, for instance, seem to have had quite as great a capacity for absorbing the bad as the good—in the rapidity with which they responded to the stimulus of new ideas and experiences they were apparently superior even to the Cherokee. . . . They were filled with wonder at the evidences of skill and art which they saw on all sides, but they did not understand them and they could not use them. The story of the German warrior who, astonished at seeing ducks apparently swimming on the floor of the antechamber in which he was waiting, dashed his battle-axe at the beautiful mosaic to see if they were living, is thoroughly typical of the whole age. Much they destroyed through ignorance, and much in merely childish or savage moods. Much more was forgotten and disappeared because no one any longer cared for it or demanded its use. Art, which had long been slowly dying, at last perished. Science, no longer of interest to any one, disappeared. The knowledge of the Greek language was forgotten, almost the knowledge of the Latin. Skill of handicraft was lost. Roads and bridges fell out of repair. Intercommunication became difficult; commerce declined. Few common ideas and interests were left to bind the different parts of the empire, or even

of a province, together. The new governments were rarely able to enforce obedience everywhere, and often hardly cared to try. Crimes of violence became common. Force reigned where law and order had been supreme, and life and property were far less secure than they had been. . . . The larger part of all that the ancient world had gained seemed to be lost. But it was so in appearance only. Almost, if not quite, every achievement of the Greeks and the Romans in thought, in science, in law, in the practical arts, is now a part of our civilization. . . . For the moment it seemed lost, but it was only for the moment, and in the end the recovery was to be complete. . . . This age of final recovery—the age of the Renaissance—marks thus the completion of that process of education the absorption of the German in the civilization which he had conquered, so completely that he is able to take it up at the point at which the Greek and the Roman had been obliged to drop it, and to carry it on to still higher results. And so the Renaissance age is the last age of medieval history, and medieval history is the history of that education and absorption, of the process by which the German was brought into the classical world, and by which out of the two—the Roman civilization and the German energy and vigor and productive power, and new ideas and institutions a new organic unity was formed—modern society. This was the problem: To make out of the barbarized sixth century, stagnant and fragmentary, with little common life, without ideals or enthusiasms, the fifteenth century in full possession again of a common world civilization, keen, pushing, and enthusiastic. This was what the middle ages had to do, and this was what they did. It was a slow process."—G. B. Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, pp. 4, 8, 10-12.—"It is impossible to divide the past into distinct, clearly defined periods and prove that one age ended and another began in a particular year, such as 476, or 1453, or 1789. . . . It is true that a single event, such as an important battle which results in the loss of a nation's independence, may produce an abrupt change in the government. . . . [But this] affects the habits of a people but slowly in any case, and it may leave them quite unaltered. . . . We cannot, therefore, hope to fix any year or event which may properly be taken as the beginning of that long period which followed the downfall of the Roman state in western Europe and which is commonly called the Middle Ages. . . . Long before the German conquest, art and literature had begun to decline toward the level that they reached in the Middle Ages. Many of the ideas and conditions which prevailed after the coming of the barbarians were common enough before,—even the ignorance and want of taste which we associate particularly with the Middle Ages. The term *Middle Ages* is, then, a vague one. . . . [It means], roughly speaking, the period of nearly a thousand years that elapsed between the opening of the fifth century, when the disorder of the barbarian invasions was becoming general, and the fourteenth century, when Europe was well on its way to retrieve all that had been lost since the break-up of the Roman Empire. It used to be assumed, when there was much less interest in the period than there now is, that with the disruption of the Empire and the disorder that followed, practically all culture perished for centuries, that Europe entered upon the 'dark ages.' These were represented as dreary centuries of ignorance and violence in marked contrast to the civilization of the Greeks and Romans on the one hand, and to the enlightenment of modern times on the other. The more careful studies of the last

half century have made it clear that the Middle Ages were not 'dark' in the sense of being stagnant and unproductive. On the contrary, they were full of movement and growth, and we owe to them a great many things in our civilization which we should never have derived from Greece and Rome." —J. H. Robinson, *History of western Europe*, pp. 3-7.

ALSO IN: V. Drury, *History of the Middle Ages*, author's preface.—H. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, preface.—B. Bosanquet, *Civilization of Christendom*, ch. 3.—S. R. Maitland, *Dark Ages*, introduction.

Rise of the Frankish kingdom.—Empire of Charlemagne and its continuation in part of the work of Rome.—The Franks, alone of all the German tribes, became a wide power in the middle ages. The political inheritance of the Roman empire in the west passed to them; and they actually carried on the work which Rome had been doing. Henceforth they gave law and order to western Europe. They delayed for two centuries the founding of the kingdoms out of which the states of modern Europe had grown. They are condemned in the sight of history by the fact that they extirpated the spirit of toleration in religion and destroyed the balance of power among the new independent states of western Europe. By breaking up a family of nations living in distinct boundaries and dealing with each other on equal terms, they condemned Europe for a thousand years to the night of the dark ages. The successors of Clovis [c. 466-511] rapidly degenerated and the control of the state passed into the hands of their prime ministers, or Mayors of the Palace. [See FRANKS: 511-752.] The second of these, Charles Martel, saved Christianity from the Mohammedan lust for universal conquest. . . . The Mediterranean at this period has aptly been described as an 'ill-defended moat between Christian Europe and Mohammedan Africa.' In an eight days' battle at Xeres de la Frontera in 711 they [Mohammedans] overthrew the Visigothic power in Spain. [See SPAIN: 711-713.] Within a period of four years they overran Spain (except the mountainous north) and converted Narbonne, Arles, and Nismes in modern France into Mohammedan cities. . . . The impending danger united the Christian nations. In 732 Charles Martel defeated them in six hotly contested battles between Tours and Poitiers and stopped their advance. . . . With the pope's sanction, Pepin, the son and successor of Charles Martel, was crowned as king of the Franks in 752. . . . The pope, as an Italian sovereign, appealed to Pepin [against the Lombards] who marched into Italy, overthrew the Lombards, stripped them of a part of their lands, and bestowed them upon the pope. [See LOMBARDS: 754-774.] Pepin retained no territory for himself in Italy. His son and successor, Charles or Charlemagne, confirmed Pepin's gifts to the pope. . . . On Christmas day of the year 800, Charlemagne appeared in the church of St. Peter in Rome. As he knelt at the altar, the pope suddenly placed a crown upon his head and the dome resounded with the acclamations of the people, 'Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans.' . . . The founders of the new empire regarded their state as a continuation of the Roman Empire. Charlemagne was held to be the legal successor of Augustus, through the eastern line of emperors, the sixty-eighth from Augustus. . . . His empire reached from the Ebro to the Carpathian mountains and from the Eider to the Liris. [See also FRANKS: 768-814.] As the Mohammedan dominions were now separated into two parts, the Mediterranean world was divided between two

Christian empires and two Mohammedan caliphates. But there was no balance of power between these four great states. As civilization and industries declined the difficulties of intercommunication made rapid conquest increasingly difficult and the four empires may be regarded as four separate, distinct, and insulated worlds which had little more influence upon each other than the four contemporary empires of Japan, China, Mexico, and Peru. Charlemagne had completely overthrown the balance of power in his separate world. His empire exhibited within a single lifetime all the phenomena of the rise and fall of a world-conquering nation which wrecks a community of happy and prosperous states, enjoys a brilliant and deceptive prosperity, and by its disintegration delivers its inhabitants to the chaos of a dark age. . . . Charlemagne died in 814. In 843 his empire was divided



CHARLEMAGNE

(After painting by Meissonier)

amongst his three sons: the eastland, which was the beginning of modern Germany; the westland, which was the beginning of modern France; and the middleland, a long narrow strip between the other two extending from northern Italy to the North Sea. [See also FRANKS: 814-002.] The middleland has ever since been a bone of contention between its two neighbors. From its territory arose Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Alsace, Lorraine, Switzerland, and Savoy. Feudalism soon disintegrated the empire into a vast number of little principalities which usurped the functions of the state and aspired to entire independence. The executive, legislative, and judicial powers passed into private hands, Europe was dissolved into its elements, and chaos reigned complete."—S. C. Vestal, *Maintenance of peace*, pp. 255-257.

Roman civilization inherited in part by the Christian church.—Benedictine Age.—Medieval view of Christianity.—Results of ecclesiastical domination in the Middle Ages.—"The strong Roman bias for organization and administration

was builded into the church—the result was the powerful Church of Rome with its hierarchal structure. After the Fall of Rome, the Roman proclivity for centralization of government lived on and produced within the Church a center of power that has been the marvel of church history. The Church Fathers directed the attention of the people to the next world and to preparation therefor. Sacramental and sacrificial methods of salvation were elaborated. The importance of improving social conditions was ignored. In fact, the injustices in the current social order were considered as disciplinary measures for the soul in its preparation for the next world. The improvement of living conditions was considered to be wasted effort, if not indicative of heretical tendencies of mind. . . . During the first half of the Middle Ages the dominant tendencies are Roman and Christian. The Roman power of organization gains increasing strength in its new form—the Church. The Christian influences were expressed in high ideals, new duties, and asceticism.”—E. S. Bogardus, *History of social thought*, pp. 145-147.—See also CHRISTIANITY: 312-337; 337-476.—“The greatest of all agencies in civilizing the Germans was the church. Its organization, which in many respects so closely paralleled the imperial organization, had been founded firmly before the migrations. All the Germans who had not already been converted became Christians soon after entering the Empire. The Franks, because they were Catholics, were especially influenced by the church; and, as their sway was extended more widely, the other tribes were brought under this influence. [See also CHRISTIANITY: 408-800.] It was, consequently, the one institution which exercised any real restraint upon the barbarian kings and leaders, although at times they chafed under its authority or rebelled against it. At first the officials of the church were almost all Romans, as some education was necessary for conducting its service. When the Frankish realm was divided into separate kingdoms, the church in Gaul was weakened. The members of the clergy in each kingdom were considered to be subjects of the king, and were not expected to have any intercourse with the clergy of the neighboring and usually hostile kingdoms. This isolation and partial subjection was one of the causes of the low state of Christianity in Gaul when St. Columban entered the land. This evil was done away with when all of the kingdoms were united under the powerful mayors of the palace. Boniface’s work was all-important in unifying the church and restoring its prestige, as well as in connecting it closely with Rome. His labors made it a far more potent agency in the preservation of the older civilization. The missions and councils bound together the churches in the various lands and the more backward sections profited by the presence of missionaries from the more civilized centers. The organization of the church made it stronger and preserved the prestige of Rome, the old capital of the Empire. And in turn the feeling of unconscious reverence for the Roman Empire, a feeling which was shared by every German who had come under the influence of Rome, enhanced the glory of the Roman Church. The members of the clergy, especially the missionaries, did much to bring the Romans and the Germans together; the bishops were the natural intercessors between the Roman population and the German kings; the church edifice was the common asylum for all who needed protection; the monastery welcomed both Germans and Romans as members. . . . As all education was under the control of the church Latin was its vehicle. This resulted in the preservation of much

of the old culture contained in the Latin literature, and enabled every educated man to profit by any Latin work which he could obtain.”—D. C. Munro, *Middle Ages*, pp. 81-83.—“It would be a mistake to suppose that the extraordinary eclipse which came over the whole of Western culture was merely the recrudescence of paganism, or again, that it was due merely to a triumph of religious fanaticism. Christianity, the new faith of Europe was, it is true, but little more than a revival, with some additions, of the old pagan cult. But in some sense the period of darkness had set in before the Church had gained its hold. Nero and the monsters of the purple preceded St. Augustine and the fathers. Imperial Rome was the penumbra; Christian Rome was the full shadow. There has been in recent years a tendency to revise somewhat the accepted picture of the Interregnum, to discover that the Dark Ages were not so very dark, the fanatics of the Church hardly so maniacal as the earlier historians would have led us to believe. Doubtless there were some exaggerations, many inaccuracies. Gregory the Great may not have burned the Palatine library. In the monasteries some faint traces of ancient learning survived. . . . Let us not lose sight of the main facts. Freedom of thought was stifled. Natural inquiry was dead. The arts of civilisation all but perished. Sanitation, and with it civic decency, almost disappeared. The Paris of the twelfth century was a pig-sty. This was generally true of Europe, outside of the Arabian dominion, through eight or ten centuries.”—C. Snyder, *World machine*, pp. 151-152.—“The period which intervenes between the time of Charles the Great and the eleventh century has been called the Benedictine Age. . . . It was the age, and the only age, during which European education was in the hands of Monks. With progress of the barbarian invasions, the old Imperial and municipal Schools had everywhere disappeared: their place had been taken by the episcopal and monastic Schools which the imperative needs of the Church had called into existence. It is generally acknowledged that the age which immediately followed the completion of the barbarian conquests is the darkest age in the intellectual history of Europe. Whatever view may be taken of the part played by Christian Theology in bringing about that rapid evanescence of intellectual light which culminated in the almost total night of the seventh century, it is at least certain that so much of the culture of the old Roman world as survived into medieval Europe survived by virtue of its association with Christianity. The truth is that the hostility of Christian theologians to secular culture was . . . the reflection of the political and social conditions of the time. If Gregory the Great interpreted the advance of the barbarian hosts, the slaughter and pillage which they brought in their train, as sure signs of the coming end, the events themselves were sufficiently calculated to discourage study and education apart altogether from any theological interpretation. . . . The Christianized barbarian recognised the spiritual, if he did not recognise the intellectual, needs of humanity; and some measure of intellectual cultivation was made necessary to the satisfaction of those spiritual needs by the narrowest interpretation of the religion whose principles had to be gathered from books, and whose services formed a small literature by themselves. Narrow as may have been the Churchman’s educational ideal, it was only among Churchmen that an educational ideal maintained itself at all.”—H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, v. 1, pp. 26-27.—See also EDUCATION: Medieval: 4th-15th centuries.—“The mediæval view involved, not sim-

ply the conviction that the natural man is corrupt and depraved, but that he is fallen. Originally created holy, he lapsed from his high estate, and cannot raise himself again without supernatural aid. The idea was the exact opposite of modern evolutionary notions. Man did not begin on a low plane and gradually ascend, but on a high plane, from which he abruptly fell. Having fallen and transgressed the divine law, he is doomed to eternal punishment. . . . It was of a piece with the mediæval view of the world that Nature lost independent interest, and was subordinated to the eternal destinies of men. The heavens and the earth were to pass away, and hence it was not important to study them. Only spiritual things were worthy of attention. If Nature was investigated at all, it was for the light it might give of God and His will. According to Vincent of Beauvais, 'Natural science treats of the invisible causes of visible things,' and 'the knowledge of all wisdom has no value if it remain without the knowledge of God.' The few notable exceptions to this way of looking at things serve only to prove the rule. Under these circumstances natural science in the modern sense of the term was, of course, impossible. Only supernatural knowledge, which brings a man into touch with eternity and prepares him for life beyond the grave, has real and permanent worth. . . . The recognition of supernatural authority was carried so far in the Middle Ages that it even controlled men's ideas of the physical universe, and dictated the prevailing world-view of the period. It was commonly believed that in the Bible is contained an inspired account of the origin and structure of the world, and to depart from it is to fall not only into error but also into sin. According to St. Augustine nothing was to be accepted save on the authority of the Scriptures, 'for greater is that authority than all the powers of the human mind.' If any one wished to know more about the world in which he lived, he turned not to the world itself but to the Scriptures. Growth in the knowledge of Nature as well as of spiritual things could come only from a study of divine revelation. The supernaturalism of the Biblical writers was controlling in this sphere as in every other, and the world-view was far more primitive than that of the Greeks, for it was based upon the naive ideas of the Hebrew Scriptures. In the Catholicism of the Middle Ages humility, both moral and intellectual, was the supreme virtue, self-confidence the worst of sins. Religion found its highest exercise in magnifying God as the All-holy, Powerful, and Wise Being in contrast with corrupt, helpless, and blind humanity. Pride was the root of all evil. The fall of man, like the fall of Satan, was due to it, and from it sprang sacrilege, schism, and heresy, the most awful crimes; all were the fruits of self-love and self-confidence, the preference of one's own ways and opinions to those prescribed by the Church, God's representative on earth."—A. C. McGiffert, *Protestant thought before Kant*, pp. 3, 5-6, 8-9.—"This ecclesiastical conquest of those peoples before whose arms her political power had collapsed, was, indeed, in many respects a fortunate circumstance for Europe, even apart from the spiritual contribution which the Christian faith made to her peoples. It gave a sense of solidarity to Europeans as against the other races of the world, which neither feudalism nor the Empire afforded, and which came to be a powerful force in their conflicts with extra-European peoples. It provided a common meeting-place for men of all tongues and tribes. In more senses than one it maintained a common standard of life and thought among the diverse elements of which European society was composed, especially

after the barbarian invasions. It acted as a link between the old imperial and the tribal system, between Roman and Germanic ideals and practices, which enabled Europe in some measure to combine the two into a new form of polity and society. Its intellectual contribution was of like kind. Despite its opposition to the paganism of the classical as well as that of the barbarian world, it did much to preserve those parts of the ancient culture which were not antagonistic to its own faith and practice. It maintained Latin as the universal language of educated Europe. It preserved even while it modified the Roman legal tradition, forms, and phraseology. For some centuries it kept some knowledge of Greek. It continued the Roman legal tradition in the modified form of canon law. It kept alive the transmission of knowledge by the art of writing; it was the patron of music and architecture, and, in some sense, of literature. Long after the study of Greek decayed before the theological objections to pagan thought, the influence of Aristotle persisted as the dominant force in European intellectual processes. Long after Virgil was abandoned for the same reasons, the tongue in which he wrote was the common means of communication among the peoples of the continent and so maintained a unity which would otherwise have been lost. In many other directions the ecclesiastical influence worked for the perpetuation and the advance of civilization. The monasteries cleared and improved vast tracts of land and practised the principles of Roman husbandry. Monasteries and cathedrals alike carried on and encouraged schools and such education as they afforded; gave employment to artists, architects, and copyists; provided a refuge for men desiring to pursue an intellectual as well as a religious life. The monasteries in particular furnished entertainment for the traveler and succor for the needy and the sick. The church preserved, even if it neglected, the manuscripts of the classical world. And, in a thousand ways it ameliorated the harsh and unenlightened régime established by the Germanic conquerors, no less through its efforts toward checking feudal quarrels and private war than by the pressure it exerted directly and indirectly upon the rulers of the middle ages. . . . As the domination of the church grew stronger, it narrowed. Theology became its chief intellectual concern, logic its chief intellectual weapon, and the life to come its chief if not its only concern. In all fields which were not touched by theological considerations it remained a power for good; but with the development of its doctrines into irrefutable dogma, with the increase of its worldly strength and wealth, there came an inevitable decline in its intellectual openness. The mysteries of nature became the secrets of God, and so insoluble. Authority became the enemy of investigation; the true faith the irreconcilable foe not merely of heresy but of the paganism which it had conquered. In consequence, the writings of the classical world came first into neglect, then into disrepute, and finally under proscription. What little knowledge there was of scientific methods and results followed the same course, and man was thrown back upon himself as at once the source and the end of all knowledge, upon the Scriptures and the commentaries as the sole fount of inspiration, the church as the sole arbiter of intellectual as well as spiritual questions, and conformity to its decisions as the guide of life and thought."—W. C. Abbott, *Expansion of Europe*, v. 1, pp. 10-25.—"Almost all the ideas, and even the institutions of the Middle Ages, such as the church and monasticism and organized religious intolerance, really originated in the late Roman Empire. Moreover the intellectual revolution which

has ushered in the thought of our day did not get, well, under way until the seventeenth century. So one may say that Medieval thought began long before the accepted beginning of the Middle Ages.—J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the making*, pp. 119, 120.—Stoicism and the Neoplatonist idea of truth through intuition, as against reason, had an inevitable influence upon early Christian dogma, and fixed belief in miraculous events and the power of magic. Moreover, the great Christian Fathers, among whom are numbered Jerome, Athanasius, Ambrose and Augustine, made the groove in which medieval thought ran for centuries. These great men, disgusted with the welter of social degeneracy around them, turned their eyes away from worldly things to gaze upon the transcendental glory of a life to come, a glory which passed all knowledge and all power of reason. They set the seal of their approval upon monastic life, as the only hope of salvation from a wicked world, and believed that the evils of the time were but a prelude to the end of all earthly things. Why then fix one's thought on knowledge of the world around one? Moreover, learning was pagan, and the Christian Fathers were too near to paganism to carry on the ancient learning beside the new faith. Learning in the Roman world had already fallen to a very low ebb, and what there was was soon forgotten, and only a very small modicum of illy comprehended Greek knowledge was handed on together with the Latin tongue. Indeed it is doubtful, the influence of the Church Fathers apart, whether the half-barbarous peoples of the so-called "Dark Ages" would have given credence to anything but the fables and half truths which they believed of the physical world. When learning did revive "about the year 1100 and [made] a recovery of forgotten knowledge and a gradual accumulation of new information and inventions unknown . . . to any previous civilization [it went back] to the Roman Empire. The main presuppositions of the later Middle Ages . . . had been formulated by Church Fathers, transmitted through the Dark Age, and were now . . . elaborated under the influence of Aristotle's recovered works and built up into a majestic intellectual structure known as Scholasticism."—J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the making*, pp. 121, 122.—But this old new knowledge was hedged about by the interpretation of the medieval mind, and made a new barrier which for some time impeded the further advance of human knowledge.—See also MONASTICISM: Primitive forms, to 13th century.

Influence of feudalism.—The feudal system, which had a great and enduring influence on the history of Europe, grew up during a long period of revolution, in which the period of decay of the Roman Empire is included. "The western empire was first broken into barbarian kingdoms. These kingdoms were in turn effaced by anarchy or conquest, and gave place to the empire of Charlemagne. Charlemagne's empire was in turn broken in pieces by the disintegrating forces within it, and the universal sovereignty gave place once more to the sovereignties of a number of kings, whose jurisdiction was gradually limited by that of the feudal magnates in France, Germany, Italy, and part of Spain. The State in the Roman sense disappeared, and was only to reappear later with the assertion of the royal authority at the expense of the feudal magnate. This process of disintegration lasted from the fifth to the tenth century, and for the next three hundred years its results were crystallized in what is termed the feudal system in the greater part of Western Europe. . . . The roots of feudalism lie in the social institutions of the Romans as well as of the barbarians—in dependence on a superior,

involving restriction of liberty and of rights of property, common to Romans, Celts, and Teutons alike. . . . Imperial rule had, latterly at least, only taught the masses how to submit, and submission, in such an age, meant slavery. . . . It meant social desolation, the slavery of the small freeman in a large part of Europe for centuries to come. . . . The desire to escape military service by alienating his property to the Church was doubtless responsible to some extent for the loss of rights; but force, not volition, is in general the basis of this all-devouring system of usurpation. . . . There are insurrections in these degenerate centuries; eternal broils, in which the magnates of the time are concerned chiefly; dynastic quarrels which draw blood like water. . . . The freeman, while uttering his complaint against usurpation and oppression, submits to the prevailing doctrine that rights are for the few, servility for the many. So universal is this tendency towards dependence, that there must have been a sort of law of social gravitation towards it. It is a period of collapse, following a tremendous political and social upheaval; and it is this fact of social comatose, induced by the misgovernment of the later empire, that alone explains the ultimate relapse of almost the whole body of small freemen, within and partially without the limits of the western empire, under the domination of a caste, based on landed possession. The disappearance of the small free proprietor was contemporaneous with the rise of this landed aristocracy, lay and cleric, which threw at its expense. . . . However they came by their broad acres, whether by spoliation of the weak, inheritance, or royal generosity, the significant fact is patent in the ninth century that a powerful landed aristocracy over-shadows emperor, king, and people. Its members are the superiors of a greater or lesser number of dependants in virtue of the beneficiary tenure of the land which they hold. They enjoy, moreover, as superiors, certain immunities from the royal jurisdiction, and are consequently invested with certain rights of 'justice,' as they were called, over their dependants. . . . The feudal castle is the monument of this system of petty sovereignty, of subordination to a lord on which this sovereignty rests. Each castle is a citadel built for defence, and intended as a basis of attack. Hither the lord summons his vassals to rally in resistance to the aggression of a neighbour, or to sally forth for a foray into a hostile neighbour's domain. The massive donjon reminds us that society is in a state of war, and has hardened into its feudal form in the mould of a long period of lawlessness, usurpation, violence. Whatever the gradation of power and rank, all the members of this hierarchy are noble, all outside it are ignoble. They alone, in the strict period of feudalism, can hold a fief and inscribe armorial bearings, which now came into vogue, as the badge of their nobility. They constitute, especially in France and Germany, a veritable caste, which regards inter-marriage between noble and non-noble as degradation, dishonour. It is equally degrading for a 'gentleman' to engage in trade or follow any profession but that of arms. None but nobles can be members of any order of chivalry, or appear at the court of the territorial magnate. It is only in the Church that the lack of nobility is not a barrier to social progress, and even in the Church the higher dignities are usually reserved for scions of noble families. The people is the victim of a social tyranny which, in France and Germany, lasted into the eighteenth century. . . . Feudalism has indeed been lauded as a stage in the progress of liberty. It substituted, we are assured, the sovereignty of the individual for the despotism of Rome, and



INTERIOR OF NOBLEMAN'S CASTLE, CENTRAL EUROPE, 13TH CENTURY

it bequeathed the germs of liberty to modern times. It represented the *régime* of contract between individuals instead of the submission to an absolute central authority. Let us not forget, however, that the individual was confined to the members of an aristocratic caste, and that the mass was exposed to the despotism of this caste. There was no liberty, there were no rights for the mass as against the caste. The *régime* of contract was in fact the elaborate formula of the sovereignty of the few over the many. The sovereignty of the few might, if you will, be a necessary product of an age of anarchy, though I, for my part, have no liking for the word 'necessary' as applied to systems which involve the oppression, the degradation of the mass of a people in favour of a privileged class. In the dissolution of society, in the state of war, the vortex of anarchy from which this necessary product sprang, the main thing is the creation of some kind of order, and order can only be created in these circumstances by the mailed fist. The mailed fist uplifted in resistance to the marauding bands of Normans, Saracens, Hungarians, Huns was the only guarantee of protection, subsistence to the helpless population of a district. Protection, subsistence being indispensable to bare life, any expedient that ensured these must be credited with a certain efficacy. But the mailed fist was also uplifted in usurpation of the rights of those it professed to protect, and while it checked anarchy for the time being, it disintegrated the State, and led in turn to anarchy and oppression. To credit the system with philanthropy, as its champions do, is, in view of this fact to take too sanguine a view of feudal human nature. There is no philanthropy in the mailed fist, apart from the orders of chivalry who assumed the noble mission of protecting the oppressed, the weak. Its benefits have to be bought with the surrender of liberty, or property, or both. If it ensured protection, it blighted progress for centuries to come, and depressed the masses to a condition of servility which it took centuries more to efface."—J. Mackinnon, *History of modern liberty*, pp. 19, 21-23, 28, 32.—See also FEUDALISM.

Holy Roman and Papal empires.—"The empire revived by Charlemagne in the west as a universal state was again restored by Otto I, in 962, as a German and Italian state under the name of the Holy Roman Empire. [See also HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.] At the invitation of Pope John XII, Otto entered Italy, pacified it, and received the Italian crown at Pavia, and the imperial crown at Rome. The rule was now established that the German king should be crowned as such at Aix-la-Chapelle, as king of Italy at Milan, and as emperor at Rome. As Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, they represented the unity of western Christendom. But there was no real unity, no obedience except in the presence of the emperor and his army. Otto himself was twice compelled to capture Rome after he had become emperor. As a result of the struggles of the emperors to enforce obedience in Germany and Italy, these two countries were shattered into fragments which remained asunder until after the middle of the nineteenth century. In Italy the pope, as the sovereign of a small state, was a disintegrating power, opposed unalterably to the formation of a national state. Otto was the last emperor whose suzerainty was admitted by the French king. For all practical purposes, Spain, England, Norway, and Sweden were outside the empire, although particular acts of deference to the emperor may be cited to show that they depended upon the empire. The Norman rulers of Naples (1060-1180) were the rivals of the emperor; Venice maintained a proud independence;

and the Byzantine prince denied his claim to be emperor at all. The Franconian emperors held the title from 1024 to 1125; the Hohenstaufen, for over a century; the kings of Bohemia, for three successive reigns; and the Hapsburgs, with the exception of a single reign, from 1486 until the title became extinct in 1806. The emperors were chosen by a college of seven electors consisting, in 1263, of the archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, and the dukes of the Franks, Swabians, Saxons, and Bavarians. New Electors were admitted as titles became extinct. The number was increased to eight in 1648 and to nine in 1692. [See also GERMANY: 1125-1272; SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: 1100-1800.] The king of England, as head of the house of Brunswick-Luneburg, was an elector after the year 1714. The king of Prussia was an elector in his capacity of Margrave of Brandenburg. Until 1076, the pope and the emperor stood as coordinate and complementary sovereigns of Europe. With the accession of Hildebrand to the papacy in 1073 began a long struggle between the popes and the emperors for the temporal supremacy of the west. [See also PAPACY: 1056-1122; GERMANY: 1056-1122.] The popes sought, in the words of Mr. Bryce, to become 'a presiding power common to all Europe, a power which, while it should oversee the internal concerns of each country, not dethroning the king, but treating him as an hereditary viceroy, should be more especially charged to prevent strife between kingdoms, and to maintain the public order of Europe by being not only the fountain of international law, but also the judge in its causes and the enforcer of its sentences.' Armed by the respect which the sacredness of his office commanded, and by the control of the tremendous weapons of excommunication and interdict, the pope aimed at being the presiding power in a world confederacy. But the emperor, armed with more worldly weapons, aspired to perform the same functions in the universal empire. Each sought to found a world confederation. . . . A balance of power was formed between them. Each defeated the other of his purpose. The danger from the papacy was greatest; but the empire served as a clog upon its movements until the rising spirit of nationality compelled the old antagonists to combine for self-defense in a losing fight. It was a fundamental principle of papal policy to prevent the rise of a strong state in Italy. When the emperor waxed strong in Italy, the pope sided with his enemies; when any local Italian state became threatening, the pope aided the emperor. In the height of their power, the popes made and unmade emperors, compelled a king of France to take back his divorced queen, and forced an English king to surrender his kingdom and receive it as a papal fief. [In the middle of the eleventh century the popes, as the head of a European confederacy, led, or rather, encouraged Christendom in its assaults upon the infidels and for two centuries Europe seemed to have no object except to recover or keep possession of the tomb of the Saviour.] . . . The rulers of England, Spain, France, Denmark, Hungary, Poland, and Burgundy in succession repudiated the control of the emperor who sank from being lord of the world into a simple Teutonic king at the head of a Germanic confederation. Ill success followed him in the more limited sphere of his activities. The more abjectly helpless the emperor became, so much the more sonorous was the language in which the dignity of the crown was described. His power was eternal; no laws could bind him; no court could judge him; and he was answerable only to God. After the abdication of Charles V in 1556, the Empire became a purely Germanic power.

When it was dissolved it contained scarcely any territory that had formed part of the empire of Trajan. Napoleon finally destroyed it. Shortly after he [Napoleon] assumed the title of Emperor of the French in 1804, Francis II, the one hundred and twentieth emperor from Augustus, took the title of Hereditary Emperor of Austria, and on August 6, 1806, he resigned the title of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Napoleon, beyond all doubt, intended to assume at Moscow the title of Roman emperor, as the successor of Charlemagne in the west and of the Czar and the Greek emperors in the east. The empire was continued at Constantinople until 1453. Five years later Ivan the Terrible took the title of Czar, and the Russian emperors from that date until 1917 continued the succession of the Roman emperors in the east. The Turkish sultans as sovereigns of Constantinople, claim to be the successors of the Roman emperors and bear the title of Keiser-i-Rum."—S. C. Vestal, *Maintenance of peace*, pp. 257-260.

Crusades and their result.—The Crusaders—the word comes from the practice of each member of an expedition wearing a cross on the front of his dress as he faced the Holy Land, on his back as he returned—were alike a symptom, and in large part the noblest expression of the mental unrest of the age. Europe was growing, and its unrest had already shown itself in the greater frequency of pilgrimages to the Holy City, now in the hands of the Saracen; in greater commercial activity; in the flocking of students to the seats of learning; in the murmurs and uprising of the peasantry. To this seething energy Pope Urban II gave an outlet when on a November day in 1095, at a council at Clermont, he made an oration which had a long-felt influence on the destinies of Europe. Describing the miseries of Christian populations under the Moslem heel, the odious desecration of the Holy Places and the hardships and humiliations imposed upon Christian pilgrims by the Turks, who had taken Jerusalem in 1076, he called upon Christendom to deliver them, and to go to the aid of the Byzantine empire, upon which the Turkish hordes were constantly encroaching. With a shout of "It is the will of God" his proposal was accepted. Within a year a hundred thousand men were on their way and for almost two centuries each generation saw at least one crusade. "Some of the results of the crusades . . . must . . . be obvious. . . . Thousands and thousands of Frenchmen, Germans, and Englishmen had traveled to the Orient by land and by sea. Most of them came from hamlets or castles where they could never have learned much of the great world beyond the confines of their native village or province. They suddenly found themselves in great cities and in the midst of unfamiliar peoples and customs. This could not fail to make them think and give them new ideas to carry home. The Crusade took the place of a liberal education. The crusaders came into contact with those who knew more than they did, above all the Arabs, and brought back with them new notions of comfort and luxury. Yet in attempting to estimate the debt of the West to the Crusades it should be remembered that many of the new things may well have come from Constantinople, or through the Saracens of Sicily and Spain, quite independently of the armed incursions into Syria. Moreover, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries towns were rapidly growing up in Europe, trade and manufacturers were extending, and the universities were being founded. It would be absurd to suppose that without the Crusades this progress would not have taken place. So we may conclude that the distant expeditions and the

contact with strange and more highly civilized peoples did no more than hasten the improvement which was already perceptible before Urban made his ever-memorable address at Clermont."—J. H. Robinson, *History of western Europe*, v. 1, pp. 190-200.—"The crusades were expeditions of Christians organized by the Pope. . . . Every crusader was an armed pilgrim to whom the Church . . . remitted the penance which he owed. . . . In order to carry pilgrims to the Holy Land, the Mediterranean cities organized a transport service. . . . By land or sea, the European Christians went by millions to the Orient. The crusades were a sort of educational trip for them. They set out from their castles or villages without having seen anything. . . . They suddenly found themselves in new cities, in the midst of new countries, and in the presence of unknown customs. All this set them to thinking and gave them new ideas."—D. C. Munro and G. C. Sellery, *Medieval civilization*, pp. 248, 253, 254.—Whether or not the Crusades held back the Turks from Europe is a much discussed question. It is certain, however, that it was not until the westerners had completely withdrawn from Syria that they again began to threaten Constantinople.—See also CRUSADES.

Saracenic civilization.—Its influence on southern Europe.—"The Saracenic civilisation, indeed, presented a singular contrast to the sodden and seemingly irretrievable stagnation which had settled upon the rest of Europe. By a curious and violent paradox, the like of which has seldom been known, a fierce, ignorant, and warlike race, dominated by as intolerant a religion as perhaps had ever been known, became the conservators of such science and such knowledge as yet remained among men. They had not merely libraries; the empire was dotted with colleges, with great universities and medical schools. The first of the latter established in Europe was said to have been that of the Saracens at Salerno in Italy. The first astronomical observatory was that erected by them at Seville in Spain. The order of culture that obtained for a time among the Saracens was high. For two or three hundred years, from the time of the Khalif Al-Maimun, the wide area from Samarcand to Fez and Cordova was the theatre of a rich and varied life. Letters were again cultivated; a taste for the classics were revived. All the stores of ancient learning were exhumed, were translated, and subjected to exhaustive commentary. The measure of the earth was again undertaken. Astronomy again found high favour. Men of learning were again held in honour. The making of books became a trade. In Bagdad, Honian set up the earliest publishing house of which we know. The study of mathematics was again ardently prosecuted, our modern algebra developed."—C. Snyder, *World machine*, p. 154.—"Saracenic civilisation, absorbing and refining upon much ancient lore, shone with a glory as pronounced in its brilliance as contemporary Europe was remarkable for its gloom. For the Golden Age of Islam concurred with the Dark Ages of Christianity. It seems to be the case that, but for the impact of Saracenic science, Europe would have sunk to deeper depths of degradation than even were touched. At any rate, there is no doubt there were many borrowings from the 'infidels,' who, in agriculture, industry, and commerce, scored successes of the most memorable kind. It was probably in Spain that the efflorescence had its most striking display. [See SPAIN: 711-713, to 1476-1492.] Intensive agriculture was carried to perfection, manufactures of all sorts were engaged in, learning was encouraged, the lady doctor was not unknown; great, clean and

well-lit cities flourished in Spain, and the amenities of life were pronounced at a time when brutality, dirt, and superstition were the general appanage of feudal Europe. It took the Spaniards seven hundred years to recover their country from the Moors, but it took them only a generation or two to reduce the whole land to a condition of pastoral waste and of hide-bound intolerance. The Moors civilised Spain, the Spaniards brutalised it. [See MOORS: 1492-1609.] . . . Predatory as the Saracenic movement was in its origins, it became almost instantly transmuted into a high civilising influence, and the Arab outburst is almost the only thing of its kind which, from the present point of view, lends itself to almost unqualified historic commendation. The untutored Arabs in bursting out from their deserts had no intention of promoting learning, industry, and art. . . . Italy was only partially conquered by the Saracens, though they overran the whole country as mercenaries in the pay of 'Christian' potentates. There was therefore not the same war to the death between native and Moslem ideas and methods. The Italians, indeed, appear to have learned much from Saracenic science, and the economic life of the peninsula began to revive upon lines healthier far than the old imperialistic times, agriculture coming again to the front, and commerce attaining an amplitude hitherto undreamed of. An enormous commerce circulated in the Saracenic east. Europe coveted the spices and condiments of the tropics and the delicate fabrics of eastern art. While Constantinople largely served the Russian hinterland as regards these products, Italy became the mediator for the rest of Europe and her greatest republics—Venice, Genoa, and Pisa—lived mainly by the transit trade, the inland towns exploiting rather the native agriculture, and manufacturing on their own account, while Florence specialised also in banking. And, hand in hand with the economic revival, Italy, when it had brewed out its heavier barbarian ingredients, entered upon a new spiritual life worthier, because freer, than the old."—A. R. Cowan, *Master-clues in world-history*, pp. 98-101.—The Arabs "introduced and acclimatized not only flowers, but also many kinds of vegetables and fruits. The list of those with which Europe and America have been enriched through their agency would be a very long one. For they were especially interested in agriculture, as some of their sayings show: 'He who plants, he who sows, he who makes the earth bring forth food suited to man and beast performs an oblation of which account will be kept in heaven.' 'It is one of the duties of the government to make the canals necessary for the cultivation of the soil.' They had learned the methods practised in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt. They studied the treatises which had been handed down and themselves wrote new and more scientific works on the use of manure and irrigation, on grafting, on the importance of allowing the land to lie fallow, on plant diseases and insect pests. Wherever they found a new vegetable, a beautiful flower, or an edible fruit, they attempted to grow it in their gardens and thence to transplant it to other lands. They were especially fond of carrying the products of their old homes to the new countries which they had conquered. . . . The list of the vegetable products which the Arabs gathered in their wanderings would be a long one and in many cases it is uncertain where these were found. From India probably they got rice, sugar-cane, oranges and turmeric; from Egypt, papyrus and cassia; from Syria, apricots, peaches, and lemons; from Persia, the silkworm and the mulberry tree. Bananas grew in Arabia itself. In some cases the country men-

tioned was not the original home, but seems to have been the place where the Arabs found the product. At all events they carried all of these to Sicily and Spain. In addition, they introduced into these countries cotton, pomegranates, saffron, madder, sumach, camomile, roses and other flowers, including the convolvulus or morning glory, and very many other products of the vegetable world."—D. C. Munro, *Middle Ages*, p. 217.—See also ARCHITECTURE: Medieval: Mohammedan; COMMERCE: Medieval: 5th-8th centuries; EDUCATION: Medieval: 9th-15th centuries; Saracen and Moorish learning; MEDICAL SCIENCE: Ancient: 7th-11th centuries: Medical art of the Arabs.

Scholastic revival and Aristotle.—Rise of the universities.—The awakening spirit of the peoples which had risen on the ruins of the Roman empire received added nourishment from the Crusades and the increase in commerce with the East which followed on them. Traditions of the Hellenic culture which began to filter in through the Arabians aroused curiosity and by the early part of the twelfth century the desire for learning had become a force in Europe. Students began to flock around noted teachers outside of the monasteries, and from this new movement universities began their growth. The movement also had an influence on the church. Theology began to be systematically taught on the framework created by Peter the Lombard's "Sentences," in which the Scriptures and the opinions of the Church Fathers were interpreted and defined. Law and medicine, the latter founded on the theories and knowledge gained by Hippocrates and Galen, were two important branches of study. Added to these was the study of Aristotle's works, which were at this period introduced to the awed minds of medieval students through a Latin translation combined later with a Latin translation of the commentary of Averroes, a famous Arab doctor. Albert Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, two great Dominicans, also prepared commentaries upon the works of Aristotle. "He was called The Philosopher, and so fully were scholars convinced that it had pleased Aristotle to say the last word upon each and every branch of knowledge that they humbly accepted him along with the Bible, the church fathers, and the canon and Roman law, as one of the unquestioned authorities which together formed a complete guide for humanity in conduct and in every branch of science."—J. H. Robinson, *History of western Europe*, p. 272.—But the schoolmen, as they were called, rested too much upon authority, and with all the subtlety of reasoning employed in the schools the scholastic age rather retarded than advanced independent thought and search for knowledge. "The rise of scholasticism took place in opposition to monasticism. In the ninth century the leading thinkers had not advanced beyond the conception of a natural social state, characterized by chaotic conditions, and organized by political machinery. By the twelfth century only the faintest glimmerings of a doctrine of popular sovereignty had begun to appear. The thought of the day was largely theological. . . . Scholasticism developed as a reaction against churchly asceticism. According to scholasticism the individual should look to reason rather than to church dogma for religious and spiritual guidance. Scholasticism repudiated church traditions as a guide for individual action; it turned to Aristotelian logic for its technique. . . . In religion, scholasticism reduced religious mysticism to rational forms. It based religion on learning rather than on authority; it pursued the methods of reasoning rather than of contemplation. Scholasticism furthered the advancement of learning; it

aided and developed the life of the universities. It encouraged the growth of independent thinking, although its decline set in about the fourteenth century, before it had had a fair opportunity to inaugurate a movement which would lead to an inductive or a positivistic philosophy, or sociology."—E. S. Bogardus, *History of social thought*, pp. 140-151.—See also CHRISTIANITY; 11th-16th centuries; EDUCATION: Medieval: 9th-15th centuries; Scholasticism; 11th-12th centuries.

ALSO IN: F. S. Marvin, *Unity of western civilization*.

Thirteenth century and the spirit of Scholasticism.—Some great Schoolmen.—“With the thirteenth century we reach what may fairly be called the springtime of the Renaissance. This was a season of great mental stir and eagerness; it was the age of Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, and Raymond Lully; of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus; of St. Francis of Assisi, Cimabue, and Dante; architecture flourished in it; the founding of universities at Oxford, Cambridge, Siena, Naples, Padua, Salamanca, and Lisbon was a token of its widespread enthusiasm for intellectual things. But the world has often to wait a long time for the fulfilment of the promise of spring. The thirteenth century has been aptly described as a ‘precocious age.’ It was, in fact, too precocious. The social, political, commercial, and intellectual conditions did not yet exist to justify and make fruitful its efforts towards a larger life. Those efforts therefore proved abortive, and a reaction towards mediævalism followed. Even the universities, at first the centres of mental activity, soon became the very strongholds of scholasticism, and developed so powerful a tradition on the conservative side that they were later to become notorious for their obstinate adherence to the old modes and methods of thought, and their dogged resistance to the new spirit under all its forms. It must be clearly understood, however, that as the promise of the thirteenth century was greatest in Italy, so its fulfilment there was by no means so long delayed as in other parts of Europe. The tyranny of dogma and the resulting divorce of man from nature were also the chief causes of the sterility of that mediæval theological philosophy which we know as Scholasticism. The great scholastic thinkers—Erigena, Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, William of Ockham—were men of extraordinary mental power and acumen; the systems which they constructed with laborious care were marvels of sustained logical power. But their main effort was directed to the merely formal treatment of data furnished not by science, but by the organised doctrines of the Church; their work was not nourished upon reality; their speculations were neither guided nor checked by reference to objective fact. As a result, scholasticism remained practically stationary through the many centuries of its existence; and when it finally disappeared under the combined influences of the religious and scientific movements of the Renaissance, it left behind it little that could be turned to use as a factor in the progress of thought. The great problem of scholasticism was the complete reduction of theological dogma to systematic logical form. Its aim, therefore, was not the independent quest of truth, for no such independent quest was permitted, but the restatement in rational terms of truth already given. The unchallenged premiss of all scholastic thinking was the absolute finality of the teachings of the Church; and thus the primary business of the philosopher was to find the means by which he could prove that the truth of revelation is also the truth of reason. Philosophy was thus enlisted in the service

of the Church, and was held strictly to her position of subordination. The question of the relation of revelation and reason gave rise, indeed, to fundamentally opposed views. It was attacked from one side by Aquinas, with his theory of two distinct spheres of knowledge; from another side by Duns Scotus, with his assumption of the absolute unity of all knowledge in revelation. In just what way reason could best be made to support and justify faith was, therefore, a matter of fierce discussion, and the rival schools of the Thomists, or followers of Aquinas, and the Scotists, or followers of Scotus, continued to wrangle for upwards of three hundred years. But, whatever their differences, the common object of all the mediæval philosophers was the harmonising of human wisdom with the oracles of the Church. The conditions and methods of scholastic inquiry are thus, from our present point of view, much more important than the subjects dealt with. We must remember that the scholastic thinker was not even allowed to inquire into the value of these subjects, while he was certainly not free to follow up his ideas without consideration of direction or result. Both direction and result were prescribed beforehand. He had at all costs to reach a particular goal. Only the route was left open; and all roads had to lead to Rome. Philosophy existed only to make good by the processes of logic the dogmas which the Church imposed upon all men, and from which there could be no appeal.”—W. H. Hudson, *Story of the Renaissance*, pp. 11, 131-132.—“Scholasticism is . . . exactly co-extensive with the Middle Ages proper, and may be described as a manifestation of the mediæval spirit. Of the great schoolmen, Lanfranc, Anselm, Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas, were Italians; Alexander of Hales, John of Salisbury, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, Occam, were Britishers; Hugo of St. Victor and Albertus Magnus were Germans; Alan of Lille was a Fleming; Gerbert, William of Champeaux, Abélard, Bernard of Chartres, Bernard of Clairvaux, Roscellin, Gilbert de la Porrée, were Frenchmen. But these distinctions were meaningless in the Middle Ages: all these men were citizens of the Christian commonwealth—the intellectual capital of which was the University of Paris. It was so impossible to identify any master with any definite country that the birthplace of ‘Alanus de Insulis’ was sought in every ‘island’ in Western Christendom, from Sicily to Ireland, until the claims of Lille in Flanders were established. Roughly speaking, the history of scholasticism can be divided into three periods. In the earliest (eleventh to twelfth centuries) the works of Aristotle were still imperfectly known. St. Anselm evolved his ‘ontological’ argument: the existence of God was proved by the very existence in our minds of the concept of absolute perfection. But does a concept involve actuality? The central problem—which still lies at the foundation of all consistent thinking—was that of general ideas, or ‘universals.’ When we speak of ‘man,’ for instance, what reality corresponds to that term? Is there an idea of man in the abstract, anterior and superior to all individual men? . . . Or is the term a mere word, used for convenience’ sake? Or again, is it more than a word, and yet less than an objective reality—a concept of the human mind? St. Anselm, William of Champeaux (1070-1121), and Gilbert de la Porrée maintained the *reality* of universals. They were called realists. Realism in this very special sense is almost synonymous with idealism, for the reality ascribed to universals is that of Plato’s ideas. Roscellin reduced their existence to mere words: he was a nominalist. Abélard took the eclectic view: he was a conceptualist.

Naturally enough, realism was the official, conservative doctrine; it is easy to see how nominalism or even conceptualism would lead away from the solemn abstractions upon which theology was based, and favour straight rationalism or positivism. The change in the second period of scholasticism was due to the introduction of Aristotle's complete works, early in the thirteenth century. The Crusade which established the Latins in Constantinople in 1204 is partly responsible for this; but it was chiefly through the Arabs and the Jews of Andalusia and Southern France that the Greek master reached the Christian West. Aristotle, with his impressive encyclopædic knowledge, and his maturity of thought, secured an authority which seemed to be almost co-ordinate with that of the Bible. The intellectual dictatorship of a Pagan, however, was not accepted without qualms, especially when his works were flanked by the commentaries of an infidel, Avicenna or Averroes; a ban was placed in 1210-1215 upon the 'natural philosophy' and the metaphysics of the Stagirite. But this ban, never lifted, was quietly ignored. The delight in a richer source of knowledge overcame all scruples, and Aristotle became indeed the master, whose *Ipse dixit* was law. The task of the school was thenceforward to put the truths of religion in Aristotelian form. The Aristotelian revelation, the tremendous growth of the University of Paris, and the fact that in all domains the mediæval mind was reaching its maturity, brought about the golden age of scholasticism. Strangely enough, the Friars, whose collaboration was not welcomed by the older elements in the university, and who had been created for active work rather than for speculative research, took the lead in scholastic philosophy. It was a Franciscan, Alexander of Hales, the Irrefragable Doctor (*d.* 1248), who first made systematic use of Aristotelism. Bonaventura, the Seraphic Doctor (1221-74), Roger Bacon, the Wonderful Doctor (1213-c. 1294), Duns Scotus, the Most Subtle Doctor (1265?-1308), were Franciscans. Albertus Magnus, the Universal Doctor (1193-1280) and Thomas Aquinas, the Angelic Doctor (1225-74), were Dominicans. The great achievement of the age were those all-embracing treatises, . . . of which the most impressive and the most enduring was that of Saint Thomas. After that unique moment of splendour, under Saint Louis, when faith, institutions, art, literature, seemed in perfect harmony, scholasticism began to deteriorate. Bacon is visibly ill at ease in the thin abstract atmosphere of his time. Duns Scotus had the honour of being pitted against Saint Thomas, and the quarrels of Thomists and Scotists filled the schools; but the over-subtle doctor did much to ruin the cause he served with such indefatigable and perverse ingenuity; his name has become a by-word; dunce. Occam (*d.* 1347) revived nominalism, but already the force of scholasticism was spent. It was fast becoming that which we now mean by that term: interminable and pedantic disputations on points remote from any spiritual or material reality, a logical mill grinding nought."—A. L. Guérard, *French civilization*, pp. 206-208.—See also EDUCATION: Mediæval: 9th-15th centuries.

Survey of the limitations of the Middle Ages.—"The later middle ages found Europe conditioned not only by the demands of the feudal régime but by the scarcely less obstructive power of an entrenched ecclesiasticism. From an organization which laid stress upon souls and obedience rather than on mind and investigation there could never come the intellectual achievement upon which depended the progress of mankind. It was necessary

to substitute for the idea of conformity the principle of diversity before that advance was possible; and in this substitution lay the germ of that revolution which was to remold the world. . . . As the middle of the fifteenth century approached, in the face of the slowly altering tastes and habits of Europe, the defects came to bulk larger than the virtues in the minds of many men. In a changing world the church remained in a state of relatively arrested development, and its too rigid and inflexible adherence to its great tradition brought it into variance with the new spirit of the times. Like feudalism, it had outlived its generation; and unless, like the political system which was even then beginning to adapt itself to new ideas and new conditions, ecclesiasticism took on new form and spirit, it was only a question of time till it would find itself at variance with general if not universal tendencies. This condition was evident in many fields. In architecture, with its glory of the heaven-aspiring Gothic arch, its miracles of fretted stone, the middle ages, indeed, advanced beyond the classic pediment and arch. But the greatest triumphs of the sculptor's art,—and Gothic sculpture in its higher ranges revealed great beauty and skill,—much less the grotesques in which the mediæval artists found characteristic expression, despite their quaint and hideous fascination of perverted fancy, scarcely rivaled the triumphs of Phidias and Praxiteles. In two directions, indeed, mediæval craftsmen excelled. The one was their love of nature which expressed itself in the ornamentation of all their work in stone and metal. The other was their skill not only in the carving which adorned their buildings, but in their gold and silver productions, and in wrought iron. Here they were scarcely surpassed by any men before or since. But the same was not true of the pictorial art. Whether materials failed them, or whether this lay chiefly in the hands of those imbued with ecclesiastical influence, there was a great gulf fixed between the triumphs of the stone and metal workers and the puerile efforts of the painters. The elaborate illumination of missal and manuscript ill endured comparison with even the wall paintings of Roman villa decorators, much less with the lost masterpieces of Apelles and his successors. In every field where formal ecclesiasticism had made itself supreme 'the substitution of conventionalism for sympathy with observed life,' which is 'the first characteristic of the hopeless work of all ages,' the 'barbarism from which nothing could emerge and for which no future was possible but extinction' had blocked every avenue of advance. . . . With all their ingenuity and their summons to a purer faith, the writings of the church fathers poorly supplied in style or content the loss of Greek and Roman philosophy, which, save for Aristotle, had gradually disappeared from men's knowledge as ecclesiastical influence strengthened and narrowed. Still less could the church historians, bent on justifying the ways of God to man, fill the place of Livy or Tacitus, Herodotus or Thucydides. The crude turgidity of late Latin versifiers, and the cruder imagination of the miracle plays, were feeble substitutes for Virgil and Homer, the great triumvirate of the Greek masters of tragedy, the mockery of Aris-tophanes, or the undying charm of Horace and Pindar, Catullus and Sappho. Even the Scriptures, on which the church based its intellectual as well as its spiritual existence, had been almost as deeply submerged under the notes of the commentators as the classical masterpieces had been buried under the mass of mediæval theology. Finally the formal logic of Aristotle, supplemented by a concentrated devotion to theology and presently converted into

scholasticism, extended its barren empire over men's minds and sterilized their processes of thought, even while it sharpened their intelligence. For, with all its contribution to intellectual progress, it divorced men from the realities of life, and led them to believe that truth was to be achieved only by the exercise of the unaided intelligence, without observation, experiment, or that quality of vision and common-sense which embraces them all. From this situation Europeans might possibly have been saved by the study of the classics. But as little by little these had been discredited as pagan, the manuscripts which held the wisdom of the ancient world were too often neglected or destroyed, or turned to the uses of monastic chroniclers or accountants. Scholars degenerated into schoolmen. Science lost itself in the morasses of alchemy or astrology and became anathema to the faithful. Philosophy was overpowered by theology, and this world gave place to the next as the chief concern of learned men. Speculation replaced investigation, words took the place of facts, and mind endeavoured to produce from itself that knowledge and understanding which only comes from the intellect working upon material outside itself or in a medium not wholly intangible. It was, then, in their intellectual limitations that the deficiencies of the Europeans of the eleventh century were most serious. Their knowledge of the great scientific heritage, which is the conspicuous feature of man's present intellectual eminence, was all but wanting."—W. C. Abbott, *Expansion of Europe*, v. 1, pp. 22-26.

Growth of towns.—Development of guilds.—"In every part of the old Roman Empire some towns survived in spite of migrations, sieges, and conflagrations. . . . In the towns, the merchants found shelter, and some of the arts and crafts were carried on. Because of the difficulties of transportation, the inhabitants had to produce most of their own food, and many were occupied wholly or in part in agriculture. For protection the towns had to have walls; and as it was laborious and expensive to build these, and as it was difficult to defend extensive fortifications, the inclosed space was made as small as possible. Consequently the towns were usually crowded. New towns grew up under the protection of castles, to which the people could flee in time of peril. The needs of the lord of the castle and of his family and followers furnished employment for the skill of artisans and a market for the wares of merchants. When such a castle was a favorite residence of a king or powerful noble, the townsmen prospered. . . . When a castle or a fortified town was an important stronghold on a frontier, it was an especially favored resort for merchants both from within and without the kingdom. For this reason Bern in Switzerland and Halle in Saxony grew into important centers of trade. In a similar manner, places where markets were established under the protection of some strong lord frequently attracted a relatively large population; this [for instance] was true in the case of Magdeburg and Munich. . . . Many a village clustered about a monastery grew into a town. . . . Some places became towns because of a combination of two or more of these causes. Tours, for example, grew from three nuclei: the king's castle, the bishop's residence, and the monastery of St. Martin. It had been a Roman town; it was on the river Loire, which was a highway for trade; it was easily defensible; and it was a great resort for pilgrims. The two most important factors in the rise or continued existence of a town were the possibility of easy defense and the opportunity for trade. With the increase of population during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries towns

grew rapidly, and there was an opportunity also for new towns to be founded. . . . Life in the towns seems to have been full of zest and interest. People of the same trade lived usually in the same street or lane, and work was done in the open shops. There were many festivals. . . . Undoubtedly this interesting activity in the towns attracted men from the country then, just as it does now. The towns also offered greater freedom. Beginning in the eleventh century, there was a revolution that gradually spread throughout western Europe. It was not everywhere equally successful and it had many different outcomes; but its aims may be defined as, first, securing for a town a special jurisdiction and freer status; second, securing for the citizens the right of self-government to a greater or less degree. The German proverb '*Stadtluft macht frei*' ('City air makes free') was true on the whole, although there were many exceptions, and some cities had much less freedom than others. Usually a charter giving privileges was bought. The lords needed ready money, and frequently sold for a cash payment some of their rights of exploitation by feudal dues. Sometimes, when they realized what they had lost, they were afterward dissatisfied, and attempted to nullify the contract. In France many a 'commune' had to fight, sometimes unsuccessfully, to retain the rights it had bought. The word 'commune' originally meant that the inhabitants of a town had taken a mutual oath to aid one another, and not to permit a wrong to be done to a fellow-townsmen if they could prevent it. . . . The towns also offered opportunities for gaining wealth and bettering one's condition. A charter in England usually contained a provision that the town should have a gild merchant. This included those who were engaged in trade, and by the charter they secured a monopoly, so that no one not a member could buy or sell in the town, except under such conditions as the gild might make. . . . Gradually craft guilds superseded the gild merchant. These were associations of men engaged in the same trade, and their primary object was to make rules for the trade and to keep a monopoly for the members. A craft gild usually made only one thing; for instance, one gild made arrows, another bow-strings, and a third bows. The subdivision of industry was carried to very great lengths, so that in a single town there might be more than a dozen separate guilds making leather or leather products, or a gild might specialize in a single kind of hat, as the peacock-batters did. . . . The master workman had to have a house of his own, to know his trade, and to be of good moral character. In some guilds he was allowed to have only one apprentice, but might take a second when the first had nearly completed his term of apprenticeship. This was frequently six years. . . . Each craft gild had its patron saint and attended church in a body. Craft guilds acted as mutual aid societies for burials, for the care of widows, orphans, sick, and poor. . . . Their special duty was to maintain the quality of the product, but they seldom succeeded in doing this for any long period of time; for, in spite of stringent rules, there were many frauds."—D. C. Munro, *Middle Ages*, pp. 341, 342, 345-347.—See also GUILDS: Medieval.

Development of commerce. See COMMERCE: Medieval.

Political background.—Throughout the Middle Ages the political background of Europe was dominated by the still potent unifying influence of Rome, which had been perpetuated on the one hand by the Empire, on the other by the Church. "Empire and Papacy, said Zwingli, both come from Rome. The law of the one was Roman civil law, the law

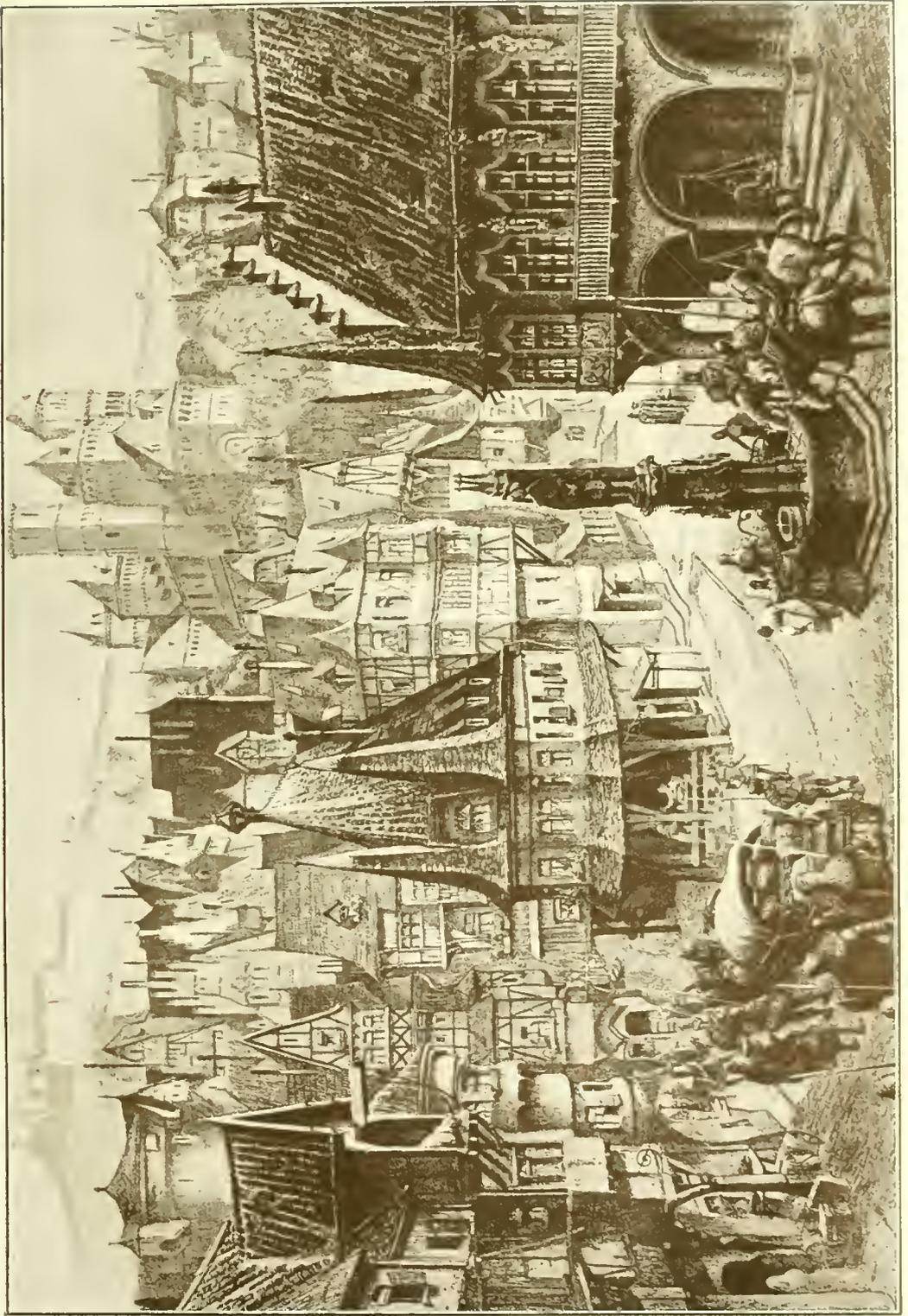
of the other was Roman canon law, and in both cases it was universal. The world was one and indivisible, though it had two aspects, secular and ecclesiastical, temporal and spiritual. In one aspect the Emperor was its head, in the other the Pope. The two spheres were ill-defined, and the struggle between them fills the greater part of medieval history. . . . The contest waged in the closet and on the field of battle, with sword and dagger and spear, with bell, book and candle. It was ever a strife between two powers and two jurisdictions, both claiming to be universal and international. Although the voice of nationality is heard in the councils of Philip IV. of France and in the wars of the fourteenth century, the world is still to Dante one monarchy and the emperor Henry VII. is its monarch. This absence of nationality is characteristic of all medieval institutions. The empire is *ex hypothesi* an international organisation. It is associated with the German monarchy as a rule, but that is only an accident. . . . Alfonso of Castile is a candidate for the empire; he fails, but his Spanish nationality is no bar to his pretension. Later on, Henry VIII. and Francis I. are candidates for the imperial throne; German sentiment is against them, but there is no law to exclude an Englishman or a Frenchman. Any one can hold an imperial fief; a Pole or a Spaniard is the same as a German in the eyes of the law of the empire; they are no more foreigners than a Saxon or a Suabian. Law, in fact, is in the Middle Ages international. There are, it is true, various kinds of law, civil law, canon law, feudal law and folkright; and the differences are pronounced enough. But they are not national differences. Feudal custom is much the same, wherever you meet it in Western Europe. The tenant-in-chief, the mailed knight, the *curia regis*, the lord's demesne, the castle, rights of jurisdiction, obligations of defence, are everywhere. . . . If feudal law and custom were not national, still less so were Roman civil and Roman canon law. The emperor was the fountain of one. . . . The Pope was the fountain of the other. . . . The State might resist the application of canon law as the English barons did in 1236, and the Church might forbid the study of civil law as did Popes Honorius and Innocent III.; but in both cases it would be two universal claims contending in a particular locality, rather than a national contending against a universal sentiment. As with laws, so with letters. . . . Every one in Western Europe who could write, wrote the same language, and that was Latin. . . . Intercourse with foreign scholars was robbed of its impediments. . . . Alien and foreigner were not yet terms of insult and contempt. . . . Even the wars of the Middle Ages were not national; the greatest are the Crusades; then there are wars between Empire and Papacy, and lowest of all comes the feudal strife of vassal against vassal or vassal against his lord; there is no really national war before the Hundred Years' War between England and France. . . . Religion also was cosmopolitan; the Church universal was visible as well as invisible. It had divisions of course. There were laymen and priests, secular priests and regulars, monks and friars. But the sections were horizontal, not vertical; they ran all through Western Christendom, and did not divide it into geographical parts. The monastic orders were peculiarly international; the whole world was their parish; their general chapters were cosmopolitan parliament; and the rigidity of their international character brought them into sharp collision with the rising national spirit of the sixteenth century, and made them the first spoils of the Reformation."—A. F. Pollard, *Factors in modern history*, pp. 5-9.—

"In the Middle Ages there was little opportunity for either the nations of Christendom or the men who composed them to develop their individuality. Medieval Christendom was a single organisation, and the nations which composed it were distinguishable only as units in it. The Crusades are typical of the submergence of national under international interests. In them Christendom as a single fraternity placed itself under the banner of the Cross, actuated by none of the motives which inspire modern wars, territorial expansion, dynastic interests, or commercial gain, but obedient to the call of religion. National particularism was lost in the conception of Christendom as a single community of Christian people. As to the individual, birth determined the groove in which his life was to run. In the Church alone merit could raise him above the degree into which he had been born. At the same time the Church forbade the individual to work outside the channels itself prescribed. Independent research, such as Roger Bacon and Galileo conducted, was denounced as heretical, and invited persecution. Even his exalted position could not save Pope Sylvester II from suspicion that his great learning had been acquired by selling himself to the devil. The arts, painting, sculpture, and architecture were employed only in the Church's service. Science and philosophy were similarly restricted in their application. . . . In the early part of this period, the feudal order was dominant. . . . and the feudal monarchy a monarchy in theory only; in practice it was anarchy. From the king down to the lowest serf, the series of vassals was unbroken; but it was a hierarchy of private relations. [But nationalism and centralization of authority developed side by side.] By war, purchase, marriage and negotiation powerful duchies were established. . . . In the course of this development the kings were active participants. . . . [The growth of cities and participation in the crusades were both factors in the enlargement of kingly power. Moreover] when gunpowder was invented the character of warfare was radically changed. The heavy armor of the mounted knights and the spears and crossbows of the medieval footmen were worse than useless in the presence of disciplined troops armed with flintlocks. When soon afterward, artillery came into use, the Middle Ages had passed away, so far as warfare was concerned; and feudalism, . . . received its deathblow."—D. J. Hill, *History of diplomacy in the international development of Europe*, v. 1, pp. 366, 367, 372.

ALSO IN: L. C. Jane, *Interpretation of history*.
Science.—Retarding forces.—Influences which combined to promote growth of the new period of the Renaissance.—"The intellectual strength of the Middle Ages did not lie in scientific knowledge and achievement, but in a vivid quickening of the spiritual imagination. The scientific learning of the time, far from being a well-ordered system of knowledge, was merely a compilation of detached and ill-comprehended fragments. The medieval man had little ability to look things squarely in the face; he had no clear-eyed perception of the visible world. It was not his practice to deal in an objective way with the facts of the actual world about him. All things were veiled with a mist of subjectivity. The things that he saw were treated as symbols, and the things that he heard were understood as allegories. . . . The speculative life was held to be vastly more important than the practical life. The world was but a house of probation; wherein, then, lay the wisdom of earthly knowledge? So the medieval man devoted himself to the study of philosophy. But his philosophy was defective and misleading. It suffered from the

dictation of the Church. It was not a free inquiry into the constitution of the world of nature and the world of men. It was not an unhindered attempt to conceive of the universe as a rational entity. Instead it was merely an effort to put the theology of the time into a logical form, to prove that the teaching of the Church was identical with the universal and self-consistent truths of philosophy. To reinforce the unassailable authority of the medieval Church the scholars of the time invoked the infallible authority of medieval philosophy. So medieval philosophy was no more and no less than an endeavor to give a scientific statement of medieval theology. Another thing that acted as an obstacle to the progress of science in the Middle Ages and deprived men still further of the use of their own eyes was a slavish devotion to Aristotle. . . . Up to the thirteenth century Aristotle was known to Christendom only through some of his logical writings, a part of the *Organon* and the *Categories*. But the Greek philosopher's works can be understood only when studied in their entirety, and the fragments which the medieval scholars possessed are precisely the ones that have most need of the others in order rightly to be apprehended. Two other things added to the misrepresentation of Aristotle. The few books of the philosopher possessed by the medieval scholars had come to western Europe by way of Alexandria where they had been colored with the Neo-Platonic thought, and a number of books not written by Aristotle were ascribed to him. The real Aristotle was almost completely obscured until the thirteenth century. Medieval man knew him only as a logician, and even in that respect they knew him only imperfectly. Thus deceived by the infallible Doctor they wandered still further from the path of scientific thought than they had been sent by their perverted idea of the aim and the scope of philosophy. . . . By the middle of the thirteenth century much of the missing work of Aristotle had been restored. The additional thought of the Greek philosopher came into western Europe, in a circuitous way, from the Mohammedan school in Spain. . . . With this new guide the Europeans could proceed to something like a systematic and positive study of the world in which they lived. Later on, when the menace of the Turkish invasion grew more threatening, scholars from the Byzantine Empire brought the writings of Aristotle to Italy in the original Greek texts. Then the syllogism was dethroned and investigation set up in its place. This substitution of experiment and observation, however imperfectly it was applied, for the *a priori* methods of scholasticism constituted one of the most potent of all the revivals of the Renaissance. . . . Among the thirteenth-century forerunners of the revival of science three names stand out above all the others. The first is that of Albertus Magnus (1193-1280), a Dominican friar, who became convinced by the study of Aristotle and by his own investigations that a science of nature was possible. 'The visible world,' he said, 'was made for man's sake in order that man might arrive at the knowledge of God through observation of it.' So despite the hindrances of the time he began to search like any modern scientist with the instruments of analysis and synthesis into the secrets of nature. He catalogued the trees and plants known in his time, and he noted the influence of the physical environment upon human, animal and vegetable life. 'All that is here set down,' he wrote in regard to his work, 'is the result of my own experience, or has been borrowed from authors whom we know to have written what their personal experience has confirmed; for in these matters ex-

perience alone can be of certainty.' The second of these intellectual pioneers was Roger Bacon (1214-94), a far-sighted genius, one of the most powerful minds recorded in history, who made many important discoveries, and to whose credit must be placed a number of brilliant anticipatory guesses of modern science. Greater, however, than any of his discoveries, and more important than all of them combined, was the scientific method that he employed. He devoted his life to the reformation of the existing methods of scientific thought. The science of the Middle Ages descended from the highest concept, that of pure being, down to individual things. It set its seal of disapproval upon the method of proceeding from the particular units of a class upwards. In other words it declared the inductive method to be reprobate. . . . 'Secular science intoxicates, but not with charity,' said Bernard of Clairvaux: 'it obstructs, but does not fortify.' Quite opposite was the opinion of Bacon. . . . 'We must not give out adhesion to everything we hear and all we read,' he said; 'on the contrary, it is our duty to examine with the most careful scrutiny the opinions of our predecessors. . . . The third of these forerunners of modern science was Raymond Lull (1235-1315), a philosopher half-Mohammedan and half-Christian, theologian and naturalist, missionary and troubadour, the acutest intellect of the Spanish countries in the Middle Ages, whose aim it was to devise a system, an *ars magna*, for the purpose of ascertaining all truth by means of logical analysis. . . . This preliminary revival of science was at once the cause and the effect of the revival of letters. It received a great impetus, as we have seen, from the restoration of the writings of Aristotle. It quickened men's perception of facts, and it helped to renew the connection between words and things which scholasticism had done away with. It interested men in observation rather than in concepts. It taught them to proceed from individual things to abstraction, from example to application. Naturally they became curious to know more of that ancient world from which the intervening centuries separated them. So they looked about them with eagerness for further writings of those far-off Greeks, and the more they read the more were they impelled to their work of research and invention. By his reading of Latin authors Petrarch was helped to obtain a firm grasp upon the fundamental principles of science. Such was the inter-relation of the revival of science and the revival of letters. Men read the ancient authors, learned to see with their eyes and to imitate their observations and experiments. Then by their own work in observation, testing and correcting they arrived at independent and additional scientific achievements. Thus did they take up the threads of scientific investigation where long ago they had fallen from the hands of the ancients. In medicine they went back to Hippocrates and Galen, in botany to Theophrastus, Dioscorides and Pliny, in zoölogy to Aristotle, in mathematics to Euclid, Eratosthenes and Hipparchus, in physics to Archimedes, Vitruvius and Heron, in astronomy to the Pythagoreans, in jurisprudence to the *Corpus Juris*, and in politics to Plato as well as to Aristotle. All the great scientific investigators of the eras of the Renaissance and the Protestant Revolution lit their torches on the altar of the ancients. Each of the various revivals of the time contributed to the success of the others, for each, in addition to its own definite contributions to knowledge, aided in the production of an atmosphere that was favourable to the new thought. So was the narrow horizon of men pushed back; so was self-confidence restored to the reason of humanity. The revival of research was witnessed in



TYPICAL TOWN IN CENTRAL EUROPE, 14TH-15TH CENTURIES

many lines of human activity. In philosophy the thought of Plato, Aristotle, Socrates and other Greek philosophers and the works of Latin philosophers were recovered. As a result the ancient systems were extended and a new philosophy . . . was born. In the field of history we begin distinctly to discern the spirit of scientific criticism in the writings of Petrarch, and it is found as the controlling force in the work of Lorenzo Valla. Indeed, Valla, who was one of the greatest historians of the entire era, has been described by some writers as the founder of historical criticism."—E. M. Hulme, *Renaissance and the Protestant revolution*, pp. 124-129.—It is admitted that science owes much to the alchemists, herbalists and other experimenters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. True, their work was done for practical reasons, for personal gain, for the sake of power; but the alchemists who sought to turn baser metals into gold, the herbalists who searched for the elixir of life, or experimented in secret poisons, all fell upon secrets of nature in their furtive or fugitive investigations, and passed them on. Besides, many of these men were no ignorant quacks; but were possessed with a passion for knowledge, which they too often had to indulge in secret, and to feed which they applied their sometimes ill gotten gains. In addition to these quasi scientists, master artisans, whose minds were influenced by the atmosphere of the age, made experiments in glass, in dyes, in metals and in other handicrafts. They also worked for personal gain, and generally handed the knowledge of their inventions or discoveries as secret formulas, for the enrichment of their families, but, the formulas ultimately became public, and the inventions laid the foundations for future industries.—See also SCIENCE: Middle Ages and the Renaissance; CHEMISTRY: General: Alchemists.

"We are now in a position to understand the real relation of the Mediæval to the Modern Age. The first was to civilization a period of recovery from interruption and disaster,—interruption and disaster that were really disguised blessings. It was a sort of spring-time, a germinal season, a period during which the seeds of Greek and Roman civilization, scattered everywhere by the wide extension of Roman power during the preceding era, were taking root in the good soil of the hearts and minds of a new race. During these centuries the arts, the sciences, the literature, and the institutions that characterize the modern era took shape, and gave promise of what they were to become; the leading modern nations grew into form, and the political divisions of Europe were more or less definitely outlined. In a word, the era bears the same relation to the Modern Age that the period of youth does to that of manhood. This conception of its real character as a germinal, formative period will tend to impress us with a proper sense of the importance of a careful study of its events and circumstances. It affords the key to modern history."—P. V. N. Myers, *Outlines of mediæval and modern history*, p. 5.

Background of Protestant Reformation.—Its mediæval character.—During the latter part of the Middle Ages, the desire for reform of the Church was constant. It was strongest and most apparent among laymen, for a famous monastic writer of the fourteenth century testified that the laity led better lives than the clergy. The scheme for governing the world by the hierarchy, pursued for three centuries had terminated in disaster. For a whole generation no one knew whether the Papacy was in Italy or in France. Many efforts had been made to reform the church. "One of the most important of the groups of reformers were the Wal-

denses, a sect which originated somewhere about 1170, in the western Alps, and the Poor Men of Lyons who were the followers of Peter Waldo. . . . [Another was] John Wiclif, a Master of Balliol College at Oxford . . . [who] with the aid of two friends translated the Bible into English. . . . The teaching of Wiclif failed to produce a lasting impression in England, but in the person of John Hus (1369-1413) it had a potent influence in the distant country of Bohemia. . . . Still another group of men who attempted to effect reform within the pale of the Church were the mystics who flourished especially in Germany, England and the Low countries, [and flowered in the organization known as the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life.] None of these movements was able to effect a general reformation, nor did all succeed. Yet not one of them was in vain. They were all mingled in the great stream that was slowly gathering force and would soon burst into a flood. Each must be counted as a definite and permanent factor in bringing to pass the Protestant Revolution. Every accusation that Luther made and every reform that he suggested had resounded through Christendom long before the opening of the sixteenth century. . . . Everywhere the intellectual revival was breathing new life into the channels of European thought."—E. M. Hulme, *Renaissance and the Protestant revolution*, pp. 158, 159, 173.—Nor can the influence of the growth of nationality be overlooked. In their new-found independence of nationalism many people began to look askance at a power which claimed extra jurisdiction and political power over all the kingdoms of the earth. "The world was slipping from the control of the Church for better or for worse. But, in appearance, unity was preserved until Luther's challenge opened a struggle which led to a complete religious transformation of Europe, to the substitution in many countries of national churches for the one Catholic Church, and ultimately to the abandonment of the principle of coercion in matters of belief. . . . The Middle Ages knew little or nothing of the sentiment of nationality which is so powerful a factor in modern Europe. The peoples had not yet become conscious of their separateness, and nations were not divided from nations in the clear and rigid way in which they are to-day. Internationalism is a great mark of the Middle Ages. The government were jealous of one another and often fought fiercely; but there were agencies, organizations, and ideas connecting the people of all nations indiscriminately, and giving to Western Europe a sense of unity which it now lacks. The Church took no heed of national boundaries. Men of all races and tongues entered the ranks of the priesthood or joined one of the many orders of monks or friars. Difference of language counted for little in the Church, for Latin was the universal speech of educated men. Feudalism, too, was not a national force. . . . The empire which stood at the head of the feudal system was essentially international, and in its claims as universal as the Church itself. Within its borders were to be found not only Germans, but Frenchmen, Italians, Slavonians; and this corresponded so closely to the ideas of the time that no one thought it strange. Further, the universities were only loosely connected with the nations in which they were situated. The teachers were drawn readily from alien peoples, and the scholars passed from Italy to Germany, or from France to England without difficulty. But by the end of the fifteenth century national feeling was growing strong. It was to be found in Germany in spite of the manifold divisions of the country, but it was seen at its strongest in France, England, and Spain. In France

and England the long struggle of the Hundred Years' War had made the two nations conscious of their separate existence, and in Spain a similar result had been brought about by the long struggle against the Moors."—A. J. Grant, *History of Europe*, pp. 461, 462.—Politically, the Reformation "affected the independence of the princes, which they were able to fortify on the one side by utilizing the popular belief in the Lutheran doctrines for their own support, and on the other by appropriating to themselves the rich ecclesiastical properties. It would, however, be grossly unjust to infer that the real cause of the success of the Lutheran doctrines was the ambition of the princes. Prompted as it was in many cases by secular motives, the reform movement (in Germany) was a logical and necessary outcome of the constitution of the Germanic mind and nature in the presence of religious abuses which could no longer be tolerated."—D. J. Hill, *History of diplomacy in the international development of Europe*, v. 2, pp. 422-423.—Neither the mind nor the minds of men elsewhere in Europe had yet advanced beyond medieval thought or rather, it may well be said that the whole struggle throughout Europe, political, religious, and scientific was the outcome of the incipient growth of the modern mind. But when the break came, there was no essential intellectual difference between the adherents of the old church and the new. The reformers were possessed of no new knowledge. Protestants and Catholics had the same "patristic outlook on the world; their historical perspective was similar, their notions of the origin of man, of the Bible, with its types, prophecies, and miracles, of heaven and hell, of demons and angels, are all identical. To the early Protestants, as to Catholics, he who would be saved must accept the doctrine of the trine God and must be ever on his guard against the whisperings of reason and the innovations suggested by scientific advance. Luther and Melancthon denounced Copernicus in the name of the Bible. Melancthon reëdited, with enthusiastic approval, Ptolemy's astrology. Luther made repeated and bitter attacks upon reason; in whose eyes he freely confessed the presuppositions of Christianity to be absurd. Calvin gloried in man's initial and inherent moral impotency; and the doctrine of predestination seemed calculated to paralyze all human effort. The Protestants did not know any more about nature than their Catholic enemies; they were just as completely victimized by the demonology of Witchcraft. The [success of the] Protestant Revolt . . . [was not due] to any considerable confidence in criticism. As Gibbon pointed out, the loss of one conspicuous mystery—that of transubstantiation—was amply compensated by the stupendous doctrines of original sin, redemption, faith, grace, and predestination' which the Protestants strained from the epistles of St. Paul. Early Protestantism is, from an intellectual standpoint, essentially a phase of medieval religious history."—J. H. Robinson, *New history*, pp. 117-118.

"The Protestant Reformation was mediæval, not modern, in its spirit and interest, and the Protestant scholasticism of the seventeenth century . . . was a legitimate outcome of it. Bondage to an external law of faith and practice was for a long time as complete in Protestantism as in Catholicism, and the one was as conservative in the field of religious thought as the other. The immediate effect of the modern spirit, when it began to make its influence felt in Christianity, was as destructive of the new Protestantism as of the old Catholicism. This is seen clearly enough in Socinianism, and still more clearly in the rationalism of the eighteenth

century, where the modern spirit first found large expression within the religious sphere. The rationalism of the period was of all sorts and degrees, but in every phase of it there was the tendency to reject or modify the mediæval estimate of man. Greater intellectual sufficiency, and commonly greater moral ability were attributed to him than traditional theology was willing to grant. Often the deviation from orthodox doctrine was slight, often very great, but in every case the modern spirit was influential, and those doctrines which were based on the theory of the depravity and helplessness of man received least emphasis or were repudiated altogether. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that rationalism was at bottom as much of a break with Protestantism as with Catholicism. Its principles were not Protestant, but involved the rejection of Protestant and Catholic principles alike. Against modern views of every kind, Protestantism set itself as uncompromisingly as Catholicism. That rationalism ultimately made its home in Protestantism rather than in the older communion, was not because the former was in principle more tolerant of divergent views, but because the divisions within the Protestant ranks made greater tolerance a necessity. The break with the old ecclesiastical institution and the rise of new churches independent of it and of each other facilitated the gradual growth of a freedom in religious thought which could not have come had all Christendom remained under a single ecclesiastical control; but the break itself, and not any particular principles leading to it, made the new liberty possible. In the conflict of authorities there was room for new ideas to grow and flourish."—A. C. McGiffert, *Protestant thought before Kant*, pp. 186-187.—The Reformation "brought to a crisis the inherent conflict between mediævalism and modernism, between the pretensions of universal authority and local freedom, between the conception of imperial supremacy inherited from ancient Rome and territorial rights and liberties as conceived by modern nations. If Charles V had succeeded in suppressing Protestantism in Germany, he might have temporarily obstructed the course of history, but his success could not have been enduring; for his system was contrary to the laws of human development. Strange as it may seem to us, in all this struggle for religious unity, no voice made itself heard above the strife of princes in the name of the individual conscience and intelligence. The absolutism which Luther conferred upon the territorial princes Zwingli conferred upon the congregation. Defeated in the larger field, the spirit of imperialism took refuge in rulers and theologians, to judge and to condemn with a narrower judgment and a more bitter condemnation than that of popes and emperors. But in the Church and in the State a great principle was on its way toward victory; and no emperor could prevent, as no power less than the combined energies of mankind can secure, its final triumph."—D. J. Hill, *History of diplomacy in the international development of Europe*, v. 2, pp. 433-434.

See also ABBEY; ARCHITECTURE: Mediæval; CHRISTIANITY; COMMERCE: Mediæval; EDUCATION: Mediæval; ETHICS: 15th-16th centuries; LIBRARIES: Mediæval; MONASTICISM; MONEY AND BANKING: Mediæval; PAPACY; SCULPTURE: Gothic; SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: 1300-1600; also specific names of countries.

RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

Earlier and later Renaissance.—Transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance.—"It

is becoming clear to the modern historical student that in the whole history of western Europe there is perhaps no sharper break than that which separates the earlier from the later Middle Ages."—J. H. Robinson, *New history*, p. 157.—Roughly speaking the later Middle Ages and the early Renaissance are practically synchronous. "The year 1100 was the threshold over which we passed from those centuries of gloom to two centuries of fruitful progress. That Age of the Crusades saw also the rise of towns, of universities, of popular literatures, of Gothic architecture in cathedrals and town halls, of the growth of France out of feudal fragments into one kingdom, and of the rise of courts and of Parliament in England. The year 1300, to which we have now come, is another milestone of progress, introducing two centuries of still more rapid advance. The period 1300-1520 we call the Age of the Renaissance, because those centuries are marked by a 'rebirth' of a long forgotten way of looking at life. That old way had expressed itself in the art and literature of the ancient Greeks. Accordingly, the men of the new age were passionately enthusiastic over all remains of the old classical period. The fundamental characteristic of the Renaissance, however, was not its devotion to the past, but its joyous self-trust in the present. The men of the Renaissance cared for the ancient culture because they found there what they themselves thought and felt. Between those classical times and the fourteenth century there had intervened centuries of very different life—which we have been studying. Those 'Middle Ages' had three marks on the intellectual side. (1) Ignorance was the general rule; and even the learned followed slavishly in the footsteps of some intellectual master. (2) Man as an individual counted for little. In all his activities he was part of some gild or order or corporation. (3) Interest in the future life was so intense that many good men neglected the present life. Beauty in nature was little regarded, or regarded as a temptation of the devil. The Renaissance changed all this. (1) For blind obedience to authority, it substituted the free inquiring way in which the Ancients had looked at things. (2) Men developed new self-reliance and self-confidence, and a fresh and lively originality. And (3) they awoke to delight in flower and sky and mountain, in the beauty of the human body, in all the pleasures of the natural world."—W. M. West, *Modern progress*, p. 120.—"The most potent of the forces which conducted Europe from medievalism to modernism was the recovery of the lost culture of ancient Greece and Rome, their literature, and, above all, the habit of liberal, untrammelled thought of which it was the outcome. [See also CLASSICS: Renaissance.] But it must not be supposed that the Renaissance fell upon unprepared soil. Humanism, as the revived study of classical literature was called, had been preceded by the Scholastic philosophy of the thirteenth century. . . . A knowledge of Latin was never wholly lost, though England, France, and Germany, where Scholasticism drew scholars to the subtleties of logic and metaphysics rather than to ancient literature, were more backward than Italy, where Scholasticism had less vogue. Greek was in a worse plight. After the fall of the Western Empire in the fifth century, knowledge of ancient Greek became almost extinct in Europe, and even in Constantinople, and no agencies existed for its teaching. Though she possessed no systematic teacher of Greek until the arrival of Manuel Chrysoloras at Florence in 1397, Italy herein also was ahead of the rest of Christendom. Indeed, the career of Dante (1265-1321) proves that the Italian sky was already bright

with the promise of dawn, and Dante's friend, Ambrogio di Bondone, or Giotto (d. 1337), painter, sculptor, and architect, was prophetic of the artistic revolution which accompanied the Renaissance."—C. S. Terry, *Short history of Europe*, pp. 3, 4.—See also EDUCATION: Modern: 15th-16th centuries.—"It would be inaccurate to identify the whole movement of the Renaissance with the process whereby the European nations recovered and appropriated the masterpieces of Greek and Latin literature. At the same time this reconquest of the classic world of thought was by far the most important achievement of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. . . . The revelation of what men were and what they wrought under the influence of other faiths and other impulses in distant ages with a different ideal for their aim, not only widened the narrow horizon of the Middle Ages, but it also restored self-confidence to the reason of humanity. Research and criticism began to take the place of scholastic speculation. Positive knowledge was substituted for the intuitive guesses of idealists and dreamers. The interests of the world received their due share of attention, and the *littera humaniores* of the student usurped upon the *divinarum rerum cognitio* of theologians. All through the Middle Ages uneasy and imperfect memories of Greece and Rome had haunted Europe. Alexander, the great conqueror; Hector, the noble knight and lover; Helen, who set Troy town on fire; Virgil, the magician; Dame Venus lingering about the hill of Hürsel—these phantoms, whereof the positive historic truth was lost, remained to sway the soul and stimulate desire in myth and saga. Deprived of actual knowledge imagination transformed what it remembered of the classic age into romance. . . . With regard to the actual knowledge of Latin literature possessed in the Middle Ages, it may be said in brief that Virgil was continually studied, and that a certain familiarity with Ovid, Lucan, Horace, Juvenal, and Statius was never lost. Among the prose-writers, portions of Cicero were used in education; but the compilations of Boethius, Priscian, Donatus, and Cassiodorus were more widely used. In the twelfth century the study of Roman law was revived, and the scholastic habit of thought found scope for subtlety in the discussion of cases and composition of glosses. . . . Of Greek there was absolutely no tradition left. When the names of Greek poets or philosophers are cited by mediæval authors, it at second hand from Latin sources; and the Aristotelian logic of the schoolmen came through Latin translations made by Jews from Arabian MSS. Occasionally it might happen that a Western scholar acquired Greek at Constantinople or in the south of Italy, where it was spoken; but this not imply Hellenic culture, nor did such knowledge form a part and parcel of his erudition. Greek was hardly less lost to Europe than Sanskrit in the first half of the eighteenth century. . . . The scholars who assembled in the lecture-rooms of Chrysoloras, felt that the Greek texts, whereof he alone supplied the key, contained those elements of spiritual freedom and intellectual culture without which the civilisation of the modern world would be impossible. Nor were they mistaken in what was then a guess rather than a certainty. The study of Greek implied the birth of criticism, comparison, research. Systems based on ignorance and superstition were destined to give way before it. The study of Greek opened philosophical horizons far beyond the dream-world of the churchmen and the monks; it stimulated the germs of science, suggested new astronomical hypotheses, and indirectly led to the discovery of America. The study of Greek resuscitated a sense

of the beautiful in art and literature. It subjected the creeds of Christianity, the language of the Gospels, the doctrine of S. Paul, to analysis, and commenced a new era for Biblical inquiry. . . . [In short] we are justified in regarding the point of contact between the Greek teacher Chrysoloras and his Florentine pupils as one of the most momentous crises in the history of civilisation."—J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, pp. 37-39, 47-48, 81-82.—"The Middle Ages do not by any means deserve the name of the Dark Ages, which used to be ignorantly and vaguely given them. But after the fifth century there was little speculation or intellectual curiosity until the twelfth. It was then that the Renaissance may be said to have begun though the phrase is usually confined to a later period. . . . This revival of classical learning had a profound effect upon the mind of Europe. It revealed societies full of beauty and nobleness before the rise and victory of Christianity; it introduced men to ideas on morality and philosophy widely different from those of orthodox Christianity; and it soon gave to the early Protestant controversialists an invaluable weapon in their power to interpret the original language of the New Testament. Further, it reopened to the world a vast treasure-house of truth and beauty, and there is no department of modern science or thought which has not been influenced by the revival. Fermenting, as it was, with the new thought, Europe could not be kept within the limitations of the medieval world. But the Renaissance, as we have said, was much more than the revival of classical learning. It was also an artistic movement, the most important in the history of Europe since Pericles ruled in Athens. It produced great works in poetry, and buildings of great interest, while by the pictures and sculptures which it brought forth it gave to Europe a new sense for beauty. In poetry what came before the revival of Greek is much greater than what came after."—A. J. Grant, *History of Europe*, p. 465.

Renaissance from various points of view.—Revolt against medieval spirit of anonymity.—Italy's priority in revival of learning.—Social conditions favouring Italian Renaissance.—"What do we mean by the Renaissance? Various answers suggest themselves according to the point of view we choose for the moment to adopt. The institutional historian fixes his attention on the birth of a new political consciousness with the decline of the mediæval idea of the Papacy and the Empire and the spread of the sentiment of nationality throughout Europe. The historian of society is mainly concerned with the birth of new social conditions accompanying the breaking up of the regime of feudalism and chivalry, the growth of commerce, and the beginnings of modern industrialism. The scientist emphasises the rediscovery of nature, the opening up of the world by maritime exploration, the founding of astronomy, anatomy, physiology, medicine, and the establishment of the true scientific method. For the historian of thought the principal interest of the Renaissance lies in the abandonment of the old theological scholasticism and the rise of the spirit of free rational inquiry. To the student of religious evolution, the Renaissance suggests the Reformation; to the lover of art and literature, the recovery of the masterpieces of pagan antiquity and the rebirth of the classic world. . . . The Renaissance meant many things. But, beneath them all, it meant a fundamental change in men's attitude towards themselves and the world. Through the mere shifting of their point of view, phases of life were revealed to them of which hitherto they had never dreamed, and, what is equally important, long familiar phases

were brought before them under a totally fresh light. A new spirit was everywhere at work. Its transforming power was shown alike in politics and society, in science, philosophy, and religion, in literature and art. In Prof. Jebb's words, 'the Renaissance, in the largest sense of the term, is the whole process of transition in Europe from the mediæval to the modern order.' To assign a single date for the opening of its history is therefore impossible. The middle ages came to an end at different times, not only in different countries, but also in different fields of activity. But the vital connection among the various component movements of the Renaissance is shown by the fact that they all fall within the same period. Roughly speaking, we may say that it began definitely in Italy towards the close of the fourteenth century with what is called the Revival of Learning; that it spread thence to other countries, notably Germany, France, and England, the spirit of classicism meanwhile blending with other influences different in origin but equally powerful; and that the transformation of life which resulted went on rapidly for more than two hundred years. . . . It may fairly be contended that the Renaissance of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries was carried on by the movement of enlightenment in the eighteenth; that the French Revolution was only another stage of it; that we are involved in it even to-day. It is certainly beyond question that the influences which the Renaissance generated, however much they may have changed their forms, have been and still are active forces in the shaping of modern civilisation. For practical purposes, however, we have to mark history off into artificial divisions; otherwise, an historical study would have neither beginning nor end. . . . In the last analysis, the Renaissance was the revolt of the whole man—mind and body alike—against the despotism of creeds, traditions, and arbitrary authority. It was the assertion of the right of the individual to himself and his own life. It marks 'the modern rebirth of the individual soul.' To appreciate the full significance of this, we must remember that the whole mediæval system had been fatal to the free development of individuality. In his relations with the State, the guild, the Church, the mediæval man was merely a unit in an organisation and existed only for its sake. The basis of feudalism was subordination. The great mediæval Church was the supreme incarnation of the despotic spirit; arrogantly laying claim to divine right, it sought to coerce the world into doing only what it ordered and believing only as it taught. Thus not independence but submission was proclaimed as the first of the virtues. The ethical accent was thrown, not upon self-realisation, but upon self-repression. Man was cramped in on every side. He did not belong to himself. He lived on sufferance. The condition of all his activity was that he should be an instrument; of all his thinking, that he should be an echo. One curious result which followed in the domain of literature and art is worth attention—the almost complete want of individuality in the works produced, the absence of the distinctively personal note. Everywhere we meet with what Brunetière calls the spirit of anonymity. There is nothing in poem or painting to reveal the character of the poet or artist behind it. One *roman* is just like another *roman*; one mystery-play just like another mystery-play; one *trouvère* or *minnesinger* just like another *trouvère* or *minnesinger*; one Madonna or Crucifixion just like another Madonna or Crucifixion. Individual genius had been swamped by tradition and convention. Thus, though there was immense intellectual activity dur-

ing the middle ages (for the supposition that they were ages of mental stagnation is wholly incorrect), such intellectual activity produced little of permanent value. . . . In Italy the later fourteenth century took up the work which the preceding century had begun; north of the Alps the intellectual impulse was not felt till the century following. We have thus to recognise Italy's priority in the great revival; and it is worth while to glance at certain outstanding causes of it because they serve to indicate the conditions which were requisite for the success of the Renaissance as a whole. The social and political life of Italy was singularly favourable to the growth of personality and the mental vigour and independence which were aspects of it. The communes or free towns of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries were homes of civil and intellectual liberty. In them the individual citizen had the largest opportunity for self-realisation and self-assertion. Whatever might be the nominal form of government, these communes were markedly democratic in spirit. '*La carrière ouverte aux talents*,' was a phrase which in varying measure held good of them all. This democratic spirit was largely the result, and was everywhere the accompaniment, of the immense development of industry and trade. Their widely extended commercial enterprises brought these societies into peaceful intercourse with all sorts of different peoples, and this tended inevitably to breadth, flexibility, and freedom of thought. One result was the spread of a robust positive temper and habit of mind strongly hostile to dogmatism, sacerdotalism, and the priestly attitude towards life. Here also, as elsewhere, commerce was the uncompromising foe of feudalism and all its influences. The upper classes of the Italian city-commonwealths thus differed greatly from the upper classes in countries beyond the Alps. They were business men, in constant and intimate touch with the working population of the city; they were town men, whose lives were passed amid civic interests rather than in coarse sports and rural interests. At the time when, shut up in their gloomy fortresses, the feudal aristocracy of northern Europe knew nothing of domestic refinement and little even of comfort, the Italian gentry were already enjoying a home life which had much to commend it in the way of decency and grace. These circumstances had a direct influence on manners. Wealth brought leisure; it bred a taste for luxury; it provided ample opportunity and means for the gratification of that taste. Rich men began to devote a portion of their time to intellectual and artistic pursuits, and their zest for such things was further stimulated both by public admiration and by the rivalry of others situated like themselves. Finally, the extremely bracing atmosphere of these little communities, their internecine controversies in which passions ran high, their fierce contentions with other cities, all helped to make life full, varied, intense; to kindle curiosity, energy, and ambition; to bring out of every man whatever he had in him; to encourage and emphasise both the growth of personality and its unrestrained expression. It is extremely significant that the new movement began earliest and was strongest in communities in which the industrial spirit was most pronounced. It was not feudal Naples nor sacerdotal Rome which was the birthplace of the Italian Renaissance. It was democratic Florence. Viewed chronologically, the Renaissance begins in Italy with the revival of the Latin and Greek classics."—W. H. Hudson, *Story of the Renaissance*, pp. 1-6, 11-14.—"By the term Renaissance, or new birth, is indicated a natural movement, not to be explained by this or that characteristic, but to be accepted as an effort of

humanity for which at length the time had come, and in the onward progress of which we still participate. The history of the Renaissance is not the history of arts, or of sciences, or of literature, or even of nations. It is the history of the attainment of self-conscious freedom by the human spirit manifested in the European races. It is no mere political mutation, no new fashion of art, no restoration of classical standards of taste. The arts and the inventions, the knowledge and the books which suddenly became vital at the time of the Renaissance, had long lain neglected on the shores of the Dead Sea which we call the Middle Ages. It was not their discovery which caused the Renaissance. But it was the intellectual energy, the spontaneous outburst of intelligence, which enabled mankind at that moment to make use of them. The force then generated still continues, vital and expansive, in the spirit of the modern world. . . . The reason why Italy took the lead in the Renaissance was, that Italy possessed a language, a favourable climate, political freedom, and commercial prosperity, at a time when other nations were still semi-barbarous. . . . It was . . . at the beginning of the 14th century, when Italy had lost indeed the heroic spirit which we admire in her Communes of the 13th, but had gained instead ease, wealth, magnificence, and that repose which springs from long prosperity, that the new age at last began. . . . The great achievements of the Renaissance were the discovery of the world and the discovery of man. Under these two formulæ may be classified all the phenomena which properly belong to this period. The discovery of the world divides itself into two branches—the exploration of the globe, and the systematic exploration of the universe which is in fact what we call Science. Columbus made known America in 1492; the Portuguese rounded the Cape in 1497; Copernicus explained the solar system in 1507. It is not necessary to add anything to this plain statement. . . . In the discovery of man . . . it is possible to trace a twofold process. Man in his temporal relations, illustrated by Pagan antiquity, and man in his spiritual relations, illustrated by Biblical antiquity; these are the two regions, at first apparently distinct, afterwards found to be interpenetrative, which the critical and inquisitive genius of the Renaissance opened for investigation. In the former of these regions we find two agencies at work, art and scholarship. . . . Through the instrumentality of art, and of all the ideas which art introduced into daily life, the Renaissance wrought for the modern world a real resurrection of the body. . . . It was scholarship which revealed to men the wealth of their own minds, the dignity of human thought, the value of human speculation, the importance of human life regarded as a thing apart from religious rules and dogmas. . . . Not only did scholarship restore the classics and encourage literary criticism; it also restored the text of the Bible, and encouraged theological criticism. In the wake of theological freedom followed a free philosophy, no longer subject to the dogmas of the Church. . . . On the one side Descartes, and Bacon, and Spinoza, and Locke are sons of the Renaissance, champions of new-found philosophical freedom; on the other side, Luther is a son of the Renaissance, the herald of new-found religious freedom."—J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: Age of the despots*, ch. 1— "It would be difficult to find any period in the history of modern Europe equal in importance with that distinguished in history under the name of the Renaissance. Standing midway between the decay of the Middle Ages and the growth of modern institutions, we may say that it was already dawn-

ing in the days of Dante Alighieri, in whose immortal works we find the synthesis of a dying age and the announcement of the birth of a new era. This new era—the Renaissance—began with Petrarch and his learned contemporaries, and ended with Martin Luther and the Reformation, which event not only produced signal changes in the history of those nations which remained Catholic, but transported beyond the Alps the centre of gravity of European culture.”—P. Villari, *Niccolo Machiavelli and his times*, v. 1, ch. 1.—J. Burckhardt, *Civilization of the period of the Renaissance in Italy*.—On the communication of the movement to France, as a notable consequence of the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII, see ITALY: 1494-1496.

See also ARCHITECTURE: Renaissance: Italian; ENGLAND: 15th-16th centuries; ENGLISH LITERATURE: 15th century; FLORENCE: 1469-1492; FRANCE: 1492-1515; FRENCH LITERATURE: 1498-1550; ITALY: 14th century; 1500-1600; LIBRARIES: Renaissance; PAINTING: Italian; SCULPTURE: Early Renaissance; HIGH RENAISSANCE; VENICE: 16th century.

Petrarch as a factor in and representative of the Renaissance.—“In Petrarch [1304-1374] . . . we clearly find, as controlling personal traits, all those specific features of the Renaissance which give it its distinguishing character as an intellectual revolution, and from their strong beginning in him they have never ceased among men. In the first place, he felt as no other man had done since the ancient days the beauty of nature and the pleasure of mere life, its sufficiency for itself; and he had also a sense of ability and power, and a self-confidence which led him to plan great things, and to hope for an immortality of fame in this world. In the second place, he had a most keen sense of the unity of past history, of the living bond of connection between himself and men of like sort in the ancient world. That world was for him no dead antiquity, but he lived and felt in it and with its poets and thinkers, as if they were his neighbors. His love for it amounted almost, if we may call it so, to an ecstatic enthusiasm, hardly understood by his own time, but it kindled in many others a similar feeling which has come down to us. The result is easily recognized in him as a genuine culture, the first of modern men in whom this can be found. It led, also, in his case, to what is another characteristic feature of the Renaissance—an intense desire to get possession of all the writings which the ancient world had produced. It was of vital importance, before any new work was begun, that the modern world should know what the ancients had accomplished, and be able to begin where they had left off. This preliminary work of collection was one of the most important services rendered by the men of the revival of learning. For the writings of the classic authors Petrarch sought with the utmost eagerness wherever he had an opportunity, and though the actual number which he was able to find, of those that had not been known to some one or other in medieval days, was very small, still his collection was a large one for a single man to make, and he opened that active search for the classics which was to produce such great results in the next hundred years. In another direction, also, Petrarch opened the age of the Renaissance. The great scientific advance which was made by this age over the middle ages does not consist so much in any actual discoveries or new contributions to knowledge which were made by it, as in the overthrow of authority as a final appeal, and the recovery of criticism and observation and comparison as the effective methods of work. Far more important was this restoration of the true method of science than any specific scientific work which was done in

the Renaissance age proper. Here again it is with Petrarch that the modern began. He attacked more than one old tradition and belief supported by authority with the new weapons of criticism and comparison, and in one case at least, in his investigation of the genuineness of charters purporting to have been granted by Julius Caesar and Nero to Austria, he showed himself thoroughly imbued with the spirit and master of the methods of modern science. Finally, Petrarch first put the modern spirit into conscious opposition to the medieval. The Renaissance meant rebellion and revolution. It meant a long and bitter struggle against the whole scholastic system, and all the follies and superstitions which flourished under its protection. Petrarch opened the attack along the whole line. Physicians, lawyers, astrologers, scholastic philosophers, the universities—all were enemies of the new learning, and so his enemies. And these attacks were not in set and formal polemics alone, his letters and almost all his writings were filled with them. It was the business of his life. He knew almost nothing of Plato, and yet he set him up boldly against the almost infallible Aristotle. He called the universities ‘nests of gloomy ignorance,’ and ridiculed their degrees. He says: ‘The youth ascends the platform mumbling nobody knows what. The elders applaud, the bells ring, the trumpets blare, the degree is conferred, and he descends a wise man who went up a fool.’ In the world of the new literature Petrarch obtained so great glory in his own lifetime, and exercised such a dictatorship that the ideas which he represented obtained an influence and extension which they might not otherwise perhaps have gained so rapidly. When he died, in 1374, the Renaissance was fully under way in Italy as a general movement, and, while in his own lifetime there is hardly another who is to be placed beside him in scholarship and knowledge of antiquity, there soon were many such, and before very long not a few who greatly surpassed him in these respects. But if his scholarship cannot be considered great according to modern standards, it will always remain his imperishable glory to have inaugurated the revival of learning.”—G. B. Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, pp. 375-377.—See also CLASSICS: Renaissance; ITALIAN LITERATURE: 1283-1375.

Various Italian humanists.—Effect on art of change from asceticism to humanism.—Importance of printing.—“The Italian humanists were for the most part scholars and men of letters. They were devotees of the classics, not original thinkers. A few, like Ficino and Mirandola, were philosophers as well as scholars, and devoted themselves to the task of expounding the Platonic philosophy and harmonising it with Christianity. They were also, what was only too rare in this age of reaction and transition, men of pure life and soaring purpose. But Ficino was no creative genius, and the prodigy Mirandola died too early to do justice to his great powers. There was one exception to the rule of intellectual mediocrity. It is that of Machiavelli, who . . . was a truly original genius, and struck out in a new path of inquiry. It was not in what these men did in the way of constructing a new philosophy; it was in the work they did in helping to emancipate the mind from traditional fetters that their highest merit lies. Their work was pre-eminently a work of liberation. The work of construction came later. They began the movement that was to evolve in a Bacon, a Locke, a Spinoza. They made modern free thought, modern science, possible. They discovered in a rational culture the solvent that was to dissolve the dead mass of tradition and authority. [See also

EDUCATION: Modern: 15th-16th centuries: Italy (the center, etc.) It was in the domain of art, rather than of thought, that the creative genius of the Italian Renaissance showed itself. Here it not only revealed, it created a new world. The Middle Ages were indeed immensely great in architecture. The mediæval cathedral is, in conception and execution, a masterpiece. It suggests both originality and boldness of idea, and, in its majesty and grandeur, stands out in striking contrast to the puniness and poverty of the achievements of the age in philosophy. [See also ARCHITECTURE: Mediæval; Romanesque; Gothic.] In sculpture and painting, however, the Middle Ages suffered from the blight of asceticism. The ascetic conception of both man and nature distorted, cramped, the artistic sense. The mind was the victim of an ill-regulated, diseased fancy which peopled the world with evil spirits, devils, monsters, whose grim forms haunted even its most splendid buildings, saw neither the truth nor the beauty of nature, and proclaimed the human as necessarily antagonistic to the divine. In such circumstances art could only be grotesque, childish. With the change of conception from the ascetic to the rational, the humanist view of life, the emancipation of art, as well as learning and philosophy, began. Mediæval crassness, grotesqueness, unnaturalness, disappeared before the plastic touch inspired by nature and antiquity. Turning from a mediæval Madonna or saint to the Madonnas or saints of a Raphael, a Leonardo da Vinci, a Michael Angelo, we at once feel that a new power as well as a new aspiration has enlarged and enriched the human spirit. Here, too, we learn that old things have passed away, all things have become new. In Raphael as in Machiavelli, in Michael Angelo as in Petrarch, the revolt against tradition and system speaks with unmistakable emphasis. The subject of this art may be largely Christian or ecclesiastical; the life it delineates is that of real human beings such as a Phidias sculptured. [See also ART: Relation of art and history.] The influence of the Renaissance north of the Alps showed itself in the same many-sided awakening of the human mind as in Italy. On scholarship, literature, art, education, science, it exercised the magic of a new inspiration. German scholars like Rudolf Agricola, Celtes, Wimpfeling, Reuchlin, Melanchthon, vied, in their erudition and their enthusiasm, with those of Italy. Germany, the land of the invention of printing had, too, its humanist societies and its famous printing presses, like that of Froben at Basle, to make war on obscurantism, and the older universities like Heidelberg, Erfurt, Vienna, readily joined in the attack. If Italy produced a Galileo, Germany produced a Müller (Regiomontanus), a Copernicus. The Germans, Dürer, Holbein, Cranach, are fitting peers of the great Italian masters. In Switzerland Zwingli was an enthusiastic humanist before he became an aggressive religious reformer. In France a whole galaxy of scholars—Faber, the Estiennes, father and son, printers as well as scholars, Budeus, Turnebus, Etienne Dolet, Vatable, &c., shone in the firmament of the Renaissance period. The Netherlands may claim to have given birth, in Erasmus, to the greatest of transalpine men of letters, who deservedly wielded the dictatorship of the literary republic of his day. They may claim, too, to have produced some of the greatest masters in the realm of art. England could boast of Colet, and More, and Tyndale; Scotland of Buchanan and Andrew Melville; Spain of a Lebriza and a Ximenes; Portugal of Tesiras. . . . The printer is, in truth, the greatest revolutionist that has ever appeared on earth. After the middle of the fifteenth century it was henceforth impos-

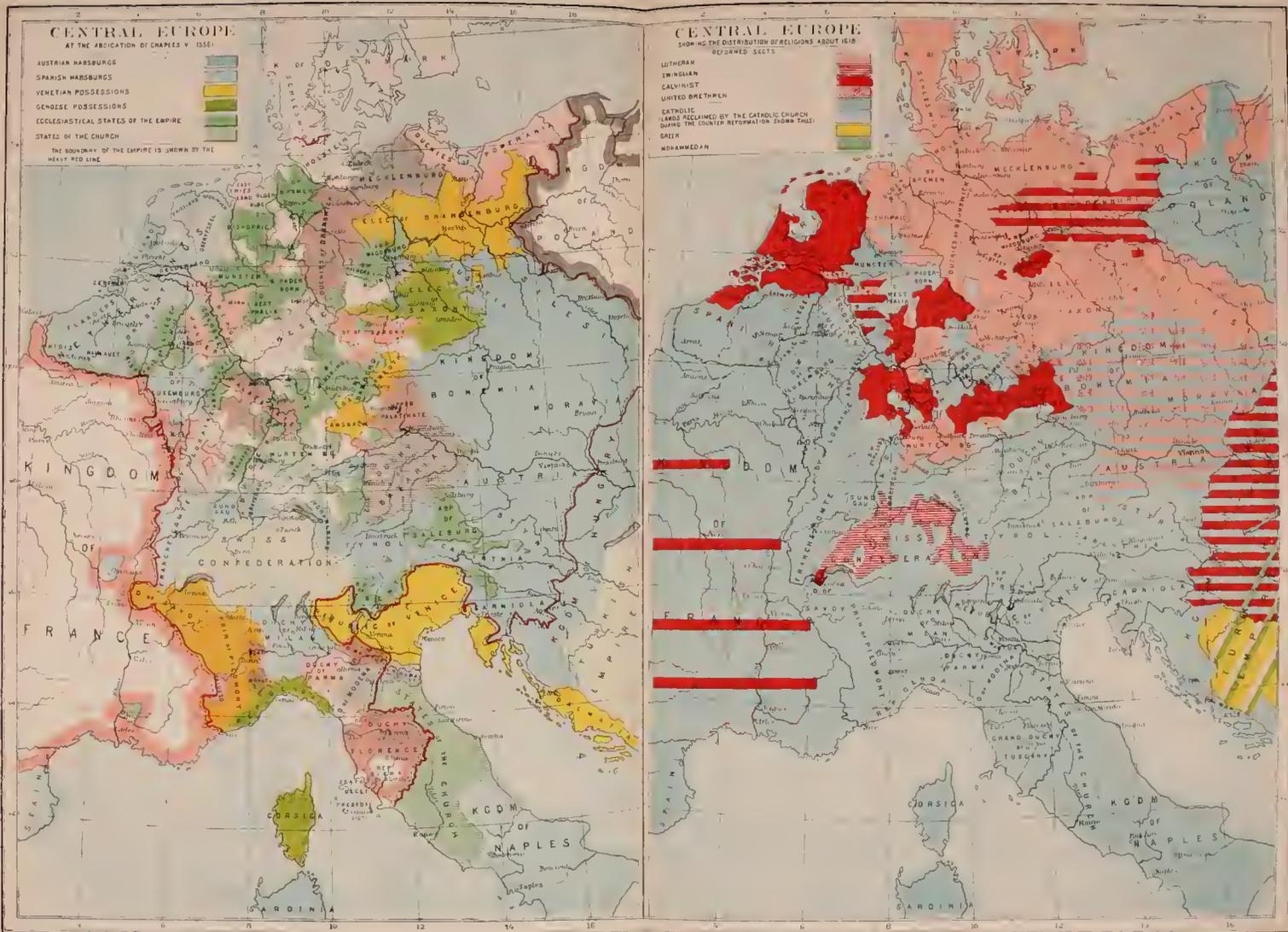
sible to crush the critical spirit by means of inquisitions and holy crusades. Pope and priest might well tremble for their supremacy in the presence of the press, though the press might print and publish for as well as against the Church. And the day was coming when the now omnipotent, absolute king would have equal cause to fear the power of the press. The danger to the king was as yet not so appreciable as to the pope and priest. But the critical spirit, born of the Renaissance, would not in the long-run stop short at theology or philosophy. It would apply itself to politics as well as to theology and philosophy, and, as the works of More and other political writers show, it would do so in a fashion by no means agreeable to absolute kings."—J. Mackinnon, *History of modern liberty*, v. 2, pp. 13-15, 18-19.—"The invention of the printing-press in the north put a new weapon into the hands of the humanists, and enabled them to bring the results of their labors to bear upon a vastly wider circle than before. The great results of this invention for civilization are to be found, not so much in the preservation as in the cheapening of books, and the popularizing of the means of knowledge. If the printing-press reduced the price of books to one-fifth the former price, as it seems to have done before it had been in operation very long, it much more than multiplied by five the number of persons who could own and use them. Although the spread of printing throughout Europe was slow as compared with the rate of modern times—an invention of similar importance to-day would probably get into use in the principal places of the world within a year or two—it was rapid for the middle ages. Invented, apparently, in a shape at least to be called really printing, about 1450, it was introduced into Italy in 1465, possibly slightly earlier; into France and Switzerland in 1470, into Holland and Belgium in 1473, into Spain in 1474, and into England between 1474 and 1477. By 1500 it was in use in eighteen countries, and at least two hundred and thirty-six places had printing-presses. . . . One immediate consequence of this invention was that the results of the revival of learning, its new spirit of independence, and its methods of criticism, could no longer be confined to one country or to those who were by calling scholars. They spread rapidly throughout Europe, affected large masses of the people who knew nothing of the classics, and became vital forces in that final revolution of which Luther's work forms a part."—G. B. Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, pp. 378-379.—See also PRINTING AND THE PRESS: Before 14th century; 1457-1480.

Spirit of adventure and intellectual activity.—Leonardo da Vinci.—Columbus and the discovery of America.—"At the opening of the *quattro cento*, into a cup of exquisite chalice Dante had poured the alembic of the new Italian tongue. Fleeing before the invading Turk, the exodus of the pedants into Italy had brought resurrection to the immortal works of Greece. Petrarch and Boccaccio, fired with enthusiasm for the new study, had made ancient learning again the fashion. From Marco Polo, . . . and other travellers had come dazzling tales of unknown lands. The spirit of adventure stirred anew. At the same time trade and commerce were flourishing as they had not flourished in centuries. The northerly lands of Europe were becoming rich. To the leisured class came time to learn, and with it the vanity to affect tastes and cultivate aptitudes which lifted them yet a little further from the crowd. The intellectual movement was widespread. The introduction and prevalent use of gunpowder resulted at last in a demand for a theory of explosions. A

mingled chemistry and alchemy had been imported from the Moors. The zest for inquiry ran into channels the most diverse. In Leonardo da Vinci [1452-1519] was incarnated one of those multifarious minds which appear once in a century or more. Painter, poet, engineer, strategist, inventor of canal locks, a student of shells and stones, of plants and trees, of pigments and the effects of light, he became the founder of half-a-dozen sciences. To still larger results, in the far-off wilds of Great Britain, in the solitude of the cloister, and persecuted as a necromancer, Roger Bacon [c. 1214-1294] had toiled at the resuscitation of physical science. His works, filtering through the pens of Cardinal d'Ailly and others, caught at last the ear of a . . . masterful man, a wanderer and a thinker, half a pirate and half a seer; and out of the tumult of his ideas came at last the project of a voyage to India through the waters of the unknown west. The mystic needle which would pilot the mariner without the aid of headland or star had come into general use. Adventurous voyages were being undertaken. An era of maritime discovery had been begun. The circumnavigation of Africa was to be attempted anew. From one of his most distinguished countrymen, the Florentine astronomer Toscanelli, Columbus [1451-1506] had found reassurance for his great design. The ancient speculations of Eratosthenes and Strabo as to the feasibility of such a voyage and the existence of other and doubtless habitable continents, were being ardently discussed. For a century or more these ideas had been revived and popularised through the curious and widely read writings of Sir Jehan Maundeville, 'Knight of St. Albans.' The mistaken measures of the circle of the earth handed down from Ptolemy, the equally mistaken ideas as to the distance of India to the East, gave to the project a far less hazardous air than the reality would have presented. Still, it was difficult enough; in the minds of most, a fantastic dream. The discovery of the New World came to Europe like a bolt from the blue. Yet the quest of Columbus was in some sense as definite an inquiry as a laboratory experiment. . . . The scientific method, the rational use of experience, of inference from careful observation, of hypothesis and verification had won its first brilliant victory in the new time."—C. Snyder, *World machine*, pp. 159-160.—See also AMERICA: 15th century, and after; Map showing voyages of discovery.

Characteristics of the period and of the church.—"The Protestant Reformation was not exclusively nor even chiefly a religious movement. It involved a break with the historical ecclesiastical institution and the organisation of new churches independent of Rome, but the break itself was as much political as religious, both in its causes and in its results. Dissatisfaction with the existing order of things was widespread in Western Europe, and was coming to ever more active expression. It was not confined to one class of society, nor limited to one set of conditions. The period was marked by discontent and unrest, moral, religious, social, economical, and political. The conviction was growing that traditional customs and institutions needed adjustment to the new needs of a new age, and on every hand criticisms of the old were rife and programmes of reform were multiplying. For centuries the Church had been the most imposing institution in Europe, and the most influential factor in its life. Rightly or wrongly it was widely held responsible for current evils in every line, and every project for the betterment of society concerned itself in one or another way with the ecclesiastical establishment. As a rule, however, the

criticisms of the existing system affected only superficial details, and were neither radical nor far-reaching. Abuses in ecclesiastical administration, financial exactions on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities, ignorance, immorality, and venality on the part of the clergy—these constituted in most cases the burden of complaint. The fundamental principles on which the mediæval system rested were seldom made the object of criticism or of question. The traditional Catholic dogmas and the beliefs underlying existing religious practices were commonly taken for granted. Criticism confined itself chiefly, either to the over-emphasis of theology and the substitution of barren orthodoxy for practical religion, or to abuses in the application of accepted principles and the displacement of vital piety by formalism and externality."—A. C. McGiffert, *Protestant thought before Kant*, pp. 9-10.—"In the early Middle Ages, . . . [the church] became part of the feudal system so far as concerned its tenor and occupancy of land and the performance of its landed functions. Abbots and bishops held feudal rank, and usually were scions of noble or princely houses. This general condition of the Church did not pass with the Middle Ages. In Germany at the close of the fifteenth century, the higher ranks of the German clergy were filled with the sons of the nobility and the great benefices were held by princes. Such a condition might prove fuel for peasant uprisings, but could not, like papal exactions, incite Germans to revolt against a foreign papal Church. Before men revolt, they must distinguish and separate from themselves what they would revolt against. Everywhere the mediæval clergy, with their practices and privileges, made part of the social structure of the country. If they enjoyed exemptions and exclusive rights, so did the nobles, so did the burghers of the towns. Law applying to all men was of slow and jealous growth. Special rights of a locality or an order, or even of individuals, existed everywhere, and when contested were contested by some other special right. Hence the peculiar privileges of the clergy did not seem to separate them from other classes of society, whose rights were likewise privileges. . . . In Germany, however, the conflict over the investiture of the clergy with their lands and officers was long and bitter. It seemed to center in a struggle between Emperors and popes, and tended to rouse national antipathy. The German clergy took one side or the other. But the struggle produced in the minds of the nobility and princes and their followers, a sense of antagonism to the papacy. That seemed a foreign foe, and not the less so when it intervened in German politics, in favor of one royal candidate as against another. From the thirteenth century, German antipathy to Rome is voiced by those great German voices, Walter von der Vogelweide and Freidank, whoever the latter was. The current comes down the centuries, till it finds expression in the effective violence of an Ulrich von Hutten."—H. O. Taylor, *Thought and expression in the sixteenth century*, pp. 201-202.—"The later fifteenth century was a period of religious revival on a large scale in Central and Western Europe. Not only those forms of the religious life which have been referred to but also strictly Catholic piety was everywhere reanimated. It was a time of social and economic chaos. Plague, pestilence, and famine devastated large sections of the continent. New diseases made their appearance as a result of the growing intercourse between Europe and the Orient. The dread of Turkish invasion became more acute, and fear and demoralisation were seizing upon all classes of the community. The feeling of helplessness was common, and men were



looking in every direction for the strength and confidence they lacked in themselves. It was widely believed that the end of the world was at hand, and terror was everywhere abroad. Under these circumstances a recrudescence of mediæval piety in its crassest form took place. Pilgrimages, veneration of relics, multiplication of ascetic practices, increase of monasticism, mark the age in a notable degree. Serious-minded men felt themselves driven as seldom before to ward off evil by religious observances. All this was just the opposite of humanism in its effects. If the latter promoted self-confidence and self-reliance, the influences just referred to fostered self-distrust. If the one undermined the traditional superstition and transformed religion into ethics, the other encouraged the most vulgar kinds of religious practice, and strengthened the hold of the most primitive and superstitious rites and customs. To persons of this type humanism must seem barren, insufficient, and irreligious. It might meet the needs of men of modern temper, but it had nothing at all to offer those beset with religious fear and oppressed by their own helplessness. Luther was a typical figure in this respect, and the terror which drove him into the monastery a very common experience. If other forms of piety tended to diminish the influence of the ecclesiastical establishment and of traditional principles and practices, this common religious fear tended to bind them more firmly upon the consciences of the people. At the same time it made them receptive to new religious suggestions from any quarter, and led them to seize blindly upon any help that might be offered. In general the opening of the sixteenth century must be recognised as a time of ferment, excitement, and unrest in religion as in all other lines, a time pregnant with change, equally hospitable to the most radical and to the most reactionary movements. No one could foresee what would come out of it, and even now, looking back upon the period, it seems largely an accident that the current ultimately flowed in the direction it did rather than in some other."—A. C. McGiffert, *Protestant thought before Kant*, pp. 16-17.—See also PAPACY: 15th-16th centuries.

Preliminary movements of Wycliffe and Huss.—"It is possible that even without the vigorous leadership of Wycliffe [1324-1384] so favorable an age would have produced a demand for a religious reformation. As it was, the demand which was made seems almost wholly the result of his personal influence, of his earnest spirit and his deeply inquiring mind. In Wycliffe's work there was an attempted reformation of theology and of religion, of Christian doctrines and of the Christian life in about equal proportions, and, from the peculiar situation of things in England, it involved political ideas not necessarily connected with the others. It has been said that Wycliffe 'disowned and combated almost every distinguishing feature of the mediæval and papal church, as contrasted with the Protestant.' His 'poor priests' undoubtedly were messengers of good to the poorer classes, and the fact that so large a number of manuscripts as one hundred and sixty-five, containing larger or smaller parts of his translation of the Scriptures, has been found, shows conclusively how widely the copies were circulated and how carefully they were preserved. The division of political parties in England during Wycliffe's life served to protect him and his followers from serious persecution; but after the accession of the House of Lancaster to the throne this reason no longer existed, and the church had her way with the heretics. In 1401 the first English statute was passed punishing wrong theological opinions with death, and, in the few years

following, the Lollards, as Wycliffe's followers were called, were apparently exterminated. [See also ENGLAND: 1360-1414; CHURCH OF ENGLAND: 1066-1534; EDUCATION: Modern: 14th-16th centuries: England, Lollardism and the Renaissance; LOLLARDS.] If Wycliffe's influence died out in England it was continued upon the continent in the last great religious rebellion against the mediæval church which preceded Luther's. The close connection which was established between the English and Bohemian courts, and between the Universities of Prague and Oxford, as a result of the marriage of Richard II. and Anne of Bohemia, brought some Bohemian students into contact with Wycliffe's teachings and led to the carrying of his writings to their fatherland. The reform movement which resulted in Bohemia, whose leader was John Huss [1369-1415], followed in all essential matters the ideas of Wycliffe, but it placed the strongest emphasis upon other points, such, for example, as the communion in two kinds, from which one wing of the Hussites, the Utraquists, derived its name. Huss himself did not lay so much stress, perhaps, upon the translation of the Scriptures into the language of the people, but his appeal to the Bible as the final authority in questions of belief, and his assertion of his right to judge of its meaning for himself, were clear and emphatic, and his followers were as earnest translators as Wycliffe or the Waldensians could have desired. Huss and his disciple, Jerome of Prague, were burned at the stake by the Council of Constance, in 1415, but political reasons, the unending strife between the Slav and the German in part, gave his cause so much strength in Bohemia that, after twenty years of desperate warfare the revolt was ended by a compromise, and the church gave way to the Hussites, to a certain extent in the points upon which they insisted most strongly."—G. B. Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, pp. 418-419.—See also BOHEMIA: 1405-1415.

Erasmus and the Reformation.—"Notable among the phenomena of the age [of the Renaissance and Reformation] was the tendency which we know as humanism, the most modern expression of the intellectual life of the period. It is true that its significance has been greatly exaggerated, and the contrast between the intellectual life of the fifteenth and that of the thirteenth century much over-emphasised. At the same time it is abundantly clear that the general temper of those whom we call humanists was unlike that of the leading thinkers of the Middle Ages. The difference was not in the matter of seriousness, as often said, for in spite of the frivolity of many humanists, some of the most notable of them were as earnest in purpose as any of the leaders of the Mediæval Church. It lay rather in a difference of attitude toward the present world both of man and of nature, a recognition of its independent value and an interest in it for its own sake. There was widespread rebellion among the humanists against the trammels of mediæval Catholicism, and against the tyranny of the ecclesiastical establishment, and the growing loss of reverence for the existing system which made the spread of Protestantism possible was in no small part due to their influence, as was also the increasing conviction that a reformation of some sort was needed. But with the constructive work of the Protestant Reformation and with the framing of its principles and ideals they had little to do. Of the humanists who desired to promote a reformation of one kind or another, or at least to improve religious and moral conditions within the Church, Erasmus [1466-1536] of Rotterdam may be taken as a representative. To Erasmus Christianity was primarily an ethical system; Christ was its great

teacher and exemplar; and to be a Christian meant to conduct one's life in accordance with the principles which governed Him. Jesus appeared in the rôle of a sage, and Christianity under the aspect of a moral philosophy rather than a religion of redemption. In opposition to the schoolmen the elaborate theology of the Middle Ages was pushed to one side and the emphasis laid on practical conduct, and in opposition to the externality and formalism of the prevailing religious life of the day the inner disposition was made alone essential. All the paraphernalia of mediæval Christianity—its sacraments, relics, pilgrimages, rites and ceremonies, ecclesiasticism and asceticism—were looked on as unimportant. Not that they were necessarily bad in themselves, but that they were not of the essence of the Gospel, and became vicious when they obscured the more vital matters. The heart of Christianity, the one all-important thing according to Erasmus, is love for one's fellows, manifesting itself in charity, sympathy, and forbearance. The governing motive of Jesus' life was brotherly love, and in it the Christian life finds its controlling principle. Erasmus did not break with the Catholic Church, nor did he, in spite of the ridicule he continually heaped upon the follies and vices of priests and monks (as for instance in his *Praise of Folly*), reject the doctrines and principles of the mediæval system. He was an orthodox Catholic, as his work on the Symbol abundantly shows, but his teaching was inevitably disintegrating in its tendency, and Pope Paul IV was perfectly right in putting his works on the Index. The distinction between essential and non-essential in the existing system, and the reduction of the former to the moral principles taught by Jesus, must accrue to the neglect and disregard of a large part of the traditional theory and practice of the Catholic Church, and though Erasmus might not himself draw the natural conclusion, it was clear enough that others would. In his endeavour to bring out distinctly the essence of Christianity in contrast with the excrescences which so commonly obscured it, Erasmus, like most of the humanists, was led to lay emphasis upon the supreme authority of the Bible. . . . Erasmus himself published the first edition of the New Testament in the original Greek in 1516, and followed it with numerous commentaries and editions of the Fathers, who were supposed, after the apostles themselves, to be the most authentic witnesses to Christian truth, and the most competent interpreters of the Scriptures. The recognition of the authority of the Bible was not an innovation; theoretically it had been supreme since an early day. It had been the object of diligent and faithful study on the part of theologians, and the comfort and inspiration of multitudes of devout and pious souls during all the centuries. In the later Middle Ages vernacular translations of it became very common, and in many cases received ecclesiastical approval. But it was not the exclusive authority of Catholic Christians. The Church was believed to be the living and infallible mediator and interpreter of divine truth. To its custody the Bible had been committed, and in the light of its teaching it was read."—A. C. McGiffert, *Protestant thought before Kant*, pp. 11-13.—See also EDUCATION: Modern: 15th-16th centuries; Relation of Renaissance and Reformation; 16th century: Erasmus and the Reformation; BIBLE, ENGLISH: 14th-16th centuries.

Political situation in Luther's time.—"The political situation in Europe . . . at the time of Luther was, to all appearances at least, an essential condition of the ultimate success of the Reformation. The large possessions brought to-

gether through the fortunate marriages of the Hapsburgs had been united with those which the diplomatic skill of Ferdinand the Catholic had acquired. The 'civil arm,' as represented by the Emperor Charles V., would seem to have been strong enough to deal unhesitatingly with any unwelcome religious opinion which might arise. But Charles never found a moment when he could exert this strength against Protestantism, until it was too late. On the west was the rival power of France, less in extent and apparent resources, but not scattered like his own power, closely concentrated in the hands of the brilliant and ambitious Francis I. On the east was the equally dangerous Turkish empire, still at the height of its strength, and determined to push its conquests farther up the Danube valley. Three times after the Diet of Worms, where Luther was originally condemned, when Charles seemed free to use his whole power for the extermination of heresy, following no doubt his personal inclination as well as what he judged to be his political interests—in 1526, in 1529, and again in 1530—was he forced, each time by some sudden turn in the affairs of Europe, some new combination against him, sometimes with the pope among his enemies, to grant a momentary toleration. In 1532 was concluded the definite Peace of Nuremberg, the price of Protestant assistance against the Turks, by which a formal agreement was made to allow matters to remain as they were until the meeting of a general council. Under this arrangement Protestantism gained so much strength that when, in 1547, the emperor at last found himself able to attack its adherents, he could not entirely subdue them, although he nearly succeeded."—G. B. Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, pp. 424-425.—See also GERMANY: 1517-1523; PAPACY: 15th-16th centuries; 1517-1521.

Luther, his motives and his principles.—"Though educated in the University of Erfurt, the center of humanistic culture in Germany, Luther [1483-1546] was singularly untouched by the intellectual currents of his day. The impulses which controlled him were never those of the scholar, the scientist, or the philosopher. He cared little for clearness and consistency of thought. A satisfactory and adequate world-view was none of his concern. Of intellectual curiosity he had scarcely any; of interest in truth for truth's sake none at all. He had a marvellous command of the German language, and was a writer of great force and vigor, but he was no litterateur, and his works are strikingly devoid of the literary artifice and self-consciousness of his day. He was far and away the most commanding personality of the age, and he had mental gifts of a very high order, but his genius was wholly practical. He was pre-eminently a religious character, and his great work was accomplished in the religious sphere; but even there he was not controlled by intellectual motives. At a time when the spirit of the modern age was beginning to make itself felt in the religious thinking of his contemporaries, and questions as to the truth of traditional doctrines were widespread, he remained entirely without intellectual difficulties, finding no trouble with the most extreme supernaturalism and the crassest superstitions of the current faith. His confidence in the Catholic system was absolute, and his acceptance of its tenets complete, until he was shaken out of it by practical considerations which had nothing to do with theology, and were not in the least of an intellectual order. Under these circumstances it is a mistake to think of him as a theologian and of his work as a reformation of

theology. It is equally a mistake to think of him as a reformer in the institutional sphere. Existing institutions, like traditional theology, might be changed to a greater or less degree as a result of his labors, but the effect was incidental in the one case as in the other. His interest was wholly in the practical religious life, and all the differences between him and his Catholic contemporaries were simply the consequence of a radical divergence in this sphere. His own conception of the Christian life was the fruit of a personal experience too familiar to need recounting here. Driven into a

... His idea of Christian liberty was the most modern element in Luther's teaching, and did more than anything else to undermine the authority of the Catholic Church. One of the watchwords of the dawning modern age was liberty; escape from the trammels of traditional authority, and the assertion of the independence of the individual. Already this had voiced itself in various ways, but for the religious man there was apparently no escape from the dominance of the ecclesiastical system. . . . Fundamental in all his thinking was the doctrine of the depravity and helplessness of

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monastery by fear of the wrath of God and by the desire to earn divine forgiveness and approval by meritorious works, he discovered that it was impossible to secure peace of mind by such a method, and was finally led to believe that the only road to peace lay in repudiating all righteousness of his own, and depending wholly upon the free grace of God in Christ. . . . To suppose that Luther's gospel of the free, forgiving love of God in Christ was unknown in the ancient and mediæval Church is a great mistake. Particularly in the Middle Ages it found frequent expression. But not before had the conviction meant so complete a revolution in a Christian's religious life, and never had it borne so radical fruit.

the natural man. This was not a mere accidental survival of the traditional way of looking at things, it was confirmed by his own experience, and remained permanently an essential part of his system. The peace which he finally attained in the monastery at Erfurt was not the result of a recognition of the moral ability and independence of man. On the contrary, he reached it only when he became convinced of the utter vanity of human effort, and renounced all merit whatsoever."—A. C. McGiffert, *Protestant thought before Kant*, pp. 20-47.—See also PAPACY: 1517; 1517-1521; 1521-1522; 1522-1525; BIBLE, ENGLISH: 14th-16th centuries; LUTHERAN CHURCH: 1517-1852; GERMANY: 1552-1561; NETHERLANDS: 1521-1555; EDUCATION:

Modern: 15th-16th centuries: Relation of Renaissance and Reformation; 16th century: Luther, etc.

Melanchthon an aid to Luther.—After Luther posted his ninety-five theses in 1517, there "came a year or two of controversy and angry disputes; and just at the right time came Philip Melanchthon [1497-1560], from the University of Tübingen, to strengthen the staff of the Elector's new University at Wittenberg—a man deep in Hebrew and Greek, a half-disciple of Erasmus—already pointed out as likely to turn out 'Erasmus II.' of gentle, sensitive, and affectionate nature, the very opposite of Luther, but yet just what was wanted in another Wittenberg Reformer—to help in argument and width of learning; to be in fact to Luther, partly what Erasmus had been to Colet. In the weary and hot disputes which now came upon Luther, Melanchthon was always at his elbow, and helped him in his arguments; while the fame of Luther's manly conduct and Melanchthon's learning all helped to draw students to the University from far and near, and so to spread the views of the Wittenberg Reformers more and more widely."—F. Seebohm, *Era of the Protestant revolution*, p. 100.—See also PAPACY: 1517-1521; 1530-1531; EDUCATION: Modern: 16th century: Melanchthon.

Genevan reformers.—Calvin.—Spread of Calvinism.—"Luther was too national—too German—a reformer, to admit of his becoming the universal prophet of Protestantism all over the world. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, coming under German influence, did indeed become Lutheran; but the Protestants of France, England, Scotland, and America are not and never have been Lutherans. They came more under the influence of the Genevan reformers, of whom we must now speak. The chief of these was John Calvin (1509-1564). He was a Frenchman, born in 1509, and so was twenty-five years younger than Luther. He was educated at the universities of Paris and Orleans, adopted the Augustinian theology, as Wiclif, Huss, and Luther had done before him, and became a Protestant. In France heretics were burned, so he left his home to travel in Italy and Germany. In 1536, just as Erasmus was passing to his rest, he came to Basle, and began his public work as a Protestant reformer by publishing his 'Institutes of the Christian Religion.' It was these 'Institutes' of Calvin which gave rigid logical scholastic form to those Augustinian doctrines which . . . were held in common by most Protestant reformers from Wiclif to Luther, but which have been since called 'Calvinistic.' He differed from Luther both in theory and practice, on those points about which Zwingli and Luther had quarrelled. He rejected transubstantiation, which Luther did not altogether; and he founded his Church, like Zwingli, on the republican basis of the congregation rather than, as Luther did, on the civil power of the prince. He thus was in a sense more Protestant than Luther, though at that time only the Lutherans were called Protestants. Geneva soon became the sphere of his actions. It was in a state of anarchy, having rebelled from its bishop, who had been practically both ecclesiastical and civil ruler in one. Other French reformers had settled at Geneva before Calvin, and these shared his stern Protestant doctrines. But Calvin soon proved the most powerful preacher. Like Savonarola, he rebuked the vices of the people from the pulpit. At first this made him unpopular, and he was driven away; but in 1541 he was recalled by the people, and made practically both civil and religious dictator of the little state. He was in a sense Protestant Pope of Geneva, but deriving his power from the congregation. He and

his consistory held it their duty to force men to lead moral lives, go to church, give up dice, dancing, swearing, and so forth; and the council of the city supported this severe exercise of ecclesiastical power by their civil authority. Thus for twenty years Geneva was under the rule of Calvin and his fellow 'saints'; and an intolerant despotic rule it was. [See also GENEVA: 1536-1564.] Men were excommunicated for insulting Calvin, and sent to prison for mocking at his sermons. To impugn his doctrine was death or banishment. Hired spies watched people's conduct, and every unseemly word dropped in the street came to the ear of the elders. Children were liable to public punishment for insulting their parents, and men and women were drowned in the Rhone for sensual sins. Witchcraft and heresy were capital crimes; and one heretic, Servetus, was burned, with his books hung to his girdle, for honest difference of opinion from Calvin on an abstruse point of divinity. The same view of the functions of the Church which led him to exercise this severe discipline, led him also to control education. [See also EDUCATION: Modern: 16th century: Calvin.] He founded academies and schools; and when his system was applied to Scotland, as it afterwards was under John Knox, a school as well as a church was planted in every parish. . . . Whatever Calvin did at Geneva would have mattered little to the world if it had stopped there; but it did not. The historical importance of Calvin lies in the fact that he impressed upon Western Protestantism his rigid scholastic creed and his views of ecclesiastical discipline. The Protestants of France, called Huguenots, were and are mainly the offspring of Calvinism. [See also FRANCE: 1550-1561.] John Knox, the reformer of Scotland, and the Scotch Covenanters, were also disciples of Calvin; and so Scotch Protestantism received its impress from Geneva. The Puritans of England were also Calvinists. Cromwell was a Calvinist, and the rule of his 'saints' was on the Geneva model. The Pilgrim Fathers took with them from England to the New England across the Atlantic the Calvinistic creed, and, alas! its intolerance too. So engrained was it in their theological mind that, even though themselves fleeing from persecution, they themselves persecuted in the land of their refuge. Under the rule of the Boston saints there was as little religious liberty as under the rule of Calvin at Geneva. Nevertheless, the offspring of the Geneva school of reform deserve well of history. However narrow and hard in their creed and Puritanic in their manners, they were men of a sturdy Spartan type, ready to bear any amount of persecution and to push through any difficulties, democratic in their spirit and aggressive in their zeal. The banishment of the Huguenots from France took away the backbone of her religious life. Scotland would not be what she is but for Knox and his parish schools. England could not afford to lose the Puritan blood which mixes in her veins. New England owes a rich inheritance of stern virtues to her 'Pilgrim Fathers.'—F. Seebohm, *Era of the Protestant revolution*, pp. 106-109.—See also METHODIST CHURCH; PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES: Theory of origin; PURITANS: 1620-1660.

Catholic Reformation, Jesuits and Council of Trent.—"One of the results of the Protestant revolution was the reform of the Catholic Church itself. We ought never to forget that the Roman Catholic Church of our own times is, in fact, a reformed Church as well as the Protestant Churches. . . . Good men of all parties had for long seen the necessity of a practical reform in the morals of the pope, clergy, and monks. . . . The necessity was

recognised in high quarters. Ferdinand and Isabella's great minister, Cardinal Ximenes, and the English ministers, Cardinal Morton and Cardinal Wolsey—three cardinals all of great power and undoubted loyalty to Rome—even went so far as to get bulls from the Pope, authorising them to visit and reform the monasteries. All good men cried out against the crimes of such a pope as Alexander VI. And it is not right to charge the Catholic Church wholesale with these crimes any more than it would be to charge the English nation with the matrimonial sins of Henry VIII. There was so strong a feeling all through the Church against these scandals that, after what had happened, they were not likely to occur again. The popes who came after Alexander VI. were not angels, but they were outwardly more decent than he, at all events. Julius II. . . . was the fighting pope. The scandal in his case was his lust of war and the extension of the Papal territory. Leo X. cared more for art and literature than for war, but he, too, had his faults, and the scandal in his case was a doubt whether, after all, he really believed in Christianity. Adrian VI. was an earnest and stern moral reformer—too stern for the times—and his reign was too short to produce much result. Clement VII. was a better man than many, though of blundering politics, letting down the Papal power, and becoming at last the prisoner and the tool of his Spanish conqueror, Charles V. All this while there were men in Italy of earnest Christian feeling who, like the Oxford reformers, were men of the new school on the one hand, and opposed to the semi-pagan scepticism of the mere 'humanists' of Italy on the other hand. These men longed for reform, not only in morals but also in doctrine. They wanted religion to be made a thing of the heart, that the gross superstition connected with indulgences and other abuses should be set aside, and some of them held the Augustinian doctrine of justification by faith. This gave them a sort of sympathy even with Luther, and they wanted such a reform of the Church as they hoped would win back the Protestants into her fold. Juan de Valdez, brother of Charles V.'s secretary, . . . was one of them. Reginald Pole (who opposed Henry VIII.'s revolt from Rome so strongly) and Gaspar Contarini (a Venetian nobleman of the highest character and influence in court circles) were of their number. They had among them eloquent preachers and ladies of rank, fortune, and beauty. They held together and exerted much influence, and there was a time when they seemed to be not without chance of success as mediators between the extreme Catholic and Protestant parties. Paul III. became pope in 1534, and the hopes of the reform party were raised by his making Pole and Contarini and some others of their friends cardinals. These men were on the most friendly terms with Erasmus, who in his old age was urging concord on religious parties and purity on the Church. It was rumoured that Erasmus himself was to be made a cardinal, and it was said that a red hat was on the way to Bishop Fisher when he was executed by Henry VIII. It was some of these and other signs of the times which cheered Sir Thomas More in his prison with the belief that better days were coming, that there was at least some chance of a reconciliation with the Protestants, and a healing of the schism by which the Church was rent. The prospect was for the moment promising. Paul III. wrote to Erasmus, telling him that he intended to call a council (as Erasmus had urged his predecessors to do) and asking for his influence and help both before and in the council. But things moved slowly. Cardinal Contarini was more zealous for a council than the

Pope, who was only half-inclined to it, fearing lest it might abridge his power. At length in 1541—five years after the death of Erasmus—the Pope deputed Contarini to meet the Protestants at the Diet of Ratisbon, and to try whether a reconciliation could be arranged with them. He was met by the gentle Melancthon (Luther distrusting the whole thing and keeping away), and they agreed upon the doctrine of justification by faith as the basis of reunion. For a moment a peace seemed within reach. But alas! other motives came in on the Pope's side. Francis I. urged upon him that concord and unity in Germany would make the Emperor—their common enemy—dangerously strong; and so Paul III. drew back. On the other side, Luther scented mischief in any peace with Rome. It was too good to be true; and he even hinted that the devil was somewhere and somehow at work in it. So everything was left over for settlement at the council which now at length the Pope was to convene—the famous Council of Trent. [See also PAPACY: 1534-1540; 1537-1503.] But meanwhile another power came upon the stage which was destined to take the reins out of the hands of the Italian mediating reformers, to close the door for reconciliation for ever, and to reform what was left of the Catholic Church on the narrow basis of reaction. . . . Ignatius Loyola, a young Spanish knight of noble family, . . . had perfected his plan—a soldier's plan—to found a religious army, perfect in discipline, in every soldier of which should be absolute devotion to one end, absolute obedience to his superior, with no human ties to hinder and no objects to divert him from the service required. It was in fact to be a new monastic order, and to be called the Society of Jesus. . . . While Loyola was studying at the university he came in contact with . . . [Francis Xavier]. Xavier became a disciple of Loyola; rivalled him in austerities, and ere long became the missionary of the Society, carrying his cross, breviary and wallet to India and the Indian Isles, and even to Japan and China, till at last he laid down his life after eleven long years of heroic labour. . . . Of such stuff were the first Jesuits made—a type of human nature which, rising up as it did just then, was of immense import to the future of the Catholic Church. It was in truth a reaction from the looseness both of morals and creed which had marked the recent condition of the Church. These men were pious, earnest, and devoted to the Church, because their minds were cast in a mould which allowed them still to believe in her pretensions. They had all the piety, fervour, energy, and boldness of the Protestant Reformers, but their reform took another direction. Instead of going back to St. Augustine as their exponent of the Bible, they took . . . St. Francis and the mediæval saints as their models, and rested with absolute faith on the authority of the mediæval Church. To reform the Catholic Church to mediæval standards by the formation of a new monastic order, having for its cornerstone the absolute surrender of free enquiry and free thought, and absolute obedience to supreme ecclesiastical authority—this was the project of Loyola. It was not abortive. Before its founder died he had succeeded in founding more than a hundred Jesuit colleges or houses for training Jesuits, and an immense number of educational establishments under their influence. He had many thousands of Jesuits in the rank and file of his order. He had divided Europe, India, Africa, and Brazil into twelve Jesuit provinces, in each of which he had his Jesuit officer, whilst he, their general, residing at Rome, wielded an influence over the world rivaling, if it did not exceed in power, that

of popes and kings. Its very success was the cause of its ultimate doom. The nations of Europe, after the experience of some generations, found it to interfere with their national freedom, as they had done the old ecclesiastical empire of Rome. They ultimately banished the Jesuits because of their power and because their presence and their plots endangered the safety of the state. But as yet the Society of Jesus was young, and had its work before it. The Order received Papal sanction in 1540. . . . The Council of Trent was opened in 1545. Cardinal Contarini, who had been the pope's confidant in matters relating to the Council, died before it assembled. But Cardinal Pole, Contarini the younger, and others of the mediating party, were members of the Council. They took the same line as at Ratisbon, and urged the doctrine of justification by faith as common Christian ground. But the Jesuits in the Council, under the instructions of Loyola, opposed it with all their might. The dispute was long and hot. . . . The Jesuits prevailed, and carried the decision of the Council their own way. Pole, on the plea of ill health, had left the Council, and the younger Contarini followed his example. It was clear there was to be no reconciliation. The party of reaction had gained the day. No sooner had the party of reaction taken the lead than Cardinal Caraffa (afterwards Pope Paul IV.) obtained powers to introduce into Rome the Inquisition—that terrible tribunal of persecution which in Spain had slain and banished so many Moors, Jews, and heretics under the sanction of the zeal of Queen Isabella. Persecution began, and some of the members of the mediating party were among its first victims. This was the work of the Council of Trent at its early sessions. Then, owing to a disagreement between the Pope and Charles V., it was adjourned for some years. Paul III. died, and two succeeding popes, before it really got to work again to any purpose under Paul IV. This was in 1555, the year in which, after the long struggle between Charles V. and Germany, the peace of Augsburg was come to, by which the revolt of the Protestant princes from Rome was first legally recognised as a thing which must be. The Council of Trent had now in its later sessions to reorganise what was left of the Catholic Church. It could not, and did not try to undo the revolts. The Jesuits were the ruling power. Reaction was the order of the day. Clerical abuses were corrected, and some sort of decency enforced. Provisions were made for the education of priests and for their devotion in future to active duties. But in points of doctrine there was reaction instead of concession. The divine authority of the Pope was confirmed. The creed of the Church was laid down once for all in rigid statements, which henceforth must be swallowed by the faithful. Finally, the Inquisition, imported from Spain, was extended to other countries, and charged with the suppression of heretical doctrines. In a word, the rule of the ecclesiastical empire was strengthened, and the bonds of the scholastic system tightened; but not for Christendom—only for those nations who still acknowledged the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome. The Church was thus both reformed and narrowed by the decrees of the Council of Trent. Henceforth it tolerated within its fold neither the old diversity of doctrine on the one hand, nor the old laxity of morals on the other hand, and henceforth it was by no means coextensive with Western Christendom, as it once had been.”—F. Seebohm, *Era of the Protestant revolution*, pp. 190-203, 205-208.—See also JESUITS; EDUCATION: Modern: 16th-17th centuries: Jesuit teaching, etc.

Summary of European thought between medi-

eval and modern times.—Influence of Francis Bacon.—Relation of the Renaissance to modern period.—“The decay of scholasticism was brought about by the changing spirit of the new age. It collapsed simply because it was hopelessly out of harmony with the fresh intellectual conditions which resulted from the movements of the Renaissance as a whole. Humanism was naturally against it, and both directly, by its opposition to Roman theology, and indirectly, by its rupture with authority, the Protestant Reformation tended to bring it into disrepute. Incidentally, it may be remarked, the Platonism which was so important an outgrowth from the revival of classical learning was regarded as a counterblast to the Aristotelianism of the mediæval thinkers, and therefore helped to break down the intellectual tyranny of the schools. But the great enemy of scholasticism was, of course, the development of natural science. This was fatal to the claims and mental habits of the old philosophers, because it liberated thought from dogma, brought the mind of man back to nature and reality, and substituted the scientific method of inquiry for the purely syllogistic processes which had hitherto been in vogue. One name stands out supreme in this great chapter in the history of the Renaissance. It is the name of Francis Bacon [1561-1626]. Due regard being had to the work which other men had done before him or were doing at the same time, Bacon may still be considered as epoch-maker and pioneer. He more than any other thinker represents the transition from mediæval to modern thought. He chiefly was instrumental in turning philosophic effort from the barren wastes of theological and metaphysical speculation into the fruitful field of physical fact. To him in the main belongs the signal honour of overthrowing the old a priorism and establishing the inductive method in its stead. In the doctrines which he promulgated concerning man's relations with nature and the proper means of finding truth, we may mark the culmination of the entire movement of the Renaissance on its purely intellectual side. . . . Fired by the splendid ambition of making knowledge at once more progressive and more practical, Bacon set out to indicate his new instrument in science. That instrument, which is explained in detail in the ‘*Novum Organum*,’ is defined by the word induction.”—W. H. Hudson, *Story of the Renaissance*, pp. 135-136, 141.—“The Renaissance was far more than a revival of letters and art, though that was its most patent manifestation. It was, ‘in the largest sense of the term, the whole process of transition in Europe from the mediæval to the modern order’ (Sir Richard Jebb). It deprived the Empire and Papacy of their pre-eminence. Their authority ceased to be international and became local and restricted. Europe resolved itself into national units, and national churches and literatures emerged. The social order of the Middle Ages also hastened to its decline; for commerce and industry placed the merchant by the side of the knight-at-arms and land-owner. And with the social decay of Feudalism went a transformation of the political conditions under which it had flourished. It began to be held that government exists primarily in the interests of the governed. The history of England in the seventeenth century exemplifies that conception in practice. Machiavelli's *The Prince* and Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* are earlier manifestations of it in theory. Enormously stimulating also were the maritime and scientific discoveries of the period. The employment of the compass and the astrolabe facilitated maritime adventure, and led to the finding of a New World across the Atlantic, and to an enormous

extension of geographical knowledge. The discovery of gunpowder revolutionised the art of war and broke up medieval society. The invention of printing widened the influence of literature and knowledge. The astronomical discovery of Copernicus, which revealed the earth to be but one of many satellites of the sun, undermined a vast structure of superstition. . . . Underlying humanism and the revived study of classical literature was a new mental attitude, which was the motive force of the Renaissance and of the revolution accomplished by it. The dead authors were read as manifestations of a habit of mind, and independent outlook on life and the universe, which were absent from medieval literature. For centuries man's intellect had been in bondage to the Church, and had exercised itself only within the formulas which clerical authority sanctioned. But in the Greek and Roman authors the humanists found a literature in which the writer expressed his thoughts freely and looked out on the world with his own eyes, a characteristic of the classics which the humanists found vastly engaging. They adopted it to view their own age, and found themselves forthwith in conflict with its religion, science, and philosophy. The Renaissance manifested itself in different ways. In Central and Northern Europe it supported the religious upheaval which we call the Reformation. In Spain and Portugal is displayed itself in maritime and geographical activity. Everywhere it transformed art, and in Italy that was its preeminent and particular work. It was natural that such should be the case; for Italy could still look upon the monuments of her ancient glory, while her language was the offspring of that which Virgil, Horace, and Cicero spoke. She possessed also, to a greater degree than elsewhere in Europe, a wealthy and leisured class, able to devote itself and its means to the cause of art and letters. In particular, the Medici of Florence were generous patrons of humanism, and Popes, such as Leo X, the friend of Raffaele, supported a movement whose sinister influence on the Church they could not foresee."—C. S. Terry, *Short history of Europe*, pp. 2-4.

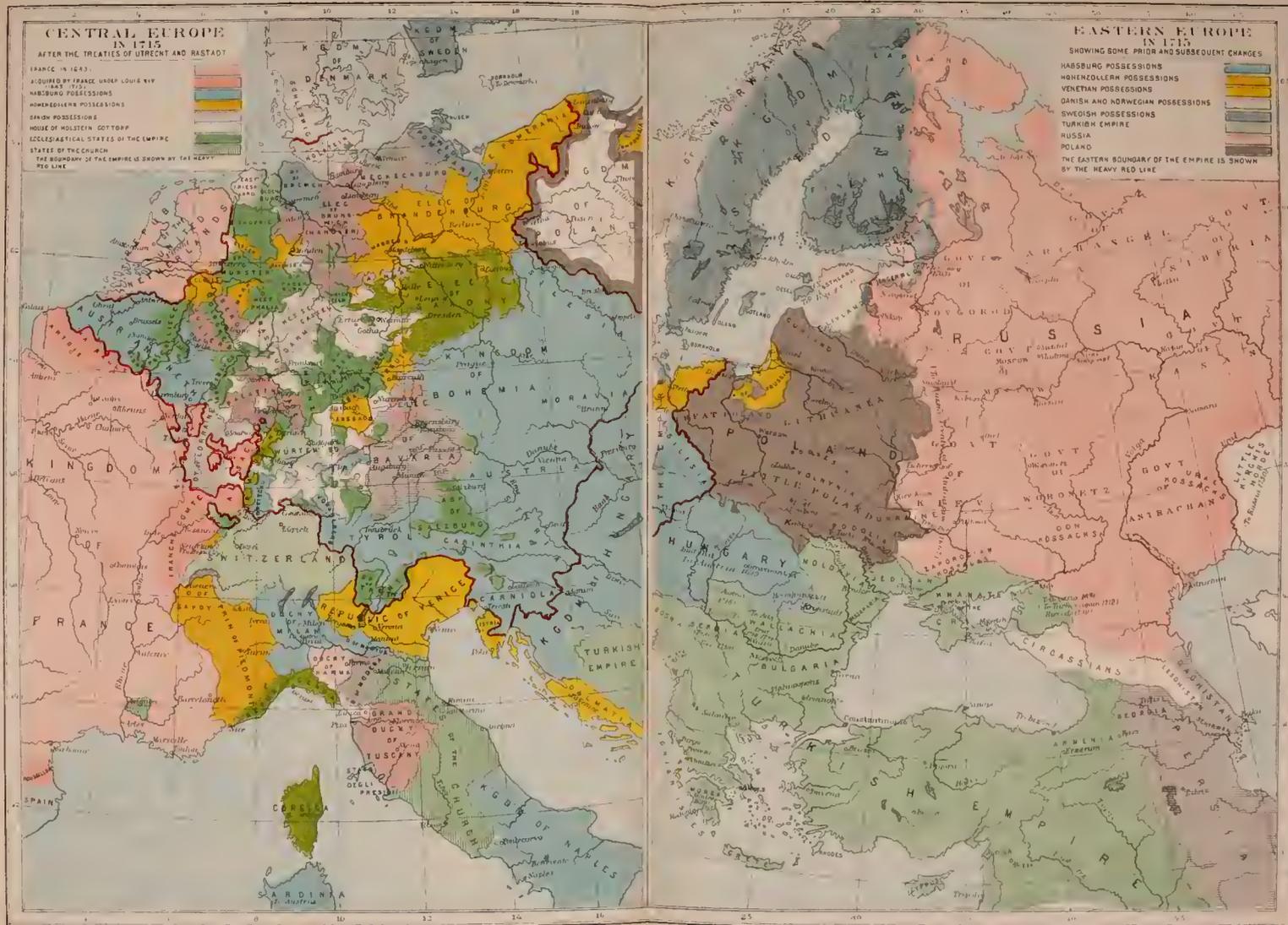
MODERN

Expansion of Europe.—Introductory résumé.—Effects of the era of discovery.—World commerce, world finance, world politics and wars.—"Europe today is no more than a portion of the 'European world.' The earth, almost in its entirety, is European in outlook, spirit and accomplishment. . . . The vast field of action which the European had made his own comprises two distinct areas: one inhabited by aboriginal folk having little or no civilization at all comparable with that of Europe, and the other occupied by certain peoples of Asia who had attained much earlier than the Europeans themselves a degree of civilization not only comparable with, but in some respects quite superior to, that which had been evolved in Europe. It is the expansion of Europe which has brought face to face the two great centres of culture that for many a century had looked in opposite directions. East and West have thus been joined in close and intimate contact with extraordinary results for both. The expansion of Europe may be summarized to mean simply, that Europe has borne its civilization to other parts of the world, and has brought back a variety of things that have altered its life and thought at home. Out of the New Worlds in the West and East the achievements of the European have brought forth a New Europe that has continued to speak the languages and cherish the traditions and customs of the

former home, that has sought to be freer, richer, more tolerant, less tied to ancient prejudices, more open to progress, and that has served accordingly to influence Old Europe in every phase of its existence. New things have been found, new forms of society created, new kinds of industry devised, new fields of commerce opened up, new opportunities for financial operations discovered, new ideas and new departments of knowledge made manifest and new concepts of national and international welfare evolved, all of which could not fail profoundly to affect Europe itself. Ancient civilizations aroused and energized, primitive beliefs and practices cast into modern moulds by the impact of the European, have yielded to him in return many a treasure, material and mental, by which his life and thought have become vastly enriched and diversified. From all that expansion has evoked in spirit and attainment—the zest of enterprise, eagerness for adventure, fame, wealth, new scenes and new homes, new places on the earth where a greater comfort and happiness might be assured, the introduction of the unknown and an increased use of the known—from its contact, in a word, with new lands, and new peoples in America, Asia, Africa and the isles of the sea, Europe has derived new impulses and new developments. With regard to the effects of expansion on the character and conditions of industry in Europe, while it may readily be granted that the products of lands and peoples overseas have served to widen the range of European manufactures and their employment in various arts and trades and, also, to call forth a higher degree of aptitude, skill and ingenuity on the part of European labor, these results in numerous cases have been dependent upon the possession at home of certain natural resources, such as coal and iron. This brings up the subject of the transcendent industrial changes that have taken place in Europe since the middle of the eighteenth century. The migration of Europeans who had opened up ocean highways to the uttermost parts of the earth has been followed by an industrial revolution in Europe, assuring the application on an enormous scale of resources long since available there but never used to the full extent of their potentiality. No one, probably, would deny that what is called the Commercial Revolution had a certain amount of influence on what may well be regarded as supplying the turning-point from 'modern' to 'contemporaneous' history. The real crux of the matter is, how far and in what respects the Industrial Revolution was the consequence of forces originating beyond the bounds of Europe, set in motion by Europeans and reacting upon Europe itself. . . . Another important feature of the transformation that has thus come about is the physical change in the centres of European commercial importance and the shift in location of the formative power wielded by trade over human affairs. From countries bordering the Mediterranean and the Baltic, which in medieval times enjoyed a practically absolute control of waterborne traffic, the dominance, vastly magnified, has passed westward to lands that face directly on the Atlantic or its immediate backwaters. It was not much before the nineteenth century that the ultimate effects of overseas trade became very distinctly perceptible. Indeed, it is only since the beginning of the age of steam navigation, at a time when European dependencies ranged well round the world, when new European nations had arisen out of vast regions once tenanted by savage or barbarous peoples, when the ancient civilizations of the Orient had been rendered thoroughly accessible to European traffic and when almost every portion of the earth had been brought into a regularity of com-

mercial intercourse, that the eventual consequences of the discovery which took place in the late fifteenth century have been made altogether apparent. Another great transformation in European conditions is that which has been accomplished by the financial revolution resulting from access to mines of the precious metals in lands beyond the sea. Emerging slowly at first and operating for some time in hardly perceptible fashion, it has come to alter profoundly the entire structure of economic life on the continent of Europe. But, as in the case of its fellow in the commercial field, its antecedent relation to the Industrial Revolution stands in need of a much fuller investigation than has been accorded it thus far. . . . From the sixteenth century onward, treasure found in America, Africa and Australia has served not only to replenish, but to fill to overflowing, the coffers of a medieval Europe which had been depleted by the withdrawal from circulation of masses of the precious metals and their conversion into ecclesiastical vessels and vestments, by the hoarding of them in cellars of manor-houses and in the carefully hidden strong-boxes of money-lenders and by exportation to an Orient that was accustomed to sell much and buy little. How great the actual amount has been will never be determined with anything like absolute certainty; but whatever it may have been, the fact in itself has far less importance than the actual effects upon the monetary situation. The consequences of the influx of the precious metals into Europe may be examined from numerous points of view. What had been largely a barter economy, for example, has been replaced by a money economy, upsetting completely the relations earlier existent between money and commodities. The financial revolution, moreover, has brought on tremendous fluctuations in the value of money and hence in prices, along with an inevitable disarrangement of the pecuniary standards of living. As in the case of the commercial revolution, the advantages or disadvantages of the process have accrued mainly to the countries of western Europe that have engaged most actively in the work of expansion. The power of the purse, wielded in medieval times by the lands of central Europe, has passed westward to those along the Atlantic seaboard. In consequence of their achievements overseas, it is they that have erected great stock exchanges and banks, that have received the strongest incentives to speculation, that have been afforded the most abundant opportunities for taxation. It is the nations of western Europe, also, that have been most enabled to spend vast sums for dynastic or national purposes, to equip huge armies and fleets, to construct magnificent buildings, to reward the genius of the artist and with their enormous wealth to do in general many things that the limited means of the period before the age of expansion had not permitted. They have had, it is true, to bear the burdens of dependencies which yield more deficits than revenues; but what they have gained in other respects makes the loss quite endurable. The origin of most of the international struggles that have arisen since the sixteenth century may be attributed in greater or less degree to questions concerned with interests on the sea and overseas. Unwillingness to permit any nation to dominate the common highway of mankind, commercial and colonial rivalry, resentment over an inequitable distribution of territorial dependencies and of opportunities for access on equal terms to world markets, the desire to possess extra-European sources of wealth or strength in general—all have lain at the root of these struggles. Sentiments or motives of this sort have prevented the establishment of an effective system of

international supervision and control over them, which might make cooperation rather than competition, the principle of belief and practice. The so-called 'double wars,' i. e., wars at once European and extra-European in their field of action, which have involved the successive elimination of national competitors until one alone should arise supreme on the seas and overseas and determine the balance of power for the continent, have had as a powerful cause the collision of interest provoked by expansion. European revolutions accordingly, have become world revolutions, and European conflicts have had to widen their scope over the earth. The expansion of Europe has created world politics with all the ensuing consequences for good and evil to Europe itself. Even the common opinion entertained by one European people about another has often been formed as a result of what has been done by either or both of them in activities overseas."—W. R. Shepherd, *Expansion of Europe (Political Science Quarterly, Mar., 1919, pp. 44-45, June, 1919, pp. 213-214, 219-222, Sept., 1919, pp. 406-407)*.—"The expansion of Europe began four hundred years ago with Columbus and Vasco da Gama, and before the end of the eighteenth century North and South America were already committed to the domination of peoples of European stock, the British were masters of a large part of India, and the Russian Empire reached a long arm across Siberia to the Pacific. . . . The question of expansion takes us beyond the geographical bounds of Europe, but we may warrantably consider it in its reaction on the parent continent. The conflict between expanding empires has been a familiar danger for ages. Even in modern times it is a common observation that the series of wars between France and England, the second Hundred Years' War as Seeley called it, from 1689 to 1815, became a duel for empire with mastery in America and India as the prize of the victor. The wars of 1854-6 and 1877-8 were due to Russia's expansion towards Constantinople; the nervous tension between Russia and Britain during the latter half of the nineteenth century was due to anticipated conflict in Asia; the war between Russia and Japan in 1904-5 was directly due to expansion and collision; and the series of crises that culminated in the outbreak of war in 1914 largely turned on rival ambitions and jealousies in the Balkans, Asia and North Africa. At the opening of the twentieth century peoples of European stock so largely controlled the rest of the world that further expansion almost inevitably meant war. The British flag flew over all of Australia, all of India, half of North America, a large part of south and central Africa, and islands and coasts beyond number. France was the mistress of Madagascar, Siam, and a huge dependency in north-west Africa. . . . Russia dominated north and central Asia."—C. F. Lavell, *Reconstruction and national life, pp. 1, 9-10*.—"Enterprise on the oceans and in distant lands has imparted an increased and far more general stimulus to all national concerns than had ever existed before. It has imbued national consciousness with tremendous vitality, encouraging it to broaden out into a spirit of imperialism which knows no bounds. It has created or strengthened antipathies among nations. Maritime and colonial ventures, the contact growing ever more intimate with non-European lands and peoples, have been of incalculable value for political purposes. As ambitions have been successively fostered by new acquisitions, the greater has become the desire for still more power."—W. R. Shepherd, *Expansion of Europe (Political Science Quarterly, Sept., 1919, p. 407)*.—See COMMERCE: Era of geographical expansion.



Rise of the nation-state in European polity.—Genesis of modern diplomacy.—Conception of international politics as the dealings of "Powers."—Attribution of personality to a power.—"England, . . . stood from the first outside the unified and unifying influence which, throughout the Middle Ages, moulded the life and decided the destinies of her continental neighbours. To this, among other reasons, must be attributed the 'precocious sense' of national identity and national unity which, in the view of foreign commentators upon English institutions, was the most characteristic and differentiating feature of medieval England. The people of this country attained nationhood at least three centuries before the people of any other country in western Europe. But as it takes two people to make a quarrel, so it seems to demand at least two nations to render possible an 'international' system. So long as the Empire and the Papacy retained any real political effectiveness the modern States-system could be nothing more than embryonic. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, the principle of Nationality was making rapid progress in two at least of the great States of Western Europe, France and Spain. In France unity was gradually achieved through the convergent operation of various forces. First and most important was the growing strength of the Crown. The monarchy made France. Out of a loosely-compacted bundle of feudal duchies and counties the Crown created a compact, coherent, and centralized State. The Crown was powerfully assisted in the completion of its task on the one hand by its alliance with the Church; on the other, by the development of a system of law and of legal procedure based upon the Justinian code. Of that legal system the Parliament of Paris was the focus and centre, and it would be difficult to over-estimate the part played in the unification of France by this great judicial institution. Hardly less important, in the long run, was the prolonged contest with England, known as the 'Hundred Years' War.' That war inflicted upon France indescribable sufferings, but by the time it was ended France was all but made. The contest with Charles the Bold of Burgundy continued and almost completed the process after the victory of Louis XI. Brittany alone of all the great duchies of medieval France remained independent, and in 1491, by the marriage of the young Duchess Anne with Charles VIII of France, Brittany was absorbed into the kingdom. At last France was able to take its place in the European polity as a Nation-State. If medieval France was a bundle of feudal duchies and counties, medieval Spain was a congeries of kingdoms. What the Hundred Years' War did for France was done for Spain by the secular crusade against the Moors. The gradual absorption of the smaller kingdoms by the monarchies of Aragon and Castile, the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile, the final expulsion of the Moors, and the conquest of Granada practically completed the consolidation of the peninsula, and in 1516 Charles I (afterwards the Emperor Charles V) succeeded to a united Crown. The unification—substantially simultaneous—of the French and Spanish kingdoms announced to Europe the passing of the centralized system of the Middle Ages, and the advent of a new era, distinguished by the emergence of a number of Nation-States, and by the recognition of their complete independence. The new era dawned at the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century; the process was not completed until nearly the end of the nineteenth. Not until the decade 1870-80 was continental Europe exhaustively parcelled out among independent

States, based for the most part upon the recognition of the national idea. France, Spain, and the United Provinces emerged as Nation-States in the course of the sixteenth century; modern 'Austria' came to the birth with the virtual death of the medieval Empire at the Treaty of Westphalia (1648); a unified and self-conscious Russia was brought into being by the genius of Peter the Great, early in the eighteenth century; the birth of Prussia, due to the industry and persistence of the Hohenzollern Electors of Brandenburg, was almost coincident with that of Russia. But the rapid multiplication of Nation-States came only with the nineteenth century. Belgium as a Nation-State dates from 1830; Greece from the same time; while the Balkan States, Roumania, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro, gradually re-emerged from the superimposed dominion of the Ottoman Empire between 1850 and 1878. From the same period must be dated the birth of still greater Nation-States. The Italian *Risorgimento*, originating, as Mazzini admitted, in the Napoleonic occupation, stimulated by the sporadic revolutions of 1848, helped on, a further stage, by the calculating intervention of Napoleon III in 1859, brought near to fruition by the wise statesmanship and adroit diplomacy of Cavour and Victor Emmanuel, finally attained its zenith in 1870-1. In the same year, Bismarck, with the help of Roon and Moltke, completed the fabric of a united Germany.

"This catalogic summary may suffice to suggest that the European polity, regarded as a congeries of independent Nation-States, is the resultant of an evolutionary process of relatively recent date. Nor has the process escaped serious criticism directed against it from widely divergent standpoints. . . . In this new order of things modern diplomacy had its genesis. In the Middle Ages there had been much coming and going of special envoys on special missions, but a permanent embassy in a foreign State—apart, of course, from the Legatine system of the Papacy—was a thing unknown to medieval Europe; only gradually was the diplomatic system, as we know it, defined and elaborated. Hardly, however, had the old landmarks disappeared and the new States-system begun to emerge, before men set themselves to devise a new machinery for the regulation of international intercourse. Throughout the greater part of the sixteenth century Habsburg and Valois strove in internecine rivalry. Borrowing an idea familiar to medieval Italy, a distracted Europe sought more satisfactory and permanent solutions than that afforded by the balance of power."—J. A. R. Marriott, *European commonwealth*, pp. 27-30, 32.—Statesmen of the seventeenth century and after thought they had found this solution in the balance of power by the "powers," as opposed to a balance of power of monarchs. "Beneath the sway of the grand monarchs, a complex of notions and traditions was being woven as a net is woven, to catch and entangle men's minds, the conception of international politics not as a matter of dealings between princes, but as a matter of dealings between a kind of immortal Beings, the Powers. But what remained much more steadfast were the secretariats of the foreign ministries and the ideas of people who wrote of state concerns. So we find that the prince gradually became less important in men's minds than the 'power' of which he was the head. We begin to read less and less of the schemes and ambitions of King This or That, and more of the 'Designs of France' or the 'Ambitions of Prussia.' In an age when religious faith was declining, we find men displaying a new and vivid belief in the reality of these personifications. These vast vague phan-

toms, the 'powers,' crept insensibly into European political thought, until in the later eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries they dominated it entirely. To this day they dominate it. In practical reality Europe . . . has given herself up altogether to the worship of this strange state mythology. To these sovereign deities, to the unity of 'Italy,' to the hegemony of 'Prussia,' to the glory of 'France,' and the destinies of 'Russia,' she has sacrificed many generations of possible unity, peace, and prosperity and the lives of millions of men."—H. G. Wells, *Outline of History*, v. 2, pp. 243, 244.

ALSO IN: P. B. Potter, *Introduction to the study of international organization*.

Rise of the middle classes.—Supremacy of the first and second estates in the Middle Ages.—Effect of the Renaissance on the third estate.—Appearance of a wealthy merchant class at the beginning of modern times.—Political power of middle class.—French Revolution in the eighteenth century.—A modern writer separates medieval society into three divisions: the prayers, the fighters, the workers—in other words the church, the nobles and the serfs. Each of these divisions was supposed to work for the good of all; the fighting men to keep the public peace; the workers to provide for the welfare of all; while the church looked after the spiritual needs of the whole people. Shortly the militant arm of the feudal system became of much greater importance than the workers. The church, while it stood apart, also became essentially part of the feudal system by reason of its great possessions and, at the same time the clergy, as possessors and guardians of all the learning of the time, assumed an immense amount of political importance in addition to the ascendancy given to them by their spiritual authority and the supernatural powers ascribed to them. Thus the learned and the powerful held the highest place, while the dull, plodding boers, who tilled the land, were held down by the superincumbent weight of those above them. Such a state of things was almost inevitable. "There was danger always and everywhere. If rival nobles were not fighting one another, there were foreign invaders of some kind devastating the country, bent on robbing, maltreating and enslaving the people whom they found in towns and villages and monasteries."—J. H. Robinson, *Medieval and modern times*, p. 92.—For these people there was no escape save under the protection of some powerful noble whether of the church or a layman, who would fight his battles, and whom in return he would pay with all he had—the produce of his farm, or the labor of his hands. "Feudalism is marked by the rendering of certain personal services where the modern world makes money payments. The Middle Ages were without a sufficient supply of coined money. . . . There was little capital in the Middle Ages, and when capital began to be a force it was always hostile to feudalism. . . . The unit and base of feudal society was everywhere the landed estate. . . . In the Middle Ages ownership of land gave most of the rights which we associate with sovereignty. The feudal lord could tax those who lived on his land; he could try them in his courts. Without the sovereignty of the landowner over his dependents feudalism could not have existed. . . . The serfs were the largest and most important class of those who worked upon the land, though free labourers were not unknown. It is difficult to generalize about the serf's condition, for it varied from time to time and from place to place. In one respect the serf was superior to the modern wage earner. He had security of tenure. Custom rather than law forbade the feudal noble to deprive him

of his cabin and the land which belonged to it, and the principle of heredity, which was so general in the Middle Ages, assured the descent of the serf's property from father to son. The serf must often have had a life of security and some comfort; but he could never escape from complete dependence upon his lord. At every turn he had to contribute to the well-being of his master. . . . Further, for any quarrel with his fellows or any dispute with his master, he had to appear in his master's court, there to be tried according to the forms laid down by custom, and to pay the fees demanded."—A. J. Grant, *History of Europe*, pp. 337-339.—In most of the European countries this third class had but little power of political expression, or possibility of self-government. There were exceptions of course, and some of these found their way upward through the church to honor and power. By the twelfth century, this impasse in which feudal society had been held began to break. 'One blow after another was leveled at feudalism. "The increased use of money in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which came with the awakening trade and industry, tended to break up the manor. The old habit of trading one thing for another without the intervention of money began to disappear. As time went on, neither the lord nor the serf was satisfied with the old system, which had answered well enough in the time of Charlemagne. The serfs, on the one hand, began to obtain money by the sale of their products in the markets of neighboring towns. They finally found it more profitable to pay the lord a certain sum instead of working for him, for they could then turn their whole attention to their own farms. The landlords, on the other hand, found it to their advantage to accept money in place of the services of their tenants. With this money the landlord could hire laborers to cultivate his fields and could buy the luxuries which were brought to his notice as commerce increased. So it came about that the lords gradually gave up their control over the peasants, and there was no longer very much difference between the serf and the freeman who paid a regular rent for his land. A serf might also gain his liberty by running away from his manor to a town. If he remained undiscovered, or was unclaimed by his lord, for a year and a day, he became a freeman."—J. H. Robinson, *Medieval and modern times*, p. 102.

With the breaking up of the political power of the feudal system, and the appearance of a well defined artisan class, the third estate began to hold up its head. With the introduction of printing, knowledge became more generally diffused, and ceased to be a monopoly of the clergy; wealth became more general; the merchant class began to rise, chiefly from the artisan class, and thus the great middle class came into being. "This Middle Class evolved. It was no sudden creation. At first the employer worked with his men, mixing with them daily, hardly distinguishable from them in his circumstances. The progress of industry and commerce, however, brought a more complex, a more highly organized industrial system; and as the change took place, the gulf between employer and employed widened, till at length they had little or nothing in common beyond the contract between them. . . . The growing wealth of the merchant quickly found an outlet in a flood of secondary wants, which tended ever to grow with the means of gratifying them. They were not, as with the noble, war and the chase. . . . His faculties were devoted to commerce. Its pursuit filled his mind; and one of his chief pleasures came to be the market, as the noble's had come to be the hunting-

field, with the additional advantage that that species of recreation tended to increase instead of scattering his wealth. The merchant also yielded to the desire for display; although that desire was strictly subordinated to his commercial interests. He built for himself a great house, and filled it with servants, and articles of use or ornament drawn from all quarters of the globe. The hospitality of the noble in the country found a counterpart in the banquets of the city. The gorgeous apparel of the court was rivalled by the extravagant and costly dress of the merchant's wife and household. . . . The rise of a middle class possessing wealth, and seeking gratification from it, led to progress in the arts and sciences. As their ships carried back reports from all quarters of the globe, and brought to the knowledge of the people the habits and traditions, the ideas and achievements of other nations, so this new stimulus to thought brought into existence a class of writers and thinkers who built up between them a literature in which was reflected every side of human character and experience. Thought provokes thought; and the exercise of the mental faculties brings to them additional power and strength. The towns were further distinguished from the country by this new mental life; and in the less martial times, the Court of the Sovereign became as famous for the luxurious fancies of its poets, as for the valour and pride of its knights. The pen, however, proved itself in the long run more powerful than the sword."—A. Hook, *Humanity and its problems*, pp. 181-184.—From this new middle class have come the larger number of the great thinkers to whom we owe not only almost all the new learning of the Renaissance, but also the beginning of the new science of modern times. In time, the middle class became of immense political importance. In the city republics of Italy, and the city states of Germany, it reached supreme power, and created a new aristocracy. In France, it produced the nobility of the robe. In the Netherlands, the sturdy burghers withstood the power of Spain. In England, where the middle class was partly rural under the influence of religion, combined with love of freedom, it crossed the Atlantic to found a new nation; at home it overthrew the monarchy, brought it back again, and finally changed the dynasty. Unhappily this newer class simply added its weight to still further crush down the unhappy workers, who were held to have no political powers, or power of judgment, and therefore no political rights, to education, or to any of the comforts or pleasures of life. It was not until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, after the widening circles of the Renaissance had reached their farthest point, and a new spirit of humanity was born, that any concerted effort was made to raise the great mass of humanity. Even in the eighteenth century the fate of the peasantry was pitiful in the extreme. In France, a centralized power, under an incompetent king, with a greedy and impoverished aristocracy, and a church whose bishops were self-seeking if not immoral, the oppression of the third estate was a potent factor in producing the excesses of the Revolution.—See also **ESTATES, Three; FEUDALISM: Organization; FRANCE: 1787-1789; 1789 (May); (June): Survey of France on eve of revolution: Condition of the people; LABOR REMUNERATION: Development of wage system; SERFDOM: 11th-17th centuries, and after; SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: 1300-1600.**

ALSO IN: R. A. Cram, *Towards great peace*.—J. S. Marvin, *Progress of western civilization*.

Birth of the scientific spirit.—Its far reaching influence on the modern world.—Resulting contributions made to civilization.—Advancement

over the Greek period.—"Upon the industrial side, it is impossible, I think, to exaggerate the influence of travel, exploration and new commerce which fostered a romantic sense of adventure into novelty; loosened the hold of traditional beliefs; created a lively sense of new worlds to be investigated and subdued; produced new methods of manufacture, commerce, banking and finance; and then reacted everywhere to stimulate invention, and to introduce positive observation and active experimentation into science. The Crusades, the revival of the profane learning of antiquity and even more perhaps, the contact with the advanced learning of the Mohammedans, the increase of commerce with Asia and Africa, the introduction of the lens, compass and gunpowder, the finding and opening up of North and South America—most significantly called the New World—these are some of the obvious external facts. . . . Capitalism, rapid transit, and production for exchange against money and for profit, instead of against goods and for consumption, followed. This cursory and superficial reminder of vast and complicated events may suggest the mutual interdependence of the scientific revolution and the industrial revolution. Upon the one hand, modern industry is so much applied science. No amount of desire to make money, or to enjoy new commodities, no amount of mere practical energy and enterprise, would have effected the economic transformation of the last few centuries and generations. Improvements in mathematical, physical, chemical and biological science were prerequisites. Business men through engineers of different sorts, have laid hold of the new insights gained by scientific men into the hidden energies of nature, and have turned them to account. The modern mine, factory, railway, steamship, telegraph, all of the appliances and equipment of production, and transportation, express scientific knowledge. They would continue unimpaired even if the ordinary pecuniary accompaniments of economic activity were radically altered. In short, through the intermediary of invention, Bacon's watchword that knowledge is power and his dream of continuous empire over natural forces by means of natural science have been actualized. The industrial revolution by steam and electricity is the reply to Bacon's prophecy. On the other hand, it is equally true that the needs of modern industry have been tremendous stimuli to scientific investigation. . . . These four facts, natural science, experimentation, control and progress have been inextricably bound up together. That up to the present the application of the newer methods and results has influenced the means of life rather than its ends; or, better put, that human aims have so far been affected in an accidental rather than in an intelligently directed way, signifies that so far the change has been technical rather than human and moral, that it has been economic rather than adequately social."—J. Dewey, *Reconstruction in philosophy*, pp. 38-39, 41-43.—It has many times been stated, and that by men in high authority, that modern thought, modern intellectual capacity, in no way transcend those of the Greeks; that in art, they were not only our teachers but our superiors; in literature, we have advanced little or nothing beyond them; in recasts of all our scientific discoveries may be found in their works. But "marvelous as were the achievements of the Greeks in art and literature, and ingenious as they were in new and varied combinations of ideas, they paid too little attention to the common things of the world to devise the necessary means of penetrating its mysteries. They failed to come upon the lynx-eyed lens, or other instruments of modern investigation, and thus never gained a godlike vision of the re-

mote and the minute. Their critical thought was consequently not grounded in experimental or applied science, and without that the western world was unable to advance or even long maintain their high standards of criticism."—J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the making*, p. 118.—"If we compare ourselves with the ancient Greeks or Romans or with the peoples of the Middle Ages, we shall undoubtedly find that we are superior to them in some respects, though inferior in others. The Greeks were superior to us in art and literature; the Romans in law; the Middle Ages in certain branches of art, such as architecture. On the other hand, we are much wealthier, much more learned and much more powerful than the Greeks, the Romans, or the peoples of the Middle Ages. When confronted with these differences how are we then to decide whether the world has made progress in the centuries which have passed since the days of the ancient Greeks? If we are to answer such a question, we must first decide whether it is better to be a scholar or an artist, to construct steam engines or build beautiful cathedrals, to explore Africa or to be the creator of 'Antigone.' It is, however, obvious that every man and every age believes the work accomplished by himself and his age to be the most useful and the noblest of all, and that it is impossible to prove that riches are of greater or less value than beauty, or beauty of greater or less value than science. . . . We may, however, fairly affirm that the world has progressed when we compare our epoch as a whole with ancient Greece, for we enjoy Greek art and literature; we are acquainted with her philosophy; we have adopted some of her views and political principles, while we are acquainted with other arts unknown to the Greeks, mediæval architecture, and Japanese sculpture, amongst others; we are acquainted . . . with other systems of philosophy; we practise the virtues taught by Christianity, such as love of our neighbour, charity and purity; we add to their political principles those to which the French Revolution gave birth; we possess far wider geographical and scientific knowledge; we travel by railway, we speak across space and have learned to fly. . . . The ancient civilizations knew how to hold man in check and thus prevent him from committing great and dangerous acts of folly, but at the same time they limited his power of initiation and action. Modern civilization exalted human energy by freeing it from every fetter, and has enabled it to accomplish wonders, but it has at the same time removed the bonds which restrained it from committing acts of supreme folly. Our civilization will reach the zenith of glory and perfection when, by tempering the new powers it has created with the ancient wisdom it has forgotten, it succeeds in subduing the disorderly energies of men to the moderating influence of æsthetic, moral, religious and philosophical rules and principles which shall set a limit to them—a limit as wide as you will, but none the less clear and well defined."—G. Ferrero, *Europe's fateful hour*, pp. 231, 232, 233.—Thus love of our neighbor has been transferred into solicitude for the welfare of the common people, otherwise known as democracy; the true democracy which was unattainable in the slave ridden nations of Greece and Rome. Moreover, a wealth of practical inventions, such as were undreamed of in the days of Greece and Rome, not only made possible the Industrial Revolution, but also the scientific revolution which between them have bouleversed our mode of living and thinking. This change in living and thinking has been further fostered by the science of Political Economy, which was unknown both to ancient and mediæval civilization, and together with the results of the Industrial Rev-

olution have perforce brought about the turmoil of social revolution, and ideas of social readjustment which were unknown to the Greeks. The theory of evolution also, the child of exact science, could scarcely have come within the speculations of the Greeks, for whom all species were special creations, and fixed types. This theory, the discoveries which followed on it, and the sciences which surround it: anthropology, zoology, paleontology, have made an amazing difference between modern thought and the thought of old time.

Revolutionary period.—Intellectual revolution in the seventeenth century.—Bacon and Descartes.—Awakening of the critical spirit.—Foundations laid of modern chemistry, biology and philosophy.—Revolutionary critics of the eighteenth century: Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau and Diderot.—"Modern history is of comparatively recent origin. The present system of society, with its industrial organization, democratic government, and scientific outlook, is a product of conditions that came into existence hardly a century ago; for in spite of Columbus, Luther, Copernicus, and Newton, the life and thought of the average person in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century were not very much different from that of his ancestors in the later Middle Ages. It is true that the mediæval system had received mighty blows at the hands of the Humanists of the Renaissance and of the Protestants of the Reformation; that the classics had received full recognition in the universities; that a system of national churches had displaced the international Catholic Church; that feudal aristocracy had given way to absolute monarchy; and that discoveries had expanded the known world. It is also true that the pioneers of science had begun to make those discoveries in physics and astronomy which were destined to reconstruct the whole intellectual horizon of Europe. But the great mass of people remained untouched by these changes; they continued to plow their fields in the same old way, to make things by hand, and to quarrel bitterly about religion. Many doubtless still believed the earth to be flat in spite of the Greeks, Columbus, and Magellan. In fact the religious wars and persecutions of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries showed mediævalism at its worst, for not only were heretics persecuted as of yore, but the Christian nations crusaded against one another. Protestants and Catholics alike, while millions of human beings were slaughtered for the 'greater glory of God' and for the special benefit of church or king. At the end of the eighteenth century there took place three great revolutions, which transformed every aspect of European society and created the world in which we now live. These movements were the Intellectual Revolution, which gave birth to new points of view in philosophy, literature, and science; the French Revolution, which proclaimed democratic principles of government; and the Industrial Revolution, which inaugurated our present economic life."—J. S. Schapiro, *Modern and contemporary European history*, pp. 1-2.

"At the opening of the seventeenth century a man of letters, of sufficient genius to be suspected by some of having written the plays of Shakespeare, directed his distinguished literary ability to the promotion and exaltation of natural science. Lord Bacon was the chief herald of that habit of scientific and critical thought which has played so novel and all-important a part in the making of the modern mind. . . . Never has there been a man better equipped with literary gifts to preach a new gospel than Francis Bacon. He spent years in devising eloquent and ingenious ways of delivering

learning from the 'discredits and disgraces' of the past, and in exhorting man to explore the realms of nature for his delight and profit. He never wearied of trumpeting forth the glories of the new knowledge which would come with the study of common things and the profitable uses to which it might be put in relieving man's estate. He impeached the medieval schoolmen for spinning out endless cobwebs of learning, remarkable for their fineness, but of no substance or spirit. He urged the learned to come out of their cells, study the creations of God, and build upon what they discovered a new and true philosophy."—J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the making*, pp. 151-152.—"With Bacon . . . (1561-1626) we are already on the very threshold of the Enlightenment [the intellectual revolution which really began in the early years of the seventeenth century], for with him the seething ferment of the Renaissance becomes clear and intelligible. But the new element is still working within the old rather than finding for itself an independent basis and creating its own form of expression. This thinker excels in boldness of conception, but has little gift for detail work. He, like his predecessors, is impelled by a soaring imagination, which gives his ideas a powerful impetus. . . . He too, has suggested more than he has worked out. So we count him as still belonging to that transitional period which ushers in the modern world."—R. C. Eucken, *Problem of human life* (tr.), pp. 336, 337.—"In his review of all the learning of his time and in his plans for its readvancement, Bacon treated nearly every phase of human endeavor, and almost without exception, he suggested methods of procedure which outstripped his own and the next following century."—J. J. Cross, *Bacon and the history of philosophy* (Columbia University Studies, *Studies in the History of Ideas*, p. 81).—Like Sir Thomas More, Bacon had ideas for the betterment of mankind which he describes in his *New Atlantis*. In this ideal commonwealth there was to be an academy of science, with elaborate equipment by means of which scholars could search out the secrets of nature. "Bacon is a philosopher of progress, he speaks of the increases which science can receive; of the dignity which science had lost, and which she recovers little by little. . . . Bacon wishes to renew all the sciences and take them out of the lamentable state in which he judged them to be. 'It is necessary to recommence all the work of humanity, having recourse to means more real than those which had hitherto been employed. It is necessary to undertake an entire restoration of the arts, sciences, in a word, of all human knowledge and cause them to rise on new foundations.'"—J. Delville, *L'Histoire de l'idée de progrès*, p. 164.—"He begins his work with a trenchant criticism, and a complete break with historical tradition. He finds the existing state of science utterly and wholly unsatisfactory, since it gives us neither the knowledge of things, nor the power to control them. . . . Once we thought tradition the mouthpiece of transcendent reason, but now we begin to doubt whether she really does hand down only the best achievements of the past. . . . We must, therefore free ourselves from all traditional authority, and begin our work all over again. Here we have a complete change in the attitude toward history; from a blind reverence of the past, we swim round into a blind rejection of it, and to an exclusive appreciation of the present. . . . With Bacon scientific enquiry does not stop short at mere knowing, but seeks to gain a technical control over nature; the real and true goal of the sciences is nothing less than the enrichment of human life by the introduction of new inventions and resources. . . .

How one single invention can alter the whole course of life is shown by the discovery of printing, gunpowder and the compass."—R. C. Eucken, *Problem of human life* (tr.), pp. 337, 340.—"Bacon showed a true insight into the needs and prospects of natural science, and his eloquent announcement of them was found inspiring in the next generation by Robert Boyle, the 'father of chemistry.' . . . The age of Bacon was one of great progress in the natural sciences [but Bacon himself made no great practical contribution to science] and was not very ready to welcome the contributions made by others. Of his countryman William Gilbert (1540-1603), the founder of the sciences of electricity and magnetism he speaks more often with contempt than approbation; and he ignored the great discovery of the true nature of the circulation of the blood by his own physician William Harvey (1578-1657) . . . nor did he bring himself to accept the theory . . . put forward by . . . Nicholas Copernicus in 1543 . . . the triumph of which has, more than anything else, made the medieval view of the universe seem remote and strange to us."—C. C. J. Webb, *History of philosophy*, pp. 140, 141.—"At the beginning of the seventeenth century Galileo made the capital discoveries which established both the Copernican theory and the science of dynamics. [See also ASTRONOMY: 130-1600.] Galileo's death in 1642 coincided with the birth of Sir Isaac Newton. Such is the sequence of the most influential names at the turning point of modern thought. Galileo's work . . . carried the strategic lines of Greek science across the frontiers of a New World, and Newton laid down the lines of permanent occupation and organized the conquest. [See also ELECTRICAL DISCOVERY: Early experiments; INVENTIONS: 18th century: Measurements.] The seventeenth century, with Descartes' application of algebra to geometry and Newton's and Leibnitz's invention of the differential and integral calculus, improved our methods of calculation to such a point that summary methods of vastly greater comprehensiveness and elasticity can be applied to any problem of which the elements can be measured. . . . The seventeenth century which witnessed this momentous extension of mathematical methods, also contains the cognate foundation of scientific physics. Accurate measurements began to be applied to the phenomena of light and heat, the expansion of gases, the various changes in the forms of matter apart from life."—F. S. Marvin, *Progress in history*, pp. 257, 258, 259.—"The transition from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment is neither sudden nor abrupt. In passing from the old to the new we meet many striking and interesting figures who combine the tendencies of both periods. . . . Foremost among them stands Kepler (1571-1630) in whom . . . despite his reverence for mind as the source of knowledge, there is a very clear appreciation of the value of experience and a painstaking observation of minute detail. It is the discoverer's proud boast that his respect for a difference of eight minutes of air paved the way for the reform of all astronomical science. [See also ASTRONOMY: 130-1600.] With Galileo . . . we at once breathe the air of the Enlightenment . . . a new spirit is awaking: all that is now needed is a great thinker to help it into full self-consciousness and bring life wholly under its control. Such a thinker we find in Descartes. . . .

"[Descartes uses] the ego as the basis of his world-philosophy . . . and his point is that if we are to have full confidence in our reason, there must be a God, an Absolute Reason, making our finite reason worthy of trust. . . . [This theory once settled to his own satisfaction,] Descartes does not only suc-

ceed in achieving a reform or, shall we say, a revolution in science; he inaugurates a new era in general culture. [See also MEDICAL SCIENCE: Modern: 17th century: Descartes, etc.] In the Middle Ages . . . Reason could do nothing without receiving the support and sanction of the supreme powers—tradition and authority. Now, however, there arises a culture the basis of which is man's own intuitive insight and the reason which dwells within him. [This is but the barest mention of the Cartesian philosophy and its effects. It had much influence on Descartes' contemporary and correspondent, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), who in his turn influenced Spinoza and Leibniz. Pierre Bayle, Spinoza, Leibniz, John Locke, these four still further added to the sum of knowledge gained in this great century and contributed largely to the world's thought. Greater tolerance gradually gained its way, a spirit of criticism was born, and accurate, scientific research was for the first time insisted upon.]—R. C. Eucken, *Problem of human life* (tr.), pp. 350, 351, 353, 354.—“With one or two exceptions—astronomy on the physical side, human anatomy on the biological—the reawakening in science lagged a century or more behind the renaissance in literature and in art. What the leaders of thought and of practice in the arts of writing, of painting and of sculpture in western Europe were effecting in the latter part of the fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century began to be paralleled in the investigations of the physical laws of nature only at the end of the sixteenth century and throughout the first three quarters of the seventeenth. Writing broadly, we may say that, during the Stewart time, the sciences, as we now class them, were slowly but surely separating themselves out from the general mass of learning, segregating into secondary units; and, from a general amalgam of scientific knowledge, mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, geology, mineralogy, zoology, botany, agriculture, even physiology (the offspring of anatomy and chemistry) were beginning to assert claims to individual and distinct existence. . . . Certain of the sciences, such as anatomy, physiology and, to a great extent, zoology and botany, had their inception in the art of medicine. But the last two owed much to the huntsman and the agriculturist. During the preceding century, the great Belgian anatomist Vesalius had broken loose from the bond of the written word which had strangled research for a thousand years, and had looked at the structure of the human body for himself; he taught what he could himself see and what he could show to his pupils. Under him, anatomy was the first of the natural sciences to break loose from the scholastic domination which had hitherto ever placed authority above experiment. As anatomy on the biological side, so astronomy on the physical, led the way. Copernicus had claimed that the sun was the centre of our system; but it was not until the following century, when the truth of his views was mathematically proved, that, first, men of science, and, later, the world at large, abandoned the views of Ptolemy, which, like those of Aristotle, of Galen and of Hippocrates, had obsessed the learned world since classical times. The great outburst of scientific enquiry which occurred during the seventeenth century was partly the result, and partly the cause, of the invention of numerous new methods and innumerable new instruments, by the use of which advance in natural knowledge was immensely facilitated. Early in the century (1614), Napier of Merchiston had made known his discovery of logarithms, and logarithmic tables were first published in 1617. Seven years later, the slide rule, which today plays a large part in physical and engineer-

ing science, was invented by Edmund Gunter. Decimals were coming into use and, at the close of the sixteenth century, algebra was being written in the notation we still employ. William Gilbert, physician to queen Elizabeth, published his experiments on electricity and magnetism in the last year of the sixteenth century. Galileo was using his newly constructed telescope; and, for the first time, Jupiter's satellites, the mountains in the moon and Saturn's rings were seen by human eye. The barometer, the thermometer and the air pump, and, later, the compound microscope, all came into being at the earlier part of our period, and by the middle of the century were in the hands of whoever cared to use them.”—*Progress of science* (*Cambridge history of English literature*, v. 3, pp. 349-350).

“The continued search for novelty, coupled with the interest in the physical world aroused by the geographical discoveries, led to the study of nature; and the results attained by Kepler, Bruno, Galileo, and later by Newton, furnished the key for the opening of the genuinely modern [critical] method of thought. This took place most fruitfully in England, France, and the Netherlands, Italy having been smothered by the Counter-Reformation, Germany crippled by the religious wars, and Spain brought to a permanent intellectual stagnation by a religious despotism. This problem of method was attacked by Bacon, Hobbes, and Descartes in the earlier years of the seventeenth century. . . . During all this time, theology had to be left as it was, or ignored altogether. Its reconstruction, as well as the development of a general social philosophy, had to be left until the consideration of the particular facts of the physical and biological sciences had proceeded so far as to warrant generalizations which could be used in cosmic and social philosophy. This did not take place until the nineteenth century, and then not in a thoroughgoing way until Darwin had made his contribution. . . . The psychology of the Middle Ages, the psychology of Hobbes, the psychology of Locke, the modern psychology which in some respects pursues the methods of the natural sciences, all have resulted from the modification of previous psychological notions by the forces of the social life. So, also, philosophy in general has had a course of development from the earliest theories of nature formulated in the Greek colonies, and of society formulated in Athens, but at every stage this development has been shaped by the nature and the society which have pressed themselves into men's consciousness. . . . The theories of Jerome and Augustine, of Anselm and Roscellin, of Descartes and Hobbes, of Voltaire and Rousseau, of Hegel and Comte [are] . . . not merely the vagaries of dreamers or geniuses, not merely theories about theories about facts, but the expression of the actual life of their times. Thought is as organically related to the whole as a factory or a legislature is, and can no more be adequately treated as an abstraction than such institutions can be so treated.”—J. D. Forrest, *Development of western civilization*, pp. 299, 302, 396.—“If conditions and ideals at the end of the eighteenth century were still largely medieval, the advanced thought of the day was distinctly modern, not only in tendency, but even in substance. It has seldom happened that great thinkers were so completely out of joint with their time as was the case with the eighteenth-century philosophers and scientists; and they began an attack on the old system which was unparalleled for audacity, virulence, and uncompromising radicalism. The leading spirit in the war against the *ancien régime* was Voltaire, the famous French philosopher, poet, and historian. His main idea

was that progress and enlightenment could come only when man exercised his reason untrammelled, and allowed his mind full play on all problems of life. Voltaire singled out the Church as the special object of his attack because she, more than any other institution, was the special conservator of tradition. Never had the Church encountered so bitter an enemy, who mocked irreverently at her most sacred mysteries, who questioned her every right and privilege, and who would be satisfied with nothing less than her complete destruction. Few men have done more to undermine the authority of the Catholic Church than Voltaire, whose weapon was a biting satire expressed with marvelous literary art. The attack on the State was led by Montesquieu and Rousseau. The former was quite moderate in his criticism of monarchy; he wished merely to see established in France the constitutional system of England, which he greatly admired. It was Rousseau who proclaimed ideas that threatened to undermine the very foundations of the old political system by questioning every reason for its existence. His famous treatise, *'The Social Contract,'* substituted the doctrine of popular sovereignty for that of divine right, and laid the theoretical basis of modern democracy. [See also FRANCE: 1789: Survey of France on eve of revolution: Literary forerunners.] The new science of Political Economy was founded by Quesnay and Turgot in France and by Adam Smith in England. People now began to think of their environment from the economic point of view, and to identify progress with material well-being; hitherto, progress had meant only religious, moral, and intellectual enlightenment. The economists bitterly attacked the iniquitous system of taxation then in vogue and the medieval regulation of commerce and industry which hindered improved production. The ideas of the philosophers and of the economists were widely spread by Diderot in his famous encyclopedia, which became the arsenal of knowledge from which were drawn the weapons to attack the old system. The period was prolific in other new sciences. Lavoisier laid the basis of modern chemistry by his successful experiments in decomposing air and water and by his analysis of combustion. [See CHEMISTRY: General: Modern period.] Lamarck's theory as to the evolution of bodily organs made him one of the founders of modern biology. Kant's philosophy enthroned moral law as the supreme governor of the universe and substituted an ethical for a religious view of the world. Lessing and Goethe completely rejected medievalism, which then so largely dominated German ideals, and replaced it by a modern outlook upon life.—J. S. Schapiro, *Modern and contemporary European history*, pp. 7-8.—See also SCIENCE: Middle Ages and Renaissance, and after.

Era of the benevolent despots.—"The eighteenth century has rightly been regarded as the age of enlightened despotism. In almost every quarter of Europe, from the Ural Mountains to the Lusitanian coast, from Stockholm to Naples, from Vienna to Berlin, it was possible at one time or another to admire the operations of a vigorous and progressive monarchy. In Russia there was Peter the Great, and after an interval Catherine II.; in Naples and Spain, Charles III.; in the Austrian dominations, Maria Theresa, Joseph II., and Leopold; in Prussia, Frederick the Great; in Sweden, Gustavus III. In each of these different countries the problems to be attacked, the abuses to be swept away had their own peculiar character, but one feature was common to the general malady. The evils of European society were rooted in feudalism and entrenched in privilege. It followed from this

that the power of the monarchy to cure the disease varied in direct proportion to the inability of the aristocracy to arrest its operations. Where the monarchy was absolute, where it was unfettered by the opposition of privileged corporations or estates, a campaign could be planned on a comprehensive design and pressed to a victorious and efficient conclusion. But in proportion as these conditions were unrealized, the struggle was likely to be long, arduous and perplexed. Nowhere was progress so swift and palpable as in Russia, where the Tsar united in his own person the supreme and absolute authority both in Church and State; nowhere so slow as in France, where the royal will was impeded by a powerful judicial corporation and by the great and opulent interests of a numerous and privileged aristocracy and a mundane and privileged Church."—H. A. L. Fisher, *Republican tradition in Europe*, pp. 62-63.

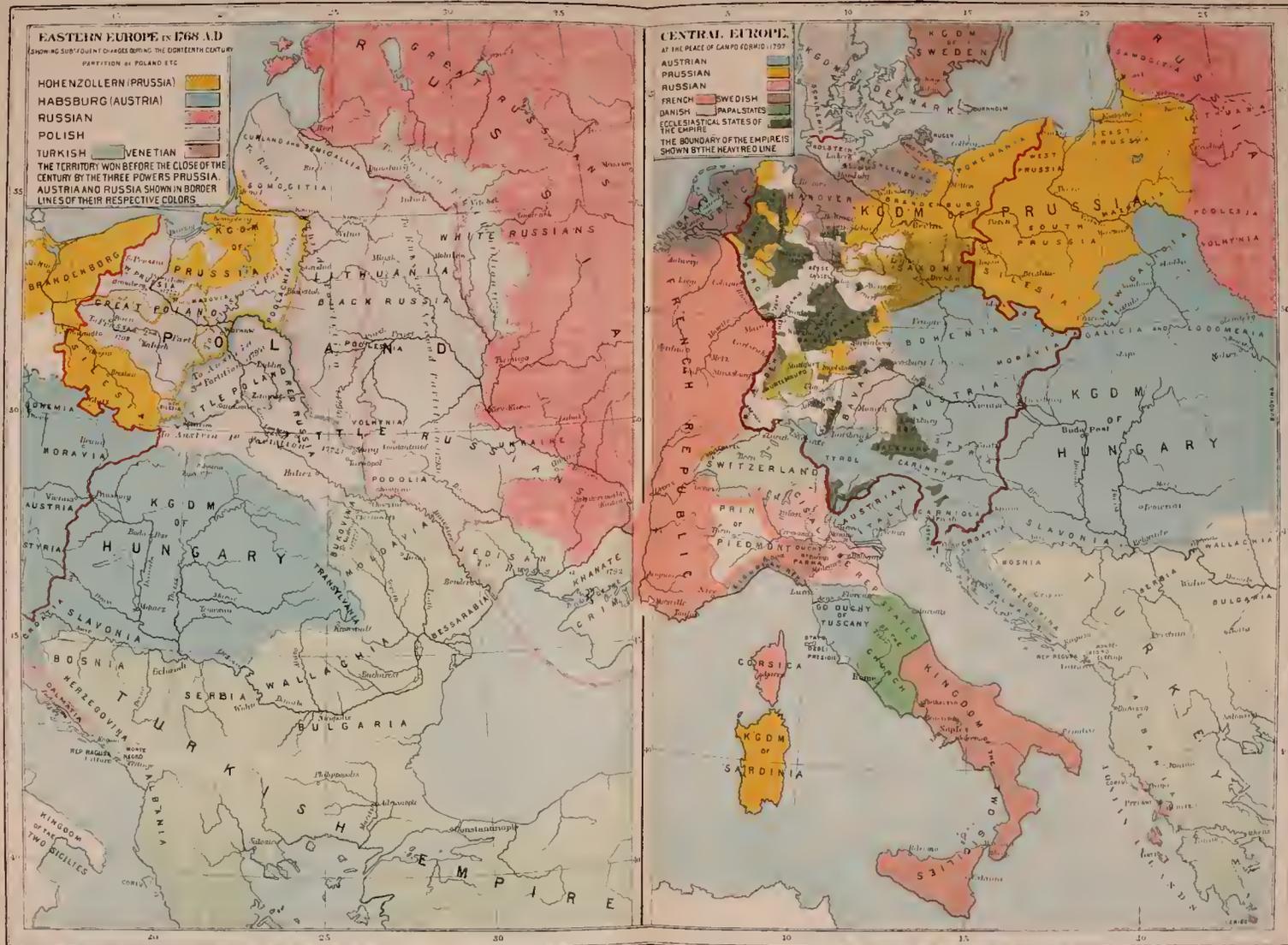
Industrial revolution.—France.—Great Britain.—Development of manufacturing.—Demands of the common people.—Manufacture of cloth and iron.—"In 1788 France was on the verge of revolution, if not of financial ruin. For a time the statesmen of rival nations congratulated themselves upon the diminished influence of this formidable power, but when the catastrophe came it proved to be so great that neighboring countries could not long escape its influence. Meanwhile, an industrial revolution had begun in Great Britain, which, ushering in an age of machinery, was destined to affect profoundly not only the struggle in France, but also the wider conflict into which that was merged. The nation which first equipped itself with the new instruments of manufacture would inevitably outrun its rivals in industrial development and the accumulation of wealth. In case of war, its larger financial resources would vastly increase its military and naval power. This became especially clear in the first decade of the nineteenth century when the French Revolution armed itself for the conquest of Europe and under the leadership of Napoleon undertook to humble Great Britain. Although the forces set in motion by these two revolutions seemed involved in a fatal conflict for mastery, their essential rôle was one of cooperation. The industrial revolution eventually furnished an economic foundation upon which the political and social principles of the French Revolution might erect the institutions of a democratic society. The development of manufacturing by machinery built up great cities, whose leaders gained an influence stronger than that of the old semi-feudal landlords or that of the more recent mercantile aristocracy. For a time society seemed simply to have exchanged masters, but in the end the new aristocracy and the old alike became responsive to the hopes and demands of the common people, who, crowded together in the cities, were conscious of their strength as well as of their rights. It was the inventions in two great industries, and in the application of power to render them effective, that gave to Great Britain at the close of the eighteenth century her extraordinary advantage over her neighbors and rivals. These industries were the manufacture of cloth, especially of cotton cloth, and the manufacture of iron."—H. E. Bourne, *Revolutionary period in Europe*, pp. 76-77.—"Slavery, a basic industrial force in Greek and Roman times, hindered the development of manufacturing industry, stifling free competition by its degraded economic standards and its wasteful methods. There was consequently a tendency in antiquity, culminating in the Roman Empire, for national consumption to exceed production. Modern nations have evaded this evil

by transforming raw materials of low intrinsic value into articles of great intrinsic worth through manufacturing processes. The peoples of Greece and Rome never developed any large-scale system of manufacture like that of the great industrial nations of to-day, because slavery was a constant obstacle. Manufacturing industry became a significant, economic activity during the later Middle Ages, when free artisans organized the craft guilds. But not until the coming of the machine and non-human motive power in modern times, did manufacturing industry attain a scale of organization commensurate with the vast commercial and agricultural activities of mankind. Indeed, the social economy of modern nations is different in this fundamental respect from that of ancient nations, for modern social organization reflects everywhere the influence of the machine. Agriculture, manufacturing industry and communication have been revolutionized, one after another, by the introduction of mechanical devices and machine power. These revolutions have been thoroughgoing and far-reaching. No intelligent understanding of modern social economy, in contrast to previous economic organization, is possible without a knowledge of these three great social revolutions of modern times. Their true significance once understood, however, it is possible to form an intelligent opinion upon problems of the contemporary social order."—F. S. Chapin, *Historical introduction to social economy, preface, p. vii.*—See also INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

French Revolution.—Causes of its drastic thoroughness.—Its beneficial results.—"We are accustomed to think of the French Revolution as the beginning of that general disturbance by which the whole of Europe was swept into the maelstrom of war; but in truth, the causes of that gigantic conflict were not confined to France. [It was the outcome of awakened thought, of ideas which, at first confined to the educated classes had filtered down to the illiterate and, if it had not roused them to action, at least made them willing to follow self-appointed leaders into action.] The revolt in America, against the recrudescence of absolutism, the awakened civic consciousness in the Austrian Netherlands and in the Dutch Republic, and the reaffirmation of long forgotten privileges in France, were all symptoms of a great and irresistible movement of thought, the recoil from political dogmas which were no longer acceptable to enlightened minds. After all that Europe had endured since sovereign will had been substituted for principles of universal obligation, it was a logical necessity that the age of absolutism should be followed by the Revolutionary Era."—D. J. Hill, *History of diplomacy in the international development of Europe, v. 3, p. 680.*—It is not to France alone then that we must look for the reasons for the drastic thoroughness with which the Revolution was carried out; but to the events of all the centuries since the beginnings of the Renaissance. Wars of religion, wars of conquest, and the ambitions and passions of rulers had brought the conditions of the great body of the people to a parlous state. "It was everywhere deplorable, though varying more or less in different countries. The masses, who were peasants, were weighed down and hemmed in by laws and institutions and customs that took no account of their well-being. In one way or another they were outrageously taxed, so that but a small fraction of what they earned went for their support. Throughout most of Europe they did not possess what we regard as the mere beginnings of personal liberty, for, except in England and France, serfdom, with all its paralyzing restriction, was in force. No one dreamed that the people were en-

titled to education so that they might be better equipped for life. The great substructure of European society was an unhappy, unfree, unprotected, undeveloped mass of human beings, to whom opportunity for growth and improvement was closed on every side. . . . The distempers of every state were numerous and alarming. . . . There was a widespread feeling that revolutions, catastrophes, ruin were impending, that the body politic was nowhere in sound condition. Excessive expenditures for the maintenance of extravagant courts, . . . for armies and for wars . . . resulted in increasing disorder in the finances of the various states. Deficits were chronic, and no country except England had a budget, or public and official statement of expenditure and receipts. . . . The richer a man was the less taxes he paid proportionately. . . . Crushing therefore was the burden of the lower orders. It was truly a vicious circle."—C. D. Hazen, *French Revolution and Napoleon, pp. 46-40.*—It was not only in the realm of politics that the ferment which produced the Revolution was taking place. The seeds sown by the Renaissance and the philosophical age which followed it had flowered and fruited into a new science and new knowledge. Men had begun to think for themselves, and the literature of the time was filled with theories, some of them new and strange, which were later to be translated into terrible activity by more practical men than their authors. Bayle, Condorcet, D'Alembert, Diderot, Holbach, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Volney, Voltaire and others, preached the doctrine of reason and the overthrow of authority. Following hard upon them came the men of deeds, who with the hard broom of the Revolution swept clean the last cobwebs and fragments left by the feudal age. Europe was ripe for the eruption which took place in France, where a number of things contributed to weaken authority, a strongly centralized government, from which emanated oppression for the largest single body of people in Europe; irritating and humiliating relics of feudalism kept alive for the benefit of the irresponsible and highly favored upper classes; over-taxation of the peasantry; the return of a respectable body of this peasantry with ideas of revolution, republicanism and freedom from America, and the influence of those French writers of whom mention has been made above, who had spread throughout Europe new ideas of "how society, business, government should be readjusted, remodelled, and transformed."

"The history of the French revolution . . . began the era of new societies in Europe, as the English revolution had begun the era of new governments. This revolution not only modified the political power, but it entirely changed the internal existence of the nation. The forms of the society of the middle ages still remained. The land was divided into hostile provinces, the population into rival classes. The nobility had lost all their powers, but still retained all their distinctions: the people had no rights, royalty no limits; France was in an utter confusion of arbitrary administration, of class legislation and special privileges to special bodies. For these abuses the revolution substituted a system more conformable with justice, and better suited to our times. It substituted law in the place of arbitrary will, equality in that of privilege; delivered men from the distinctions of classes, the land from the barriers of provinces, trade from the shackles of corporations and fellowships, agriculture from feudal subjection and the oppression of tithes, property from the impediment of entails, and brought everything to the condition of one state, one system of law, one people. In order to effect such mighty reformation as this, the revolu-



tion had many obstacles to overcome, involving transient excesses with durable benefits. The privileged sought to prevent it; Europe to subject it; and thus forced into a struggle, it could not set bounds to its efforts, or moderate its victory. Resistance from within brought about the sovereignty of the multitude, and aggression from without, military domination. Yet the end was attained, in spite of anarchy and in spite of despotism; the old society was destroyed during the revolution, and the new one became established under the empire."—F. A. Mignet, *History of the French Revolution from 1789 to 1814*, pp. 1-2.—"For a time, some attempt was made to rediscover the mystic source of lawful authority in the will of the people; but as no one knew exactly where this will was to be found or how it was to be expressed or recognized, it was finally confounded and identified with the genius, the energy, the fortunes, and the victories of a single man. The Republic was, practically without intermission, governed by a dictatorship until an ex-captain of artillery . . . ascended the throne of France because he had proved that he knew how to rule and make war, and became the first champion of the new Divine Right of intelligence which was apparently imposing itself upon Europe."—G. Ferrero, *Problems of peace*, p. 18.—See also FRANCE: 1780: Survey of France on the eve of revolution, to 1790 (November).

Diffusion of French revolutionary ideas through the agency of Napoleon.—His legacy to France.—Results of the Napoleonic systems in the Piedmontese, Rhenish and Belgian departments of the empire.—Effects of the wars of Napoleon on Europe.—"The true greatness of Napoleon as a civil ruler lies in the fact, firstly that he saved for France the most valuable conquests of the French Revolution, social equality and industrial freedom; secondly that he brought to a conclusion the difficult operation of securing for the remodelled state the sanction and support of the Church, and thirdly that he gave to France a code of laws and a system of administration which remain substantially unchanged to-day. He saved equality which was a fierce national passion, and sacrificed liberty which had become a disease. The Code Napoléon, which he regarded as his main title to glory, is, so to speak, the last testament of the French Revolution. . . . Modern France is still very much as the Consulate left it. Parliamentary government has taken root, the Concordat has been denounced after an uneasy life of a hundred years, and some measure of decentralization has been effectually introduced into local government and the fabric of the University. The ideal of the lay state has become more widely held with the lapse of time, and is embodied in the scheme of compulsory secular education which the Third Republic owes to the oratory of Gambetta and the strenuous powers of Ferry. These changes, however, important though they be, have neither transformed the political spirit of France nor swept away the main blocks of Napoleonic granite, the Prefects, the Codes, the Legion of Honour, the *Lycée*. The most serious innovation is the Parliamentary system, introduced during the Hundred Days in deference to the public opinion of Paris and without faith in its merits by Napoleon himself, and accepted as the unpleasant necessity of vulgar times by the restored Bourbons. . . . It was part of the singular history of the Napoleonic memory that it became associated with liberal ideas in France and with national hopes in Italy and Poland. When Europe was given over to the autocrats, the faults of Napoleon were forgotten and his merits called to mind. Over and against the petty conventions

of court and caste he stood out as the supreme type of unaided human energy mounting to the highest pinnacle of fortune, and moulding the destiny of the world. It was forgotten that he had tried to manufacture a new nobility, that he had introduced privileged entails, that he had married an Austrian Archduchess, and copied the stiff ceremonials of Spain in Italy and of the *Ancien Régime* in France. In the sentiment of the common people he remained the Little Corporal sprung from nowhere, of the same humble clay as themselves, an everlasting proof that for the highest tasks of war and government it is not blue blood that is wanted, but the brain, heart, and nerve of the heroic man. So conceived the Napoleonic memory was at once a valuable safeguard against a possible reaction to the *Ancien Régime* and an important auxiliary to liberal ideas. The mischief was that this democratic and wholesome sentiment did not exhaust the content of the Imperial tradition, but was allied in it with the evil precedents of domestic tyranny and military expansion. The Second Empire was a testimony both to the living power of Napoleon's name and to the vitality of the ideas which were assumed to be associated with his system; and perhaps it is true to say that no catastrophe less complete than the Prussian War of 1870 would have been availing to exorcise the passion and lust of conquest which, having been aroused by the triumphs of the Revolution and the Empire, could not at once, as Alfred de Vigny shows us, be sent to sleep, but continued for half a century to vex and inflame the political conscience of France. Outside the frontiers of France the system of Napoleon seemed to be most firmly secured in the Piedmontese, Rhenish, and Belgian departments of the Grand Empire. Of these territories, the first became, after the cataclysm, the scene of a reaction so stupid and violent that all the good results of the French period were swept away, so that the work of liberalization had to be done over again almost from the beginning by D'Azeglio, Siccardi, and Cavour. In the Rhenish departments the seeds sown by the French Revolution were not so easily uprooted, and a numerous and prosperous peasant proprietary continued to testify to the enduring benefits conferred by twenty years of government under the French law. . . . After the storm and stress of a hundred years the inscription of the Revolution and the Empire is still clearly legible on the face of Belgian society and government. The two outstanding facts in the modern economic condition of Belgium are firstly a numerous peasant proprietary and secondly a great mass of low-paid and ill-organized labour in the towns. For each of these circumstances an explanation may probably be found in the history of those twenty years during which Belgium was an integral part of France. . . . The French violently broke up the trade guilds and corporations which were the glory of Belgium, substituting for these close and privileged groups the reign of unfettered individual competition. . . . It is usual to attach great importance to the encouragement which Napoleon gave to the idea of Polish nationality. . . . The alliance between France and Poland was a diplomatic tradition of the *Ancien Régime* and, had Napoleon never been born, a Frenchman would still have been more acceptable to a Pole than a Prussian, a Russian, or an Austrian. . . . What Napoleon did then was not to create a new sentiment of friendship, but to give to this inherent connexion of interest a certain amount of additional and palpable support by the creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, to indocrinate the Poles with the notion of a civilized state by the abolition of serfdom, by the introduction of

the Civil Code, and by the grant of parliamentary constitution, and finally to commend to the supporters of his dynasty the cause of Poland as a debt of honour and an article of faith. . . . It is only natural to expect that the Napoleonic influence would be specially strong in the Latin countries. . . . As all histories of modern Russia should begin with Peter the Great, so the epic of the *Risorgimento* opens with Napoleon. He made the Revolution a vital thing in Italy, and without a revolutionary party Italian unity would ever have been achieved. For a brief period all Italy was gathered under his sway, administered on French principles and ruled by French law."—H. A. L. Fisher, *Studies in history and politics*, pp. 200-209.—The French Revolution, Napoleon, his policy and his wars left ineffaceable marks on the face of Europe. The disappearance of the shadow of the Holy Roman Empire; the partial consolidation of Germany and of Italy, the increasing demand for constitutional government; the disappearance of serfdom from Germany and the rapid growth of a feeling of nationality which was fostered by the wars may be directly traced to the stirring movements of the time. "Much that Napoleon attempted beyond the ancient frontiers of France was lost by his overthrow; much however, remained. Only through a careful analysis of the progress of institutions after 1815, would it be possible to estimate the permanent influence of his efforts. . . . The statesmen of the victorious allies of 1815 thought that they had ended the Revolutionary movement. They were mistaken. . . . In the long era of peace which they secured men had time to forget that foreign domination and military despotism had been the counterpart of reform. The ideal of civil equality and social justice, which the deputies of 1789 had cherished, could now make its appeal with renewed force. The proof of its vitality is recorded in hundreds of great acts of legislation in the later years of the nineteenth century."—H. E. Bourne, *Revolutionary period in Europe*, pp. 464, 465.—See also FRANCE: 1801-1809; 1815: Influence of Napoleon.

Summary of the chief factors of the nineteenth century.—Importance of its study.—"No century in the whole history of the world calls for careful and scientific study more than the nineteenth, marked as it is on the one side by changes in material civilisation greater than those witnessed in any previous period, and on the other side by the three tremendous movements which we call the struggle for constitutional liberties and parliamentary government, the revival and partial triumph of nationalism, and the expansion of Europe. No previous century is so full of picturesque movement and dramatic interest as the times which witnessed the struggles for the liberation of the Christian peoples of the Balkan Peninsula from the Ottoman yoke, the attainment of freedom by the Republics of South America and by Belgium, the stirring stories of the unification of Italy and Germany, the struggles of Hungary and Poland, the Civil War in the United States, the exploration of Africa, and the growth of European dominion in Asia [all of which had a tremendous influence upon the international history of Europe]. The rapidity and vastness of the movements, the rise of the new nations and the shiftings of the 'balance of power,' the reaction upon the policy of governments of the growth of democracy and of representative institutions, the ever-increasing interdependence of politics and economics, the development of colonial enterprise as the outcome at once of victorious nationalism and of economic changes, the effect upon political organisation of the improved means

of transit and communication, and the complexity of the issues involved—all these combine to present a subject of study whose difficulty is exceeded only by its interest and value. It is admittedly a hard task, but thorough investigation of the history of Europe during these years, . . . is of the utmost importance."—P. Ashley, *Study of the nineteenth century* (*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, new series*, v. 20, pp. 135-136).

Mechanical revolution.—Steam transport on land and sea.—Electric telegraph.—Bessemer converter.—Electric light and traction.—"While throughout the nineteenth century the mind of Western civilization, which the Renaissance had released, gathered itself to the task of creative social and political reconstruction that still lies before it, there swept across the world a wave of universal change in human power and the material conditions of life that the first scientific efforts of that liberated mind had made possible. The prophecies of Roger Bacon began to live in reality. . . . The most obvious firstfruit was the steam-engine. The first steam-engines in the eighteenth century were pumping engines used to keep water out of the newly opened coal mines. . . . The railways . . . reduced the chief European distances to about a tenth of what they had been. They made it possible to carry out administrative work in areas ten times as great as any that had hitherto been workable under one administration. . . . The steamboat was, if anything, a little ahead of the steam-engine in its earlier phases. . . . [But] not until the middle of the century did the tonnage of steamships upon the sea begin to overhaul that of sailing-ships. After that the evolution in sea transport was rapid. . . . Concurrently with the development of steam transport upon land and sea a new and striking addition to the facilities of human intercourse arose out of the investigations of Volta, Galvani, and Faraday into various electrical phenomena. The electric telegraph came into existence in 1835. . . . These things, the steam railway and the electric telegraph, were to the popular imagination of the middle nineteenth century the most striking and revolutionary of inventions, but they were only the most conspicuous and clumsy firstfruits of a far more extensive process. . . . Far less conspicuous at first in everyday life, but finally far more important, was the extension of man's power over various structural materials. . . . The ancient world, because of its metallurgical inferiority, could not use steam. The steam engine, even the primitive pumping engine, could not develop before sheet iron was available. . . . As last as 1856 came the Bessemer process, and presently (1864) the open-heat process, in which steel and every sort of iron could be melted, purified, and cast in a manner and upon a scale hitherto unheard of. To-day in the electric furnace one may see tons of incandescent steel swirling about like boiling milk in a saucepan. . . . Concurrently with this extension of mechanical possibilities the new science of electricity grew up. . . . Then suddenly came electric light and electric traction; and the transmutation of forces, the possibility of sending power, that could be changed into mechanical motion or light or heat as one chose, along a copper wire."—H. G. Wells, *Outline of history*, v. 2, pp. 385-390.—See also INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION; INVENTIONS; ELECTRICAL DISCOVERY; STEAM NAVIGATION.

Revolutionary movement for self-government.—Political status of Europe in 1815.—Metternich and the policy of suppression.—Causes of the secrecy of the movement.—Revolution of 1830.—"When Europe settled down in 1815 after the revolutionary storm, absolute government of the

eighteenth-century pattern was still the rule in the great majority of states. In six states only—Britain, France, the Netherlands, Sweden-and-Norway, Poland, and Switzerland—parliamentary institutions of a more or less effective type survived (in the case of Britain) from the pre-revolutionary age, or had (in the other cases) been newly established or reorganised. But in no one of these cases did the system satisfy the ideals of the reformers. In Britain the system which had worked reasonably well in the eighteenth century no longer answered to the needs of the community, because the social transformation which was soon to extend its influence over the rest of Europe, had been at work for two generations; and its result had already been to make the old governing class no longer really representative of the nation. The Agrarian Revolution had brought the land into the possession of a greatly reduced number of owners; it had almost destroyed the once numerous class of small proprietors or 'yeomen'; it had substituted for them a greatly increased class of farmers renting their holdings from the great landlords; it had deprived the peasantry as a whole of an interest in the land they tilled, and reduced them to the rank of mere wage-earners; and between these classes there was no longer any such identity of interest as had once existed, but rather a sharp conflict. [See also AGRICULTURE: Modern: British Isles: Late 18th to early 19th centuries.] At the same time the Industrial Revolution had destroyed for ever the preponderant weight which had belonged to the agricultural classes; it had practically brought into being two classes which, as important elements in the nation, were new factors in English politics: the class of capitalist manufacturers and *entrepreneurs*, and the class of wage-earning operatives, clustered in vast numbers in the new towns of the Midlands and North. . . . The real control of local government remained in the hands of the landowning class; and that training in co-operation and in the management of public affairs in which most elements of the older England had had some share, was in effect denied to the makers of the new industrial England. Even the voluntary co-operation of associations for the safeguarding of their own interests was denied them, for the Anti-Combination Acts, inspired by the terror of secret societies to which the Revolution had given birth, forbade the establishment of trade unions or other such bodies. Manifestly, if the national unity of Britain was not to be undermined or destroyed, it had become necessary to undertake a reconstruction of the political system. But the traditional ruling class was not unnaturally blind to the necessity, was apt to see in the demands for change evidence of the existence of a dangerous revolutionary spirit, and was therefore tempted to sympathise with the reactionary elements which were at work in Europe during this age. Still, Britain possessed a parliament which, though out of touch with large elements of the nation, did effectively control the conduct of government; and Britain allowed practically free play to public discussion on political questions through the Press or otherwise. [See also SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: British empire: 1295-1832.] In France, the restored monarchy of 1814 granted a 'Charter of Liberties' in the hope of gaining the affections of its subjects, and under this charter a parliament after the English model was established. But the representative house was elected on so narrow a franchise that there were only about 200,000 voters in the country; and its powers were regarded as existing by grant from the Crown, and were very restricted. In particular, it had no control over ministers. France continued to be governed in de-

tail by the highly organised bureaucracy taken over from Napoleon, and no element of popular control was permitted in local affairs, while the right of association was still more jealously regarded than in Britain. [See also FRANCE: 1814 (April-June)] . . . Still, national affairs were publicly debated, and the Press was reasonably free: France, therefore, like Britain, was enviously regarded by other lands. In Sweden, an old-fashioned diet of four estates claimed legislative powers, but had no control over the executive. In Norway, when the people were in 1814 withdrawn without being consulted from the autocratic government of the king of Denmark and annexed to Sweden, they set up a very democratic legislature which the Swedish king was forced to recognise; but they were not able to control the ministers whom the Crown appointed. In Poland the Tsar Alexander I., in the first flush



PRINCE METTERNICH

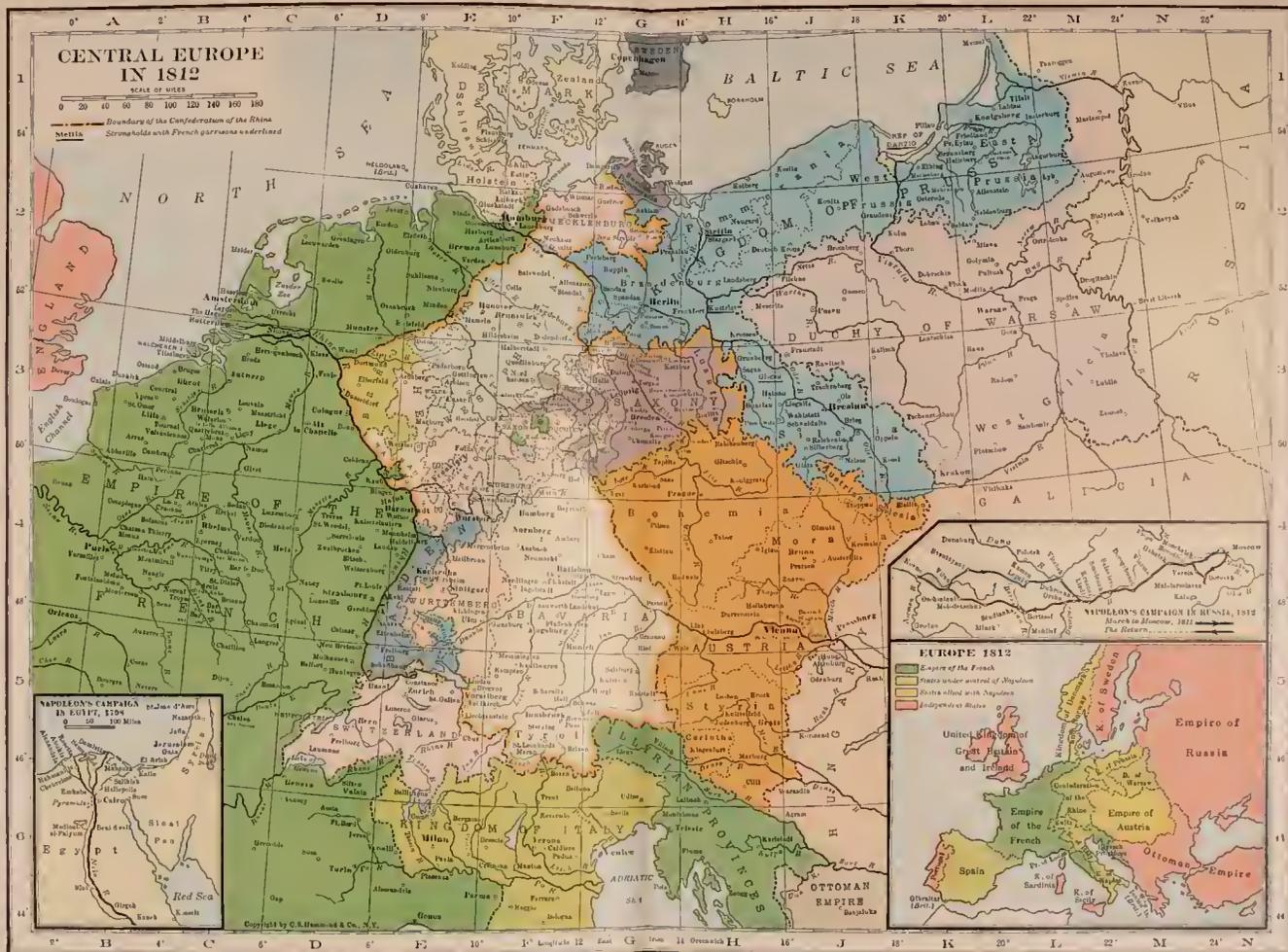
of his vague liberal sentiments, set up in 1814 a semblance of a parliamentary system; but from the first it had little power, and was soon swept aside altogether. In the Swiss cantons a great variety of systems prevailed, from the rudimentary democracy of the forest cantons to the oligarchy of Bern; but the practice of Switzerland had practically no influence upon the rest of Europe. Everywhere else despotism prevailed. At first the Great Powers, whose 'august union' formed the dominating factor in the Europe of 1815, professed a mild willingness to permit the existence of self-governing institutions, provided that they were on the most modest scale. [See HOLY ALLIANCE] . . . In Spain the leaders of the resistance against Napoleon had set up an extravagantly democratic system in 1812, but it was suppressed by the worthless King Ferdinand when he returned to his throne in 1814; nor did the ignorant and priest-ridden Spanish peasantry show any signs of regret for it. Alexander I of Russia thought himself a Liberal, but his liberal sentiments very quickly evaporated. Frederick

William III of Prussia had promised a constitution to his subjects in the excitement of 1813, but the promise was never fulfilled."—R. Muir, *National self-government*, pp. 63-66.

"Forty years of peace followed the treaties of Vienna. During that time the Industrial Revolution was introduced on the Continent, and the peoples of western Europe advanced rapidly in numbers, in wealth, and in political importance. The absence of wars between the great states was largely due to the influence of what was called the Grand Alliance. Originally this league was composed of the four Powers which had overthrown Napoleon (Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain). After 1818 France also was admitted to its councils. Its purpose was to maintain peace by enforcing the treaties of Vienna; but it developed into a league for suppressing Liberal ideas and upholding absolute government all over the Continent. The chief statesman of the Grand Alliance was Prince Metternich of Austria. He was a polished but cynical diplomatist who, until the middle of the nineteenth century, exercised a powerful influence in European politics. His ideas and policy were summed up, in his own words, as follows: 'The first need of society is to be maintained by strong authority, and not to govern itself. Therefore, let the governments govern, let them maintain the foundations of their institutions, both ancient and modern; for it is at all times dangerous to touch them. It certainly would not now, in the general confusion, be wise to do so.' More briefly, the essence of his policy has been declared to be, 'Do nothing, and let nothing be done,' in the way of democratic reforms or the disturbance of existing territorial arrangements. [See AUSTRIA: 1815-1835.] This was the policy which the five great Powers sought to enforce upon Europe. The means which they used were: (1) A series of congresses, held from time to time, in which the rulers or their representatives met to talk over the affairs of Europe. (2) When necessary, armed intervention was used; that is, one or more of the Powers were commissioned to interfere in the internal affairs of any state in which democratic movements threatened to disturb the peace of Europe, or to overthrow the sacred rights of legitimate sovereigns."—S. B. Harding, *New medieval and modern history*, pp. 567-568.—See also VIENNA, CONGRESS OF; AIX-LA-CHAPELLE: CONGRESS: 3.—"In face of these obstacles the demand for self-government, everywhere save in Britain, became a secret and underground movement. Just for that reason it was apt to assume extravagant forms, and to arouse by its mystery a vague terror among the ruling classes everywhere. . . . In most countries it drew its recruits mainly from among the professional classes. University professors and students (especially in Germany), military officers, lawyers, school-masters, and after a time the more educated artisans of the big towns, supplied its chief supporters. They were chiefly concerned in the unrest in Germany from 1810 onwards, which gave to Austria and Prussia the excuse for a rigid censorship of the Press and a close supervision of university teaching, and which persuaded the Diet of the German Confederation to prohibit the establishment of representative institutions. They brought about the revolutions of 1820-21 in Spain, Naples, and Piedmont; but these were so ill-conducted and aimed at such indefinite ends, that they would have collapsed of their own weakness even if the Powers had not intervened to suppress them. The main result of these first abortive attempts was that the Concert of Powers, with the sole exception of Britain, were brought to adopt an attitude of definite hostility

to the whole liberal movement, wherever and in whatever form it might show itself. [See also CONCERT OF POWERS: Efficacy.] . . . In 1830 a fresh and more earnest series of revolutionary movements broke out, beginning, as always, in France. They failed completely in Italy, in Germany; and in Poland, where they led only to an era of still more bitter and still more stupid reaction. But they obtained real and solid successes in Britain, in France, and in Belgium. These were, in truth, the first great victories for the cause of self-government during the nineteenth century; and in these three Western countries effective popular control over government was henceforth solidly established. There is much that is instructive in all these three revolutions, whose main result was the initiation of the experiment of middle-class rule, and it is worth while to analyse their outstanding features. In Britain alone did the change take place without overt violence, though even in Britain there was a good deal of rioting, and at more than one point during the two years' struggle for the first Reform Act it seemed almost impossible to avoid open fighting. [See also ENGLAND: 1830: Reform movement; 1830-1832.] In Belgium the establishment of a parliamentary system was the result of open rebellion against the subordination to Holland established in 1015 [see Belgium: 1830-1832]; in France it was achieved by fighting at the barricades in Paris. In Britain the main result of the revolution of 1830 was the enfranchisement of the middle class by the Reform Act of 1832. . . . The Cabinets of the mid-nineteenth century were as predominantly aristocratic in character as those of the eighteenth. But increasingly the governing ideas of national policy were coloured by the ideas of political and economic liberalism, of which the middle class was at this period the stronghold, in Britain as in other countries; and the doctrines of the middle-class prophets, Bentham and the Mills, Malthus and Ricardo, more and more determined the action of governments. The revolution of 1830 in France was less happy in its results, just because it was not supported by established tradition and habit of self-government. On the surface, indeed, the changes effected in the two countries seemed singularly alike. In France, as in Britain, the middle class now obtained political power. Moreover, as the new monarchy of the Orleanist branch held the throne (like William III. in 1688) by gift of the representatives of the nation, there could be no more talk of the parliamentary system existing by grace and by the grant of the Crown; no further claim, such as Charles X. had put forward, that the king could override the charter if in his discretion he thought fit to do so. To that extent 1830 may be said definitely to have established the sovereignty of the people in France, as 1688 established it in England. [See also FRANCE: 1815-1830.]

"The years from 1830 to 1848, which are pre-eminently the period of this underground fermentation, form one of the most fascinating periods of modern history; and it is strange that their essential features have been so little explored or discussed. For during these years, in a degree unknown in any other period, there was going on an all but universal European or cosmopolitan movement, mainly conducted in secret. Its object was the realisation of the twin ideals of Nationalism and Democracy, with which, here and there in the bigger centres of population, the new and half-formulated ideal of Socialism was beginning to be associated. . . . Inspired and encouraged by the success of the revolutions of 1830, partial and incomplete as it had been, the apostles of democracy



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devoted themselves during the following years to an ardent and unceasing propaganda, the main centres of which were to be found among the revolutionary exiles gathered in Paris and London, in Brussels and Bern; for these were the only important centres where free discussion was possible. This feverish propaganda spread over the whole of Europe, and was conducted by means of secret clubs, and the dissemination of pamphlets and other literature. Everywhere it was eagerly welcomed, especially by students, and by the more educated artisans of the great cities. Governments were only half aware of its magnitude and strength, and for that reason were completely taken by surprise by the sudden unanimous upheaval of 1848 which was its consequence. The elaborate police-systems of Austria and Prussia were quite unable to combat it or even to reveal it. It penetrated even into the vast inchoate mass of the Russian people, and gave rise (in reaction against ferocious repression) to the movement of Nihilism, which took its birth during these years. There was only one European country in which this democratic agitation was allowed to proceed quite openly. This was Britain, where it took the form of the Chartist movement—an organised demand for manhood suffrage, vote by ballot and annual elections, behind which lay vague and conflicting schemes of social reorganisation."—R. Muir, *National self-government*, pp. 67-71, 73, 77-78.—See also DEMOCRACY: Tendencies of the 19th century.

Political revolution of 1848.—Causes of its apparent failure.—Significance of the movement.—Results of the revolution revealed by 1855.—Successes due to the leadership of the middle classes.—“The year 1848 brought the sudden culmination of all this long underground preparation. In February of that year the Orleanist monarchy, and the middle-class system which it represented, suddenly collapsed before the barricades of Paris, and a democratic republic based on universal suffrage was set up in its place. With amazing speed the infection spread from France into the neighbouring countries, whose soil had been so laboriously prepared. It seized possession of all the states of Germany and Italy, and produced a simultaneous upheaval among the discordant nationalities of Austria. Everywhere, in the face of an apparently unanimous public demand, the ruling governments found it impossible to offer any resistance. Everywhere parliamentary institutions, based upon universal suffrage, were set up. The whole of Metternich's reactionary system tumbled to pieces like a house of cards. In Germany not only were all the states, including Prussia, driven to consent to the establishment of democratic government, but a single parliament, elected by universal suffrage, met at Frankfort to draw up a constitution for a new united German state. But in the autumn of 1848 the reaction began. By the middle of 1850 the complete democratic triumph which had seemed within sight had everywhere become hopeless. [See GERMANY: 1848 to 1848-1850.] By 1850 the old régime seemed to be, everywhere except in France, fully restored; and in France itself the democratic republic of 1848 had by 1852 passed into the despotic Second Empire, more repressive in its policy than the middle-class monarchy of Louis Philippe, or even the restoration-monarchy of Louis XVIII., had ever been. [See FRANCE: 1842-1848 to 1851-1852.] The Austrian Empire returned to a hide-bound system of reaction yet more severe than that which had existed from 1815 to 1848. [See AUSTRIA: 1848-1850; 1840-1850.] Italy sank back again into disunion, and in every Italian state save one the old dark tyranny revived. In Germany the

deadening forms of the Confederation of 1815, which had been swept aside in 1848, were re-established, and the petty princes were left free to re-establish unqualified personal rule, and in most cases did so. From all these lands, so recently full of great hopes, a throng of exiles poured forth to take refuge in Britain or in America, and the victory of the system of self-government seemed in 1850 to be more distant than ever. Yet the failure of 1848 is highly instructive. It was due to two main causes. The first was that its leaders, and still more the bulk of their followers, were everywhere impracticable theorists, without any real experience in political affairs. The second was that because the democratic movement was cosmopolitan in character, and wholly disregarded distinctions of national tradition and temper, it came inevitably into conflict with the prickly spirit of national pride, which was a factor in the '48 even more potent than the Liberal movement itself. The Liberal cause was ruined in Austria by the antipathy between Magyars and Slavs. It was ruined in Germany by the difficulty of reconciling the demand for the unity of all the German lands (including German Austria) with the demand for an effective central representative control. It was ruined in Italy partly by provincial particularism, and partly by the failure of the Austrian peoples to recognise that the Italian cause was identical with their own; they combined with their zeal for liberty a resolution not to let their subject peoples escape from their rule, and therefore provided the armies which first crushed the Italian resistance, and could then be turned back upon their own insecurely established liberties."—R. Muir, *National self-government*, pp. 80-83.—“It would be incorrect to assume that the French Revolution of February, 1848, was the sole reason for those other disturbances that forced so many monarchs to tremble for their thrones. It was the occasion of the outbreak, but the causes were more deeply seated. There was a distinct sign of change in the working classes of all nations. Peace had brought prosperity; and prosperity had in turn created a spirit of antagonism towards the political barriers that monarchs had apparently created as checks towards future progress."—R. W. Jeffery, *New Europe*, p. 251.—The revolutionary movements at first glance, seemed on the whole to be a failure, but this was not so. “By 1855 the results of the period of liberal revolutions had been fully revealed. They were greater than could have been anticipated by any but the most sanguine prophets in 1815. The forms, at least, of representative government had been instituted in most of the European states. But there were only four states—Britain, Belgium, Holland, and Sardinia—in which the main lines of national policy were effectively determined by the representatives of the nation. In France universal suffrage, prematurely established, had led to the military autocracy of Napoleon III. In Prussia the old ruling factors retained their supremacy, unaffected by the forms of Parliament. Denmark had followed the Prussian example, and neither the old-fashioned estates of Sweden, nor the democratic assembly of Norway, had any control over the executive government. Spain had been nominally a constitutional state since 1834, but she was ruled in fact by a succession of cliques and military dictators. Portugal, nominally constitutional since 1826, was in much the same condition. Neither of these countries can in any real sense be described as self-governing, because in neither were the people sufficiently educated to be able to use the machinery that had been set up. Greece had obtained a parliamentary system in 1843, but it had been made

futile by the policy of the German prince, Otho of Bavaria, who occupied the Greek throne; and he was able thus to use the representative machinery, in the Prussian manner, as a sort of veil for absolutism, mainly because the people were not yet educated into the capacity for self-government. In the Austrian Empire, and in all the Italian states save Sardinia, a brutal and blind reaction was triumphant. In Russia and the Turkish Empire the supremacy of despotism had not yet been even shaken. Yet it was a real success which these forty years had achieved. In all the most progressive states the principle of popular participation in government had been, however grudgingly, accepted. These successes were, for the most part, due to the leadership of the middle classes, and they represented, on the whole, a victory for middle-class ideas, and especially for the ideas of the energetic classes of capitalist *entrepreneurs* who were everywhere guiding the fortunes of the new industries. They desired a share in government partly, of course, because the spirit of liberty was working in them. But they desired it also as a means of securing the removal of vexatious restrictions upon the operation of the potent new forces which they controlled. Freedom for them meant, in a pre-eminent degree, economic freedom, the withdrawal of restraints upon industry. They did not wish for political power in order that they might use it for the construction of a new social order, because they did not believe in the deliberate design or regulation of social activities by the state; in their view the new order would grow most healthily if it was left to itself. This view was most strongly held in Britain, where the influence of the industrial-capitalist class was more powerful than anywhere else; and in Britain this was pre-eminently the age of 'Manchesterism' and of *laissez-faire*: But the same attitude was perceptible in all the other lands where the industrial change was at work, though in other countries it was qualified and restrained by the surviving power of the old ruling elements, and by the tradition of strong government."—R. Muir, *National self-government*, pp. 93-95.—See also CONSTITUTIONS: 1850-1880.

Russia's part in European history.—Causes for its late development.—Lack of homogeneity.—Lack of contact with Europe until after the Renaissance.—Peter the Great and the shifting of Russian currents westward.—"For many centuries Russia had stood almost apart from the general current of European history. Her size is so very great and her development has been so very different from that of her sister nations that it may be said, with some degree of truth, that Russia constitutes a separate continent wedged in between Europe and Asia. This great empire has lagged far behind the other European nations in civilization and in political development. During the thirteenth century, when Western Europe had succeeded in establishing some degree of stable civilization under feudalism, Russia was still semi-barbaric; during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Western Europe was passing from feudalism toward national monarchy, Russia was moving toward a kind of feudalism; during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when Western Europe was shaping constitutional governments, Russia was establishing absolute monarchy; for a generation preceding the World War, when Western Europe was rapidly putting government on a thoroughly democratic basis, be it in royal or republican form, Russia was desperately trying to establish a constitutional régime. The explanation for this backwardness must not be sought in the character of the Russian people, . . . for it is no more the

nature of the Russian to be conservative than it is the nature of the Frenchman to be progressive. In the highest forms of human endeavor, art, literature, and science, Russia has given striking evidence of a high degree of culture and originality. Tolstoy, Turgeniev, and Dostoevsky in literature; Tschaiikovsky and Rubinstein in music; Antokolsky and Verestchagin in art; Mendeleiev and Metchnikov in science, are names of which the most civilized nations could be proud. The answer or answers must be sought elsewhere. In the first place, Russia had never been a part of the ancient Roman Empire; hence it did not receive the blessings of the classical civilization, the inestimable heritage of the nations of Western Europe. Secondly, Russia was outside of the pale of the great Catholic civilization of the Middle Ages, for the Slavic barbarians were first Christianized well along in the eleventh century by missionaries from Constantinople, who did not spread Greek civilization as effectively as the missionaries from Rome had spread Latin civilization. Thirdly, the Russians unfortunately, were conquered early in the thirteenth century by the semi-barbarous Tartars, who ruled the country for almost three centuries, and did their part in keeping Russia backward. In her early history the country consisted of what is now called Great Russia, an inland region of which the city of Moscow is the center. Having no seacoast, she could not get into close communication with the Mediterranean civilization of the South or with the Atlantic civilization of the West. Russia was a vast, landlocked, undulating plain over which barbarians roamed, a land so wild that it was hard to tell where 'man left off and nature began.' Cut off as she was from Western Europe, Russia missed the enlightenment and stimulus of the Renaissance and the vigorous shock of the Protestant Revolution. Even the waves of the French Revolution, which rolled over and flooded the lands of the Western nations, dashed in vain against the granite breakwater of Russian conservatism."—J. S. Schapiro, *Modern and contemporary European history*, pp. 499-500.—It is well to remember that Russia of the eighteenth century was composed mainly of the district known as Great Russia, and was much more homogeneous than the huge empire of the twentieth century which had grown by later accretions, which was held together only by the authority of the Czar, and of which large sections were lost with his fall. Parts of this later empire held and still hold no unity of any sort; neither ethnic, linguistic nor religious. Russia of the eighteenth century, when it first came into prominence in the international history and politics of Europe was more compact than the later empire, and more easily influenced by the legislation enacted by Peter the Great. "Peter the Great, if judged by the effect of his work on the development of Russia, must be considered one of the greatest figures of the eighteenth century. But the state of Russia at that time was too far removed from that of its more advanced neighbours for his reign to present many points of direct contact with the liberalism of the Western monarchies. Yet he has claims to an honourable position among the reforming sovereigns. The transfer of the hegemony of the North from Sweden to Russia, and the conversion of the latter from an Asiatic state into an influential European power, were events which demonstrated in good season the possible strength of autocracy. Henceforth the Western states had to reckon with a Russian factor in their international policy. This obligation, it is true, they at first believed to involve few less favourable incidents than assistance in partitioning Poland, or gratuitous crusades for the

discomfiture of the Turk, but it nevertheless urged with considerable cogency the possibilities within the reach of absolute power. . . . Nor did the effects of Peter's example stop here. Semi-barbarian though he was, and benighted as was his country, he exhibited in a conspicuous manner traits peculiarly characteristic of the liberal absolutism of the eighteenth century. To guide him in reforming the internal administration of Russia, he had recourse to the philosopher Leibniz; and to help him in improving the material and intellectual resources of his country, he laid under contribution every department of Western civilization. He despised no part of the enlightenment of his time, and ever showed himself to be animated by its spirit. . . . His rule was despotic to a degree known only by Russia among European nations. Yet he showed himself above all inspired with the belief that he was the trustee for his people, that it was for his nation that he worked, and that in his nation he would find the only worthy and enduring success. He loved the Russian people, says Kostomárov, not in the sense of the Russians contemporary with and subject to him, but in the sense of that ideal to which he wished to bring the people. . . . For Russia itself, Peter's greatest work was the annihilation of those barriers which had shut out the country from the influences of European civilization. Contact with the West was his prime concern and his most fruitful achievement. . . . His administrative reforms, his foundation of a system of popular education, his transference to the Crown of the power of the patriarchate, his endeavours to disseminate knowledge, and his attempt to lay upon Slavic barbarism a veneer of foreign manners, would have wrought but little had the country been left in Muscovite seclusion. As it was, Russia did not immediately profit to any great extent by these internal improvements. The force of the conservative opposition was so great that Peter's reforms would have sunk into abeyance on the removal of his stern will, unless influences from abroad had continued with short intermissions to breathe into them vital energy. When Peter died, the empire fell into the hands of an oligarchy tutored by the example of Sweden on the death of Charles XII. In his lifetime Peter found it impossible to form a staff of honest and capable agents; and when he did not employ foreigners, he had to depend on terror to secure the execution of his commands. On his death, the one Russian patriot was no more. All hope of further progress depended on the operation of foreign civilization, or the appearance of some great and enlightened successor. . . . On the organization of classes, Peter left a deep and lasting impression. . . . [As a result of his rule, and that of his successors, during the first half of the nineteenth century it came about that the upper classes of Russian society were drawn with wonderful rapidity into the vortex of European civilization while the bulk of the people remained almost stationary, and, chained to the soil and service of superiors, the Russian boors were cut off from all access to the West]; the traders pursued their calling, unharassed by the difficulties of the Archangel route, and slowly drew through the Baltic the advantages of intercourse with more advanced nations; the nobility, persuaded to renounce territorial importance, sought honourable employment by thronging the government service, and strove to shine by assuming the semblance of European culture. . . . Peter, by his sole exertions, compelled a vast empire to enter irrevocably into the fertilizing medium of European civilization."—A Weir, *Introduction to the history of modern Europe*, pp. 14-19.—But the peasants, down through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were scarcely lifted from the bottom of the abyss of superstition and ignorance in which the seventeenth century found them, while an ever widening gap was made between them and the landed nobility. The result was the revolution of our day, with what profound effect upon the civilization of the world, no one can yet say.—See also RUSSIA.

Wars of the Great Powers (1848-1878).—Crimean War.—Solferino campaign and the unification of Italy.—Austro-Prussian conflicts.—Franco-Prussian war.—Balkan uprisings.—Significance of the Treaties of Frankfort (1871) and Berlin (1873).—After the Napoleonic wars Alexander I of Russia vainly hoped to keep Europe at peace by the slender thread of the Holy Alliance—a treaty made between the crowned heads of the four Great Powers—and by a strange freak of irony the first break came through the ambitious policy of his successor. Peace between the nations, however, was kept for over a quarter of a century; the whole of Europe was war weary, and the internal conditions of the individual countries precluded all possibilities of war for a time. When the break did come it was not premeditated by the transgressor, Nicholas I of Russia. He had no desire for war, but thought to steal a march on the other powers, and gain a hold on the possessions of the Turk (whom he dubbed the "sick man of Europe"). Turkey had already lost important parts of its European possessions; the map of the south of Europe had begun to change, the stage was being set for the great struggle of 1914.

"Shortly after the Congress of Vienna the Serbians, who had for a number of years been in revolt against the Turks, were able to establish their practical independence (1817), and Serbia, with Belgrade as its capital, became a principality tributary to Turkey. . . . The next state to gain its independence was Greece, whose long conflict against Turkish despotism aroused throughout Europe the sympathy of all who appreciated the glories of ancient Greece [see GREECE: 1821-1820]. . . . At the opening of the nineteenth century . . . the national spirit once more awoke in Greece, and able writers made modern Greek a literary language and employed it in stirring appeals to the patriotism of their fellow countrymen. In 1821 an insurrection broke out in Morea, as the ancient Peloponnesus is now called. . . . On January 27, 1822, the Greek national assembly issued a proclamation of independence. . . . [The Russians played a prominent part in the negotiations which freed Greece and also] forced the Sultan to grant practical independence to the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia which came thereby under Russian influence. Turkey was no longer able to oppose the wishes of the allies, and in 1832 Greece became an independent state. . . . [This the Tsar thought, gave him the looked for opportunity to claim the right to act as protector of the Christians throughout the Turkish dominions. He demanded that the Sultan should grant this right, and refusal by the Porte provided the excuse, sought by Nicholas, to occupy the Danube principalities. But] when news of this situation reached Paris, Napoleon III, who had recently become emperor, declared that France, in virtue of earlier treaties with the Porte, enjoyed the right to protect Catholic Christians. He found an ally in England, who was fearful that Russia might wrest Constantinople from the Turks and so get control of the Dardanelles and the eastern Mediterranean [her route to India]. When the Tsar's troops marched into the Turkish dominions, France and England came to the Sultan's assistance and declared war upon Russia in 1854. [The

outcome of a miserable war, and of the defeat of Russia was the Treaty of Paris, 1856, by which] the 'Sublime Porte' was taken into the family of European powers, from which it had hitherto been excluded as a barbarous government, and the other powers agreed not to interfere further with the domestic affairs of Turkey."—J. H. Robinson, *Medieval and modern times*, pp. 690-693.—See also RUSSIA: 1853-1854 to 1854-1856.—"The next phase of interest in this revival of the Great Power drama was the exploitation by the Emperor Napoleon III and the king of the small kingdom of Sardinia in North Italy, of the inconveniences and miseries of the divided state of Italy, and particularly of the Austrian rule in the north. The King of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel, made an old-time bargain for Napoleon's help in return for the provinces of Nice and Savoy. The war between France and Sardinia on the one hand, and Austria on the other, broke out in 1859, and was over in a few weeks. The Austrians were badly beaten at Magenta and Solferino. Then, being threatened by Prussia on the Rhine, Napoleon made peace, leaving Sardinia the richer for Lombardy."—H. G. Wells, *Outline of history*, v. 2, pp. 440, 441.—"Italy was now ready to fuse into a single state. Tuscany, as well as Modena and Parma, voted (March, 1860) to unite with Piedmont. Garibaldi, . . . sailed for Sicily, where he assumed the dictatorship of the island in the name of Victor Emmanuel, 'King of Italy,' . . . and early in September he entered Naples itself, just as the king [Francis II, of Naples] fled from his capital. Garibaldi now proposed to march on Rome, [but the time for this had not come, and at the desire of Napoleon III the city was left in possession of the Pope although the rest of the Papal possessions were seized]. In February, 1861, the first Italian parliament was opened at Turin, and the process of really amalgamating the heterogeneous portions of the new kingdom [under Victor Emmanuel as king] began. [See also AUSTRIA: 1856-1859; ITALY: 1856-1859; 1859-1861.] . . .

"We must now follow the story of modern Prussia and see how its ruling classes, by means of three wars, made themselves masters of Germany. . . . The attempt of the constitutional assembly of Frankfurt in 1848-1849 to form a strong *democratic* empire under Prussia failed, because the king of Prussia refused to accept the crown, on the ground that the assembly had no right to offer it to him and that should he accept it he would, as he timidly feared, become involved in a war with Austria, which was excluded from the proposed union. With the accession of William I in 1858, a new era dawned for Prussia. An ambitious king came into power, whose great aim was to expel Austria from the German Confederation, and out of the remaining states to construct a firm union, under the domination of Prussia, which should take its place among the more important states of Europe. . . . In order to bring about the expulsion of Austria from the German Confederation, Bismarck took advantage of a situation that had already caused trouble in Germany, and which was known as the Schleswig-Holstein affair. The provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, although inhabited largely by Germans, had for centuries belonged to the king of Denmark. They were allowed, however, to retain their provincial assemblies, and were not considered a part of Denmark. . . . In 1863 the king of Denmark ventured, in spite of the opposition of Prussia, to incorporate Schleswig into his kingdom. Bismarck's first step was to invite Austria to cooperate with Prussia in settling the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty. As Denmark refused to

make any concessions, the two powers declared war, defeated the Danish army, and forced the king of Denmark to cede Schleswig-Holstein to the rulers of Prussia and Austria *jointly* (October, 1864). They were to make such disposition of the provinces as they saw fit. There was now no trouble in picking a quarrel with Austria. . . . Relations between [the two countries] grew more and more strained until finally, in June, 1866, Austria was compelled to call out the forces of the confederation to protect herself against Prussia. . . . All resistance on the part of the states of the north was promptly prevented, Austria was defeated on July 3 in the decisive battle of Sadowa, and within three weeks after the breaking off of diplomatic relations the war was practically over. Austria's influence was at an end, and Prussia had established her power to do with Germany as she pleased. [See also GERMANY: 1861-1866 to 1866-1867.] . . . No one was more chagrined by the abrupt termination of the war of 1866 and the speedy and decisive victory of Prussia than Napoleon III. He had hoped that the combatants might be weakened by a long struggle, and that at last he might have an opportunity to arbitrate and incidentally to extend the boundaries of France, as had happened after the Italian war. But Prussia came out of the conflict with greatly increased power and territory, while France had gained nothing. . . . His hopes of annexing Luxembourg as an offset for the gains that Prussia had made were also frustrated. One course remained for the French emperor, namely, to permit himself to be forced into a war with Prussia, which had especially roused the jealousy of France. The nominal pretext for hostilities was relatively unimportant. [War was declared by France in July, 1870.] . . . In a series of bloody encounters about Metz one of the French armies was defeated and finally shut up within the fortifications of the town. Seven weeks had not elapsed after the beginning of the war before the Germans had captured a second French army and made a prisoner of the emperor himself in the great battle of Sedan, September 1, 1870. The Germans then surrounded and laid siege to Paris. Napoleon III had been completely discredited by the disasters about Metz and at Sedan, and consequently the empire was abolished and France for the third time was declared a republic. [See also GERMANY: 1866-1870; FRANCE: 1870 (July-August) to 1871 (January-May).] In spite of the energy which the new government showed in arousing the French against the invaders, prolonged resistance was impossible. The French capital surrendered January 28, 1871, an armistice was arranged, and the war was to all intents and purposes over. . . . The war between France and Prussia in 1870, instead of hindering the development of Germany as Napoleon III had hoped it would, only served to consummate the work of 1866. The South German states,—Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and south Hesse,—having sent their troops to fight side by side with the Prussian forces, consented after their common victory over France to join the North German Federation. Surrounded by the German princes, William, King of Prussia and President of the North German Federation, was proclaimed German Emperor in the palace of Versailles, January, 1871. [See GERMANY: 1871 (January).] In this way the German Empire came into existence. With its victorious army and its wily chancellor, Bismarck, it immediately took an important place among the western powers of Europe and sought to increase its power."—J. H. Robinson, *Medieval and modern times*, pp. 612, 613, 615, 616, 617, 619, 620, 622.—By the Treaty of Frankfort, signed in 1871, France

was compelled to pay a large indemnity, and to cede to the victors all Alsace and part of the province of Lorraine. [See FRANCE: 1871 (January-May).] Six years later, Russia was again at war with Turkey over the Balkan countries, and the Near Eastern question had become acute. "In 1874 a failure of crops aggravated the intolerable conditions [in the Balkans] and an insurrection broke out in Bosnia and Herzegovina which set the whole Balkan peninsula aflame. . . . While the European powers, in their usual fashion, were exchanging futile diplomatic notes on the situation, Serbia and Montenegro declared war on the Sultan, and the Christians in the Balkan region made a frantic appeal to the West for immediate help. . . . The negotiations of the powers having come to nothing, Russia determined, in 1877, to act alone. Although the Turks fought well, Russia was victorious, and in 1878 a Russian army entered Adrianople. [See also RUSSIA: 1875-1877; TURKEY: 1861-1877; 1877-1878; 1878.] The Sultan was forced to sign a treaty with the Tsar and to recognize the independence of Serbia, Montenegro, Roumania, and Bulgaria. England and Austria had naturally serious objections to this treaty which increased the influence of Russia in the Balkan peninsula. They accordingly forced Tsar Alexander II to submit the whole matter to the consideration of a general European congress at Berlin. After prolonged and stormy sessions the Congress of Berlin agreed that Servia, Roumania, and little Montenegro should be regarded as entirely independent of Turkey, and that Bulgaria should also be independent, except for the payment of a tribute to the Sultan. Bosnia, where the insurrection had begun, and the small province of Herzegovina were practically taken from the Sultan and turned over to Austria to be occupied and administered by her. Russia was given a tract east of the Black Sea. A few years after the congress Bulgaria quietly annexed the neighboring province of Eastern Roumelia, thus adding to her own importance and further decreasing what remained of Turkey in Europe. All that was left of the Turkish empire in Europe was a narrow strip of territory—less in extent than the state of Missouri—extending from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, to which the name 'Macedonia' was generally applied."—J. H. Robinson, *Medieval and modern times*, pp. 604-605.—The treaties of Frankfurt and Berlin had a profound effect upon the history of Europe. Their effects provided some of the chief irritants which resulted in provoking the Great War.—See also BERLIN, CONGRESS OF.

Imperialism.—Its growth from nationalism.—Meaning and motives of imperialism.—"Imperialism, the getting and holding colonial empire, was probably an inevitable stage in the evolution of mankind. It resulted partly from the superior power of some of the European nations and their greater ambitions which developed, partly because of the changes which accompanied the Industrial Revolution. After the introduction of the railroad and the steamship the world seemed smaller and its parts closer together. As a consequence of changes in the nineteenth century the population and the industries of Europe greatly expanded. The surplus population of England, Italy, and Germany went outside to other places. Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa were all built up by such emigration, while the abler or the more adventurous went forth to such countries as India and Egypt to direct and govern the natives. For a long time great numbers of Germans left their homes, and many Italians went also, but they settled in the possessions of other powers, and were lost to the countries that produced them. There was

nothing which German leaders lamented more than that Germany had no colonies to which her emigrants would go and there develop a greater and vaster German Empire. Moreover, the expanding industrialism of countries like the German Empire and Great Britain fostered an increasing population, which could not be supported by domestic agriculture and which could get its food only by selling manufactured products abroad. Often it seemed to imperialists that these manufactures could be best sold in colonial possessions, and it was true that the colonies of Britain and France bought many things from them. Furthermore, industrialism depended on a supply of raw materials. A considerable portion of such products was, in the colonial empires, especially of Great Britain, Holland, and France. After the old colonial system was ended in the earlier part of the nineteenth century Britain did not bar other countries from trading with her colonies, but some powers were not so liberal, and there was always the possibility that a state might attempt to monopolize the resources of its colonial possessions. So, German imperialists believed it necessary for Germany's greatness that lands producing cotton, copper, rubber, and oil should be taken and held. Even when it was doubtful whether the mass of the people would be benefited by colonial acquisitions, and very doubtful whether colonies were wanted by them, individuals who hoped to gain special privileges of great wealth, or who wanted protection for their investments, were often able to arouse the patriotism of the rest of the people and their love of greatness and glory for their country, and lead them on to support colonial adventure. And just as small businesses were being consolidated into great corporations, so a large part of the resources of the earth were being gathered into the possession of the principal powers. It seemed to many that the future lay only with those powers, like Russia and the United States, which had vast territory in which to expand, or with those like Great Britain and France, which had obtained colonies over the sea. The German desire to get more territory or colonies while time still remained was probably one of the major causes of the Great War. [See also WORLD WAR: Causes: Indirect: h, 1, 2; i.] The subject populations were, probably, on the whole, better off than they would have been if left to themselves. That some of them were harshly and cruelly treated, that at best they had usually an inferior status, that they were often exploited, that they were ruled by aliens, that democracy and self-government were never extended to them, that they were denied many things which their European masters had, is quite true. If all this be considered from the point of view of what European liberals wanted for themselves, it appears very lamentable indeed. But it must be remembered that the people of Algeria, of India, of Egypt, and of Burma had not been able to develop democracy or much well being for the masses; that the negroes of Africa were far down in the scale of mankind, and that those who could survive were being rapidly lifted up through whole stages of human progress. Whatever evils attended imperialism, and they were not few or small, it is probable that the peoples affected were benefited and prepared for things better to come. It is certain, also, that Americans and Englishmen and Frenchmen were coming to have greater concern for their responsibilities and ever-greater desire to protect and improve the condition of the peoples over whom they ruled."—E. R. Turner, *Europe since 1870*, pp. 302-304.

"One of the most remarkable features of the modern age has been the extension of European

civilisation over the whole world. . . . It has been brought about by the creation of a succession of 'Empires' by the European nations, some of which have broken up, while others survive, but all of which have contributed their share to the general result; and for that reason the term 'Imperialism' is commonly employed to describe the spirit which has led to this astonishing and world-embracing movement of the modern age. The terms 'Empire' and 'Imperialism' are in some respects unfortunate, because of the suggestion of purely military dominion which they convey; and their habitual employment has led to some unhappy results. . . . There are four main motives which can be perceived at work in all the imperial activities of the European peoples during the last four centuries. The first, and perhaps the most potent, is the spirit of national pride, seeking to express itself in the establishment of its dominion over less highly organised peoples. In the exultation which follows the achievement of national unity each of the nation-states in turn, if the circumstances were at all favourable, has been tempted to impose its power over its neighbours, or even to seek the mastery of the world. From these attempts have sprung the greatest of the European wars. From them also have arisen all the colonial empires of the European states. . . . Nationalism, then, with its eagerness for dominion, may be regarded as the chief source of imperialism; and if its effects are unhappy when it tries to impress itself at the expense of peoples in whom the potentiality of nationhood exists, they are not necessarily unhappy in other cases. When it takes the form of the settlement of unpeopled lands, or the organisation and development of primitive barbaric peoples, or the reinvigoration and strengthening of old and decadent societies, it may prove itself a beneficent force. But it is beneficent only in so far as it leads to an enlargement of law and liberty. The second of the blended motives of imperial expansion is the desire for commercial profits; and this motive has played so prominent a part, especially in our own time, that we are apt to exaggerate its force, and to think of it as the sole motive. No doubt it has always been present in some degree in all imperial adventures. But until the nineteenth century it probably formed the predominant motive only in regard to the acquisition of tropical lands. So long as Europe continued to be able to produce as much as she needed of the food and the raw materials for industry that her soil and climate were capable of yielding, the commercial motive for acquiring territories in the temperate zone, which could produce only commodities of the same type, was comparatively weak; and the European settlements in these areas, which we have come to regard as the most important products of the imperialist movement, must in their origin and early settlement be mainly attributed to other than commercial motives. But Europe has always depended for most of her luxuries upon the tropics: gold and ivory and gems, spices and sugar and fine woven stuffs, have from a very early age found their way into Europe from India and the East, coming by slow and devious caravan routes to the shores of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. . . . Hence the acquisition of a share in, or a monopoly of, these lucrative lines of trade became a primary object of ambition to all the great states. In the nineteenth century Europe began to be unable to supply her own needs in regard to the products of the temperate zone, and therefore to desire control over other areas of this type; but until then it was mainly in regard to the tropical or sub-tropical areas that the commercial motive formed the predominant element in

the imperial rivalries of the nation-states. And even to-day it is over these areas that their conflicts are most acute. A third motive for imperial expansion, which must not be overlooked, is the zeal for propaganda: the eagerness of virile peoples to propagate the religious and political ideas which they have adopted. But this is only another way of saying that nations are impelled upon the imperial career by the desire to extend the influence of their conception of civilisation, their *Kultur*. In one form or another this motive has always been present. At first it took the form of religious zeal. . . . In English colonisation, indeed, the missionary motive was never so strongly marked. But its place was taken by a parallel political motive. The belief that they were diffusing the free institutions in which they took so much pride certainly formed an element in the colonial activities of the English. . . . The fourth of the governing motives of imperial expansion is the need of finding new homes for the surplus population of the colonising people. This was not in any country a very powerful motive until the nineteenth century, for over-population did not exist in any serious degree in any of the European states until that age. Many of the political writers in seventeenth-century England, indeed, regarded the whole movement of colonisation with alarm, because it seemed to be drawing off men who could not be spared. . . . It is often said that the overflow of Europe over the world has been a sort of renewal of the folk-wandering of primitive ages. That is a misleading view: the movement has been far more deliberate and organised, and far less due to the pressure of external circumstances, than the early movements of peoples in the Old World. Not until the nineteenth century, when the industrial transformation of Europe brought about a really acute pressure of population, can it be said that the mere pressure of need, and the shortage of sustenance in their older homes, has sent large bodies of settlers into the new lands. Until that period the imperial movement has been due to voluntary and purposive action in a far higher degree than any of the blind early wanderings of peoples. The will-to-dominion of virile nations exulting in their nationhood; the desire to obtain a more abundant supply of luxuries than had earlier been available, and to make profits therefrom; the zeal of peoples to impose their mode of civilization upon as large a part of the world as possible; the existence in the Western world of many elements of restlessness and dissatisfaction, adventurers, portionless younger sons, or religious enthusiasts: these have been the main operative causes of this huge movement during the greater part of the four centuries over which it has extended."—R. Muir, *Expansion of Europe*, pp. 4-6, 8, 10-11.—See also COLONIZATION; IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION: European problems.

Russia in the nineteenth century.—Chief factors in the Russian liberal movement.—Emancipation of the serfs.—Effect of industrial revolution in Russia.—Rise of Marxian socialism.—Bolshevik movement.—"The great French ideas of the Revolution and Napoleon's time scarcely even touched Russia, whose people remained unreached by the influences that so profoundly altered life in the western half of the Continent. The government was an autocracy, with all the power of Church and State concentrated in the hands of the ruler, the tsar, while administration was actually carried on by a bureaucracy of numerous officials appointed by him and responsible to him. There was a small upper class of nobles, many of them poor and without much power. There was a small *bourgeoisie*, so scanty as compared with the vast num-

bers in the realm as scarcely to have any weight. Beneath was the great mass of the nation, the peasants, living in their lonely and dirty little villages in the forest and over the plains, carrying on a primitive agriculture, devoted adherents of the Greek Catholic or Orthodox faith, living in village communities and bound in serfdom, much as the peasants of western Europe had lived two or three centuries before. Few of these people could read or write. Most of them had the intellectual outlook of medieval peasants. Save in the petty concerns of their villages none of them had aught to do with the government of the country or any control over it. Many of them were oppressed by the judges and officials. For most of them life was hard and poverty-stricken, lonely, meager, and bare. . . . During the lifetime of Nicholas I [1796-1855] western and radical ideas had been almost completely kept out of Russia, through repression, censorship, and the unceasing vigilance of spies and police. Meanwhile, there was not only no progress in the country, but deterioration and decay set in, while the government became constantly more corrupt and inefficient. [Alexander I died in 1825, and his successor's reign was ushered in by a brief, badly organized revolt—the December conspiracy—which he never forgot or forgave. This, in spite of repressive methods, was the starting point of the liberal movement, which by devious, underground ways brought to light, in turn, emancipation, *Zemstvos* and the *Duma*.] So long as Russia was considered invincible in war it was possible to uphold the system [of repression] but during the Crimean War (1854-6) Russian armies were shamefully defeated, and it was evident that the people's discontent with evil conditions and poor administration at length would have to be appeased. . . . By the abolition of serfdom (1850-1866) [during the reign of Alexander II] the peasants were relieved of manorial obligations, made completely free, and given part of the lands on which they had worked. In 1864 the judicial system was reformed, jury trial and western principles being introduced. At the same time larger rights of local self-government were granted in the rural divisions, and, in 1870, also in the cities. But by that time the reform movement in Russia had come to an end. On the one hand there was reaction because the upper class believed that too-great innovations had been made. On the other hand, there was great disillusion and disappointment on the part of numerous simple people who had expected everything to be reformed, but who at once discovered much of evil still remaining. . . . [About the middle of the century the Nihilistic movement appeared, and for a time became a great force, its aim being the destruction of all existing institutions in Russia. Anarchism too had for a time a strong hold on individuals, and through them on nihilism; but because of its individualistic character, its influence was temporary.] The great turning-point in the history of Russia in the nineteenth century had come a little before 1870, following the disasters of the Crimean War and the death of Nicholas I, when, after a long period of conservatism and repression, it had seemed necessary at last to undertake changes and reforms. . . . In 1870 *dumas*, or councils, were established in the Russian cities. . . . Other changes were made, and it seemed that much improvement must result, but [Alexander II changed his policy to one of repression, and] disappointment and reaction soon clouded the prospect. [Denied the right of free speech, the revolutionists developed the system of plotting and spying known as underground Russia and adopted the use of firearms and bombs to which Alexander II

owed his death in 1881, when he was on the point of granting a constitution.] The forerunner of the great changes soon to take place . . . was the Industrial Revolution, after the emancipation of the serfs the most important thing in the history of Russia in the nineteenth century. . . . The consequences of the new industrialism in Russia were to some extent what they had been long before in England and France and later on in Austria-Hungary and the German Empire. About the middle of the nineteenth century more than nine tenths of the people of the Russian Empire lived scattered in the country, where they carried on their rude agricultural work. Upon this rural population, ignorant and extremely conservative, the earlier reformers and radicals had been unable to make any impression, and so the nihilist movement had come to an end largely because it remained a movement with leaders but without followers among the people. Now there grew up a larger urban population, an industrial proletariat more quickly responsive to the ideas of leaders who wished to change the government and the system that existed. [Alexander III continued the repressive methods of his predecessor.] . . . There now rose up the party of the Social Democrats, who hoped that later on the existing system would be overthrown, after which, in a regenerated Russia, there might be established the socialism which Karl Marx had once taught in western Europe. The new leaders obtained adherents more easily than the old, yet the urban population of Russia at the end of the century was still less than 14 per cent. of the whole. But the new ideas soon began to affect also the mass of the peasants, hitherto inert. The Social Democratic Party of the workmen organized the factory operatives of the towns, who tried to better their condition and get their reforms by strikes. Among the peasants, who had no land or who had not enough land to support them, the Socialist Revolutionary Party rose up, these peasants desiring to take from the great proprietors their estates, which were then to be divided among the peasants in small holdings. . . . [In the war of 1904-1905] Russia . . . yielded to Japan partly because her resources were strained, but mostly because such unrest and confusion had arisen that the whole structure of her government seemed near to collapse. The system which the government had upheld by force, by arbitrary arrests, by secret trial, by banishment to Siberia, through the power of the secret police and the army, could be maintained only so long as Russia was at peace. Now the government was deeply involved in a distant war . . . in which patriotic fervor was never aroused. . . . So the radicals among the workmen of the towns, the radical peasants in the country, the liberals of the upper and middle classes, and all the oppressed peoples—the Jews, the Poles, the Finns, and others—turned against the authorities; and in the confusion of the war it was no longer possible to resist them. . . . Nicholas II soon yielded to the general clamor. . . . In August, 1905, he proclaimed a law establishing an Imperial *Duma*, or assembly, to advise him in legislative work. . . . Then he issued the *October Manifesto* which established freedom of religion, of speech, and of association, and promised that thereafter no law should be made without the *Duma's* consent. A series of decrees provided that the members of the *Duma* should be elected practically by universal suffrage. The old Council of State, which had been much like a king's council in the Middle Ages, was now changed so that part of its members were indirectly elected, and it was made the upper house of the National Assembly with the *Duma* as the lower. These reforms had been

yielded in a period of great weakness. It was soon possible for most of them to be taken away. The bureaucracy of officials and most of the powerful upper class were sternly against the concessions. Moreover, the reformers almost immediately began to fall apart. . . . It was not long before the nobles, great landlords, and reactionaries generally, united, and becoming stronger, by means of armed forces known as the 'Black Hundreds,' began to drive away the radicals and undo the changes which they had accomplished. During the same time the tsar began to withdraw the powers he had given to the *Duma*. . . . Such was this first Russian Revolution. Temporarily, in the midst of the weakness of the government, it accomplished striking reforms, and was not unlike the first part of the French Revolution long before. But it was soon seen to be more like the Revolution of 1848 in central Europe, for its movers were really too weak to accomplish important, lasting results, and it soon lost most of its gains in the period of reaction that followed. There was needed a mightier outburst, more like the destructive part of the French Revolution, to quickly break the old order to pieces. . . . In the years between the Revolution of 1905 and the Great War the country seemed to settle down; slowly the harsh measures of government were lessened; the ravages of the war were repaired; the army was strengthened; a great appropriation was made to rebuild the navy; and increasingly Russia took her place once more in European councils. Again she became a powerful member of the Dual Alliance, and presently settling her differences with England, along with England and France made the Triple Entente. Her expansion in the Far East having been checked she turned again with greater interest to the Balkans, coming there into more and more dangerous rivalry with Austria-Hungary and the German Empire. It was this clash of interests which produced the Bosnian crisis of 1908-9, in which Russia yielded; the crisis of 1912, occasioned by the Balkan War, in which she held her own; and the crisis of 1914, which led to the War of the Nations, in which presently Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the German Empire all went down into ruin. . . . During the misery and confusion which overwhelmed that country in the latter part of the Great War, the old system completely collapsed. . . . [In March, 1918, bread riots broke out and a few days later the military revolt occurred. As a result Nicholas II abdicated on March 15th in favor of his brother Michael, who, however, refused the crown. Thus in the space of one short week the imperial power of the Romanovs was swept aside. After this] revolution had overthrown the old government, certain socialists, whose leaders were Lenine and Trotzky, forming a group called the *Bolsheviki*, seized power and maintained themselves. They then decreed some of the sweeping changes which Marx had long before hoped would come to pass. Private property and inheritance were abolished; land, capital, transportation were nationalized; and it was decreed that all people should work. By this time all over the world radical leaders were loudly proclaiming that socialism was the hope of the future, and that bolshevism was destined shortly to overthrow what they called the outworn systems. For the moment it appeared to many that the Russian Revolution was the most striking event since 1793, and that bolshevism held untold possibilities for good or for evil in the future. But it is probable that this revolution in Russia was less the result of the advance and the power of socialism than of the destruction, the uncertainty, and the general unrest, which proceeded from the War of the Nations."—

E. R. Turner, *Europe since 1870*, pp. 110-112, 269, 273, 274, 291, 292, 293-302, 537.—See also RUSSIA: 1801, and after.

Conflicting currents leading to the World War.—Conflict between the spirit of nationality and world economics.—Internationalism.—Problems brought about by imperialism.—Economic and militant unrest in Europe.—"This war [the World War, 1914-1918] and the diplomatic struggles which preceded it, have pressed the question of nationality upon the attention of all Europe. Some nations have been almost obsessed by it, others have been less conscious of its presence in their thoughts; but each, whether consciously or unconsciously, has been formulating its own version of the idea, and there is no more striking proof of national individuality than the extreme divergence between the lines they have followed. . . . There is nothing peculiar in the means by which Germany was welded together. All the national democracies of Europe have emerged originally from the same phase. . . . The 'Prussian' standpoint . . . [was] only disastrous because it . . . [was] an anachronism. Five centuries ago it was the most constructive political force in Europe. . . . A state must always have the means of satisfying its economic needs, and these have been complicated by the industrial revolution to an extraordinary degree. The medieval community demanded little beyond corn, cattle, and timber, which were ubiquitous, and could all be produced by the most limited section of the European area in sufficient quantity for its inhabitants. The modern community requires seams of coal and veins of metal, raw materials to transform by its minerals' agency, ports by which these raw materials may reach its factories from abroad and the finished products travel to foreign markets, and easy internal communications to link port, mine, industrial centre, and agricultural country-side as the nervous system links the different members of the human organism. Although there is only one state now where there were a hundred before, yet under such economic conditions the kingdom of Italy is really less self-sufficient than the superseded Duchy of Parma, and the united German Empire as cramped as Mecklenburg and Hesse were in days of particularism. This economic evolution explains the consolidation of the Hapsburg Monarchy. The Hungarian section of the complex is its agricultural hinterland. The Austrian half provides the minerals and industry. Italian Fiume and Trieste offer the necessary ports, and the railway-routes which link these outlets with the interior are bound to traverse the Slavonic provinces between the Adriatic and the Drave. These several regions, so antagonistic in national feeling, are profoundly complementary to one another in the economic sphere. Modern Austria-Hungary, then, owes its existence conspicuously to the industrial revolution; but we can discern the same force at work in developments which we commonly ascribe to the principle of nationality alone. The Prussian Zollverein was an important contributory cause in the creation of the Prussianized German Empire, and the abolition of internal customs-barriers coincided with the achievement of national self-government in Revolutionary France. There are thus two separate organizing principles at work on the map of modern Europe, Nationality and Economics, and they are fundamentally different in their character. . . . [They have] woven the whole world into its web, and triumphantly 'internationalized' the economic sphere of human life, the spirit of nationality has proved its essential particularism by spurring rival states into a world-

wide war."—A. Toynbee, *New Europe*, pp. 9, 14, 30-32, 35.

"The year 1870-71, . . . forms beyond dispute one of the great watersheds of Modern History. In the 'seventies of the nineteenth century a prolonged process of historical evolution reached its climax. Between 1815-71 many Nation-States came to the birth, and the map of Europe was transfigured. This transfiguration was, in the main, the resultant of two forces, seemingly antagonistic, but in effect not frequently convergent: the force, on the one hand, of disintegration; on the other, of a fresh integration. One obvious illustration of this process is afforded by the decay and disruption of the Ottoman Empire. That Empire was itself a wholly artificial product. It represented an alien mass superimposed upon vital elements, which, though submerged for centuries, were never wholly destroyed. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire permitted the submerged nationalities to re-emerge and take their place as independent Nation-States in the European polity. . . . Two of the great powers . . . simultaneously attained the goal of national unity. The Franco-German War, 1870-71, put the coping-stone upon the work of Bismarck in Germany, and upon that of Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi, and Victor Emmanuel in Italy. . . . Nor was the triumph of the doctrine confined to Europe. Nation-States have come into being under the ægis of the British Crown in North America, in South Africa, and in the Pacific. The Canadian Dominion, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Union of South Africa, and New Zealand, are not the less Nation-States because they are, and ardently desire to remain, constituent parts of the British Commonwealth. The South American republics have attained to the dignity of statehood in independence of the European States to which they owed their birth. The making of Nation-States may thus be regarded as the characteristic work of the nineteenth century, and more particularly of the period between 1815 and 1878. That work proceeded under the domination of two forces, both of which received a decided impulse from the first French Revolution and indirectly and undesignedly from the Napoleonic Conquests: the idea of nationality and the principle of liberty. Yet, as regards nation-building, the nineteenth century merely placed the coping-stone upon an edifice which had been in gradual course of erection ever since the last years of the fifteenth century. The main process of European history during the four centuries that closed in 1870-78 may be scientifically described as the evolution of the States-system, or alternatively as the triumph of Nationalism. . . . Neither the demarcation of Nation-States nor the striving for power (*Macht-streben*) among these self-conscious units has, however, completely exhausted the best energy and thought of Europe during the last four centuries. Hardly was the dominance of the idea of the Sovereign State established before men began to perceive its inconvenient and indeed disastrous consequences. There was no longer in Europe any Supreme Court of Appeal; European society was dissolved into its constituent atoms. From the development of nationalism there naturally proceeded internationalism: inter-national trade, inter-national diplomacy, above all, inter-national war. The cruel persistence of inter-national war led in time to a feeling after the possibility of inter-national law. Where was mankind to find a path of escape from conditions which even in the seventeenth century seemed to the finer minds to be intolerable? Two paths, and two only, appeared to open out. On the one hand, the re-establishment of a world-sovereignty; on the other,

the common acceptance of a system of law equally binding on all nations. From the seventeenth century to the twentieth these two ideas have struggled for ascendancy. The one looking back with regret to the lost unity of the Middle Ages; the other looking forward to a Federation of States, or possibly to a League of Peoples. . . . The outstanding feature of European history during the last fifty years is a shifting if not in the centre of political gravity, at least in its distribution: European history has ceased to be exclusively European. The inventions of physical science have completely revolutionised the conditions of world-history. The development of the means of transport and communication have brought the ends of the world together. 'The cardinal fact of geography in the twentieth century is the shortening of distances and the shrinkage of the globe. . . . The result is that problems, which a century ago, or even fifty years ago, were exclusively European, now concern the whole world.' So obviously is this proposition true that the history of the recent epoch has been summed up in a brilliant formula as the expansion of Europe. . . . Still, apart from England and her oceanic Empire, and apart from Russia, with a vast land Empire, half-European and half-Asiatic, Europe was in the main self-contained. During the last half-century all this has been altered. During that period there was no great European war. There was no war at all in Europe beyond the limits of the Ottoman Empire. Outside the Balkans there were hardly any changes in the political map of Europe. . . . The real activities of the European Powers have been for the most part displayed in the extra-European sphere. European diplomacy has been transformed into *Welt-Politik*, and the ideal of the *Welt-Politik* has been *Welt-macht*. It is not without significance that the dominating ideas of the new era should have to be expressed in the German language. For the peculiar characteristics of the new era must in large measure be ascribed to the astoundingly rapid rise of Germany, and German policy in the period of its domination has been largely inspired by three motives which, though most conspicuously illustrated in Germany, have also been in operation elsewhere and have driven the great nations towards the abyss of Armageddon. The forces which have thus moulded the history of the most recent era are those of industrialism, of commercialism, and imperialism. Industrially, the face of Europe has been transformed by the development of productive capacity under the domination of science. The age of coal and iron, of steam and electricity, to mention only the most obvious forces, has succeeded to the age of hand-labour, of pasturage and tillage. The country-dwellers have been brought together into towns and factories. The resulting development of productive capacity has contributed to an overmastering desire on the one hand for the command of those raw materials without which modern productive processes are impotent, and on the other for markets in which to dispose of the surplus commodities produced in profusion by modern industrial processes. . . . The new Industrialism has largely contributed to a revival of commercial-nationalism, the neo-protectionism first popularised in Germany by Friedrich List. In this way the dream of the statesmen and economists of the Manchester School has been dismally dissipated. The early triumphs of Cobdenite Free Trade were hailed in England and to some extent elsewhere as the inauguration of a new era in international relations. Free Trade would render war if not impossible at least ridiculous. International commerce if not international law would silence arms. The

demolition of commercial barriers was to be the prelude to a universal peace. . . . But the dream faded. The fiscal policy of England found few imitators. So far from 'breaking their mailed fleets and armed towers,' the wise who reigned (to say nothing of the wise who thought) piled armaments on armaments. So far from loosing from commerce her latest chain, they raised higher and higher their protective tariffs. Statesmen of the 'realistic' school turned not to Adam Smith but to Friedrich List for inspiration. Not cosmopolitanism but economic nationalism became the fashionable philosophy. Under the conditions of the modern world a further consequence almost necessarily ensued. To the forces of industrialism and commercialism was added that of Imperialism—a desire for the extension of territory. The British Empire is largely the product less of actual conquest than of simple settlement—the occupation and colonisation of the waste places of the earth. But by the time that the European States system was completed, by the time that Germany and Italy had attained to nationhood, these waste places had been largely occupied. Consequently the desire for territorial expansion could be satisfied on the part of the late-comers only by war and conquest. *Welt-Politik* thus came to involve *Welt-macht*."—J. A. R. Marriott, *Europe and beyond*, pp. 2-4, 6-7, 12-15.

"The immediate reason for the Great War may have been a murder, a monarch, a clique, a policy, or a philosophy. The underlying cause was unquestionably a militant spirit of unrest. The preceding decades plainly heralded one of those great crises in Man's historic evolution, such as the Reformation and the French Revolution, which stand forth as periods of 'reevaluation of all values.' The twentieth century dawned upon a wornout age, foredoomed to speedy dissolution. The omens clearly betokened its approaching end. All the ancient ideals and shibboleths were withering before the fiery breath of a destructive criticism. Everywhere the solid crust of tradition cracked and split under the premonitory tremors of the impending cataclysm. The old was patently about to make way for the new. Many observers saw in all this the symptoms of decadence. They were wrong. A decadent age cannot regenerate itself; it must gain salvation from without. The Roman Empire awaited sullenly the cleansing fire of Barbarism. But twentieth century Europe was in no such supine mood. Never had the race manifested a more superabundant energy. Never was thought more active or action more intense. A scant half-century had transformed a semi-rural continent into a swarming hive of industry, gorged with goods, capital and men. Its adventurous sons quartered the solid earth of the outer world. Its no less adventurous intellects invaded the unknown realms of science and speculation to wring from nature her hidden treasures and enrich the mental life. Never was Europe so wealthy, so eager, so virile, as on the fateful First of August, 1914. But—"Man does not live by bread alone." All this prosperity, all this mighty edifice of material well-being, rested upon outworn and insecure foundations. The stupendous changes of the preceding half-century had created a mechanical environment differing not merely in degree but in kind from that of past generations. Material conditions had radically altered: the idealistic framework had remained fundamentally the same. The soul of Europe was like a youthful giant pinched in his swaddling-clothes. The archaic bonds galled and chafed at every turn. Hence the profound dissatisfaction, the universal unrest. Had the European been a weakling he would have resigned himself in fatalistic

apathy, conformed to the cramping of bands of the past, and sunk gradually into a bloodless mummy like the ancient Egyptian or the citizen of decadent Rome. However, the twentieth century European was no weakling. He was every inch a man, instinct with virile life and resolved to attain a worthy future. . . . It is this revolt against the past, this determination to throw off cramping limitations even before the new ideal goals are yet in sight, which gives the key to recent European history. Everywhere we see bursting forth increasingly acute irruptions of human energy: a triumph of the dynamic over the static elements of life; a growing preference for violent and revolutionary, as contrasted with peaceful and evolutionary, solutions, running the whole politico-social gamut from 'Imperialism' to 'Syndicalism.' Everywhere we discern the spirit of unrest setting the stage for the final catastrophe. Although a catastrophe was inevitable, its exact nature was up to the last moment somewhat uncertain. For instance, it might conceivably have taken the form of a series of local convulsions within the various European state bodies. When the Great War began England was actually on the verge of civil strife, Russia was in the throes of an acute social revolt, Italy had just passed through a 'Red Week' threatening anarchy, and every European country was suffering from grave internal disorders. It was a strange, nightmarish time, that early summer of 1914, today quite overshadowed by subsequent events but which later ages will assign a proper place in the chain of world-history. However, it is through the weakest spot in the earth-crust that the pent-up lava bursts its way, and since the international situation was the most dangerous point of Europe's instability it was here that war's eruption took place. The story of the events leading up to the Great War has been told and re-told ad nauseam, and need not here be repeated. We recollect all the moves in the diplomatic game. We remember the varied setting of the historic background: the rivalry of Briton and Teuton, the feud of Teuton and Slav, the vendetta of Gaul and German, the Roman dream of Italy, the Balkan bear-garden, the awakening East. This . . . is not a story of current events. It is a study of Europe's state of mind. The point here emphasized is Europe's incredibly volcanic psychology when the cataclysm began."—T. L. Stoddard, *Present-day Europe*, pp. 3-6.—See also WORLD WAR: Causes: Indirect.

New map of Europe.—Before and after the World War.—"The easiest way to visualise [the change in the map of Europe, as a result of the war] is to draw up a bare list of the states of Europe in July, 1914, and in July, 1919, respectively. On the eve of war there were three republics, four empires (including a bevy of subsidiary reigning families), thirteen kingdoms, and the new-fledged principality of Albania. Since then an actual majority of the thrones has gone, three of the four Imperial dynasties have been overthrown, and with them the twenty odd German sub-dynasties. The two operetta dynasties of the Balkans (Montenegro and Albania) have shared the same fate; two others (the Bulgarian and the Greek) remain on sufferance. Of the four empires, the greatest has been severely curtailed after one of the most dramatic reversals of fate in all history. Two (Austria-Hungary and Turkey) have been dissolved into their component parts; while the fourth, though there is good hope of its ultimate recovery from anarchy and ruin, can never again assume its old imperialistic and centralist form. . . . [In 1919] the list runs—twelve kingdoms (Britain, Spain,

Italy, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Greece, Jugoslavia, Roumania, Bulgaria); one nominal empire (Turkey); ten republics (France, Switzerland, Portugal, Russia, Germany, German-Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Finland) and a number of nebulous formations whose fate is still in the balance, but most of which can only exist on a republican basis."—R. W. Seton-Watson (*New Europe*, July 31, 1919, p. 50).—See also WORLD WAR: Map of Europe at outbreak of war.

ALSO IN: I. Bowman, *New world*.

World War, 1914-1918; Diplomatic background.—Direct and indirect causes.—Campaigns.—Treaties ending the war, etc. See WORLD WAR; VERSAILLES, TREATY OF; ST. GERMAIN, TREATY OF, etc.

New balance of powers.—Re-adjustment of the states of Europe.—Purpose of the new "balance."—The Great Powers.—"On the ruins of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, a bewildering transformation had taken or was taking place. Germany had lost, partly permanently and partly for fifteen years, some 7,000,000 of her population, and some 37,000 square miles of territory. Austria and Hungary had become small agricultural countries, encircling huge half-disused capital cities. Two wholly new states had been created by the direct action of the victorious Powers—Poland and Czechoslovakia. Two other states—Roumania and Jugoslavia—had been so greatly enlarged that their pre-war dimensions seemed the mere nucleus of those to which they had now attained. Other states, again, had arisen out of the border-lands of the Czar's Empire, in consequence of the great revolutionary upheaval of 1917. . . . Certain shadowy political entities [have arisen], such as the Republic of Azerbaijan and the independent state of Arabia, testifying rather to the ingenuity of imperialist statesmen than to any indigenous growth of the national spirit. But even in the case of the new states possessing some real foundation in national consciousness, the frontiers were not finally settled; the new political unit was a rough sketch, rather than a finished picture. . . . The political system of Europe, in so far as any such system was emerging at all, was the old 'Balance of Power' in a new form. That ancient principle of foreign policy had been consistently advocated by the *Times* in England; and with more brilliance and logic by the Chauvinist press of France, which had poured open scorn on the new-fangled principles of 'nationality' and 'public right.' The phrase is meaningless, of course, if literally interpreted; but it is sufficiently clear if taken in its accepted interpretation, as meaning the greatest possible tilting of the balance in one direction, or in other words, an overwhelming preponderance of power. What gave a new form to the 'balance' now established, was that it was designed to resist, not one dangerous force, but two—the resentment of beaten enemies and the march of revolutionary Socialism. The real power of the new combination was wielded, during the year following the Armistice, by four states. Great Britain, America, France, and Japan—the only fully-armed Powers still standing erect amid the ruins—with a large group of satellites. The composition of this group varied from time to time, but Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Jugoslavia were its most valuable members. A more equivocal position had to be assigned to Italy and Roumania. The former had claims which could not be satisfied; she was in a state of thinly-veiled war with Jugoslavia; and she was from time to time coquetting with Germany. Roumania had begun by quarrelling with Jugoslavia over the pos-

session of the Banat of Temesvar. She then refused to accept the frontier with Hungary which was laid down in the Allied Armistice (November 3, 1918), and successfully insisted upon a more extended occupation of territory. She finally marched upon Buda-Pesth in flat defiance of 'Paris.' . . . None the less, Roumania still constituted an island of capitalist domination in the increasingly 'Bolshevist' South-Eastern corner of Europe, and as such could still be regarded as, potentially at any rate, an important factor in the 'balance.'"—C. R. and D. F. Buxton, *The world after the war*, pp. 20-21, 28, 42-44.

League of Nations foundation of peace treaty.—Early steps in League movement.—Purpose of League.—"The whole of the cement for the vast edifice erected with so much labor by the diplomats of Paris is provided by the Covenant of the League of Nations. . . . Whether the procedure adopted was the best; whether it was wise to elaborate the Covenant in the text of the Treaties of Peace . . . are questions on which there is room for differences of opinion. . . . But as things are, the whole structure rests to a large extent upon the observance of the Covenant. . . . Ever since the final dissolution of the unified system, in Church and State, bequeathed to the world by the Roman Empire ever since the emergence of the nation-State, and the evolution of a European polity based upon the recognition of the independence and equal rights of a number of separate States, men have been feeling after the discovery of some principle or device which should redeem Europe from the condition of international anarchy to which it seemed to be committed by the predominance of the nation-state. *Le nouveau Cynée* of Emérec Crucée; the *Great Design* of Henri IV, or of his minister, Sully; the *De Jure Belli et Pacis* of Hugo Grotius (1625); William Penn's *Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* (1693); the famous *Profit de traité, pour rendre la paix perpétuelle* of . . . Alibé de Saint-Pierre (1713); Immanuel Kant's essay on Perpetual Peace (1795)—all these contain one or more anticipations of the ideas which have taken shape in the covenant of the League of Nations; they all represent attempts—mostly made after long periods of prolonged war—to escape from a state of chaos and war and to discover some basis for a social compact among the nations which should restore to the world the supreme blessing of peace; they all sought to substitute for the rude arbitrament of war the procedure of an international court and the sanctions of international law. To not one of these schemes was there given a chance of practical application. The first practical attempt to organize peace was made by the Czar Alexander I. and took shape in the Holy Alliance of 1815. That attempt . . . founded upon the rock of intervention and the reason of the difficulty of discerning between external and internal affairs. . . . Can a League of Free Nations avoid the pitfall in which the Alliance of Autocrats was engulfed? Is it possible to reconcile the idea of an international Polity with the adequate recognition of the rights of individual nationalities? [These and other questions it is the task of the League of Nations to answer.] The League of Nations represents an attempt to organize the world against war. The task it essays is obviously one of supreme difficulty; the machinery of the League is at present embryonic, its members are painfully feeling their way. The ideals it professes offer an easy butt to the cynic and the pessimist. Yet who but the cynic would deny to the experiment, admittedly doubtful, a chance of demonstrating, if not its success, at least its failure?"—J. A. R. Mar-

riott, *Europe and beyond*, pp. 319, 322-324.—See also LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

ALSO IN: J. A. R. Marriott, *Triple Entente*, pp. 208-210.

Economic aftermath.—Lack of employment, profiteering and disillusionment of the soldier. — **Revolutionary organizations formed.**—Economic exhaustion after the war.—“The closing weeks of 1918 were a time of triumph for the peoples of the victorious states. Hostilities had ceased on November 11th . . . But the rosy colours of the picture soon began to fade. . . Prosperity did not revive. [For a time] the cost of living remained as high as before, and in some cases actually rose. While there was a falling off in the volume of employment directly caused by the War, the industries of peace did not revive. The wrath of the public was turned against the ‘profiteers,’ and hasty measures were taken to check their operations. But the causes of the continued distress lay far deeper. Though the guns were silent in the main theatre of war, the conditions of war had not disappeared. British troops were still serving abroad at the beginning of 1919 in Germany, Austria, Constantinople, Salonica, the Dobruja, Albania, Transcaucasia, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Persia, Siberia and Russia. At home, the ‘sacred union’ of classes in the War, so far from abolishing the bitterness of class feeling, had been followed by a reaction in which that bitterness was accentuated. The discharged soldier was filled with indignation on finding that the hero of the battlefield was a very different person when he doffed his khaki, and returned to the bench or the mine or the office-stool. By the end of the year, the so-called ‘industrial unrest’—the railway strike in Britain, the steel strike in America, the transport and engineering strikes in France—had seriously alarmed the supporters of law and order. The French Socialist Party became each month more revolutionary in tone. In Italy the internal situation was admittedly revolutionary. The weakest of the great Allies, Italy nevertheless maintained the largest army, for the simple reason that she dared not demobilise it. The ‘arditi,’ originally the picked storming troops, had become a kind of political organization, utilised by the reactionary parties to overawe the mob. The War had not left the British Empire unaffected. Formidable risings had taken place in India and in Egypt. At the very doors of the mother-country, Ireland had risen in revolt. At the same General Election at which Britain expressed its satisfaction at the successful issue of the War, Ireland returned an overwhelming majority pledged to support an independent Irish Republic. The country was held down, under martial law, by some 100,000 British troops. . . Its origin, of course, was to be found in the economic exhaustion of the War. The immense destruction of capital values in houses, factories, mines, railways, ships, forests, and the like; the diversion of twenty millions of men from productive to unproductive labour; the blocking of the accustomed channels of international trade; these must in any case have reduced the countries concerned to poverty. But the exhaustion of the War was a cause which affected the victors as well as the vanquished; and if there had been no other, the difference between the two would have been comparatively small. ‘The enemy ‘collapsed,’ said Mr. Hoover, the head of the American Food Administration, ‘not only from military and naval defeat, but from total economic exhaustion; in this race to economic chaos, the European Allies were not far behind.’ . . . And the effects of such a policy [of economically crushing the enemy] could not be

confined to those against whom it was primarily directed. It had its repercussions upon all the neighbouring peoples, and created a havoc which involved enemies, neutrals, and friends alike. Its chief instrument was the blockade of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Soviet Russia.”—C. R. and D. F. Buxton, *The world after the war*, pp. 16-18, 67, 68.—See FRANCE: 1918-1920, and after; GERMANY: 1919 (August-November), and after; etc.

ALSO IN: L. L. B. Ancas, *Reparations, trade and foreign exchange*.—J. M. Keynes, *Revision of treaty*.—J. F. Unstead, *Europe of today*.

Far-reaching effects of the World War.—**Outlook in 1921 and 1922.**—Financial status of the nations.—**Orgy of paper money making.**—“People are just beginning to understand that the break-up of the political system of Europe in 1914 was a bigger, a more complex and a more prolonged process than appeared when the split took place. We now know that the armed conflict during the four years that followed was but the first act in a drama destined to extend its *mise en scène* and to complicate its plot until the whole world became its stage and all its peoples actors. New cracks continue to break up the old system into a variegated pattern of disorder, as the shock of the international struggle spreads to outlying areas and strikes into the internal structure of the several nations, making fresh fissures in their social-economic fabric. States and their constitutions, the ownership of property, the control of industry and the prevailing methods of distributing its product, every established institution, Church, Class, Party, down to the primordial unit, the Family, are subjected to new disruptive strains, and their affrighted guardians are fumbling after schemes of structural repair. The reason why they fumble is that they have failed to take account of certain important revelations which the tumultuous events of these years have made.”—J. A. Hobson, *Problems of a new world*, p. v.—“Is there anyone who still remembers Europe in the first months of 1914 or calls to mind the period which preceded the first year of the War? It all seems terribly remote, something like a prehistoric era, not only because the conditions of life have changed, but because our viewpoint on life has swerved to a different angle. Something like thirty million dead have dug a chasm between two ages. War killed many millions, disease accounted for many more, but the hardest reaper has been famine. The dead have built up a great cold barrier between the Europe of yesterday and the Europe of to-day. We have lived through two historic epochs, not through two different periods. Europe was happy and prosperous, while now, after the terrible World War, she is threatened with a decline and a reversion to brutality which suggest the fall of the Roman Empire. . . More than two-thirds of Europe is in a state of ferment, and everywhere there prevails a vague sense of uneasiness, ill-calculated to encourage important collective works. We live, as the saying is, ‘from hand to mouth.’ . . . The great conflict which has devastated Europe and upset the economic conditions of the world . . . has not only been the greatest war in history, but in its consequences it threatens to prove the worst war which has ravaged Europe in modern times. After nearly every nineteenth-century war there has been a marked revival of human activity. But this unprecedented clash of peoples has reduced the energy of all; it has darkened the minds of men, and spread the spirit of violence. Europe will be able to make up for her losses in lives and wealth. Time heals even the most painful wounds. But one thing she

has lost which, if she does not succeed in recovering it, must necessarily lead to her decline and fall: the spirit of solidarity. After the victory of the Entente the microbes of hate have developed and flourished in special cultures, consisting of natural egotism, imperialism, and a mania for conquest and expansion. . . . The sentiment of nationality, twisted and transformed into nationalism, aims at the subjugation and depression of other peoples. No civilized co-existence is possible where each nation proposes to harm instead of helping its neighbour. The spread of hatred among peoples has everywhere rendered more difficult the internal relations between social classes and the economic life of each country. . . . This tremendous war . . . has deeply perturbed the very life and existence of the victors. It has not produced a single manifestation of art or a single moral affirmation. For the last seven years [1914-1921] the universities of Europe appear to be stricken with paralysis: not one outstanding personality has been revealed. In almost every country the War has brought a sense of internal dissolution: everywhere this disquieting phenomenon is more or less noticeable. . . . Insurmountable barriers to the commerce of European nations are being created. People work less than they did in pre-war times, but everywhere a tendency is noticeable to consume more. Austria, Germany, Italy, France are not different phenomena, but different manifestations and phases of the same phenomenon. Before the War Europe, in spite of her great sub-divisions, represented a living economic whole. Today there are not only victors and vanquished, but currents of hate, ferments of violence . . . a situation which renders production, let alone its development and increase, utterly impossible. . . . The problem with which modern statesmen are confronted is very simple: can Europe continue in her decline without involving the ruin of civilization? And is it possible to stop this process of decay without finding some form of civil symbiosis which will ensure for all men a more human mode of living? . . . We have before us a problem, or rather a series of problems, which call for impartiality and calm if a satisfactory solution is to be arrived at. . . . Europe, which was the creditor of all other continents, has now become their debtor, . . . her working capacity has greatly decreased, chiefly owing to the negative change in her demographic structure. In pre-war times the ancient continent supplied new continents and new territories with a hardy race of pioneers, and held the record as regards population, both adult and infantile. . . . All this has changed considerably for the worse. . . .

"The United States is anxious to get rid, as far as possible, of European complications and responsibilities; France follows methods with which Great Britain and Italy are not wholly in sympathy, and it cannot be said that the three Great Powers of Western Europe are in perfect harmony. There is still a great deal of talk about common ends and ideals, and the necessity of applying the treaties in perfect accord and harmony, but everybody is convinced that to enforce the treaties, without attenuating or modifying their terms, would mean the ruin of Europe and the collapse of the victors after that of the vanquished. . . . A keen contest of nationalisms, land-grabbing and cornering of raw materials renders friendly relations between the thirty States of Europe extremely difficult. The most characteristic examples of nationalist violence have arisen out of the War, as in the case of Poland and other newborn States, which pursue vain dreams of empire while on the verge of dissolution through sheer lack of vital strength and energy, and

becoming every day more deeply engulfed in misery and ruin. . . . How many are the States of Europe? Before the War the political geography of Europe was almost tradition. To-day every part of Europe is in a state of flux. The only absolute certainty is that in Continental Europe conquerors and conquered are in a condition of spiritual, as well as economic, unrest. It is difficult indeed to say how many political unities there are and how many are lasting, and what new wars are being prepared, if a way of salvation is not found by some common endeavour to install peace, which the peace of Paris has not done. . . . The situation of Russia is so uncertain that no one knows whether new States will arise as a result of her continuous disintegration, or if she will be reconstructed in a solid, unified form, and other States amongst those which have arisen will fall. Without taking into account those traditional little States which are merely historical curiosities, as Monaco, San Marino, Andorra, Monte Santo, not counting Iceland as a State apart, not including the Saar, . . . but considering Montenegro as an existing State, Europe probably comprises thirty States. Some of them are, however, in such a condition that they do not give promise of the slightest guarantee of life or security. Europe has rather Balkanized herself: not only the War came from the Balkans, but also many ideas, which have been largely exploited in parliamentary and newspaper circles. . . . The historical procedure before the War was towards the formation of large territorial unities; the *post-bellum* procedure is entirely towards a process of dissolution, and the fractionizing, resulting a little from necessity and a little also from the desire to dismember the old Empires and to weaken Germany, has assumed proportions almost impossible to foresee. . . . So the balance-sheet of the peace. [in 1921] after three years from the armistice—that is, three years from the War—shows on the whole a worsening of the situation. The spirit of violence has not died out, and perhaps in some countries not even diminished; on the other hand the causes of material disagreement have increased, the inequality has augmented, the division between the two groups has grown, and the causes of hatred have been consolidated. An analysis of the foreign exchanges indicated a process of undoing and not a tendency to reconstruction. . . .

"Not only is the situation of Europe in every way uncertain, but there is a tendency in the groups of the victors on the Continent to increase the military budgets. The relationships of trade are being restored only slowly; commerce is spoken of as an aim. In Italy the dangers and perils of reopening trade with Germany have been seriously discussed; customs duties are raised every day; the industrial groups find easy propaganda for protection. . . . None of the countries which have come out of the war on the Continent have a financial position which helps toward a solid situation. All the financial documents of the various countries, which I have collected and studied with great care, contain enormous masses of expenses which are the consequences of the War; those of the conquering countries also contain enormous aggregations of expenses which are or can become the cause of new wars. . . . The conquered countries have not actually any finance. Germany has an increase of expenses which the fall of the mark renders more serious. In 1920 she spent not less than ninety-two milliards, ruining her circulation. How much has she spent in 1921? Austria and Hungary have budgets which are simply hypotheses. The . . . Austrian budget for 1921, assigned a sum of seventy-one milliards of crowns for expenses, and this for

a poor country with 7,000,000 inhabitants. A detailed examination of the financial situation of Czecho-Slovakia, of Rumania, and of the Serbo-Croat States gives results which are at the least alarming. Even Greece, which until yesterday had a solid structure, gallops now [1921] in a madness of expenditure which exceeds all her resources, and if she does not find a means to make peace with Turkey she will find her credit exhausted. . . . The situation of the exchange since the War has not sensibly bettered even for the great countries, and it is extraordinarily worse for the other countries. In June, 1921, France had a circulation of about thirty-eight milliards of francs, Belgium six milliards of francs, Italy of about eighteen milliards; Great Britain, between State notes and Bank of England notes, had hardly £434,000,000 sterling. . . . But the conquered countries have so abused their circulation that they almost live on the thought of it . . . as in fact, not a few of the conquering countries and those come out from the War do. Germany has passed eighty-eight milliards, and is rapidly approaching one hundred milliards. Now, when one thinks that the United States, after so many loans and after all the expenses of the War, has only a circulation of 4,557,000,000 dollars, one understands what difficulty Germany has to produce, to live, and to refurbish herself with raw materials. Only Great Britain of all the countries in Europe which have issued from the War has had a courageous financial policy. Public opinion, instead of pushing Parliament to financial dissipation, has insisted on economy. If the situation created by the War has transformed also the English circulation into unconvertible paper money, this is merely a passing fact. If the sterling loses on the dollar—that is, on gold—given the fact that the United States of America alone now have a money at par, almost a quarter of its value, this is also merely a transitory fact. Great Britain has the good sense to curtail expenses, and the sterling tends always to improve. France and Italy are in an intermediate position. Their money can be saved, but it will require energetic care and great economies, stern finance, a greater development of production, limitation of consumption, above all, of what is purchased from abroad. . . . Expressed on a per cental basis, the French franc [in 1921] is worth 47 centimes of the sterling and 36 of the dollar—that is to say, of gold. The Italian lira is worth 28 centimes of the sterling and 21 of the dollar. . . . France has a good many more resources than Italy: she has a smaller need of importations and a greater facility for exportations. But her public debt has reached 265 milliards, the circulation has well passed thirty-eight milliards, and they still fear to calculate amongst the extraordinary income of the budget the fifteen milliards a year which should come from Germany. Italy, with great difficulty of production and less concord inside the country, has a more true vision, and does not reckon any income which is not derived from her own resources. Her circulation does not pass eighteen milliards, and her debt exceeds by a little one hundred milliards. . . . As for the Austrian and Hungarian crowns, the Jugo-Slav crowns, the Rumanian lei, and all the other depreciated moneys, their fate is not doubtful, as their value is always descending, and the gold equivalent becomes almost indeterminable. . . . There is, then, the fantastic position of the public debts! They have reached now such figures that no imagination could have forecasted. France alone has a debt which of itself exceeds by a great deal all the debts of all the European States previous to the War: 265 milliards of francs. And Germany, the conquered country, has in her turn a debt

which exceeds 320 milliards of marks, and which is rapidly approaching 400 milliards. The debts of many countries are only recorded by feats of memory, because there is no practical interest in knowing whether Austria, Hungary, and especially Poland, has one debt or another, since the situation of the creditors is not a situation of reality. . . . All the States have increased their functions. So the discredit of the paper money and the Treasury bills which permit these heavy expenses in all the countries of Europe, even if in different degrees, is very great."—F. S. Nitti, *Peaceless Europe*, pp. 3-4, 16-23, 129-131, 183-187.—See also MONEY AND BANKING: Modern: 1914-1916; DEBTS, PUBLIC: World War and after; Problem of paying.

ALSO IN: *New Europe*, July 31, 1921.—*Problems of Europe* (Round Table, June, 1921).

"The war was not a contest between two similarly equipped belligerents. . . . It was a siege—a siege in which the besiegers won. And the condition of a besieged area, on the morrow of defeat, is economic exhaustion. Europe is an industrial continent. Her normal output of food-stuffs leaves one hundred million of her population unprovided for. The deficiency was met by imports from overseas, paid for out of the profits of trade and industry. Thus the siege, by cutting off central Europe from its overseas connection, upset the whole economy of the Continent, and the armistice found the blockaded area, a region extending from the occupied district of France to the Baltic republics and Constantinople, not only strictly rationed in respect to food-stuffs, but, what was far worse, denuded of the industrial raw materials needed to recuperate her economic life, and of the credit power needed to secure them. The issue of the war has proved once and for all that the world is now industrially interdependent, in that no single block of the earth's surface, if it is to maintain a civilized standard of life, to say nothing of an efficient system of defense, can dispense with materials drawn from all quarters of the globe; with the cotton of America and Egypt, the rubber of the tropics, the nickel of Canada, the copra of West Africa, the nitrates of Chile, and the jute of India. The growth of industrialism has made the world a single great society, and any action, such as the late war, which cuts off and isolates any one part of it, causes the severed member to wither. . . . No one of the states of continental Europe, we are told, is balancing its budget. How, then, are they meeting their expenses? By the aid of the printing-press. Some of them, like Germany, Austria, and Poland, are printing paper money on a huge scale; others, such as Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary, have attempted to set limits to the process. But the cumulative effect is undeniable. The public finances and the currencies of continental Europe are in inextricable confusion. But this does not mean that the countries themselves are in confusion or unable to do business with countries of stabler and less debased currency. The internal effect of paper money is to levy a tribute, for the benefit of the government, on all who possess such money or securities quoted in terms of it. In other words, it taxes the *ventier*, . . . automatically clipping piece after piece off every dollar that he possesses in the bank. . . . Central and east-central European countries are doing a large export business, so large that special anti-dumping legislation has been enacted against it in Great Britain, and they are doing it in terms of the currency of the countries to which the goods are sent, in dollars or sterling as the case may be. The same practice was followed by merchants in Central and South America in similar circumstances in times past. But if their citizens

can do good business and can undersell their Western competitors, it is obvious that the governments themselves cannot continue indefinitely to meet their obligations in this dangerously convenient manner. Some way must ultimately be found of disposing of this vast accumulation of paper-money and of putting the public finances of the European states once more on a sound basis. . . . For the last three or four generations, unmistakably since the eighteen-seventies, intermittently since 1848, the predominant 'progressive' force in European politics has been the socialist movement. It was a movement of town workmen protesting against the unfreedom and inhumanity of the growing industrial system, and its most resounding slogan was 'the class-war'—the war between the wage-earning class, 'the proletariat,' and the 'bourgeois,' or stock-holder, who owned the instruments and capital resources of production. It taught men to despise the appeal of nationality and patriotism, to recognize their common interest with 'wage-slaves' in all parts of the world, and to look forward with Messianic hope to a revolution which would sweep away the oppressors and establish the proletariat in the seat of power. . . . [But the war] involved an immense resurgence of the civic obligations, the traditional patriotism, latent in all classes, not least in the working class. Then, as a struggle proceeded, government control more and more superseded the well worn and much abused system of private management; and face to face with bureaucracy, the worker, always a conservative at heart, began to think more closely over the implications of socialization. Then after an intolerable strain, came 'the revolution,' bringing with it not only in Russia, but in Germany, in Austria, and in Hungary, governments manned by socialists. But they brought neither freedom nor happiness. They were, in fact, tied hand and foot by their dependence on overseas resources, and the 'comrades' from abroad showed no disposition to help them. Help came at length, through the despised machinery of capitalism, but it was help not to this or that class, but to employer and worker in a common need. Out of that common need is springing a common creed. Democratic, industrial thinkers in a Europe in which the *ventier* is prostrate and the relations of social classes have been transformed, are going back behind Karl Marx and his 'class struggle' to the great liberal prophet Mazzini, and finding in his gospel of industry as a cooperation in national service an inspiration for the life of their newly liberated communities."—A. E. Zimmern, *Economic prospect in Europe* (*Century Magazine*, Apr., 1922).

ALSO IN: E. R. Turner, *Europe, 1789-1920*, pp. 597-647.

Intellectual development.—Expansion of science.—International character of inventions.—Influence of economics.—Hope for the future.—“We are trying . . . to give some impression of the principal changes and developments of Western thought in what might roughly be called 'the last generation, [for the last half of the nineteenth and the opening years of the twentieth century]. . . . From the political point of view the two most impressive milestones, events which will always mark for the consciousness of the West the beginning and the end of a period, are no doubt the war of 1870 and the Great War which has just ended. . . . Nearly coincident with the political divisions there are important landmarks in the history of thought. During the 'sixties' . . . the Darwinian theory of development was gaining command in biology. To many thinkers there has appeared a clear connexion between that biological doctrine and the 'imperialism,' . . . which was so marked a feature of

the time. . . . Industrially the epoch is as clearly defined as it is in politics and science. For in 1871 . . . an act was passed [in England] . . . legalizing strikes and Trade Unions. And now at the end of the war, all over the world, society is faced by the problem of reconciling the full rights, and in some cases the extreme demands, of 'labour,' with democratic government and the prosperity and social union of the whole community. . . . In philosophy and literature a similar dividing line appears. In the 'sixties' Herbert Spencer was publishing the capital works of his system. The *Principles of Psychology* was published in 1872. This 'Synthetic Philosophy' has proved up to the present the last attempt of its kind, and with the vast increase of knowledge since Spencer's day it might well prove the last of all such syntheses carried out by a single mind. Specialism and criticism have gained the upper hand, and the fresh turn to harmony . . . is rather a harmony of spirit than an encyclopaedic unity such as the great masters of system from Descartes to Comte and Spencer had attempted before. In literature also the dates agree. Dickens, most typical of all early Victorians, died in 1870. George Eliot's last great novel, *Daniel Deronda*, was published in 1876. Victor Hugo's greatest poem, *La Légende des Siècles*, the imaginative synthesis of all the ages, appeared in the 'seventies.' . . . Here then is our period, marked in public affairs by a progress from one conflict, desperate and tragic, between two of the leading nations of the West, to another and still more terrible which swept the whole world into the maelstrom. . . . But it must be noted at once that these obvious landmarks, though striking, are in themselves superficial. . . . We may at least fairly treat them at starting simply as beaconhills to mark out the country we are traversing. . . . The first, and perhaps ultimately the weightiest, element we have to note is the continued and unexpected growth of science. Was there ever a more fertile period than the generation which succeeded Darwin's achievement in biology and Bunsen's and Kirchhoff's with the spectroscope? Both have created revolutions, one in our view of living things, the other in our view of matter. In physics the whole realm of radio-activity has come into our ken within these years, and during the same time chemistry, both organic and inorganic, has been equally enlarged. All branches of science in fact show a similar expansion, and a new school of mathematicians claim that they have recast the foundations of the fundamental science and assimilated it to the simplest laws of all thinking . . . Such an output of mental energy, rewarded by such a harvest of truth, is without precedent in man's evolution. No single generation before ever learnt so much not only of the world around it but also of the doings of previous generations. For since 1870 we have been living in an age as much distinguished for historical research as for natural science. . . . The material fruits of science are among our most familiar wonders—the motor-car, the aeroplane, wireless telegraphy. . . . All these things and the like are dependent upon the cooperation of a multitude of minds, the collective rather than the individual capacity of man. Men had dreamt for ages of flying, but it was not until the invention of the internal combustion engine that bird-like wings and the mechanical skill of man could be brought together and made effective. It is Humanity that flies, and not the individual man alone. The German Daimler, the French Levassor, are the two names which stand out most prominently in this later development of engineering as our own Watt and Stephenson stand in the history of the steam-

engine. Wireless telegraphy offers a similar story. Faraday, Maxwell, Hertz, Lodge, Marconi; the names are international. . . . In 1913, before even the League of Nations had been planned, Lord Bryce was telling an International Congress in London that 'the world is becoming one in an altogether new sense.' . . . The war, tragically as it has shaken this growing oneness of mankind, has not destroyed it. In some ways it has even stimulated growth. Against a background of blood and fire the League of Nations has been forced into actual being, and the long isolation alike of the ancient East and the youthful West has been broken down at last. . . . This war has been an accelerator of, not, as the Napoleonic, a brake upon, reform. Many reforms, especially in England, which had been long discussed and partly attempted before the war, were carried out with dispatch at its close. This was the case with education, with the franchise and with measures affecting the health, the housing, and the industrial conditions of the people. Comte, who died in 1857 just before our period, was perhaps the clearest voice in Europe to herald . . . the advance to international unity, and social reform within the State. It was he who, under the title of *Western Republic*, proclaimed the existence of a real unity of nations, whose business it was to strengthen themselves as a moral force, to act as trustees for the weaker people and lead the world. It was he who, in the phrase 'incorporation of the proletariat,' summed up all those social reforms in which we are immersed, which aim at making every citizen a full member of his nation."—F. S. Marvin, *Recent developments in European thought*, pp. 7-10, 13-14.

"Despite the strength of the nationalist idea, and the increased definition which it obtained during this period, the oneness of all European peoples was in every way being made clearer. Rapid and cheap communication made it easy for the peoples of every nation to become acquainted with their neighbours, and at the end of the nineteenth century practically every educated man travelled more widely than any but a few of the richest had done at the beginning of the century. Universal education, and the universal diffusion of a cheap Press, aided this process. All classes had—or could easily obtain—some knowledge of the principal features of each of the European states, and were daily informed of the principal events of current history: not very intelligently informed, perhaps; but it was a new thing that they should be informed at all. The greatest thinkers and imaginative writers of every country became the common possession of all the rest, and the influence of Ibsen, of Tolstoi, of Maeterlinck, of Anatole France was felt throughout Europe not only by the few, but by the vastly enlarged reading public of the world. Still more marked was this community of possession in the realms of science; the wonderful advance of the physical sciences during the nineteenth century has been a co-operative labour, in which it is impossible to disentangle the specific contribution of any individual nation, and the European character of scientific discussion had become so marked that every scholar of any eminence had found it indispensable to be, for the purposes of his daily work, tri-lingual, or at the very least bi-lingual. Students passed to and fro freely from the universities of one country to those of another. The knowledge and thought of the civilised world were a common possession to a degree never known since the days of the Roman Empire. This was the case also, though not quite so markedly, in the realms of political and social thought; for the political and social problems of all Europe, however varied the forms

they might assume, were eventually identical, being all equally the product of that process of industrialisation which, starting in England, had rapidly conquered the whole of Europe. The main political movements of the nineteenth century were in a remarkable degree international in character. This was true even of the nationalist movement, which was, in its earlier struggles, largely directed by cosmopolitan groups of exiles in London and Paris, who worked in harmony, and shared the same dreams and ideals. The simultaneity of the revolutionary outbreaks of 1848 forms a striking demonstration of the international character both of the nationalist and of the liberal movement, but the earlier risings of 1820 and 1830 were also linked up in a way which justified the contention of the reactionaries that they had to deal with a revolutionary agitation engineered in common for the whole of Europe. In the second half of the century this interchange of ideas, mainly conducted earlier by the middle classes, from among whom the preachers of nationalism and liberalism chiefly sprang, passed also to the artisan classes. There were conferences and common action between the trade unionists and the co-operative societies of all countries; English, French, German, Italian working-men met more and more frequently in congress, and were persuaded that they pursued a common cause, not limited by the bounds of any single state. The famous 'International,' which strove to give a common direction to the Socialist movement, was founded in London in 1867; and if it has not achieved much of a directly political character, it has emphasised the unity of all Europe among those classes which might be expected to feel it least, owing to the limitations imposed by circumstances upon their knowledge and range of thought. Europe, then—or rather, the whole civilised world—has become conscious of its unity in a way unparalleled in the earlier centuries of modern history, and to a degree unknown even in the Middle Ages. . . . But the most important sign and cause of this growing assimilation of the civilised world has been the immense activity of commerce and industry, which have undergone in the last half century an expansion and transformation of a magnitude that could never have been anticipated. No civilised people is now self-sufficient economically; each is dependent on all the rest. . . . The whole world has become a single vast and complex economic unit. Not only do the people of every country buy from and sell to the people of every other, but the industry and commerce of every country is in part financed by the capital of every other. So extraordinarily intertwined and interwoven are the financial concerns of all civilised states, that it has been possible for one school of thought to argue, with great plausibility, that war among these states had become all but impossible, and must, if it broke out, bring universal ruin and bankruptcy. Capital, they say, knows no country and no patriotism, but flows as by a law of nature whersoever it can be most remuneratively employed; and if international finance, dominated by a comparatively small number of men, seemed to present a great danger because of the power it wielded, at least it was tending, along with the international labour movement, to bind the modern industrial world into a single whole, within which wars of the old pattern for the aggrandisement of individual states must become more and more impossible."—R. Muir, *Nationalism and internationalism*, pp. 100-104.—"The West has committed itself to a general policy of education which aims at making every citizen a full partaker in the advance of the race. But it cannot be said that this policy has

yet been really tried. It is the acknowledged ideal to which in all Western countries partial steps have been taken, and the democracy, through their most enlightened leaders, will continue to press for its fulfilment. . . . Most of all, for the healing of the world is the greater soul needed, with a world consciousness, some knowledge, some sympathy, some hope for all mankind. On this enlargement of the soul, enlightened by science, we build the future. It is the crowning vision of the modern world, first sketched by Descartes, filled out and strengthened by the life and thought of three hundred years."—F. S. Marvin, *Recent developments of European thought*, pp. 23-24.

See also under names of countries, literatures, arts, sciences, etc., e.g., ENGLAND; FRANCE; ITALY; SPAIN; RUSSIA; etc.; ENGLISH LITERATURE; FRENCH LITERATURE; etc.; EDUCATION: Modern; Modern developments; AGRICULTURE: Modern; ARCHITECTURE: Modern; MUSIC: Modern; etc.; ECONOMICS: 17th-18th centuries, and after; CAPITALISM; SOCIALISM; MONEY AND BANKING: Modern; TRUSTS; MEDICAL SCIENCE: Modern; MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 19, and after; SCIENCE: Modern; etc.

ALSO IN: A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, *Cambridge history of British foreign policy*, v. 1.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION FOR THE NAVIGATION OF THE DANUBE. See DANUBE: 1850-1916.

EUROPEAN WAR. See WORLD WAR.

EURYMEDON, Battle of (B. C. 466). See GREECE: B. C. 477-461.

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA (c. 260-c. 340), father of church history. See CHRISTIANITY: 100-300; SYRIAN churches; HISTORY: 18.

EUSEBIUS OF VERCELLAE (d. 371), bishop, and first one of the western church to adopt a strict monastic life for himself and his clergy. See MONASTICISM: 11th-13th centuries.

EUSEBIUS SOPHRONIUS HIERONYMUS. See JEROME, SAINT.

EUSKARA, EUSKERRIA, EUSKAL-DUNAE. See BASQUES.

EUTAW SPRINGS, Battle of (1781). See U. S. A.: 1780-1781.

EUTHYNI, auditors of accounts, in ancient Athens. See LOGISTÆ.

EUTYCHIAN HERESY, beliefs taught by Eutyches, a monk of the fifth century, wherein he held that the two natures of Christ became one nature after the incarnation. At the Council of Chalcedon (451) the doctrine of the two natures in Christ was declared an article of the Catholic faith and Eutyches was excommunicated. See MONOTHELITE CONTROVERSY; NESTORIAN AND MONOPHYSITE CONTROVERSY.

EUXINE, The, or Pontus Euxinus, the Black sea, as named by the Greeks. See BLACK SEA.

EVACUATION DAY, anniversary of the evacuation of New York by the British, Nov. 25, 1783. See U. S. A.: 1783 (November-December).

EVAGORAS (d. 374 B. C.), king of Salamis in Cyprus. See CYPRUS: Early history.

EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION.—"Jacob Albright, originally a Lutheran, born in 1759, was the founder of the Evangelical Association. Near the close of the . . . [eighteenth] century he became an earnest revival preacher. He labored among the German-speaking population, and in 1800 formed a society of converts in Pennsylvania for 'social prayer and devotional' exercises every Sunday and every Wednesday night. This was the rise of the movement which resulted in the Evangelical Association. The first conference was held in 1807. This conference elected Jacob Albright a bishop. Two years later a church discipline very

similar to that of the Methodist Episcopal Church was published. Some years after the death of Bishop Albright (1808) the name Evangelical Association of North America was adopted. Previously to this his followers had been known as 'The Albright People,' or 'Albrights.' . . . Formerly the constituency of the church was almost entirely German; now it is largely English."—H. K. Carroll, *Religious forces of the United States*, pp. 139-140.—"A division in 1891 resulting in the organization of the United Evangelical Church took from the denomination a large number of ministers and members. This loss in membership has since been more than regained and at present efforts are being made for a reunion. . . . [In 1916, aside from its missions,] there were in Europe, connected with the Association, generally under the care of native preachers, 350 churches with 23,000 members; and in Canada, 124 churches, with 9,932 members. . . . The total membership for 1916 [in the United States] was given as 120,756."—*United States Census, Religious Bodies*, 1916, pt. 2, pp. 266-268.

EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH. See LUTHERAN CHURCH: 1517-1852.

EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA, denomination formed in 1912, chiefly of independent German-American congregations of liberal faith. It is located mainly in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, and Missouri. Statistics show thirty-seven churches of this denomination with 17,062 members in 1916.—*United States Census, Religious Bodies*, 1916, pt. 2, p. 272.

EVANGELICAL SYNOD OF NORTH AMERICA, German.—This name was given in 1877 to a union of several German Evangelical societies and synods. Since the beginning of the war with Germany, the word "German" has been dropped from the title. In 1916 there were 1,336 organizations of the Synod with 339,853 members.—*United States Census, Religious Bodies*, 1916, pt. 2, p. 307.

EVANGELICAL UNION, German, union of Protestant princes formed in 1608, and finally dissolved in 1621. See GERMANY: 1608-1618; 1621-1623.

EVANGELISTIC ASSOCIATIONS.—"Under this head are included various associations of churches [in the United States] which are more or less completely organized and have one general characteristic, namely, the conduct of evangelistic or missionary work. In a few cases they are practically denominations, but for the most part, while distinct from other religious bodies, they are dominated by the Evangelistic conception rather than by doctrinal or ecclesiastical distinctions. None of them is large, and some are very small and local in their character." The various associations of this nature listed in 1916 are the Apostolic Church, the Apostolic Christian Church, the Apostolic Faith Movement, the Christian Congregation, the Church of Daniel's Band, the Church of God as Organized by Christ, the Church Transcendent, Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association, the Holiness Methodist Churches, the Missionary Church Association, Peniel Missions, Pentecost Bands of the World, Pillar of Fire and the Voluntary Missionary Society in America. In 1916 there were a total of 208 organizations with 13,933 members.—*United States Census, Religious Bodies*, 1916, pt. 2, pp. 272-273.

EVANS, Sir Arthur John (1851-), English archæologist. Excavated the prehistoric Palace of Knossos, 1900-1908. See ÆGEAN CIVILIZATION: Excavations and antiquities; Mycenaean area: Cretan area; ARCHÆOLOGY: Method and scope.

EVANS, Edward Radcliffe Garth Russell (1881-), English explorer, with Scott's expedition to the South Pole. See ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1910-1913.

EVANS, Mary Ann. See ELIOT, GEORGE.

EVANS, Oliver (1755-1819), American inventor. See AUTOMOBILES: 1780-1824.

EVANS, Robley Dunglison (1846-1912), American naval officer. See U. S. A.: 1907-1909.

EVAN-THOMAS, Sir Hugh (1862-), British vice-admiral. At the battle of Jutland, he commanded the 5th Battle Squadron. See WORLD WAR: 1916: IX. Naval operations: a; a, 1; a, 9.

EVAPORATOR: Use in refrigeration. See INVENTIONS: 19th century: Refrigeration.

EVARTS, William Maxwell (1818-1901), American lawyer and statesman; chairman New York delegation to National Republican convention, 1860; counsel for President Johnson in the impeachment trial, 1868; attorney-general of the United States, 1868-1869; counsel for the United States on the "Alabama claims" at Geneva, 1872; counsel for the Republican party before the Electoral Commission, 1877; secretary of state under President Hayes, 1877-1881; delegate to the International Monetary Conference, 1881; member United States Senate, 1885-1891.

EVEGNEE, fort near Liège, Belgium, captured by the Germans in 1914. See WORLD WAR: 1914: I. Western front: b.

EVENING SCHOOLS. See EDUCATION: Modern developments: 20th century: Evening schools.

EVER VICTORIOUS ARMY, force in China directed against the revolutionists in the Taiping rebellion. See CHINA: 1850-1864.

EVEREST, Mount, the highest mountain in the world. It is a peak of the Himalayas, situated in Bengal, over 29,000 feet high. Its name is derived from Sir George Everest, British surveyor and geographer, who surveyed it and measured it by trigonometry in 1841. It has never been scaled. A party of scientists made the attempt in 1921-1922, but failed.

EVERETT, Edward (1794-1865), American orator, scholar and statesman; professor of Greek literature at Harvard, 1819-1825; editor of *North American Review*, 1820-1840; governor of Massachusetts, 1836-1840; minister plenipotentiary to Great Britain, 1841-1845; president of Harvard, 1846-1849; secretary of state under Filmore, 1852; member of the Senate, 1853-1854.—See also U. S. A.: 1863 (November).

EVERSHED, Thomas, American electrical discoverer. See ELECTRICAL DISCOVERY: Electric power: 1896-1921.

EVERT, Alexei. See EWARTS.

EVERTSEN, Cornelius (fl. 1673), Dutch admiral in the reconquest of New Netherlands. See NEW YORK: 1673.

EVESHAM, Battle of (1265), battle which finished the civil war in England known as the Barons' War. It was fought Aug. 3, 1265, and Earl Simon de Montfort, the soul of the popular cause, was slain, with most of his followers. See BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND: 1265-1266; ENGLAND: 1216-1272.

EVICTED TENANTS BILL. See IRELAND: 1907.

EVICCTIONS, Irish. See ABSENTEEISM; BOYCOTT: Origin; IRELAND: 1847-1860; 1880.

EVIDENCE. See COMMON LAW: 1450; 1456; 1470; 1650-1700; 1750-1800; 1792; 1848; 1851.

EVOLUTION: Definition.—According to Herbert Spencer "Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from relatively indefinite,

incoherent homogeneity to a relatively definite, coherent heterogeneity; and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation."—S. Herbert, *First principles of evolution*, p. 306.—"It is customary to divide the whole realm of nature into two great parts: the inorganic and the organic. The former comprises all lifeless things, as stones, rocks, planets, suns, etc.; the latter contains the living beings with more or less differentiated parts (organs), from the lowest plants to the highest animals, including man. In addition . . . there are certain other phenomena, such as constitute the social life of a community, which are the result of the aggregation of a number of organisms . . . [and which] were called by Herbert Spencer 'superorganic.'"—*Ibid.*, p. 5-6.—"The general theory of organic evolution undertakes to explain by natural processes the origin of the existing world of living things, and in particular it seeks to account for three classes of phenomena, namely, (1) the diversities (variations, species, genera, etc.) of the living world; (2) progressive organization (increasing complexity of structure and function) from the lowest to the highest organisms and (3) the fitnesses (adaptations, etc.) of living things. Its aim is nothing less than a mechanistic explanation of the origin, development and present state of the entire world of life."—E. C. Conklin, *Mechanism of evolution in the light of heredity and development* (*Scientific Monthly*, Dec., 1910, p. 481).—See also EUGENICS: Meaning and purpose.

Basis of the theory of organic evolution.—"The general theory of organic evolution—for so long conveniently called the 'doctrine of descent'—has a tripod basis. (a) It rests . . . on definitely 'historical' evidence—on what can be actually proved in regard to ancestry. Thus recent discoveries have made the lineage of the elephant convincingly clear, equalling, if not surpassing, in evidential value that of the horse itself. (b) It rests also upon anatomical evidence, on the disclosure of structural resemblances, often beneath a mask of functional differences, which are in many cases so intimate, so thoroughgoing, so detailed, that it is impossible to doubt that they spell affiliation. (c) It rests thirdly upon embryological evidence, for the individual development seems almost to go out of its way to reveal the evolution of the race. The familiar development of frogspawn into tadpoles and froglings is in some respects almost startling in its recapitulation of the evolution of the Amphibian race from fish ancestors—an evolution vouched for by the data of palaeontology and comparative anatomy. . . . The anatomical data are of three kinds at least: (1) there is the recognition of homologies, *i. e.*, of deeply-rooted structural and developmental similarities; (2) there are the facts of classification, that species fades into species, that genus is linked to genus, that tentative genealogical trees are possible; and (3) there is the occurrence of vestigial structures, of which there is no feasible interpretation except in terms of past history."—P. Geddes and J. A. Thomson, *Evolution*, pp. 40-41.—See also EUGENICS: Meaning and purpose.

ALSO IN: H. W. Conn, *Method of evolution*.—R. S. Lull, *Organic evolution*.—M. M. Metcalf, *Organic evolution*.

Explanation of the evolutionary hypothesis.—"We are now in a position to observe that the theory of organic evolution is strongly recommended to our acceptance on merely antecedent grounds, by the fact that it is in full accordance with what is known as the principle of continuity. By the principle of continuity is meant the uniformity of nature, in virtue of which the many and

varied processes going on in nature are due to the same kind of method, i. e., the method of natural causation. To begin with, we must remember that the fact of evolution—or, which is the same thing, the fact of continuity in natural causation—has now been unquestionably proved in so many other and analogous departments of nature, that to suppose any interruption of this method as between species and species becomes, on grounds of such analogy alone, well-nigh incredible. For example, it is now a matter of demonstrated fact that throughout the range of inorganic nature the principles of evolution have obtained. It is no longer possible for any one to believe with our forefathers that the earth's surface has always existed as it now exists. For the science of geology has proved to demonstration that seas and lands are perpetually undergoing gradual changes of relative positions—continents and oceans supplanting each other in the course of ages, mountain-chains being slowly uplifted, again as slowly denuded, and so forth. Moreover, and as a closer analogy, within the limits of animate nature we know it is the universal law that every individual life undergoes a process of gradual development; and that breeds, races, or strains, may be brought into existence by the intentional use of natural processes—the results bearing an unmistakable resemblance to what we know as natural species. Again, even in the case of natural species themselves, there are two considerations which present enormous force from an antecedent point of view. The first is that organic forms are only then recognised as species when intermediate forms are absent. If the intermediate forms are actually living, or admit of being found in the fossil state, naturalists forthwith regard the whole series as varieties, and name all the members of it as belonging to the same species. Consequently it becomes obvious that naturalists, in their work of naming species, may only have been marking out the cases where intermediate or connecting forms have been lost to observation. . . . In other words, it was believed, and in many cases known, that if we could go far enough back in the history of the earth, we should everywhere find a tendency to mutual approximation between allied groups of species; so that, for instance, birds and reptiles would be found to be drawing nearer and nearer together, until eventually they would seem to become fused in a single type; that the existing distinctions between herbivorous and carnivorous mammals would be found to do likewise; and so on with all the larger group-distinctions, at any rate within the limits of the same sub-kingdoms. But although naturalists recognised this even in the pre-Darwinian days, they stoutly believed that a great exception was to be made in the case of species. . . . Mr. Wallace, who is one of our greatest authorities on geographical distribution, has laid it down as a general law, applicable to all the departments of organic nature, that, so far as observation can extend, "every species has come into existence coincident both in space and time with a pre-existing and closely allied species."—G. J. Romanes, *Darwin and after Darwin*, v. 1, pp. 15-22.

Historical development of the idea.—Greek physicists and philosophers.—Lucretius.—Early Christians.—Influence of botanical classification and geological discovery.—Lamarck.—Lyell.—Wallace, Darwin, Huxley and Haeckel.—Historical and social evolution.—"While it is true, as Prof. H. F. Osborn puts it, that "before and after Darwin" will always be the *ante et post urbem conditam* of biological history,' it is also true that the general idea of organic evolution is

very ancient. In his admirable sketch *From the Greeks to Darwin*, Prof. Osborn has shown that several of the ancient philosophers looked upon Nature as a gradual development and as still in process of change. In the suggestions of Empedocles, to take the best instance, there were 'four sparks of truth,—first, that the development of life was a gradual process; second, that plants were evolved before animals; third, that imperfect forms were gradually replaced (not succeeded) by perfect forms; fourth, that the natural cause of the production of perfect forms was the extinction of the imperfect.' But the fundamental idea of one stage giving origin to another was absent. As the blue Aegean teemed with treasures of beauty and threw many upon its shores, so did Nature produce like a fertile artist what had to be rejected as well as what was able to survive, but the idea of one species emerging out of another was not yet conceived. Aristotle's views of Nature seem to have been more definitely evolutionist than those of his predecessors, in this sense, at least, that he recognised not only an ascending scale, but a genetic series from polyp to man and an age-long movement towards perfection. 'It is due to the resistance of matter to form that Nature can only rise by degrees from lower to higher types.' 'Nature produces those things which, being continually moved by a certain principle contained in themselves, arrive at a certain end.'—Haeckel, Thomson, Weismann and others, *Evolution in modern thought*, pp. 3-4.—Among Greek thinkers the earlier Ionian physicists, including Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes, sought to explain the world as generation from a primordial matter. "Among the earliest of these was Anaximander, who lived 600 years before Christ. He thought that the earth was at first a fluid." The land, according to his theory, gradually appeared; man came from the water in the form of a big fish, which gradually acquired necessary limbs and organs; and animals and plants also developed from sea forms. "One hundred and fifty years later Empedocles announced a new thought. . . . In one respect . . . [his] opinion foreshadowed our later idea. It suggested that the more perfect animals had arisen out of the less perfect and that the change came gradually. Then came Anaxagoras, who was the first to believe that there was intelligent design back of the creation of animals and plants. He thought there had originally been a slime in which were the germs of all the later plants, animals, and minerals, mixed in a chaos. Gradually order arose." Out of the mixture, he thought, came the germs which developed into minerals, air, and ether; from the air came the germs of vegetation; and from the ether the germs of animals and men. "The greatest scientific thinker of early Greece was Aristotle. He . . . knew better than any other man of his times the . . . seaweeds and . . . marine animals. He was the first to think of them as a linked series, the higher developing out of the lower under the pressure of what he called a perfecting principle. . . . The Latin poet, Lucretius, wrote a poem on 'The Nature of Things.' . . . He describes how in the early years the beginnings of things . . . moved about among each other at first in utter confusion, each trying itself with the other. After many trials the proper members came together. When they had been thus placed the warmth of the sun shining down upon the earth helped the earth to reproduce the same sort of creatures." St. Augustine, one of the greatest of the fathers of the early church, declared that in his opinion the account of creation, as found in Genesis, simply meant that "in the beginning God planted in chaos the seed that afterward sprang up

into the heavens and the earth." Thomas Aquinas, at a later period, further developed this idea. More than four hundred years later, "the philosopher, Leibnitz, believed in an orderly creation that had advanced by regular degrees, and that the lower animals had thus developed into the higher. . . . By the middle of the eighteenth century men had begun to think more fearlessly." Immanuel Kant, in his "General History of Nature and Theory of the Heavens" recognized the likenesses between animals, already pointed out by Buffon. He felt sure that there was a relationship among all animals, and "tried hard to conceive of some natural underlying cause by which all could have come about."—S. C. Schmucker, *Meaning of evolution*, pp. 8-11, 13.—"These early suggestions were merely speculative. No attempt was made to support the theory by evidence, or to gather a systematic body of observed facts which demanded explanation. . . . Indeed, until the sciences of Zoology and Botany



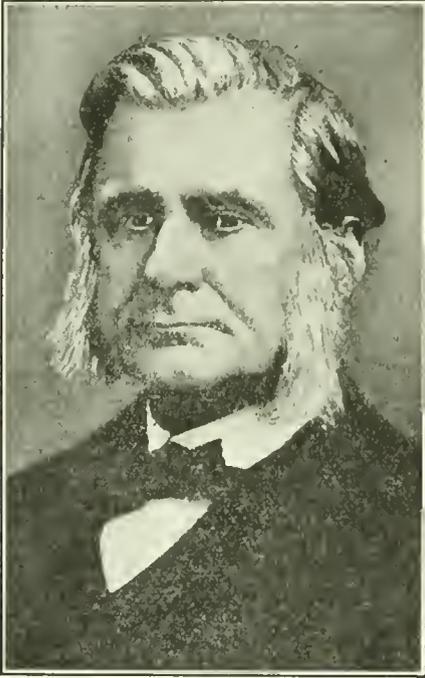
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had been gradually built up and a great body of observed facts had been gathered and arranged in orderly manner, no other procedure was possible; this did not take place until the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th Century. Even then, however, little real progress was made; scientific opinion was not ripe for such a bold generalization, and the teachings of Lamarck attracted few followers, especially as the overwhelming authority of Cuvier was exerted against these teachings. It is of interest to note that Lamarck (1744-1829) arrived at the revolutionary conception just as Darwin did nearly half a century later, through a study of the problems of species. . . . The concept received a more precise meaning and definition from the great Swedish naturalist Linnæus (1707-1778), who devised the modern scheme of the classification and nomenclature of animals and plants. . . . The Linnæan dogma, which prevailed down to the time of Darwin, is that 'there are as many species as God created in the beginning.' . . . Lamarck's best known work is his 'Philosophie zoologique.' . . . Most of the book is devoted to a consideration of

the causes which have led to the transformation of animals and the conclusion is that adaptation to the environment is the most efficient factor. This adaptation is to be explained by the fact that the conditions of life determine the manner in which animals make use of their organs; these are developed and perfected by use, but dwindle and are atrophied by disuse." According to Lamarck's theory, "the inheritance of acquired characteristics," the characteristics thus acquired during the lifetime of an animal might be inherited by the descendants. "The way for the great revolution effected by Darwin was prepared indirectly, and in a science which seemed to be very remote from the field of controversy, viz., Geology, and the pioneer who opened this new world was Sir Charles Lyell (1797-1875). Before Lyell began his great work, the interpretation of the earth's history was under the sway of Cuvier's theory of 'Catastrophism.' . . . In the sharpest contrast Lyell's theory was that of uniformitarianism, which insisted upon the uniformity and complete continuity of the earth's history and of the agencies which had wrought such profound changes upon and within the globe. . . . One might almost say that Darwin's work largely consisted in the application of Lyell's principle to the world of living beings."—W. Scott, *Theory of evolution*, pp. 6-12.

"It was long before men fully realised that authentic traces of extinct forms of life were to be found in the fossils embedded in the rocks. Isolated glimpses of this truth are seen here and there in the fifteenth and following centuries, but it was not till the eighteenth century that this view was consistently advocated. Hutton's (1726-1797) *Theory of the Earth*, published in 1785, taught that processes still going on were adequate to explain the formation of the stratified rocks, and the existence of embedded fossils. But even then no general agreement followed, and it was not till Lyell (1797-1875) collected all the evidence that had accumulated in his *Principles of Geology* (1830-33) that men of science were convinced, and realised that ages must have elapsed in geological processes, beside which the few thousand years of the received Biblical chronology were almost as nothing. The long series of fossil animals and plants of gradually increasing complexity, found by geologists in strata of different ages, raised once more the question of the evolution of species. The idea of the development of all existing forms of life from a few simple types had been held by some of the Greek philosophers, but it had vanished in the ascendancy of the Biblical story of the Creation, and been discredited further by the scientific doctrine of fixity of species prevalent in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Lamarck (1744-1829), it is true, had advocated a theory of evolution founded on the idea of the gradual development of organs under the stimulus of special use for many generations—the giraffe, for instance, acquiring its long neck by the continual efforts of its ancestors to browse on trees just beyond their reach. But no evidence was forthcoming of the inheritance of such acquired characters, and the balance of scientific opinion was decidedly against the evolutionary hypothesis. In 1858, however, a new suggestion was made independently by Charles Darwin (1809-1882) and Alfred Russel Wallace (b. 1823), fortified in the case of Darwin by illustrations drawn from many years' observation and experiment. Impressed by the severity of the struggle for life and for mates among animals and plants in a state of nature, Darwin and Wallace saw that a variation in structure or character which gave even a slight advantage to any individual might determine the

question whether or not it was to survive, obtain a mate, and rear offspring. Innate variations tend to be inherited, and thus a favourable variation might be perpetuated, developing in time into a new variety or species. In this way, the pressure of



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natural selection might accentuate chance variations, and produce from a few prototypes all the existing species of living beings, gradually, throughout the long ages of geological time, moulding each species to suit its environment, and leaving it more fixed in type as the need for variation disappeared."—W. C. D. Whetham, *Foundations of science*, pp. 55-57.—"Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-05), one of the keenest, most analytical thinkers of the nineteenth century, not only defended the general doctrine of evolution against bishop Wilberforce and his aids, but was an able investigator in the fields of comparative anatomy and embryology. . . . Huxley himself accepted the theory of Natural Selection but not without some important reservations—these, however, did not prevent him from becoming its most ardent and successful champion. Darwin used to acknowledge Huxley's great service to him in undertaking the defense of the theory—a defense which his own hatred of controversy and state of health made him unwilling to undertake—by laughingly calling him 'my general agent' while Huxley himself in replying to the critics, declared he was 'Darwin's bulldog.' Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919) was one of the earliest and most influential followers of Darwin in Germany. In his *Generelle Morphologie*, published in 1866, seven years after the *Origin of Species* first appeared, he applied the doctrine of evolution, and especially the theory of Natural Selection, to the whole field of vertebrate morphology. Beyond question Haeckel over-applied the theory and in a sense weakened its influence by his rather uncritical use of materials. His writings have been translated into most languages and 'are popularly believed to represent the best scientific thought on 'the matter.' Biologists today, however,

are apt to look askance at Haeckel's works and to consider that they did more harm than good to Darwinism."—H. H. Newman, *Readings in evolution, genetics and eugenics*, pp. 29-30.—"When this theory (evolution) had overcome the opposition of those who held a too literal interpretation of the book of Genesis, it became the dominating idea of the second half of the nineteenth century. Its influence extended far beyond the confines of biological science. By giving a reasonable explanation of biological development, it justified the conception of evolution in general, and that conception was applied with varying measures of success to co-ordinate the phenomena of cosmical processes, the development of the human race, historical change, and social evolution. Even the specific idea of natural selection, or the survival of the fittest—the fittest for the particular existing environment—found application in other realms of thought. In especial it illuminated the tendencies of sociology, or the science of human societies, where progress has followed along much the same lines previously trodden by natural history. From the mere collection of tales of the marvellous and surprising, such as were at first brought back by travellers, traders, and missionaries—whose calling took them among unknown peoples—the study of mankind has advanced into the careful, sympathetic, and intelligent stage, which is now characteristic of anthropology and the allied subject of comparative religion. The results of the patient labour of spade and pick, among the sands of Egypt, and the waste cities of Palestine and Asia Minor, by which the relics of past civilisations have been brought to light, may be compared with the unfolding of the story of evolution by the study of the fossil contents of rocks. But there are yet vast areas awaiting the coming of the scientifically trained and equipped explorer. . . . Nevertheless the causes which have contributed to the rise and fall of civilisations are beginning to yield their lessons for the future. Mankind is subject to evolution, and the average composition and character of each race is always changing, not only absolutely but in rela-



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tion to other nations. Hence arises the importance of a study of the comparative rates of reproduction of different sections of a nation, and of other agencies that may affect racial qualities—the subject-matter of the study named Eugenics by the

late Sir Francis Galton (1822-1911), its founder."—W. C. D. Whetham, *Foundations of science*, pp. 57-58.—See also ANTHROPOLOGY: Scope of study; ENGLISH LITERATURE: 1832-1890.

ALSO IN: R. Balmforth, *Evolution*.—S. Bramley-Moore, *Fable or fact*.—H. L. Bergson, *Creative evolution*.—E. Carpenter, *Civilization*.—W. E. Castle, *Method of evolution*.—E. Clodd, *Pioneers of evolution*.—C. Darwin, *Origin of the species by means of natural selection*.—C. Darwin, *Descent of man*.—P. Geddes and A. J. Thompson, *Evolution*.—S. Herbert, *First principles of evolution*.—T. H. Huxley, *Man's place in nature*.—T. H. Huxley, *Collected essays*.—H. F. Osborn, *From the Greeks to Darwin*.—A. S. Packard, *Lamarck, his life and work*.—H. Spencer, *Factors of organic evolution*.—H. Spencer, *Inadequacy of natural selection*.

Classification of theories of evolution.—"In all biological thinking we have to work with the categories Organism—Function—Environment, and theories of evolution may be classified in relation to these. To some it has always seemed that the fundamental fact is the living organism,—a creative agent, a striving will, a changeful Proteus, selecting its environment, adjusting itself to it, self-differentiating and self-adaptive. The necessity of recognising the importance of the organism is admitted by all Darwinians who start with inborn variations, but it is open to question whether the whole truth of what we might call the Goethian position is exhausted in the postulate of inherent variability. To others it has always seemed that the emphasis should be laid on Function,—on use and disuse, on doing and not doing. Practice makes perfect; *c'est à force de forger qu'on devient forgeron*. . . . To others it has always seemed that the emphasis should be laid on the Environment, which wakes the organism to action, prompts it to change, makes dints upon it, moulds it, prunes it, and finally, perhaps, kills it. It is again impossible to doubt that there is truth in this view, for even if environmentally induced 'modifications' be not transmissible, environmentally induced 'variations' are; and even if the direct influence of the environment be less important than many enthusiastic supporters of this view—may we call them Buffonians—think, there remains the indirect influence which Darwinians in part rely on,—the eliminative process. Even if the extreme view be held that the only orm of discriminate elimination that counts is inter-organismal competition, this might be included under the rubric of the animate environment. . . . Erasmus Darwin had a firm grip of the 'idea of the gradual formation and improvement of the Animal world,' and he had his theory of the process. No sentence is more characteristic than this: 'All animals undergo transformations which are in part produced by their own exertions, in response to pleasures and pains, and many of these acquired forms or propensities are transmitted to their posterity.' . . . In artificial selection the breeder chooses out for pairing only such individuals as possess the character desired by him in a somewhat higher degree than the rest of the race. Some of the descendants inherit this character, often in a still higher degree, and if this method be pursued throughout several generations, the race is transformed in respect of that particular character. Natural selection depends on the same three factors as artificial selection: on variability, inheritance, and selection for breeding, but this last is here carried out not by a breeder but by what Darwin called the 'struggle for existence.' . . . The 'struggle for existence,' . . . is not a direct struggle between carnivores and their prey, but is the assumed competition for survival between individuals of the

same species, of which, on an average, only those survive to reproduce which have the greatest power of resistance, while the others, less favourably constituted, perish early. This struggle is so keen, that, within a limited area, where the conditions of life have long remained unchanged, of every species, whatever be the degree of fertility, only two, on an average, of the descendants of each pair survive; the others succumb either to enemies, or to disadvantages of climate, or to accident. A high degree of fertility is thus not an indication of the special success of a species, but of the numerous dangers that have attended its evolution. Of the six young brought forth by a pair of elephants in the course of their lives only two survive in a given area; similarly, of the millions of eggs which two thread-worms leave behind them only two survive. It is thus possible to estimate the dangers which threaten a species by its ratio of elimination, or, since this cannot be done directly, by its fertility. Although a great number of the descendants of each generation fall victims to accident, among those that remain it is still the greater or less fitness of the organism that determines the 'selection for breeding purposes,' and it would be incomprehensible if, in this competition, it were not ultimately, that is, on an average, the best equipped which survive, in the sense of living long enough to reproduce. Thus the principle of natural selection is the selection of the best for reproduction, whether the 'best' refers to the whole constitution, to one or more parts of the organism, or to one or more stages of development. Every organ, every part, every character of an animal, fertility and intelligence included, must be improved in this manner, and be gradually brought up in the course of generations to its highest attainable state of perfection. And not only may improvement of parts be brought about in this way, but new parts and organs may arise, since, through the slow and minute steps of individual or 'fluctuating' variations, a part may be added here or dropped out there, and thus something new is produced. . . . Even if we were to assume an evolutionary force that is continually transforming the most primitive and the simplest forms of life into ever higher forms, and the homogeneity of primitive times into the infinite variety of the present, we should still be unable to infer from this alone how each of the numberless forms adapted to particular conditions of life should have appeared precisely at the right moment in the history of the earth to which their adaptations were appropriate, and precisely at the proper place in which all the conditions of life to which they were adapted occurred. . . . Without processes of selection we should be obliged to assume a 'pre-established harmony.' . . . There must therefore be an intrinsic connection between the conditions and the structural adaptations of the organism, and, since the conditions of life cannot be determined by the animal itself, the adaptations must be called forth by the conditions."—Haeckel, Thomson, Weismann and others, *Evolution in modern thought*, pp. 11-13, 25-27.

Darwin's theory of natural selection.—"The doctrine of natural selection forms the best basis for the detailed discussion of the way evolution is going on to-day. Much has been added to our knowledge of natural processes during post-Darwinian times, and new discoveries have supplemented and strengthened the original doctrine in numerous ways, although they have corrected certain of the minor details on the basis of fuller investigation. At the outset it must be clearly understood that Darwin's doctrine is concerned primarily with the method and not with the evidences

as to the actual *fact* of evolution. The 'Origin of Species' was published in 1859, and only the last of its fourteen chapters is devoted to a statement of the evidence that evolution is true. In this volume Darwin presented the results of more than twenty-five years of patient study of the phenomena of nature, utilizing the observations of wild life in many regions visited by him when he was the naturalist of the 'Beagle' during its famous voyage around the world. He also considered at length the results of the breeder's work with domesticated animals, and he showed for the first time that the latter have an evolutionary significance. Because his logical assembly of wide series of facts in this and later volumes did so much to convince the intellectual world of the reasonableness of evolution, Darwin is usually and wrongly hailed as the founder of the doctrine. It is interesting to note in passing that Alfred Russel Wallace presented a precisely similar outline of nature's workings at about the same time as the statement by Darwin of his theory of natural selection. But Wallace himself has said that the greater credit belongs to the latter investigator who had worked out a more complete analysis on the basis of far more extensive observation and research. The fundamental point from which the doctrine of natural selection proceeds is the fact that all creatures are more or less perfectly adapted to the circumstances which they must meet in carrying on their lives. . . . An animal is not an independent thing; its life is intertwined with the lives of countless other creatures, and its very living substance has been built up out of materials which with their endowments of energy have been wrested from the environment. Every animal, therefore, is engaged in an unceasing struggle to gain fresh food and new energy, while at the same time it is involved in a many-sided conflict with hordes of lesser and greater foes. It must prevail over all of them, or it must surrender unconditionally and die. There is no compromise, for the vast totality we individualize as the environment is stern and unyielding, and it never relents for even a moment's truce. To live, then, is to be adapted for successful warfare; and the question as to the mode of origin of species may be restated as an inquiry into the origin of the manifold adaptations by which species are enabled to meet the conditions of life. Why is adaptation a universal phenomenon of organic nature? The answer to this query given by Darwinism may be stated so simply as to seem almost an absurdity. It is, that if there ever were any unadapted organisms, they have disappeared, leaving the world to their more efficient kin. Natural selection proves to be a continuous process of trial and error on a gigantic scale, for all of living nature is involved. Its elements are clear and real; indeed, they are so obvious when our attention is called to them we wonder why their effects were not understood ages ago. These elements are (1) the universal occurrence of variation, (2) an excessive natural rate of multiplication, (3) the struggle for existence entailed by the foregoing, (4) the consequent elimination of the unfit and the survival of only those that are satisfactorily adapted, and (5) the inheritance of the congenital variations that make for success in the struggle for existence. It is true that these elements are by no means the ultimate causes of evolution, but their complexity does not lessen their validity and efficiency as the immediate factors of the process. . . .

"The doctrine of natural selection took form in the mind of Darwin mainly on account of three potent influences; these were, first, the geological doctrine of uniformitarianism proposed by Lyell, second, his own observations of wild life in many

lands and his analysis of the breeder's results with domesticated animals, and third, the writings of Malthus dealing with overpopulation. As Darwin had read the works of Buffon, Lamarck, and Erasmus Darwin, his grandfather, who had written a famous treatise under the title of 'Zoonomia,' he was familiar with the evidences known in his student days tending to prove that organic evolution was a real natural process. Lyell's doctrine of uniform geological history made an early and deep impression upon his mind, and it led him to ask himself whether the efficient causes of past evolution might not be revealed by an analysis of the present workings of nature. As naturalist of the 'Beagle' during its four years' cruise around the world, Darwin saw many new lands and observed varied circumstances under which the organisms of the tropics and other regions lived their lives. The fierce struggle for existence waged by the denizens of the jungle recalled to him the views of Malthus regard-



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ing overpopulation and its results. These and other influences led him to begin the remarkable series of note-books, from which it is interesting indeed to learn how the doctrine of natural selection began to assume a definite and permanent form in his mind, as year followed year, and evidence was added to evidence. . . . Darwin was particularly impressed by the way mankind has dealt with the various species of domesticated animals, and he was the first naturalist to point out the correspondence between the breeder's method of 'artificial selection,' and the world-wide process of natural selection."—H. E. Crampton, *Doctrine of evolution*, pp. 116-118, 135-136.—"While Darwin always maintained that natural selection was by far the most important and efficient cause in producing transmutation, he admitted the action of other though minor factors. Thus he makes frequent appeal to the effects of use and disuse of organs, the agency which Lamarck had regarded as of such primary importance, and he advanced the theory of *sexual selection* to account for the brilliant colouring and elaborate

patterns of very many animals, especially of butterflies and birds. . . . Modern disciples of Darwin reject this factor and attribute little importance to sexual selection."—W. Scott, *Theory of evolution*, pp. 19-20.—"It is not possible in the present brief outline to describe all the results of recent investigations, but some of them are too important to be passed over. Perhaps the most interesting one is that the laws of heredity seem to be the same for man and other kinds of living creatures, as proved by Galton and Pearson and many others who have dealt with such characters as human stature, human eye color, and an extensive series of the peculiarities of lower animals and even of plants. The researches dealing with the physical basis of inheritance and its location in the organism have yielded the most striking and brilliant results."—H. E. Crampton, *Doctrine of evolution*, p. 142.

Weismann's theory of continuity of the germ-plasm.—"In multicellular organisms active growth occurs among the less differentiated cells which have retained a primitive richness in protoplasm, an embryonic character. Now the germ-cells, usually produced in enormous numbers, are derived from such undifferentiated cells set apart for the purpose of reproduction, sometimes from the very earliest stages of embryonic development. They may be traced back, and occasionally even be distinguished under the microscope through an unbroken lineage of embryonic cells to the fertilised ovum. Weismann's famous theory of the continuity of the germ-plasm is founded on these facts. According to it, the germ-plasm, that special protoplasm of the gametes, which is handed on by them from generation to generation, and gives rise to new individuals, is in a sense independent of the body or soma in which it develops. Whereas the rest of the multicellular organism, the soma, dies, the germ-cells continue for ever giving rise to new generations, the germ-plasm passing from parent to offspring. . . . The older writers on evolution generally assumed that the course of heredity and the progress of evolutionary change was greatly influenced by the direct action of the external environment and of the characters of the parents on those of their offspring. It was supposed that the changes directly induced in the body of the parent by such stimuli as temperature, moisture, nutrition, repeated use, or exercise and disuse, are inherited as such, and would reappear in the progeny. The theories of evolution propounded by Erasmus Darwin and by Lamarck were founded on this supposition; and even in the time of Darwin it was not yet questioned whether characters thus acquired by the parent in the course of its lifetime are directly inherited. It was not till Weismann critically examined the evidence for 'the inheritance of acquired characters' that the theory was definitely overthrown. He showed convincingly that mutilations (such as the repeated cutting off of the tail in dogs), the effects of use and disuse (such as calluses produced by friction, the enlargement of muscles or other organs, the fruits of education, &c.), or any direct modification due to the action of any particular stimulus, have never in any single instance been proved to be transmitted as such from one generation to another, while the evidence that they are not is overwhelming. These conclusions of Weismann, which had been to some extent foreshadowed by Pritchard and Galton, are the most important contribution to the science of evolution since the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*."—E. S. Goodrich, *Evolution of living organisms*, pp. 25, 32.

Mendel's law.—"Simultaneously with the late work of Darwin (1865), a series of researches was

being carried on in the cloister of Brunn which had they come to his notice, might have modified the history of Darwin's hypothesis. Gregor Johann Mendel, a native of Austrian Silesia, an Augustinian monk, and eventually Abbot or Prälat of the Königskloster, not satisfied that Darwin's view of natural selection was sufficient alone to explain the formation of new species, undertook a series of experiments on the hybridization or cross-breeding of peas. He published his results in the volumes of the local scientific society, where they lay buried for forty years. Their rediscovery, confirmation and extension by William Bateson and other workers marks the first step in the recent development of heredity as an exact experimental and industrial science. The essence of Mendel's discovery consists in the disclosure that in heredity certain characters may be treated as indivisible and apparently unalterable units, thus introducing what may perhaps be termed an atomic conception into the field of biology. An organism either has or has not one of these units; its presence or absence are a sharply contrasted pair of qualities. Thus the tall and dwarf varieties of the common eating pea, when self-fertilized, each breed true to type. When crossed with each other, all the hybrids are tall and one-quarter are dwarf. The dwarfs in turn all breed 'true,' but of the tall only one-third breed true, giving rise solely to tall plants, while in the next generation the remaining two-thirds repeat the phenomena of the first hybrid generations, again giving birth to pure dwarfs and mixed 'talls.' These relations are explained simply if we suppose that the germ cells of the original plants bear 'tallness' or 'dwarfness' as one pair of contrasted characters. When a tall plant is crossed with a dwarf dominant one, all the hybrids, though externally similar to the dominant parent, have germ cells half of which bear 'tallness' and the other half 'dwarfness' in their potential characters. Each germ cell bears one or other quality, but not both. Thus when, by the chance conjunction of a male with a female cell from these hybrids, a new individual is formed, it is an even chance whether, as regards the qualities of tallness and dwarfness, we get two like or two unlike cells to meet; and, if the cells be like, it is again an even chance whether they prove both 'tall' or both 'dwarf.' Hence, in the next generation, we get one quarter pure 'talls,' one quarter pure 'dwarfs,' while the remaining half are hybrids, which, since tallness is dominant, resemble the pure 'talls,' and in appearance give three-quarters of the seedlings that character. It will be seen that the methods of inheritance are different in the cases of dominant and recessive characters. While an individual can only transmit a dominant character to his descendants if he himself shows it, a recessive character may appear at any time in a pedigree if two individuals mate who carry the recessive character concealed in their germ cells, though not outwardly visible in themselves."—W. C. D. and C. D. Whetham, *Science and the human mind*, pp. 245-247.—"The task that Mendel set before himself was to gain some clear conception of the manner in which the definite and fixed varieties found within a species are related to one another, and he realised at the outset that the best chance of success lay in working with material of such a nature as to reduce the problem to its simplest terms. He decided that the plant with which he was to work must be normally self-fertilising and unlikely to be crossed through the interference of insects, while at the same time it must possess definite fixed varieties which bred true to type. In the common pea (*Pisum sativum*) he found the plant he sought. . . . In planning his crossing experiments Mendel adopted an attitude

which marked him off sharply from the earlier hybridisers. He realised that their failure to elucidate any general principle of heredity from the results of cross-fertilisation was due to their not having concentrated upon particular characters or traced them carefully through a sequence of generations. That source of failure he was careful to avoid, and throughout his experiments he crossed plants presenting sharply contrasted characters, and devoted his efforts to observing the behaviour of these characters in successive generations. Thus in one series of experiments he concentrated his attention on the transmission of the characters tallness and dwarfness, neglecting in so far as these experiments were concerned any other characters in which the parent plants might differ from one another. For this purpose he chose two strains of peas, one of about 6 feet in height, and another of about 1½ feet. Previous testing had shown that each strain bred true to its peculiar height. These two strains were artificially crossed with one another, and it was found to make no difference which was used as the pollen parent and which was used as the ovule parent. In either case the result was the same. The result of crossing tall with dwarf was in every case nothing but tall, as tall or even a little taller than the tall parent. For this reason Mendel termed tallness the dominant and dwarfness the recessive character. The next stage was to collect and sow the seeds of these tall hybrids. Such seeds in the following year gave rise to a mixed generation consisting of tall and dwarfs but no intermediates. By raising a considerable number of such plants Mendel was able to establish the fact that the number of tall which occurred in this generation was almost exactly three times as great as the number of the dwarfs. As in the previous year, seeds were carefully collected from this, the second hybrid generation, and in every case the seeds from each individual plant were harvested separately and separately sown in the following year. By this respect for the individuality of the different plants, however closely they resembled one another, Mendel found the clue that had eluded the efforts of all his predecessors. The seeds collected from the dwarf recessives bred true, giving nothing but dwarfs. And this was true for every dwarf tested. But with the tall it was quite otherwise. Although indistinguishable in appearance, some of them bred true, while others behaved like the original tall hybrids, giving a generation consisting of tall and dwarfs in the proportion of three of the former to one of the latter. Counting showed that the number of the tall which gave dwarfs was double that of the tall which bred true. . . . Mendel experimented with other pairs of contrasted characters and found that in every instance they followed the same scheme of inheritance. Thus coloured flowers were dominant to white, in the ripe seeds yellow was dominant to green, and round shape was dominant to wrinkled, and so on. In every case where the inheritance of an alternative pair of characters was concerned the effect of the cross in successive generations was to produce three and only three different sorts of individuals, viz. dominants which bred true, dominants which gave both dominant and recessive offspring in the ratio 3: 1, and recessives which always bred true."—R. G. Punnett, *Mendelism*, pp. 15-18.—"But in the majority of cases the conditions of inheritance are far more complicated than would appear from the study of two simply contrasted qualities in the green eating pea. For instance, qualities may act as dominants or recessives according to sex or other conditions. Characters may be linked in pairs so that one cannot appear without the

other, or again they may be incompatible and never be present together. Many Mendelian characters have now been traced in plants and animals; while, as a practical guide in breeding, the method has been successfully applied to unite certain desirable qualities and to exclude others of harmful tendency. By this means, Biffen has established new and valuable species of wheat, in which immunity to rust, high cropping power and certain baking qualities have been brought together in one and the same species owing to a long series of experiments based on the Mendelian laws of inheritance. The extension of this new method of research to mankind at once cleared away many old puzzles and opened up fresh fields of study. Many diseases and malformations have been proved to be dominant Mendelian characters; while deaf-mutism, and other defects, appear to be recessive, and therefore especially liable to appear in cousin marriages between sound individuals who come from families liable to the affliction. Of normal healthy characters, eye colour alone has yet definitely been proved to show Mendelian phenomena in its line of descent, brown colour being dominant to gray, though indications are not wanting that further analysis will disclose similar relations in many other directions. The application of such results is obvious. We can already predict accurately the probable results of human matings when the potential parents possess a character which has proved to be Mendelian in its line of descent. Increase of this knowledge is coming fast, and should soon form a valuable guide to the physician, to the sociologist, perhaps to the statesman. . . . Another aspect of evolutionary philosophy also has been affected by recent research. Though Lamarck's theory gave up its pride of chief place to that of Darwin, many accredited evolutionists continued to preach and act as though characters in man acquired by the reaction of the environment—as by exercise, training, or education—were handed down in their developed form to his offspring. Thus a comforting doctrine arose that we need but improve the acquirements of one transient generation for the next to be better innately—that the race by mere well-directed philanthropic enterprise would continue to improve indefinitely in mental and moral worth. Then came Weismann, who, led by the evidence that the germ cells of one individual are derived by direct descent from those of his parents, asked how characters acquired during life could affect the germ cells present almost before life began? He examined critically every suggested case of the inheritance of such a superimposed character, and found each case to crumble away under his analysis. We have not reached certainty. Some indications are believed to point to possible though rare occurrence of partial inheritance in a few insects and plants when modified by the environment. But, as a chief actor in the hereditary drama, the acquired character is discredited. Here again we touch the problems of sociology. Though political and social institutions acquired by one generation are certainly inherited by the next, and if well suited to the natural development of the people may help them progressively to advance in social organization by a process of cumulation, this inheritance of social organization is not evolution in the Darwinian sense. And, in the far more important and fundamental inborn qualities of the race, no rise of one generation by improved hygiene, exercise or education can affect, save indirectly, the qualities of the next. Selective parenthood, natural or conscious, is alone capable of raising our race or preventing its degeneration."—W. C. D. and

C. D. Whetham, *Science and the human mind*, pp. 247-250.

Mutation theory of De Vries.—"De Vries's new 'mutation theory' is clearly not an alternative but a complementary theory to natural selection, the Weismannian and Mendelian theories. Like these last, it emphasizes the importance of the congenital hereditary qualities contained in the germ plasm, though unlike the Darwinian doctrine it shows that sometimes new forms may arise by sudden leaps and not necessarily by the slow and gradual accumulation of slight modifications of fluctuations. The mutants like any other variants must present themselves before the jury of environmental circumstances, which passes judgment upon their conditions of adaptation, and they, too, must abide by the verdict that means life or death. . . . The explanation of natural evolution given by Darwinism, and the principles of Weismann, Mendel, and De Vries, still fails to solve the mystery completely, and appeal has been made to other agencies, even to teleology and to 'unknown' and 'unknowable' causes as well as to circumstantial factors. A combination of Lamarckian and Darwinian factors has been proposed by Osborn, Baldwin, and Lloyd Morgan, in the theory of organic selection. The theory of orthogenesis propounded by the Naegeli and Eimer, now gaining much ground, holds that evolution takes place in direct lines of progressive modification, and is not the result of apparent chance. Of these and similar theories, all we can say is that if they are true, they are not so well substantiated as the ones we have reviewed at greater length."—H. E. Crampton, *Doctrine of evolution*, pp. 147-149.

Summary.—Metabolism.—"Evolution from the scientific point of view, as it appears to an outside observer, may be represented as a vast and continuous series of changes in a continuous stream of living matter. Each stage in the process determines that which precedes it, and determines that which follows. The scientific generalisations based on the observation of non-living matter, the 'laws' of physics and chemistry, hold good when applied to the changes in living matter. There is no special living element, no mysterious life-force; but life, scientifically described, is a physico-chemical process taking place in the complex compounds of the ordinary elements which make up the protoplasm of living organisms. Metabolism, as this process is called, is due to the instability of these compounds, to the fact that external conditions or stimuli applied to them may alter their structure and composition. All the manifestations of life thus correspond to metabolic processes. From the very first origin of living protoplasm there has been an unbroken continuity of living processes and substance. The living organisms of the present day are the descendants of those of the past, and all the various forms of life are but the divergent streams from the original source of metabolism. Variation is due to change in the metabolism; all organisms are the products of the interaction of transmitted factors of metabolism (the factors of the inheritance) and factors of the environment. The ever-changing and continuous stream of living matter is diverted into this or that channel of differentiation and specialisation by the environment through natural selection. The environment moulds the organism, and the organism reacts on its environment, until in the case of man he seems to have become master of it and to shape his own destiny."—E. S. Goodrich, *Evolution of living organisms*, p. 105.

See also ANTHROPOLOGY; BIOLOGY; EUGENICS.

ALSO IN: W. Bateson, *Mendel's principles of heredity*.—C. R. Darwin, *Origin of species*.—Idem.

Descent of man.—Idem, *Animals and plants under domestication*.—H. de Vries, *Mutation theory*.—F. Galton, *Natural inheritance*.—P. Geddes and H. A. Thompson, *Evolution of sex*.—E. Haeckel, *History of creation*.—E. R. Lankester, *Advancement of science*.—R. S. Lull, *Evolution of the earth and its inhabitants*.—E. B. Poulton, *Essays on evolution*.—R. C. Punnett, *Mendelism*.—A. Reid, *Principles of heredity*.—G. J. Romanes, *Aristotle as a naturalist*.—H. M. Vernon, *Variation in animals and plants*.—A. R. Wallace, *Darwinism*.—A. Weismann, *Evolution theory*.

EWALD, Johannes (1743-1781), Danish poet and dramatist. See SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE: 1750-1850.

EWARTS, Alexei (1857-1917), Russian general during the World War. See WORLD WAR: 1914: II. Eastern front: d, 5; 1915: III. Eastern front: i, 3; i, 6; 1916: III. Eastern front: a.

EX CATHEDRA, theological term derived from the use of the word *Cathedra* as applied to the chair or throne of a bishop in his cathedral church, on which he presides at solemn functions. The term *Cathedra* itself came to be taken as a symbol of authoritative doctrinal definition and thus led to the acceptance of the words "ex Cathedra" in the sense of a formal infallible decision of the pope. The Vatican Council sanctions this use of the expression when it says: "When the Roman Pontiff speaks *ex cathedra*—that is, when he, using his office as pastor and doctor of all Christians, in virtue of his Apostolic office defines a doctrine of faith and morals to be held by the whole Church, he, by the divine assistance, promised to him in the blessed Peter, possesses that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer was pleased to invest His Church in the definition of doctrine on faith or morals, and that therefore, such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irrefragable in their own nature and not because of the consent of the Church."—*Bull pastor aeternus*, cap. 4.

EX PARTE MILLIGAN, United States Supreme Court decision. See SUPREME COURT: 1866-1873.

EX POST FACTO LAW.—The Constitution of the United States, in Article 1, Section 10, Clause 1, forbids any state to pass an *ex post facto* law.

Definition and nature.—"An Ex Post Facto Law is one which imposes a punishment for an act which was not punishable when it was committed, imposes additional punishment, or changes the rules of evidence, by which less or different testimony is sufficient to convict [Calder v. Bull, 3 Dall. 386, 390, 1 L. ed. 648]. It is essential to an *ex post facto* law, therefore, that it relate to criminal matters [Schwartz v. Adams, 228 U. S. 502, 33 S. C. t. 609, 57 L. ed. 980], that it be retroactive in its operation [U. S.—Chicago, etc., R. Co. v. Tranbarger, 238 U. S. 67, 35 S. C. t. 678, 59 L. ed. 1204 aff. 250 Mo. 46, 156 S. W. 694], and that it alter the situation of the accused party to his disadvantage. [Malloy v. South Carolina, 237 U. S. 180, 35 S. C. t. 507, 59 L. ed. 905.] And in general it may be said that any statute passed after the commission of an offense is *ex post facto* which alters the situation of any person accused thereof to his disadvantage. [Thompson v. Utah, 170 U. S. 343, 18 S. C. t. 620, 42 L. ed. 1061.] The constitutional prohibition applies to legislative acts, only, not to judicial acts. [Frank v. Mangum, 237 U. S. 309, 35 S. C. t. 582, 59 L. ed. 969.]"—*Ex post facto laws*, *Constitutional law (Corpus Juris)*, pp. 1097-1098, v. 12).

Classification.—"The following classification of *ex post facto* laws made in an early case in the

United States supreme court has been approved in a large number of cases. '(1st) Every law that makes an action done before the passing of the law, and which was innocent when done, criminal, and punishes such action. (2nd) Every law that aggravates a crime or makes it greater than it was when committed. (3rd) Every law that changes the punishment and inflicts a greater punishment than the law annexed to the crime committed. (4th) Every law that alters the legal rules of evidence and receives less or different testimony than the law required at the time of the commission of the offense in order to convict the offender.' To this classification may be added: '(5th) Every law which, assuming to regulate civil rights and remedies only, in effect imposes a penalty or the deprivation of a right for something which, when done, was lawful. And (6th) Every law which deprives persons accused of crime of some lawful protection to which they have become entitled such as the protection of a former conviction or acquittal, or of a proclamation of amnesty. [Cooley Const. L. p. 286.] And to make the classification sufficiently general to embrace all the laws which have been adjudged *ex post facto*: (7th) Every law which in relation to the offense or its consequences, alters the situation of a person to his disadvantage. [Frisby v. U. S., 38 App. (D. C.) 22, 37 L. R. A. N. S. 96.]—*Ibid.*, pp. 1100-1101.—See also SUPREME COURT: 1866-1873.

ALSO IN: J. H. Merrill, *American and English encyclopedia of law*, v. 7.

EXANCEASTER, ancient name for Exeter. See EXETER, ORIGIN OF.

EXARCHS OF RAVENNA, powerful military governors (with civil authority), who resided at Ravenna, Italy, during the 6th century. See BARBARIAN INVASIONS: 527-533; ROME: Medieval city: 554-800.

EXARCHS OF THE DIOCESE, chief bishop of a province, in early church organization. See PRIMATES.

EXCAVATIONS. See ARCHÆOLOGY.

EXCESS PROFITS TAX. See U. S. A.: 1917-1919: Taxation, etc.

EXCHANGE, Bills of. See COMMON LAW: 1603; 1756-1788; MONEY AND BANKING: Medieval: Coinage and banking, etc.

EXCHANGE, Foreign. See MONEY AND BANKING: Medieval: 12th-14th centuries; Florentine banking; Modern: 1913-1920.

EXCHANGE, Primitive. See COMMERCE: Primitive: Exchange.

EXCHANGES. See STOCK EXCHANGE.

EXCHEQUER, Chancellor of. See CHANCELLOR: Of the Exchequer.

EXCHEQUER, EXCHEQUER ROLLS, EXCHEQUER TALLIES.—The Exchequer of the Norman kings was the court in which the whole financial business of the country was transacted, and as the whole administration of justice, and even the military organisation, was dependent upon the fiscal officers, the whole framework of society may be said to have passed annually under its review [see also COURTS: England: Origin] and development. It derived its name from the chequered cloth which covered the table at which the accounts were taken, a name which suggested to the spectator the idea of a game at chess between the receiver and the payer, the treasurer and the sheriff. . . . The record of the business was preserved in three great rolls; one kept by the Treasurer, another by the Chancellor, and a third by an officer nominated by the king, who registered the matters of legal and special importance. The rolls of the Treasurer and Chancellor were duplicates;

that of the former was called from its shape the great roll of the Pipe, and that of the latter the roll of the Chancery. These documents are mostly still in existence. The Pipe Rolls are complete from the second year of Henry II and the Chancellor's Rolls nearly so. Of the preceding period only one roll, that of the thirty-first year of Henry I., is preserved, and this with Domesday book is the most valuable store of information which exists for the administrative history of the age. The financial reports were made to the barons by the sheriffs of the counties. At Easter and Michaelmas each of these magistrates produced his own accounts and paid in to the Exchequer such an instalment or proffer as he could afford, retaining in hand sufficient money for current expenses. In token of receipt a tally was made; a long piece of wood in which a number of notches were cut, marking the pounds, shillings, and pence received; this stick was then split down the middle, each half contained exactly the same number of notches, and no alteration could of course be made without certain detection. . . . The fire which destroyed the old Houses of Parliament is said to have originated in the burning of the old Exchequer tallies.—W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 11, sect. 126.—"The wooden 'tallies' on which a large notch represented £1,000, and smaller notches other sums, while a halfpenny was denoted by a small round hole, were actually in use at the Exchequer until the year 1824."—J. Lubbock, *Preface to Hall's "Antiquities and curiosities of the exchequer."*—See also CURIA REGIS; CHESS.

ALSO IN: E. F. Henderson, *Select historical documents of the Middle Ages*, bk. 1, no. 5.

EXCISE TAXES, United States. See TAXATION: Outline, etc.

EXCLUSION BILL. See ENGLAND: 1670-1681.

EXCLUSION OF ALIENS. See IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION; RACE PROBLEMS.

EXCOMMUNICATIONS AND INTERDICTS.—"Excommunication, whatever opinions may be entertained as to its religious efficacy, was originally nothing more in appearance than the exercise of a right which every society claims, the expulsion of refractory members from its body. No direct temporal disadvantages attended this penalty for several ages; but as it was the most severe of spiritual censures, and tended to exclude the object of it, not only from a participation in religious rites, but in a considerable degree from the intercourse of Christian society, it was used sparingly and upon the gravest occasions. Gradually, as the church became more powerful and more imperious, excommunications were issued upon every provocation, rather as a weapon of ecclesiastical warfare than with any regard to its original intention. . . . Princes who felt the inadequacy of their own laws to secure obedience called in the assistance of more formidable sanctions. Several capitularies of Charlemagne denounce the penalty of excommunication against incendiaries or deserters from the army. Charles the Bald procured similar censures against his revolted vassals. Thus the boundary between temporal and spiritual offences grew every day less distinct; and the clergy were encouraged to fresh encroachments, as they discovered the secret of rendering them successful. . . . The support due to church censures by temporal judges is vaguely declared in the capitularies of Pepin and Charlemagne. It became in later ages a more established principle in France and England, and, I presume, in other countries. By our common law an excommunicated person is incapable of being a witness or of bringing an action; and he

may be detained in prison until he obtains absolution. By the Establishments of St. Louis, his estate or person might be attached by the magistrate. These actual penalties were attended by marks of abhorrence and ignominy still more calculated to make an impression on ordinary minds. They were to be shunned, like men infected with leprosy, by their servants, their friends, and their families. . . . But as excommunication, which attacked only one and perhaps a hardened sinner, was not always efficacious, the church had recourse to a more comprehensive punishment. For the offence of a nobleman she put a county, for that of a prince his entire kingdom, under an interdict or suspension of religious offices. No stretch of her tyranny was perhaps so outrageous as this. During an interdict the churches were closed, the bells silent, the dead unburied, no rite but those of baptism and extreme unction performed. Then penalty fell upon those who had neither partaken nor could have prevented the offence; and the offence was often but a private dispute, in which the pride of a pope or bishop had been wounded. Interdicts were so rare before the time of Gregory VII., that some have referred them to him as their author; instances may however be found of an earlier date."—H. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ch. 7, pt. 1.

Among the more famous excommunications are the following:

Dollinger, Johann Joseph Ignaz von. See PAPACY: 1869-1870.

Florence. See FLORENCE: 1375-1378.

Henry IV of Germany. See PAPACY: 1056-1122.

Henry VIII of England. See ENGLAND: 1527-1534.

John of England. See ENGLAND: 1205-1213.

Luther, Martin. See PAPACY: 1517-1521.

Philip IV of France. See PAPACY: 1294-1348.

Savonarola. See FLORENCE: 1490-1498.

Venetians. See PAPACY: 1605-1700.

ALSO IN: M. Gosselin, *Power of the pope in the Middle Ages*, pt. 2, ch. 1, art. 3.—H. C. Lea, *Studies in church history*, pt. 3.—P. Schaff, *History of the Christian church*, v. 4, ch. 8, sect. 86.

EXECUTIONS.—Among the more famous executions are the following:

André, John (1780). See U. S. A.: 1780 (August-September).

Argyle, Earl of (1685). See ENGLAND: 1685 (May-July).

Arnold of Brescia (1155). See ROME: Medieval city: 1145-1155.

Balboa (1517). See COLOMBIA: 1499-1536.

Barneveldy, Jan Van (1619). See NETHERLANDS: 1603-1610.

Boleyn, Anne (1536). See ENGLAND: 1536-1543.

Bolo Pasha (1018). See BOLO, MARIE PAUL (Bolo Pasha); BOLOISM.

Brown, John (1859). See U. S. A.: 1850.

Bruno, Giordano (1600). See ASTRONOMY: 1330-1600.

Byng, John (1756). See MINORCA: 1756.

Casement, Sir Roger (1916). See IRELAND: 1016 (June-August).

Cavell, Edith (1915). See CAVELL, EDITH.

Carmagnola, Francesco (1432). See ITALY: 1412-1447.

Charles I of England, (1649). See ENGLAND: 1649 (January).

Cinq Mars (1642). See FRANCE: 1641-1642.

Corday, Charlotte (1793). See FRANCE: 1793 (July).

Conradin, last of the Hohenstaufens, 1268. See ITALY: 1250-1268.

Cranmer, Thomas (1556). See ENGLAND: 1555-1558.

Danton, George Jacques (1794). See FRANCE: 1793-1794 (November-June).

Desmoulins, Camille (1794). See FRANCE: 1793-1794 (November-June).

Emmet, Robert (1803). See IRELAND: 1801-1803.

Enghien, Duke d' (1804). See FRANCE: 1804-1805.

Fawkes, Guy (1605). See ENGLAND: 1605.

Fisher, John (1535). See ENGLAND: 1529-1535.

Gaveston, Piers (1312). See ENGLAND: 1377-1399.

Grey, Lady Jane (1554). See ENGLAND: 1555-1558.

Hale, Nathan (1776). See U. S. A.: 1776 (September-November).

Hofer, Andreas (1810). See GERMANY: 1809-1810 (April-February).

Howard, Catherine (1542). See ENGLAND: 1536-1543.

Huss, John (1415). See BOHEMIA: 1405-1415.

Joan of Arc (1431). See FRANCE: 1429-1431.

Jugurtha (B. C. 104). See NUMIDIA.

Latimer, Hugh (1555). See ENGLAND: 1555-1558.

Laud, William, archbishop of Canterbury, 1644. See ENGLAND: 1640-1641.

Leisler, Jacob (1691). See NEW YORK: 1689-1691.

Louis XVI of France (1793). See FRANCE: 1793 (January).

Marie Antoinette (1793). See FRANCE: 1793 (September-December).

Mary, Queen of Scots (1587). See ENGLAND: 1585-1587.

Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico (1867). See MEXICO: 1861-1867.

Molay, Jacques de (1314). See TEMPLARS: 1307-1314.

Monmouth, Duke of (1685). See ENGLAND: 1685 (May-July).

Montmorency, Duke of (1632). See FRANCE: 1630-1632.

More, Sir Thomas (1535). See ENGLAND: 1520-1535.

Murat (1815). See ITALY: 1815.

Ney, Marshal (1815). See FRANCE: 1815-1830.

Rienzi (1354). See ROME: Medieval city: 1347-1354.

Robespierre, Maximilian (1794). See FRANCE: 1794 (July).

Russell, Lord. See ENGLAND: 1681-1683.

Savonarola, Girolamo (1498). See FLORENCE: 1490-1498.

Sidney, Algernon (1683). See ENGLAND: 1681-1683.

Socrates (B. C. 300). See SOCRATES; MYTHOLOGY: Greek; Other influences, etc.

Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of (1641). See ENGLAND: 1640-1641.

Vane, Sir Harry (1662). See ENGLAND: 1658-1660.

Wallace, William (1305). See SCOTLAND: 1200-1305.

Wyatt, Sir Thomas (1554). See ENGLAND: 1554.

EXECUTIVE. See PRESIDENT; also constitutions under various countries, as ARGENTINA, CONSTITUTION OF, etc.

EXECUTIVE, State. See STATE GOVERNMENT: 1776-1800; 1850-1921.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington. See WHITE HOUSE.

EXEGETÆ, board of three persons in ancient Athens "to whom application might be made in all matters relating to sacred law, and also, probably, with regard to the significance of the Diosemia, or celestial phenomena and other signs by which future events were foretold."—G. F. Schömann, *Antiquities of Greece: The state*, pt. 3. ch. 3.

EXEMPTION LAWS, laws granting the legal right to individuals to be excused from certain services. See **COMMON LAW**: 1836.

EXEQUATUR: Installation of the consul.—"After the appointment of a consul, the sending government remits to the government of the country within whose jurisdiction his post exists his commission. This is done through its diplomatic representative accredited to that government, accompanied by instructions to apply for an exequatur. An exequatur is called in Turkey a *barat*. By an exequatur is meant a recognition of the consul by the foreign receiving state, and a warrant that he is permitted to proceed to perform the duties of his office as consul in the jurisdiction or territory for which he is appointed in accordance with law and usage. The conveyance of the exequatur may be by a formal document or letter patent signed by the sovereign and countersigned by the minister of foreign affairs, or it may be simply a notification that he is recognized and an exequatur granted, or it may be as in Austria that his commission is indorsed with the word 'exequatur' and stamped with the imperial seal. If the foreign state accords the exequatur without reservation, the rights, privileges, and immunities of the consul will be, as mentioned before, determined by the treaties and by the general principles of international law governing consular relations. If there are restrictions or interpretations that the receiving state desires to place upon the consular office to which the appointment has been made, such conditions will be named in accompaniment of the exequatur. If the state by which the consul is appointed accepts the exequatur with its restrictions the two states will be bound by the agreement. All states can refuse, by withholding an exequatur, to receive consuls on personal grounds or to receive them only in certain parts of their territory, so that a state has the right, if it so declare, to limit the exercise of consular functions by certain conditions. These conditions, however, must apply to consuls of all nations and not be based upon personal or national considerations. Such conditions, moreover, must not be in violation of any treaty existing between these two countries. The exequatur once granted, it becomes a duty on the part of the granting state to notify the local authorities and to give such publicity as may be necessary to inform the general public as well as the nationals of the state to which the consul belongs who happen to be residing within his district. It is established usage that the district named by the sending state should, as a rule, be accepted by the receiving state, as it is more particularly a matter of convenience of the sending state. In case of unsettled or changed political conditions in the district to which the consul is to be sent, the sending state has the right of naming the authorities to which application for an exequatur should be made, as it may easily involve a grave political question. This is even a graver matter when the receiving government grants recognition to a government by giving an exequatur to a consul of their appointment. It is not always necessary to ask for and obtain a formal exequatur for a consular agent. Frequently, on application, the foreign minister of the receiving state gives such exequatur in the form of a certificate of recognition. (Stowell, 'Le Consul,' pp. 257, etc.) In the case of delay,

due to absence of the proper central authorities or the distance of the capital from the district of the newly appointed consul, he may proceed to his post and enter upon the discharge of his duties on receiving permission from the proper local authorities of the place to act in his official capacity until the exequatur arrives. If a consul be guilty of illegal or improper conduct, he is liable to have his exequatur revoked, and if his conduct be criminal to be punished according to the laws of the country, or he may be sent out of the country at the option of the offended government. There have been a number of cases of the revocation of an exequatur as well as a refusal to grant it by various governments. Mr. Eugene Schuyler, in his work 'American Diplomacy,' says 'Refusals to grant the exequatur are not uncommon. An English consul was refused by Russia in the Caucasus because it was alleged he was hostile to the Russian Government and had expressed strong opinions about Russian movements in Asia. In our own history, without going further, a consul appointed to Beirut was rejected by Turkey because he was a clergyman and might be too much connected with the missionaries; another was rejected by Austria on account of his political opinions, he having previously been an Austrian subject.' During the Civil War, in 1861, Mr. Bunch, the British consul at Charleston who was exercising consular functions under an exequatur from the United States Government, had this exequatur revoked on account of various communications he had entered into with the Confederate Government and also because his conduct had all along 'been that not of a friend to this government or even of a neutral, but of a partisan of faction and disunion.' The British Government, although denying the charge that Mr. Bunch had acted as a partisan, did not dispute the President's right to withdraw Mr. Bunch's exequatur. Mr. Bunch continued to reside in Charleston during the time it remained in possession of the Confederate Government. Conviction of a person by a United States military commission at Manila of publishing seditious newspaper matter in violation of the articles of war precluded the recognition of such person as the consular agent of a foreign power at that place."—C. H. Stockton, *Outlines of international law*, pp. 225-227.

EXETER, Origin of.—"Isca Damnoniorum, Caer Wisc, Exanceaster, Exeter, keeping essentially the same name under all changes, stands distinguished as the one great English city which has, in a more marked way than any other, kept its unbroken being and its unbroken position throughout all ages. The City on the Exe, in all ages and in all tongues keeping its name as the City on the Exe, allows of an easy definition. . . . It is the one city [of England] in which we can feel sure that human habitation and city life have never ceased from the days of the early Cæsars to our own."—E. A. Freeman, *Exeter*, ch. 1-2.

EXILARCH, head of the Jews during the Babylonian captivity. See **JEWS**: 7th century.

EXMOUTH, Edward Pellew (1757-1833), English admiral. See **BARBARY STATES**: 1816.

EXODUS FROM EGYPT. See **JEWS**: Exodus.

EXPATRIATION.—"The question of expatriation is one of vital importance in the United States. . . . The Executive Government had always claimed an unlimited right of expatriation for the subjects of all other countries, but when the question presented itself in the Supreme Court, not one of the judges affirmed, while several denied, the right for its own citizens. To remedy this an Act of Congress was passed in 1868, which provides that 'Any declaration, instruction, order of de-

cision of any officer of the United States, which denies, restricts, impairs, or questions the right of expatriation is declared inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Republic.' This Act is, however, only declaratory, and no provision is made in it respecting what is to be considered an act of expatriation. . . . Not until 1907 did the United States Government definitely lay down by an Act the conditions under which an American citizen shall be held to have expatriated himself. Thus the law of 1907 says: '(1) That any American citizen shall be deemed to have expatriated himself when he has been naturalized in any foreign State. (2) When any naturalized citizen shall have resided for two years in the foreign State from which he came, or for five years in any other foreign State, it shall be presumed that he has ceased to be an American citizen, and the place of his general abode shall be deemed his place of residence during the said years. *Provided*, however, that such presumption may be overcome on the presentation of satisfactory evidence to a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States, under such rules and regulations as the Department of the State may prescribe; and *provided*, also, that no American citizen shall be allowed to expatriate himself when his country is at war' The Act thus prescribes four means of effecting expatriation, viz., by naturalization in a foreign State, by taking the oath of allegiance to a foreign State, by residence of a naturalized citizen of the United States in a foreign country, by the marriage of an American woman to a foreigner. In addition to these four modes, a fifth may be mentioned, viz., desertion from the army or navy. At one time few States allowed their respective citizens to expatriate themselves; now nearly all countries allow them to do so, but the permission is discretionary and does not proceed from any obligatory rule of international law. The Argentine Republic appears to be a conspicuous exception, in that it does not allow its citizens to put off their nationality. In the case of Russia and Turkey, before expatriation can be duly effected the permission of the authorities must be obtained. A Frenchman may, by the law of France, divest himself of his nationality in several ways, amongst which are the following:—by naturalization abroad; by accepting a public office under a foreign Government without permission of his own Government; by accepting military service under a foreign Government without the authorization of his own Government, but here he remains subject to penalties to which he may be liable by French law. . . . German nationality may be lost:—by express deprivation for not performing military service; by residing abroad and failing to return when notified in time of war; by ten years' uninterrupted residence abroad without registering at a German consulate; by entering the service of a foreign State and not renouncing it on demand of the home Government. In Austria citizens who emigrate with permission are deemed to be foreigners; those who do so without leave lose their Austrian citizenship, but their rights as naturalized aliens appear to be disregarded. A Hungarian loses his nationality by release from his allegiance, or by unauthorized continuous absence for ten years. Italian citizenship is lost by renouncing it and emigrating, by naturalization in a foreign country without permission, and by entering foreign military service. Spanish nationality is lost by naturalization with leave of the Spanish Government; naturalization without leave will not necessarily relieve a Spaniard of obligations to Spain. In the majority of countries naturalization abroad liberates the emigrant from all obligations towards his

mother country.'—*Wheaton's Elements of international law*, pp. 248-250.—“Most of the international conflicts that have arisen concerning citizenship resulted from the denial of the right of expatriation. This was one of the chief causes of the war of 1812. England insisted that her subjects could not sever their allegiance from her without her consent, and therefore the fact of their naturalization in the United States did not remove them from their allegiance and duty to the British government, and she insisted upon the right to search American ships and impress into the British service naturalized American citizens. Similar questions have arisen in connection with the subjects of Germany becoming naturalized in the United States, and, upon returning to their native land, being compelled to render military service. The United States contended at the time and has since made treaties to the same effect, that when such citizens return to their native land they could be held for any liability or military duty which accrued before the date of the emigration, but not for any that accrued after such date. Similar treaties have been made between other nations. England by the naturalization act of 1870 granted the right of expatriation, and recognized the naturalization of her subjects abroad. There is no rule of law by which these conflicts can be adjusted. For the future as in the past, they will have to be solved as questions of international comity and conventional right.”—A. B. Hall, *Outline of international law*, p. 41.—See also IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION; INTERNATIONAL LAW; NATURALIZATION.

ALSO IN: J. B. Moore, *Doctrine of expatriation* (*Harper's Monthly Magazine*, Jan., 1905, p. 225) and authorities cited or suggested under INTERNATIONAL LAW.

EXPENDITURES COMMITTEE, United States. See U. S. A.: 1909 (May); Creation, etc.

EXPERIMENT STATIONS, Agricultural. See EDUCATION, AGRICULTURAL.

EXPERIMENTAL FARMS, Japan. See JAPAN: Agriculture.

EXPLORATION, Polar. See ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION; ARCTIC EXPLORATION.

EXPLORATION AND DISCOVERY. See AFRICA, AMERICA, ASIA, etc.; geographical place names and rivers; also articles ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION; ARCTIC EXPLORATION; COMMERCE; PACIFIC OCEAN; and AMERICA: Map showing voyages of discovery.

EXPLOSIVES. See CHEMISTRY: Practical application: Explosives; Practical application: Interference between dyes, drugs, etc.; HAGUE CONFERENCES: 1899: Conference; 1907; GRENADES.

EXPORT COUNCIL (1917).—“This council was formed as a result of proclamation by the president of the United States on June 22, 1917. It consists of the Secretaries of State, Agriculture, and Commerce, and the Food Controller. Its functions are: (1) To study the export situation and to guide exports ‘in such a way that they will go first where they are most needed and most immediately needed, and to withhold them, if necessary, where they can best be spared’; (2) its duties were further extended by the proclamation of July 9, 1917, giving it the power to absolutely control, by means of granting licenses, export trade in certain enumerated articles. The task of granting these licenses was later conferred upon a specially organized subordinate board of export licenses and was, still later, rearranged under the trading with the enemy act.”—*War cyclopedia*, p. 90.—See also U. S. A.: 1916-1918.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS. See TARIFF.

EXPOSITIONS.—The following are some of the principal American Exhibitions:

- Alaska-Yukon-Pacific. See SEATTLE: 1909.
 Centennial, at Philadelphia. See U. S. A.: 1876; 1877.
 Columbian. See CHICAGO: 1892-1893.
 Cotton States and International. See ATLANTA: 1895.
 Industrial Arts. See CHARLESTON, S. C.: 1901.
 Jamestown Tercentennial. See JAMESTOWN TERCENTENNIAL EXPOSITION.
 Lewis and Clark Industrial. See PORTLAND, OREGON: 1905.
 Louisiana Purchase. See ST. LOUIS: 1904.
 Midwinter, at San Francisco. See CALIFORNIA: 1894.
 Pan-American. See BUFFALO: 1901.
 Panama-California, at San Diego. See U. S. A.: 1915 (January-December).
 Panama-Pacific International. See CALIFORNIA: 1915; U. S. A.: 1915 (January-December).
 Tennessee Centennial, at Nashville. See TENNESSEE: 1897.
 Trans-Mississippi. See OMAHA: 1898.

EXPRESS SERVICE, United States. See PONY EXPRESS; PARCEL POST; RAILROADS: 1916-1920.

EXPUNGING RESOLUTION.—In 1834 the United States Senate passed resolutions introduced by Henry Clay censuring President Jackson for transferring certain deposits from the Bank of the United States. Jackson made a dignified protest against these resolutions when they were passed, and Senator Benton of Missouri gave notice that he would move to expunge them. Benton made this motion in successive sessions until the Senate, with a majority of Democrats passed it Jan. 16, 1837. A black line was drawn in the journal around the resolution of censure and the following words were written in: "Expunged by order of the Senate this sixteenth day of January, 1837." Clay, Calhoun and Webster strongly opposed the expunging resolution.

EXTENSION WORK, Educational. See EDUCATION: Modern developments: 20th century: Extension work; UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES: 1916; EDUCATION, AGRICULTURAL: United States; Ireland.

EXTRITORIALITY, or Extra-territoriality: Definition.—"It is universally agreed that sovereigns and the armies of a state, when in foreign territory, and that diplomatic agents, when within the country to which they are accredited, possess immunities from local jurisdiction in respect of their persons, and in the case of sovereigns and diplomatic agents with respect to their retinue, that these immunities generally carry with them local effects within the dwelling or place occupied by the individuals enjoying them, and that public ships of the state confer some measure of immunity upon persons on board of them. The relation created by these immunities is usually indicated by the metaphorical term extritoriality, the persons and things in enjoyment of them being regarded as detached portions of the state to which they belong, moving about on the surface of foreign territory and remaining separate from it."—W. E. Hall, *International law*, p. 173.

Application to diplomatic agents.—In the case of diplomatic agents, a large number of instances have arisen, the settlement of which has given the doctrine a fairly definite form. "Under no circumstances may an ambassador be tried for a criminal offence in the country to which he is accredited. The practice is well settled, and has been established in England since the case of Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, who conspired to dethrone

Queen Elizabeth. Nor can he be arrested under ordinary criminal process; he may, however, be arrested by a high assertion of sovereign power for intriguing against the country in which his mission lies. Thus Count Gyllenberg, the Swedish ambassador in 1717, was detained for some time in an English prison for plotting against the Hanoverian dynasty. The French Government in 1718 arrested Prince Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador, on a similar charge. The case of Pantaleon Sa is hardly consistent with modern practice. Sa was the brother of the Portuguese ambassador accredited to the Commonwealth; under outrageous circumstances he, or men acting under his direction, killed one person and wounded several others, and for this offence he was indicted, tried, and executed. . . . The correct course when an ambassador is suspected of criminal acts was indicated so long ago as 1584 in an opinion which Gentilis and Hotman were asked to give in Mendoza's case. He must be handed over to the authorities of his own country. The latter precedent was followed (1718) in the case of Cellamare, who was conducted to the frontier by a military escort. . . . With regard to civil jurisdiction, there seems to be a general agreement that an ambassador is exempt in respect of all his official or private contracts, and so much property, real or personal, as is 'necessary to his dignity or comfort'; but there is no fixed international agreement in cases where he engages in trade, or is a large property holder in the country of his sojourn, such cases, of course, being very rare. The English common law seems to have allowed no immunity from civil jurisdiction at all to ambassadors. There is a dictum in Coke against the claim, but the law apparently remained uncertain until 1708. In that year the Czar's ambassador in London was arrested for a debt of £50. A criminal information was entered against those responsible for the arrest. While the point of law was still under consideration, the statute 7 Anne, c. 12 was passed. . . . This statute is a recognition of the principle, on which there is general agreement, of freedom from arrest and distraint, either of which might hamper an ambassador in the exercise of his diplomatic functions."—F. E. Smith, *International law*, p. 73-76.—"The right of asylum in the house of the ambassador is now generally denied. In 1726 the celebrated case of the Duke of Ripperda, charged with treason, gave rise to the decision by the Council of Castile that the duke could be taken from the English legation by force if necessary, because the legation, which had been established to promote good relations between the states, would otherwise be used for overthrowing the state in which it had been established. . . . The United States instructs its agents that 'The privilege of immunity from local jurisdiction does not embrace the right of asylum for persons outside of a representative's diplomatic or personal household.' This right is, however, recognized in practice, both by the United States, and European nations, so far as pertains to the houses of the diplomats in South American states. The United States, in 1870, tried without avail to induce the European nations to agree to the discontinuance of the practice. In 1801, in Chile, Minister Egan, of the United States, afforded refuge in the legation to a large number of the political followers of Balmaceda. Chile demanded his recall, but the United States maintained that there must be sufficient grounds for such action. In Eastern countries it has been the practice to afford asylum in legations in times of political disturbance and to political offenders. In 1805 the British ambassador at Constantinople gave asylum to the deposed grand vizier at Con-

stantinople. It may be said, however, that the tendency is to limit the granting of asylum to the fullest possible extent, and finally to abolish the practice altogether, as has been the case with the ancient extension of this privilege to the neighborhood of the legation under the name of *jus quarteriorum*."—G. G. Wilson and G. F. Tucker, *International law*, p. 185-186.—See also ASYLUM, RIGHT OF.

Application to consuls.—In general a consul is not entitled to the immunities of a diplomatic person. His peculiar status in non-Christian countries, however, provides an important instance of the application of extritoriality. Not only does the consul himself enjoy that relation, but all nationals of foreign countries, inasmuch as they are not subject to the jurisdiction of the state within which they reside, may be said to carry with them the character of the state to which they belong. Consular jurisdiction in itself forms a field of study, to which the term extritoriality is applied in a special sense.

ALSO IN: H. Jenkyns, *British rule and jurisdiction beyond the seas*.—F. E. Hinckley, *American consular jurisdiction in the orient*.

Other applications.—In the case of public ships, the doctrine is by no means fully defined or universally accepted. Before the complete abolition of slavery, questions were frequent, over cases of slaves taking refuge in ships of nations not recognizing slavery. A large degree of immunity is, however, accorded. Certain privileges are conceded even to merchant ships in port, but these are very limited. On the other hand, military forces in foreign territory are under the exclusive jurisdiction of their commanders, inasmuch as any other arrangement would be incompatible with military discipline. From this lack of uniformity and definition, some authorities argue "that the fiction of extritoriality is not needed . . . and even that its use is inconvenient. It is not needed, because the immunities possessed by different persons and things can be accounted for by referring their origin to motives of simple convenience or necessity, and because there is a reasonable correspondence between their present extent and that which would be expected on the supposition of such an origin. The only immunities, in fact, upon the scope of which the fiction of extritoriality has probably had much effect, are those of a vessel of war, which seem undoubtedly to owe some of the consolidation which they received during the [nineteenth] century to its influence. The fiction is moreover inconvenient, because it gives a false notion of identity between immunities which are really distinct both in object and extent, and because no set of immunities fully corresponds with what is implied in the doctrine."—W. E. Hall, *International law*, p. 207.

See also ASYLUM, RIGHT OF; CHINA: 1898 (May); EXTRADITION; JAPAN: 1895-1902.

EXTRADITION: Definition.—By international treaty.—Inter-state rendition.—"Extradition may be sufficiently defined to be the surrender by one nation to another of an individual accused or convicted of an offence outside of its own territory, and within the territorial jurisdiction of the other, which, being competent to try and to punish him, demands the surrender."—184 *U. S.* 280.—"In 1173, the ambassadors of the Abassines were treacherously slain by one of the Templars at Jerusalem. On demand being made to deliver up the offender, the Grand Master absolutely refused to do so, but added that he had prescribed penance to the culprit and had ordered him to be sent to the Pope. In the reign of Edward II some Florentine

merchants having been appointed collectors and receivers of the King's customs and rents in England, Wales, Ireland and Gascony, fled to Rome, carrying some of the money which they had collected with them. The King sent his letters of request to the Pope to desire that they might be arrested, and their persons and goods seized, and sent to England to satisfy the loss which he had sustained, promising, nevertheless, that they should not lose life nor limb. The Pope seems to have acted as requested. . . . Edward de la Pool (Earl of Suffolk) being attainted by Act of Parliament in the twelfth year of Henry VII fled to Spain. The King of Spain continuously refused to deliver him to England, but eventually did so on receiving promise that the Earl should not be put to death. . . . Cardinal Pole, having in his book 'Pro Ecclesiastical Unitatis Defensione' (*liber III*, p. 79) strongly suggested that the Emperor Charles should wage war against Henry VIII, that monarch demanded his extradition from the French King to answer for alleged treason. The Cardinal was at that time ambassador from the Pope to the French court, and the King refused to deliver up the ambassador. Queen Elizabeth was equally unsuccessful."—G. S. Baker, *Halleck's International law*, v. 1, pp. 251-3.—"Extradition is the delivery of a prosecuted individual to the state on whose territory he has committed a crime by the state on whose territory the criminal is for the time staying. Although Grotius (II, c. 21, §4) holds that every state has the duty either to punish itself or to surrender to the prosecuting state such individuals within its boundaries as have committed a crime abroad, and although there is as regards the majority of such cases an important interest of civilized mankind that this should be done, this rule of Grotius has never been adopted by the states and has, therefore, never become a rule of the law of nations. On the contrary, the states have always upheld their competence to grant asylum to foreign individuals as an inference from their territorial supremacy, those cases excepted which fall under the stipulations of special extradition treaties, if any. There is no universal rule of customary international law in existence which commands extradition. Since, however, modern civilization demands categorically extradition of criminals as a rule, numerous treaties have been concluded between the single states stipulating the cases in which extradition shall take place. According to these treaties, individuals prosecuted for more important crimes, political crimes excepted, are actually always surrendered to the prosecuting state, if not punished locally. But this solution of the problem of extradition is a product of the nineteenth century only. Before the eighteenth century extradition of ordinary criminals hardly occurred, although the states used them frequently to surrender to each other political fugitives, heretics and even emigrants, either in consequence of special treaties stipulating the surrender of such individuals, or voluntarily without such treaties. Matters began to undergo a change in the eighteenth century, for then treaties between neighboring states stipulated frequently the extradition of ordinary criminals besides that of political fugitives, conspirators, military deserters and the like. Vattel (*Vol. II*, §76) is able to assert in 1758 that murderers, incendiaries and thieves are regularly surrendered by neighboring states to each other. General treaties of extradition between all the members of the family of nations did not exist in the eighteenth century and there was hardly a necessity for such general treaties, since traffic was not so developed as nowadays and fugitive criminals seldom

succeeded in reaching a foreign territory beyond that of a neighboring state. In the nineteenth century, with the appearance of railways and transoceanic steamships, transit began to develop immensely, criminals used the opportunity to flee to distant foreign countries. It was then that the conviction was forced upon the states of civilized humanity that it was in their common interest to surrender ordinary criminals regularly to each other. General treaties of extradition became a necessity. There is no civilized state in existence which has not concluded such treaties with the majority of the other civilized states. Extradition of criminals between states is an established fact based upon treaties."—L. Oppenheim, *International law*, v. 1, pp. 383-384.—G. B. Davis, *Elements of international law*, pp. 167-180.

"With most countries, it has been the rule to regard the recovery of their fugitive subjects, charged with ordinary crimes, as an incident of the extraterritorial jurisdiction exercised through their ministers or consuls."—J. B. Moore, *Digest of international law*, v. 2, p. 633.—"There is no obligation upon a government, under the law of nations, to surrender fugitive criminals to a foreign power."—119 *U. S.* 407.—"It is within the power of Congress to provide by statute for the extradition of fugitives from justice of a foreign country without regard to any reciprocal treaty obligation."—180 *U. S.* 126.—"Whenever there is a treaty or convention for extradition between the government of the United States and any foreign government, any justice of the supreme court, circuit-judge, district judge, commissioner, authorized to do so by any of the courts of the United States, or judge of a court of record of general jurisdiction of any State, may, upon complaint, made under oath, charging any person found within the limits of any state, district or territory with having committed within the jurisdiction of any such foreign government any of the crimes provided for by such treaty or convention, issue his warrant for the apprehension of the person so charged, that he may be brought before such justice, judge or commissioner, to the end that the evidence of criminality may be heard and considered. If on such hearing he deems the evidence sufficient to sustain the charge under the provisions of the proper treaty, or convention, he shall certify the same, together with a copy of all testimony taken before him, to the Secretary of State, that a warrant may issue upon the requisition of the proper authorities of such foreign government, for the surrender of such person according to the stipulations of the treaty or convention; and he shall issue his warrant for the commitment of the person so charged to the proper gaol, there to remain until such surrender shall be made."—*United States Statutes*, Sect. 10110.—"Many of the Continental states maintain that extradition is a duty binding upon all civilized states, on the ground that the prevention of crime which would result from certainty of punishment is an object to be sought by all for the general good. Grotius, Vattel, Kent, Fiore, and many other authorities maintain this position. Bluntschli, Foelix, Klüber, G. F. de Martens, Pufendorf, Phillimore, Wheaton and the majority of authorities make the basis of extradition the conventional agreement of treaties. The large number of extradition treaties of the last half of the nineteenth century has made the practice general. Occasionally a state has, in the absence of treaties, voluntarily surrendered fugitives from justice as an act of courtesy. The extradition of Tweed by Spain in 1876 was an act of this kind. Such cases are not common, however, and it is safe to derive the principles from the general

practice as seen in treaties. Persons liable to extradition vary according to treaties. It is the general practice to surrender on demand of the state in which the crime is committed only those who are subjects of the state making the demand. This is the general rule of the Continental states. As Great Britain and the United States maintain the principle of territorial penal jurisdiction, it is customary for these states to uphold the idea of extradition even of their own subjects. . . . In case the accused whose extradition is demanded is a citizen of a third state, the practice is not uniform, though the best authorities seem to favor the granting of the extradition only after communication with and assent of the third state, on the ground that the state to which the subject has fled is responsible to the third state for its treatment of him. This practice has been followed in many European treaties. Ordinarily, not all criminals are liable to extradition, though treaty stipulations may cover cases usually excepted. Those accused of political crimes have, since the early part of the nineteenth century, been more and more generally exempt from extradition. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century few treaties have been made which do not make political criminals specifically non-extraditable. Political crimes accompanied by attacks upon the persons of the sovereign or of those holding political office or position are not, however, in the above category, but are usually extraditable. Even when an accused person is extradited there are limitations as to the jurisdiction of the state to which he goes. The trial must be for the offense or offenses enumerated in the treaty. For example, a treaty between two states enumerates among extraditable crimes murder, and does not enumerate larceny. A fugitive from one of the countries is accused of both murder and larceny. The country surrendering the criminal would not permit the trial of the criminal for any other crime than murder, until the criminal should have had opportunity to return to the state from which he was surrendered. For many years Great Britain claimed that a person surrendered in accordance with an extradition treaty should be tried only for the specific offense for which he was surrendered. The United States desired to include other offenses provided the person had been once surrendered. This position of Great Britain was accepted by the treaty of July 12, 1880. The conditions necessary for a claim for extradition are: (1) that the crime shall have been committed within the territorial or maritime jurisdiction of the state making the demand, (2) that there be sufficient evidence of guilt to establish a case, and (3) that the application be from the proper authority and in the proper form. . . . The person demanded may be placed under provisional arrest pending the full proceedings of extradition. Reasonable evidence of the identity of the person and of the facts of the crime must be furnished by the state making the demand."—G. G. Wilson and G. F. Tucker, *International law*, pp. 148-151.—See also *ASYLUM, RIGHT OF*.

"Interstate rendition, frequently but inaccurately referred to as 'interstate extradition,' is the right of one state to demand and the duty of another state to surrender fugitives from justice from the former state unto the latter, where they stand thereof, with the commission of crime. To characterize the procedure under this definition as 'interstate extradition' is plainly to misapply the real meaning of the word 'extradition,' as derived and understood from its long usage in connection with international law."—James A. Scott, *Law of interstate rendition*, Chicago, 1917, pp. 1-2.—"Interstate

rendition depends entirely upon paragraph 2, section 2, article IV of the Constitution of the United States and sections 5278 and 5279 of the Revised statutes. It is effected and controlled absolutely by the action of the state authorities without the consent or reference to the government of the United States."—*Ibid.*, p. 2.—"In interstate rendition, only a charge of crime is essential and where an indictment is found, or an affidavit is made against the fugitive, no evidentiary facts by deposition, as to the commission of the crime, is required. [Compare this with extradition requirements as stated above.]"—210 *U. S.* 387.—"In interstate rendition, if the acts charged constitute a crime in the demanding state, however frivolous, the fugitive must be surrendered, should all the lawful requirements be observed in his demand."—24 *How.* 66.—"In interstate rendition, a fugitive may be arrested and surrendered to another state for a political offence—treason." See UNITED STATES, CONSTITUTION OF: Article IV.

ALSO IN: J. B. Moore, *Extradition and interstate rendition*.—F. Snow, *Treaties and topics in American diplomacy*, section on *Extradition*.—*American Journal of International Law*, Oct., 1922, p. 542.—Consult also authorities cited and suggested under INTERNATIONAL LAW.

FABER, Cecilia Böhl de (Fernán Caballero) (1796-1877), Spanish novelist. See SPANISH LITERATURE: 19th-20th centuries.

FABIAN POLICY, FABIAN TACTICS, policy pursued by Q. Fabius Maximus, the Roman dictator, called "the Cunctator" or Lingerer, in his campaigns against Hannibal. See PUNIC WARS: Second.

FABIAN SOCIETY. See SOCIALISM: 1883-1884; 1882-1916.

FABIOLA, wealthy Roman lady, the founder of the first hospital in Rome. See MEDICAL SCIENCE: Ancient: 3rd-6th centuries.

FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, Quintus (d. c. 290 B. C.), Roman consul and eminent general in the Samnite War (c. 326-304 B. C.). See ROME: Republic: B. C. 343-290; 312.

FABIUS MAXIMUS VERRUCOSUS, Quintus, surnamed Cunctator (d. 203 B. C.), Roman general, consul and dictator active in the Second Punic War. See ROME: Republic: B. C. 218-202; PUNIC WARS: Second.

FABIUS PICTOR, Quintus (b. c. 254 B. C.), Roman annalist, the author of the first Roman history, which he wrote in Greek. See ANNALS: Roman.

FABLES, French. See FRENCH LITERATURE: 1050-1350; 1608-1715.

FABRE, Henri, French aviator, built the first seaplane. See AVIATION: Development of airplanes and air service: 1910-1920.

FABRI, engineers in the Roman army. See MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 10.

FACILIDAS, Fasilidas, or A'lem - Seged (1633-1667), Negus or Abyssinian sovereign, who concluded a treaty with the Turkish governors to prevent the advent of Europeans. See ABYSSINIA: 15th-19th centuries.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT, England (1901). See LABOR LEGISLATION: 1901-1918.

FACTORY LAWS. See LABOR LEGISLATION. Their effect on child labor. See CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION.

FACTORY SYSTEM. See INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: England: Factory system; United States.

EXTRAORDINARY ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS, one of the eleven sacred congregations. See VATICAN: Present-day papal administration.

EXTRAVAGANTS, papal constitutions of John XXII and some of his successors. See ECCLESIASTICAL LAW: Definition.

EXTREME UNCTION. See SACRAMENTS.

EYDE, Samuel (1866-), Norwegian electrochemist. See FERTILIZERS: Chemistry applied to soil cultivation.

EYLAU, Battle of (1807). See AUSTRIA: 1809-1814; GERMANY: 1806-1807.

EYRE, Edward John (1815-1901), British colonial governor. See JAMAICA: 1865.

EYRES, circuit courts established by Henry II of England for criminal jurisdiction. See CRIMINAL LAW: 1176.

EYSTEIN I, king of Norway, 1116-1122.

Eystein II, king of Norway, 1155-1157.

EZCURRA, Juan Antonio. See ESCURRA, JUAN ANTONIO.

EZEKIEL (born c. 627 B. C.), Hebrew prophet. See JEWS: Religion and the prophets.

EZETA, Carlos (1855-1903), resident of Salvador, 1890-1894. See CENTRAL AMERICA: 1886-1894.

EZZELINO DI ROMANO. See ECCELINO DI ROMANO.

F

FADDILEY, Battle of (583), fought successfully by the Britons with the West Saxons, on the border of Cheshire.—J. R. Green, *Making of England*, p. 206.

FAENZA, Battle of (542). See ROME: Medieval city: 535-553.

1503.—Venetian attack. See VENICE: 1494-1503.

FÆSULÆ, ancient Etruscan city, northeast of Florentia, identified with modern Fiesole. See FLORENCE: Origin and name.

FAGES, Don Pedro, Spanish explorer along the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay. See CALIFORNIA: 1760-1770; 1543-1781.

FAGGIOLA, Battle of (1425). See ITALY: 1412-1447.

FAIDHERBE, Louis Léon César (1818-1880), French general who fought at the battles of Bapaume and St. Quentin in 1871. See FRANCE: 1870-1871.

FAINEANT KINGS ("do-nothing kings"), name applied to the later Merovingian kings of the 7th century. See FRANKS: 511-752.

FAIR OAKS, Battle of. See U. S. A.: 1862 (May: Virginia): Peninsular campaign: Fair Oaks.

FAIR OF LINCOLN, Battle of (1217). See ENGLAND: 1216-1272.

FAIRFAX, Sir Thomas, 3rd Baron Fairfax (1612-1671), English general, commander of Parliamentary forces in the Civil War; member of Council of State. He distinguished himself at the battles of Selby (1644), Marston Moor (1644), Naseby (1645), Langport (1645), and Torrington (1646). See ENGLAND: 1644 (January-July); 1644-1645; 1645 (January-April); 1647 (August-December); 1649 (February).

FAIRS: In ancient Gaul. See COMMERCE: Ancient: 200-600.

Medieval. See COMMERCE: Medieval: 7th-13th centuries.

FAISUL, Emir. See FEISAL.

FA-KU-MENN RAILWAY, between Japan and China. See CHINA: 1905-1909.

FALABA, British steamer which was sunk by a German submarine on March 25, 1915, with re-

sultant loss of 111 lives; one Leon C. Thresher was the first American citizen to lose his life in consequence of German submarine warfare. See U. S. A.: 1915 (March-May).

FALAISE.—“The Castle [in Normandy] where legend fixes the birth of William of Normandy, and where history fixes the famous homage of William of Scotland, is a vast donjon of the eleventh or twelfth century. One of the grandest of those massive square keeps which I have already spoken of as distinguishing the earliest military architecture of Normandy crowns the summit of a precipitous rock, fronted by another mass of rock, wilder still, on which the cannon of England were planted during Henry's siege. To these rocks, these ‘felsen,’ the spot owes its name of Falaise. . . . Between these two rugged heights lies a narrow dell. . . . The dell is crowded with mills and tanneries, but the mills and tanneries of Falaise have their share in the historic interest of the place. . . . In every form which the story has taken in history or legend, the mother of the Conqueror appears as the daughter of a tanner of Falaise.”—E. A. Freeman, *Norman conquest*, ch. 8, sect. 1.—See also SCOTLAND: 1174-1189.

FALCON, Colonel, Prefect of police at Buenos Aires, assassinated in 1909. See ARGENTINA: 1909: Assassination of Colonel Falcon.

FALCON, Juan Crisóstomo (1820-1870), soldier and politician of Venezuela. See VENEZUELA: 1820-1886.

FALK, Paul Ludwig Adalbert (1827-1900), Prussian statesman and jurist introduced the famous May (1873) laws against Catholicism in Germany. See GERMANY: 1873-1887; PAPACY: 1870-1874.

FALKENHAYN, Erich von (1853-1922), German general. At the outbreak of the World War he was Prussian minister of war; in the autumn of 1914 superseded Helmuth von Moltke as chief of the German general staff; failed in 1916 in his plans to take Verdun; removed and sent against Rumania the same year, and cooperating with Mackensen overran most of that country. See WORLD WAR: 1916: I. Military situation: b; d, 1; II. Western front: b, 1; III. Eastern front: a, 8; IV. Austro-Italian front: d; V. Balkan theater: c, 5; c, 6 iii.

FALKENSTEIN, Vogel von. See VOGEL VON FALKENSTEIN, EDUARD.

FALKIRK, Battles of (1298 and 1746). See SCOTLAND: 1200-1305; 1745-1746.

FALKLAND, Lucius Cary, Viscount (c. 1610-1643), English politician, an ardent opponent of Laud in the Short Parliament; secretary of state in 1842; sided with the King's party during the Civil War. See ENGLAND: 1641 (October).

FALKLAND ISLANDS, Battle of the, naval battle between German and British fleets which took place on Dec. 8, 1914, off the Falkland Islands, in the South Atlantic; resulted in the destruction of the German fleet under von Spee, by the British Admiral Sturdee. See WORLD WAR: 1914: IX. Naval operations: f; f, 2 and 4; BRITISH EMPIRE: Extent; LATIN AMERICA: Map of South America.

FALL, Albert Bacon (1861-). American cabinet officer; member of Senate, 1913-1910, 1910-1921; appointed secretary of the interior, 1921. See U. S. A.: 1921 (March): President Harding's Cabinet.

FALLIERES, Clément Armand (1841-), president of France. Elected to Chamber of Deputies, 1876; minister of interior, 1882-1883; 1887; minister of public instruction, 1883-1885; 1889-1890; minister of justice, 1887-1888; 1890-1892; elected to Senate, 1890 and became president of

the Senate, 1899; president of France, 1906-1913. See FRANCE: 1906-1909: Presidency of Armand Fallières.

FALMOUTH, British cruiser, torpedoed by a German submarine in the North sea. See WORLD WAR: 1916: IX. Naval operations: b.

FALSE DECRETALS. See PAPACY: 820-847.

FAMAGUSTA, or Famagosta, seaport on eastern coast of Cyprus, built by the Romans on site of ancient city of Arsinoë. It was an important city during the Middle Ages; annexed by Genoese, 1376; surrendered to the Turks, 1571. See TURKEY: 1566-1571.

FAME, Hall of. See HALL OF FAME.

FAMILIA.—Roman slaves of one master were collectively called *familia*.

FAMILISTERE, community settlement at Guise started by Godin in 1859. See SOCIALISM: 1842-1913.

FAMILY: Distinguished from the clan. See CLANS.

Roman family. See GENS; ROMAN FAMILY; CLIENTES. ROMAN.

FAMILY COMPACT, alliances between French and Spanish Bourbons for their mutual support against England.

First. See FRANCE: 1733.

Second. See FRANCE: 1743 (October).

Third. See FRANCE: 1761 (August); SPAIN: 1761-1763.

FAMILY COMPACT, a conservative party of Canada opposed to the establishment of representative government. See CANADA: 1820-1837.

FAMINES: China. See CHINA: 1906-1907; 1920: Severe famine.

India. See INDIA: 1864-1893; 1899-1901.

Ireland. See IRELAND: 1845-1847; 1880.

Macedonia. See WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: X. Alleged atrocities, etc.: d, 4.

Russia. See RUSSIA: 1897; 1906; 1910-1922; INTERNATIONAL RELIEF: Russian famine relief.

FANARIOTS. See PHANARIOTS.

FANEUIL, Peter (1700-1743), American merchant, the donor of Faneuil Hall in Boston. See FANEUIL HALL.

FANEUIL HALL.—“The fame of Faneuil Hall [Boston, Mass.] is as wide as the country itself. It has been called the ‘Cradle of Liberty,’ because dedicated by that early apostle of freedom, James Otis, to the cause of liberty, in a speech delivered in the hall in March, 1763. . . . Its walls have echoed to the voices of the great departed in times gone by, and in every great public exigency the people, with one accord, assembled together to take counsel within its hallowed precincts. . . . The Old Market-house . . . existing in Dock Square in 1734, was demolished by a mob in 1736-37. There was contention among the people as to whether they would be served at their houses in the old way, or resort to fixed localities, and one set of disputants took this summary method of settling the question. . . . In 1740, the question of the Market-house being revived, Peter Faneuil proposed to build one at his own cost on the town's land in Dock Square, upon condition that the town should legally authorize it, enact proper regulations, and maintain it for the purpose named. Mr. Faneuil's noble offer was courteously received, but such was the division of opinion on the subject that it was accepted by a majority of only seven votes, out of 727 persons voting. The building was completed in September, 1742, and three days after, at a meeting of citizens, the hall was formally accepted and a vote of thanks passed to the donor. . . . The town voted that the hall should be called Faneuil Hall forever. . . . The original size of the building was

40 by 100 feet, just half the present width; the hall would contain 1,000 persons. At the fire of January 13, 1763, the whole interior was destroyed, but the town voted to rebuild in March, and the State authorized a lottery in aid of the design. The first meeting after the rebuilding was held on the 14th March, 1763, when James Otis delivered the dedicatory address. In 1806 the Hall was enlarged in width to 80 feet, and by the addition of a third story."—S. A. Drake, *Old landmarks of Boston*, ch. 4.

FANNIAN LAW. See ORCHIAN, FANNIAN, DIDIAN LAWS.

FANSHAWE, Sir Edward Arthur (b. 1850), British general in command of the cavalry at the battle of Champagne, 1915. See WORLD WAR: 1915: II. Western front i, 1.

FAO, town at the head of the Persian gulf near the delta of the Tigris-Euphrates river, captured by the British in 1914. See WORLD WAR: 1914: IV. Turkey: i.

FAR EAST. See CHINA; JAPAN; KOREA, etc.

FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS, Division of. See STATE DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES: 1900-1913.

FAR EASTERN QUESTION.—The Far Eastern question includes the international policies of the European powers, the United States and Canada, with reference to China and Japan; problems arising from the relations between China and Japan, including the Korean question; the international disturbances in China; fortifications in the eastern Pacific and other perplexing problems, including the much vexed question of immigration.

ALSO IN: C. H. Crane and R. K. Douglas, *Problems of Far East* (*South African Magazine*, 1906, v. 1, pp. 738-752).—T. F. Millard, *Far Eastern question*.—E. C. Moore, *West and East*.—B. L. Simpson, *Re-shaping of Far East*.—J. A. R. Marriot, *Europe and beyond*, pp. 164-188.

FAR EASTERN REPUBLIC, new state erected in Eastern Siberia during September, 1920. Originally composed of the Transbaikal, Amur and Maritime Provinces of the former Russian empire, the republic embraced an area of over 650,000 square miles with a population of nearly two millions. The seat of government was established at Chita, the capital of Transbaikalia. In May, 1921, the Maritime Province withdrew from the republic and set up a new government at Vladivostok, which port was at the time occupied by Japanese troops. By this secession the republic was reduced by about 270,000 square miles. In November, 1922, the Far Eastern republic voted itself out of existence and joined with Soviet Russia. See SIBERIA.

ALSO IN: K. K. Kawakami, *Far Eastern republic of Siberia* (*New York Times Current History*, Apr., 1922, p. 123).

FARADAY, Michael (1791-1867), English physicist and chemist, one of the greatest experimentalists in the field of science. See CHEMISTRY: Radio-activity; Modern: Lavoisier; ELECTRICAL DISCOVERY: 1823-1921; INVENTIONS: 19th century: Liquefaction of gases.

FARASIS, Mohammedan sect of India. See WAHABEES.

FARAONES, tribal division of the Apaches. See APACHE INDIANS.

FAREL, Guillaume (1480-1565), French reformer in Switzerland. See GENEVA: 1504-1535.

FARGO SCANDAL. See NORTH DAKOTA: 1919: Fargo bank scandal.

FARINA, Salvatore (1846-), Italian novelist. See ITALIAN LITERATURE: 1860-1914.

FARM. See FERM.

FARM BUREAU FEDERATION. See AGRICULTURE: Modern: United States: Effect of the World War.

FARM CADETS. See UNITED STATES BOYS WORKING RESERVE.

FARM LABOR PARTY, United States. See LABOR PARTIES: 1918-1920.

FARM LOAN ACT, United States (1916). See RURAL CREDIT.

FARM LOAN BANKS, Federal. See AGRICULTURE, INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF.

FARMERS' EMERGENCY TARIFF BILL, United States. See TARIFF: 1921 (March).

FARMERS' INSTITUTES. See EDUCATION, AGRICULTURAL: United States.

FARMERS' LEAGUE, Germany (1892). See GERMANY: 1890-1894.

FARMER'S LETTERS. See U. S. A.: 1767-1768.

FARMERS' NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL LEAGUE. See NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE.

FARMERS' SCHOOLS. See EDUCATION, AGRICULTURAL.

FARMING. See AGRICULTURE.

Education in. See EDUCATION, AGRICULTURAL.

FARMS, Correction. See PRISON REFORM: Correctional institutions.

FARNESE, Alexander, Duke of Parma and Piacenza (1545-1592), general in the Spanish army prominent in the conquest of the Netherlands. See NETHERLANDS: 1577-1581; 1581-1584; 1585; 1585-1586; 1588-1593; 1590; 1591-1593.

FARNESE, House of. See PARMA: 1545-1592.

FARRAGUT, David Glasgow (1801-1870), American admiral who commanded the Federal fleets in the battles of New Orleans (1862) and Mobile Bay (1864). See U. S. A.: 1862 (April: On the Mississippi); 1863 (May-July: On the Mississippi); 1864 (August: Alabama).

FARRANS POINT CANAL. See CANALS: American: Great Lakes and St. Lawrence system.

FARREL, James A. (1863-), American corporation official who rendered testimony in the case of the United States Steel Corporation. See TRUSTS: United States: 1912.

FARSANG, Persian unit of measure. See PARASANG.

FASCES. See LICTORS.

FASCINE DWELLINGS. See LAKE DWELLINGS.

FASCISTI, Italian political organization which developed after the World War, under the leadership of Benito Mussolini. The Fascisti were recruited from all political parties except the Catholic Popular party on the one hand and the extreme Socialists on the other. Usually veterans of the World War, they offered armed resistance to Bolshevism and favored national expansion.—See also ITALY: 1920-1922; FIUME: 1922 (March).

FASHODA INCIDENT (1898). See EGYPT: 1898 (September-November).

FASTI.—"Dies Fasti were the days upon which the Courts of Justice [in ancient Rome] were open, and legal business could be transacted before the Praetor: the Dies Nefasti were those upon which the Courts were closed. . . . All days consecrated to the worship of the Gods by sacrifices, feasts or games, were named Festi. . . . For nearly four centuries and a-half after the foundation of the city the knowledge of the Calendar was confined to the Pontifices alone. . . . These secrets which might be, and doubtless often were, employed for political ends, were at length divulged in the year B. C. 314, by Cn. Flavius, who drew up tables embracing all this carefully-treasured information, and hung them up in the Forum for the inspection

of the public. From this time forward documents of this description were known by the name of Fasti. . . . These Fasti, in fact, corresponded very closely to a modern Almanac. . . . The Fasti just described have, to prevent confusion, been called *Calendaria*, or *Fasti Calendaes*, and must be carefully distinguished from certain compositions also named Fasti by the ancients. These were regular chronicles in which were recorded each year the names of the Consuls and other magistrates, together with the remarkable events, and the days on which they occurred. The most important were the *Annales Maximi*, kept by the Pontifex Maximus."—W. Ramsay, *Manual of Roman antiques*, ch. 11.

FASTOLF, Sir John (c. 1378-1459), English soldier, lieutenant of Normandy and governor of Maine and Anjou, 1423; created a Knight of the Garter, 1426; defeated the French and Scots at the battle of the herrings, Feb. 12, 1429; with Talbot suffered a serious defeat at Patay, June 18, 1429. See FRANCE: 1429-1431.

FATHOM: Origin of the unit. See INVENTIONS: Ancient and medieval: Measurements.

FATIMITE CALIPHS, Arabian dynasty of northern Africa and Syria, 909-1171. See CALIPHATE: 908-1171; JERUSALEM: 1144-1187; MEDICAL SCIENCE: Ancient: 7th-11th centuries: Medical art of the Arabs.

FAUBOURGS, suburbs of a French city. See FRANCE: 1795 (April).

FAUCHET, Claude (1530-1601), French historian. See HISTORY: 23.

FAULK, Andrew Jackson (1814-1898), governor of Dakota territory. See DAKOTA TERRITORY: 1866-1870.

FAURE, François Félix (1841-1899), French statesman. Elected to National Assembly, August, 1881, under-secretary for colonies, under Jules Ferry, 1882-1885, and under P. A. Tirard, 1888-1893; vice president of the Chamber of Deputies, 1893; minister of marine under C. A. Dupuy, 1894; elected president of the Republic, 1894, upon the death of Casimir Perrier; died suddenly in February, 1899. See FRANCE: 1894-1895; 1899 (February-June).

FAUSTINUS I (1785-1867), emperor of Haiti. See HAITI, REPUBLIC OF: 1804-1880.

FAUX-BOURDON, method of singing. See MUSIC: Medieval: 12th century-1350.

"**FAVORITE SON**," popular candidates for nomination in presidential conventions of the United States. See ELECTIONS, PRESIDENTIAL: United States: Work of nominating conventions.

FAYAL ISLAND, westernmost of the Central Azores group. See AZORES.

FAYOLLE, Marie-Emile (1852-), French marshal. Rendered distinguished service in the World War; grand officer of Legion of Honor, 1916; commanded group of armies of the Center, 1917; in Italy in command of French troops, 1917; Armies on the Somme, 1918; marshal of France, 1919. See WORLD WAR: 1916: II. Western front: c; c, 3; 1917: IV. Austro-Italian front: d, 5; 1918: II. Western front: c, 33.

FAYUM, province of Egypt, west of the Nile in the Libyan desert. See MÆRIS, LAKE.

FEARLESS, British cruiser which took part in the battle in the Bight of Heligoland, August 28, 1914. See WORLD WAR: 1916: IX. Naval operations: a, 4.

FEAST OF LIBERTY. See GREECE: B. C. 479: Persian wars: Plataea.

FEAST OF THE HYACINTHIA. See IYACINTHIA.

FEBRONIANISM. See FEBRONIUS.

FEBRONIUS, FEBRONIANISM.—"The German Church had been for nearly two centuries under the influence and finally under the domination of Jesuitism, but about the middle of the eighteenth century a reaction set in. It soon attained formidable proportions, aided as it was by the so-called 'Enlightenment' in philosophy, literature, and history. . . . [An] important consequence was a lessening of papal authority; episcopalistic ideas sprang up everywhere, and besides Gallicanism we find clearly expressed the 'natural rights' theories . . . and the doctrine of the omnipotence of the State. The last mentioned ideas [Febsonianism] are to be found in a concentrated form in a work on the 'State of the Church and the Legitimate Power of the Roman Pontiff,' written in Latin by the suffragan bishop of Treves, Nicholas von Hontheim, and published under the pseudonym of Justinus Febronius in 1763. The author indicates on the title-page the object of the book, viz., the reunion of the different confessions, and for the attainment of this object he recommends a return to the constitution of the Primitive church. This was, indeed, a Utopia, but Febronius supported it by an exposition based on wide reading in Dutch, French, and German, and made a very impressive defense of the Episcopalian system. The eager reception of the book was immediately noted by the Curia, and in 1764 it was already on the Index. . . . In 1778 Clement Wenzel of Treves . . . obliged the almost octogenarian author to retract. But the matter was by no means ended by Hontheim's submission. On the contrary, it was soon seen that the Febronius affair was likely to have after-effects on ecclesiastical politics that would be very unpleasant for the Curia."—H. G. E. Krüger, *Papacy*, pp. 211-213.—Febsonianism contends that the general council of the church is the final court of appeal and that even the pope is subject to its decisions.

FECIALES. See FETIALES.

FEDELI, military villains. See CATTANI.

FEDERAL ACT (1815). See GERMANY: 1814-1820.

FEDERAL AID ROAD ACT (1916). See U. S. A.: 1916 (July): Federal Aid Road Act.

FEDERAL BOARD OF MEDIATION AND CONCILIATION. See ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION, INDUSTRIAL: United States: 1888-1921; U. S. A.: 1916 (August-September).

FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LAWS, United States. See CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 1916-1922; U. S. A.: 1916 (August); 1916-1917: Opposition to Keating-Owen Child Labor Law; 1917-1919: Taxation and expenditures.

FEDERAL CONTROL ACT, United States (1918). See RAILROADS: 1916-1920.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA.—"The Federal Council is an organization officially representing most of the Protestant denominations of the United States. . . . The Council held its first meeting at Philadelphia in 1908 and was largely the culmination of previous voluntary federative movements, the chief of which had been the Evangelical Alliance and the National Federation of Churches and Christian Workers. . . . The difference between the Federal Council and the previous movements is that it is not an individual or voluntary agency, or simply an interdenominational fellowship, but is an officially and ecclesiastically constituted body. . . . It is the coöperation of the various denominations for service rather than an attempt to unite them upon definitions of theology and polity. . . . The Federal Council is thus constituted by thirty-one Protestant evangelical denominations, to express their common

voice and unite them in coöperative activities. It includes 148,532 local churches, with 19,504,102 members."—S. R. Warburton, ed., *Year Book of the churches*, 1920, p. 237.—"The united work undertaken by the Council is indicated by the titles of its Commissions. These Commissions are as follows: Federated Movements, State and Local Federations, Foreign Missions, Home Missions, Christian Education, Social Service, Evangelism, Family Life, Sunday Observance, Temperance, Peace and Arbitration, and Country Life. Other Special committees . . . are appointed from time to time to take up special activities calling for united action upon the part of the churches."—C. S. Macfarland, ed., *Churches of the federal council*, pp. 259-260.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, FEDERATIONS.—"Two requisites seem necessary to constitute a Federal Government in . . . its most perfect form. On the one hand, each of the members of the Union must be wholly independent in those matters which concern each member only. On the other hand, all must be subject to a common power in those matters which concern the whole body of members collectively. Thus each member will fix for itself the laws of its criminal jurisprudence, and even the details of its political constitution. And it will do this, not as a matter of privilege or concession from any higher power, but as a matter of absolute right, by virtue of its inherent powers as an independent commonwealth. But in all matters which concern the general body, the sovereignty of the several members will cease. Each member is perfectly independent within its own sphere; but there is another sphere in which its independence, or rather its separate existence, vanishes. It is invested with every right of sovereignty on one class of subjects, but there is another class of subjects on which it is as incapable of separate political action as any province or city of a monarchy or of an indivisible republic. . . . Four Federal Commonwealths . . . stand out, in four different ages of the world, as commanding, above all others, the attention of students of political history. Of these four, one belongs to what is usually known as 'ancient,' another to what is commonly called 'mediæval' history; a third arose in the period of transition between mediæval and modern history; the creation of the fourth may have been witnessed by some few of those who are still counted among living men. . . . These four Commonwealths are, First, the Achaian League [see ACHÆAN LEAGUE; GREECE: 280-146 B. C.] in the later days of Ancient Greece, whose most flourishing period comes within the third century before our era. Second, the Confederation of the Swiss Cantons [see SWITZERLAND, CONSTITUTION OF], which, with many changes in its extent and constitution, has lasted from the thirteenth century to our own day. Third, the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands [see NETHERLANDS: 1577-1581, and after], whose Union arose in the War of Independence against Spain, and lasted, in a republican form, till the war of the French Revolution. Fourth, the United States of North America [see U. S. A.: 1787; 1787-1789; also U. S. A., CONSTITUTION OF], which formed a Federal Union after their revolt from the British Crown under George the Third, and whose destiny forms one of the most important, and certainly the most interesting, of the political problems of our own time. Of these four, three come sufficiently near to the full realization of the Federal idea to be entitled to rank among perfect Federal Governments. The Achaian League, and the United States since the adoption of the present Constitution, are indeed the most perfect developments of the Fed-

eral principle which the world has ever seen. The Swiss Confederation, in its origin a Union of the loosest kind, has gradually drawn the Federal bond tighter and tighter, till, within our own times, it has assumed a form which fairly entitles it to rank beside Achaia and America. The claim of the United Provinces is more doubtful; their union was at no period of their republican being so close as that of Achaia, America, and modern Switzerland."—E. A. Freeman, *History of federal government*, v. 1, pp. 3-6.

Classification of federal governments.—"To the classification of federal governments publicists have given great attention with unsatisfactory results. History shows a great variety of forms, ranging from the lowest possible organization, like that of the Amphictyonic Council [see AMPHICTYONIC COUNCIL] to the highly centralized and powerful German Empire. Many writers deny that any fixed boundaries can be described. The usual classification is, however, into three divisions,—the Staatenstaat, or state founded on states; the Staatenbund, or union of states—to which the term Confederacy nearly corresponds; and the Bundesstaat, or united state, which answers substantially to the term federation as usually employed. The Staatenstaat is defined to be a state in which the units are not individuals, but states, and which, therefore, has no operation directly on individuals, but deals with and legislates for its corporate members; they preserve undisturbed their powers of government over their own subjects. The usual example of a Staatenstaat is the Holy Roman Empire [see HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE: 962]. This conception . . . is, however, illogical in theory, and never has been carried out in practice. . . . Historically, also, the distinction is untenable. The Holy Roman Empire had courts, taxes, and even subjects not connected with the states. In theory it had superior claims upon all the individuals within the Empire; in practice it abandoned control over the states. The second category is better established. Jellinek says: 'When states form a permanent political alliance, of which common defence is at the very least the purpose, with permanent federal organs, there arises a Staatenbund.' This form of government is distinguished from an alliance by the fact that it has permanent federal organs; from a commercial league by its political purpose; from a Bundesstaat by its limited purpose. In other words, under Staatenbund are included the weaker forms of true federal government, in which there is independence from other powers, and, within the purposes of the union, independence from the constituent states. . . . The Staatenbund form includes most of the federal governments which have existed. The Greek confederations (except perhaps the Lycian and Achæan) and all the mediæval leagues were of this type: even the strong modern unions of the United States, Germany, and Switzerland, have gone through the Staatenbund stage in their earlier history. Between the Staatenbund and the more highly developed form, the Bundesstaat, no writer has described an accurate boundary. There are certain governments, notably those of Canada, Germany, Switzerland, and the United States, in which is found an elaborate and powerful central organism, including federal courts; to this organism is assigned all or nearly all the common concerns of the nation; within its exclusive control are war, foreign affairs, commerce, colonies, and national finances; and there is an efficient power of enforcement against states. Such governments undoubtedly are Bundesstaaten."—A. B. Hart, *Introduction to the study of federal government (Harvard Historical Monographs, no. 2, ch. 1)*.

Greek federations.—“Under the conditions of the Græco-Roman civic life there were but two practicable methods of forming a great state and diminishing the quantity of warfare. The one method was conquest with incorporation, the other method was federation. . . . Neither method was adopted by the Greeks in their day of greatness. The Spartan method of extending its power was conquest without incorporation: when Sparta conquered another Greek city, she sent a harmost to govern it like a tyrant; in other words she virtually enslaved the subject city. The efforts of Athens tended more in the direction of a peaceful federalism. In the great Delian confederacy [see GREECE: B. C. 477-461; 404-359 and ATHENS: B. C. 477], which developed into the maritime empire of Athens, the Ægean cities were treated as allies rather than subjects. As regards their local affairs they were in no way interfered with, and could they have been represented in some kind of a federal council at Athens, the course of Grecian history might have been wonderfully altered. As it was, they were all deprived of one essential element of sovereignty,—the power of controlling their own military forces. . . . In the century following the death of Alexander, in the closing age of Hellenic independence, the federal idea appears in a much more advanced stage of elaboration, though in a part of Greece which had been held of little account in the great days of Athens and Sparta. Between the Achaian federation, framed in 274 B. C., and the United States of America, there are some interesting points of resemblance which have been elaborately discussed by Mr. Freeman, in his ‘History of Federal Government.’ About the same time the Ætolian League [see ÆTOLIA] came into prominence in the north. Both these leagues were instances of true federal government, and were not mere confederations; that is, the central government acted directly upon all the citizens and not merely upon the local governments. Each of these leagues had for its chief executive officer a General elected for one year, with powers similar to those of an American President. In each the supreme assembly was a primary assembly at which every citizen from every city of the league had a right to be present, to speak, and to vote; but as a natural consequence these assemblies shrank into comparatively aristocratic bodies. In Ætolia, which was a group of mountain cantons similar to Switzerland, the federal union was more complete than in Achaia, which was a group of cities. . . . In so far as Greece contributed anything towards the formation of great and pacific political aggregates, she did it through attempts at federation. But in so low a state of political development as that which prevailed throughout the Mediterranean world in pre-Christian times, the more barbarous method of conquest with incorporation was more likely to be successful on a great scale. This was well illustrated in the history of Rome,—a civic community of the same generic type with Sparta and Athens, but presenting specific differences of the highest importance. . . . Rome early succeeded in freeing itself from that insuperable prejudice which elsewhere prevented the ancient city from admitting aliens to a share in its franchise. And in this victory over primeval political ideas lay the whole secret of Rome’s mighty career.”—J. Fiske, *American political ideas*, lect. 2.

Medieval leagues in Germany.—“It is hardly too much to say that the Lombard League led naturally to the leagues of German cities. [See CITIES, IMPERIAL AND FREE.] The exhausting efforts of the Hohenstaufen Emperors to secure dominion in Italy compelled them to grant privileges to the

cities in Germany; the weaker emperors, who followed, bought support with new charters and privileges. The inability of the Empire to keep the peace or to protect commerce led speedily to the formation of great unions of cities, usually commercial in origin, but very soon becoming political forces of prime importance. The first of these was the Rhenish League, formed in 1254. The more important cities of the Rhine valley, from Basle to Cologne, were the original members; but it eventually had seventy members, including several princes and ruling prelates. The league had Colloquia, or assemblies, at stated intervals; but, beyond deciding upon a general policy, and the assignment of military quotas, it had no legislative powers. There was, however, a Kommission, or federal court, which acted as arbiter in disputes between the members. The chief political service of the league was to maintain peace during the interregnum in the Empire (1250-1273). During the fourteenth century it fell apart, and many of its members joined the Hansa or Suabian League. [See LANDERJEDE.] . . . In 1377 seventeen Suabian cities, which had been mortgaged by the Emperor, united to defend their liberties. They received many accessions of German and Swiss cities; but in 1388 they were overthrown by Leopold III of Austria, and all combinations of cities were forbidden. A federal government they cannot be said to have possessed; but political, almost federal relations continued during the fifteenth century. The similar leagues of Frankfort and Wetterau were broken up about the same time. Other leagues of cities and cantons were in a like manner formed and dissolved,—among them the leagues of Hauenstein and Burgundy; and there was a confederation in Franche Comté, afterward French territory. All the mediæval leagues thus far mentioned were defensive, and had no extended relations beyond their own borders. The great Hanseatic League [see HANSA TOWNS], organized as a commercial union, developed into a political and international power, which negotiated and made war on its own account with foreign and German sovereigns; and which was for two centuries one of the leading powers of Europe.”—A. B. Hart, *Introduction to the study of federal government* (*Harvard Historical Monographs*, no. 2, ch. 3).

Medieval league of Lombardy.—When Frederick Barbarossa entered Italy for the fifth time in 1163, to enforce the despotic sovereignty over that country which the German kings, as emperors, were then claiming (see ITALY: 961-1039), a league of the Lombard cities was formed to resist him. “Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso, the most powerful towns of the Veronese marches, assembled their consuls in congress, to consider of the means of putting an end to a tyranny which overwhelmed them. The consuls of these four towns pledged themselves by oath in the name of their cities to give mutual support to each other in the assertion of their former rights, and in the resolution to reduce the imperial prerogatives to the point at which they were fixed under the reign of Henry IV. Frederick, informed of this association, returned hastily into Northern Italy, to put it down . . . but he soon perceived that the spirit of liberty had made progress in the Ghibeline cities as well as in those of the Guelphs. . . . Obligated to bend before a people which he considered only as revolted subjects, he soon renounced a contest so humiliating, and returned to Germany, to levy an army more submissive to him. Other and more pressing interests diverted his attention from this object till the autumn of 1166. . . . When Frederick, in the month of October, 1166, descended the mountains of the

Grisons to enter Italy by the territory of Brescia, he marched his army directly to Lodi, without permitting any act of hostility on the way. At Lodi, he assembled, towards the end of November, a diet of the kingdom of Italy, at which he promised the Lombards to redress the grievances occasioned by the abuses of power by his podestas, and to respect their just liberties; . . . to give greater weight to his negotiation, he marched his army into Central Italy. . . . The towns of the Veronese marches, seeing the emperor and his army pass without daring to attack them, became bolder: they assembled a new diet, in the beginning of April, at the convent of Pontida, between Milan and Bergamo. The consuls of Cremona, of Bergamo, of Brescia, of Mantua and Ferrara met there, and joined those of the marches. The union of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, for the common liberty, was hailed with universal joy. The deputies of the Cremonese, who had lent their aid to the destruction of Milan, seconded those of the Milanese villages in imploring aid of the confederated towns to rebuild the city of Milan. This confederation was called the League of Lombardy. The consuls took the oath, and their constituents afterwards repealed it, that every Lombard should unite for the recovery of the common liberty; that the league for this purpose should last twenty years; and, finally, that they should aid each other in repairing in common any damage experienced in this sacred cause, by any one member of the confederation: extending even to the past this contract for reciprocal security, the league resolved to rebuild Milan. . . . Lodi was soon afterwards compelled, by force of arms, to take the oath to the league; while the towns of Venice, Piacentia, Parma, Modena, and Bologna voluntarily and gladly joined the association."—J. C. L. de Sismondi, *History of the Italian republics*, ch. 2.—In 1226 the league was revived or renewed against Frederick II. "Milan and Bologna took the lead, and were followed by Piacenza, Verona, Brescia, Faenza, Mantua, Vercelli, Lodi, Bergamo, Turin, Alessandria, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso. . . . Nothing could be more unlike, than the First and the Second Lombard Leagues. That of 1167, formed against Frederick the First after the most cruel provocation, was sanctioned by the Pope, and had for its end the deliverance of Lombardy. That of 1226, formed against Frederick the Second, after no provocation received, was discountenanced by the Pope, and resulted in the frustration of the Crusade and in sowing the germ of endless civil wars. This year is fixed upon by the Brescian Chronicler as the beginning of 'those plaguy factions of Gueff and Ghibelline, which were so engrained into the minds of our forefathers, that they have handed them down as an heir-loom to their posterity, never to come to an end.'"—T. L. Kington, *History of Frederick the Second*, v. 1, pp. 265-266.

Modern federations.—"A remarkable phenomenon of the last hundred years is the impetus that has been given to the development of Federal institutions. First and foremost is the United States of America, where we have an example of the Federal Union in the most perfect form yet attained. Then comes Switzerland, of less importance than the United States of America, but most nearly approaching it in perfection. Again we have the German Empire [and later the republic (see GERMANY, CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE; also CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC)] . . . which is truly a Federal Union, but a cumbrous one and full of anomalies. Next in importance comes the Dominion of Canada [see CANADA, CONSTITUTION OF]. . . . Lastly comes the Argentine Republic, Mexico,

[Brazil, South Africa] and the States of Colombia and Venezuela. This is a very remarkable list when we consider that never before the . . . [19th] century did more than two Federal Unions ever coexist, and that very rarely, and that even those unions were far from satisfying the true requirements of Federation. Nor is this all. Throughout the last hundred years we can mark a growing tendency in countries that have adopted the Federal type of Government to perfect that Federal type and make it more truly Federal than before. In the United States of America, for instance, the Constitution of 1789 was more truly Federal than the Articles of Confederation, and certainly since the Civil War we hear less of State Rights, and more of Union. It has indeed been remarked that the citizens of the United States have become fond of applying the words 'Nation' and 'National' to themselves in a manner formerly unknown. We can mark the same progress in Switzerland. Before 1789, Switzerland formed a very loose system of Confederated States—in 1815, a constitution more truly Federal was devised; in 1848, the Federal Union was more firmly consolidated; and lastly, in 1874, such changes were made in the Constitution that Switzerland now presents a very fairly perfect example of Federal Government. In Germany we may trace a similar movement. In 1815, the Germanic Confederation was formed [see GERMANY: 1814-1820]; but it was only a system of Confederated States, or what the Germans call Staatenbund; but after various changes, amongst others the exclusion of Austria in 1866, it became, in 1871, a composite State or, in German language, a Bundestaat."—*Federal government (Westminster Review)*, May, 1888, pp. 573-574).

ARGENTINA.—"Argentina is a Federal Republic; that is to say, the Provinces have autonomy, and are governed by their own constituted authorities and their own laws, except in such matters as are of a national character which are strictly defined by the Constitution. The Republic is divided into fourteen Provinces and ten Gobernaciones, or National Territories, the Federal Capital and seat of the National Government being Buenos Aires. . . . By the Constitution, when the population of a National territory exceeds 50,000, it has a right to be declared a Province. . . . In 1826, a Constitution, which has as its basis a unitarian system of government, was sanctioned on the 24th of December. After this attempt at a settlement, which soon became inoperative on account of the vehement opposition of the federal party, there was a period of anarchy which was marked by the tyranny of Rosas. On the fall of Rosas an arrangement called the 'Acuerdo de San Nicolás' was made, one of the provisions of which was the convocation of a Constituent Assembly with the object of drawing up a final Constitution. This Assembly or Congress met at Santa Fé in 1852 and continued its sittings until it had finished its work. The Constitution which now exists as the basis of Argentine government is that drawn up by this Congress. The Province of Buenos Aires was not represented in the Assembly and drew up an independent Constitution; but, after the battle of Cepeda, this province accepted the Constitution of 1853, with some modifications, which were incorporated at a national Convention at Sante Fé in September, 1860. The Constitution of 1853, as so amended, is that which is to-day the supreme authority and the basis of all civil, political, religious and other rights. By this Constitution, the Federal system of Government was adopted and the national and provincial interests of the nation are provided for."—A. S. Pennington, *Argentine re-*

public, pp. 52, 59.—See also ARGENTINA: 1819-1874; 1880-1891; ARGENTINA, CONSTITUTION OF.

ALSO IN: L. S. Rowe, *Federal system of the Argentine republic*.

AUSTRALIA.—“Beyond this, we have to note a further tendency to Federation. In the year 1880, a Bill passed the Imperial Parliament to permit of the formation of an Australasian Council for the purposes of forming the Australasian Colonies into a Federation. [See also AUSTRALIA: 1885-1892.]” —*Federal government (Westminster Review, May, 1888, pp. 573-574)*.—“The Commonwealth of Australia was constituted by an Act passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom in 1900 known as ‘The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act.’ [See AUSTRALIA: 1900.] Prior to that date each individual State had its own Legislature and Executive, and the only means of joint legislative action was provided by the Federal Council of Australia, established in 1885, but in which New South Wales was unrepresented. Each of the other Colonies was represented on the Council by five members, who met together about once every two years for legislative purposes only. The Council had power to legislate with regard to the relations of the Australian Colonies with the islands of the Pacific, prevention of the influx of criminals, fisheries in Australian waters beyond territorial limits, the extradition of offenders against the law, and generally on any matters referred to it by order of Her Majesty in Council on the request of the Colonial Legislatures. It had also power to decide on any questions affecting the mutual relations of two or more Colonies referred to it by consent. Between 1886 and 1897 the Federal Council met seven times, but it was really a purely deliberative body, and the need for a more effective Federation was being increasingly felt, with a Federal Executive as well as Legislature, somewhat after the Canadian model. Towards the end of 1889 negotiations had been opened between the various Australian Colonies, as a result of which a Conference of the seven principal Colonies met at Melbourne on 6th February, 1890, at which it was unanimously resolved that the best interests of the Australian Colonies would be promoted by ‘Their early union under the Crown.’ Another Convention met at Sydney on 2d March, 1891, when, after an animated discussion, lasting over five weeks, a ‘Bill to Constitute a Commonwealth of Australia’ was drawn up and adopted. The Convention recommended that this Bill should be submitted by Parliaments of the several Colonies for the approval of the people, but for various reasons this was not immediately acted upon, and it was not until March, 1898, after several other preliminary Conferences, that a Convention of the Colonies which met at Melbourne adopted a Bill which was submitted to the popular vote for acceptance or rejection. The voting in Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania was largely in favour of the Bill, but in New South Wales the statutory minimum number of affirmative votes was not obtained, so the matter fell through for a time. Eventually, however, the objections of the people of New South Wales (which largely centred round the fiscal question) were overcome, and on 20th June, 1899, it was accepted by a majority of about 25,000. Queensland also accepted the Bill in September of the same year, and so in the autumn of 1899 addresses to the Queen were presented by the five Colonies which had accepted the Bill, praying for its enactment. Delegates were appointed by the five Colonies, and also by Western Australia, to be present at Westminster during the passage of the Bill through Parliament, which duly took place with-

out much friction (July, 1900), and the Commonwealth of Australia was proclaimed at Sydney on 1st January, 1901. The Act provided for the inclusion of Western Australia in the Federation, which took place a few weeks later, so that the States comprised in the commonwealth, are now six in number, viz., New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania.”—J. C. Haig, *Federal solution, pp. 31-33*—See also AUSTRALIA: 1885-1892; 1900; 1901 (January); AUSTRALIA, CONSTITUTION OF.

BRAZIL.—Brazil has had a federal government since 1889. “Having adopted the system of government known as a Federal Republic, the country is named the United States of Brazil, comprising twenty separate States, which are, from a commercial point of view, practically small Republics, each being entirely self-governed. Every State maintains its own Administration, and uses for its own benefit the principal portion of its own revenues, such as taxes on real estate, and stamp duties on documents executed or legalised by the local authorities. The Federal Government, which, of course, supervises the Administration of the States, determines the general home and foreign policy of the country, exercising functions similar to those of the two Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The standing naval and military forces of the country are maintained by the Federal Government, which derives its principal revenue from the duties imposed upon foreign imports, dues for the entry of vessels, stamps, postal and telegraphic, and other charges. The Federal Government is composed of two houses—the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. Each State sends the Senators to the National Congress, and the Federal capital sends the same number. These Senators are elected for nine years, one-third of the number being changed every three years. The Chamber of Deputies is composed of members elected directly by the people, in exactly the same manner as are the Senators. An article of the Constitution fixes the maximum number of deputies at one for every seventy thousand voters.” —C. W. Domville-Fife, *United States of Brazil, pp. 77-78*.—See also BRAZIL: 1889-1891; BRAZIL, CONSTITUTION OF.

BRITISH EMPIRE, PROJECTED FEDERATION OF. See BRITISH EMPIRE: Imperial federation proposals; LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

CANADIAN FEDERATION.—“A convention of thirty-three representative men was held in the autumn of 1864 in the historic city of Quebec, and after a deliberation of several weeks the result was the unanimous adoption of a set of seventy-two resolutions embodying the terms and conditions on which the provinces through their delegates agreed to a federal union in many respects similar in its general features to that of the United States federation, and in accordance with the principles of the English constitution. These resolutions had to be laid before the various legislatures and adopted in the shape of addresses to the queen whose sanction was necessary to embody the wishes of the provinces in an imperial statute.’ . . . In the early part of 1867 the imperial parliament, without a division, passed the statute known as the ‘British North America Act, 1867,’ which united in the first instance the province of Canada, now divided into Ontario and Quebec, with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and made provisions for the coming in of the other provinces of Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, British Columbia, and the admission of Rupert’s Land and the great North-west. Between 1867 and 1873 the provinces just named, with the exception of Newfoundland, which has

persistently remained out of the federation, became parts of the Dominion and the vast North-west Territory was at last acquired on terms eminently satisfactory to Canada and a new province of great promise formed out of that immense region, with a complete system of parliamentary government. . . . When the terms of the Union came to be arranged between the provinces in 1864, their conflicting interests had to be carefully considered and a system adopted which would always enable the Dominion to expand its limits and bring in new sections until it should embrace the northern half of the continent, which, as we have just shown, now constitutes the Dominion. It was soon found, after due deliberation, that the most feasible plan was a confederation resting on those principles which experience of the working of the federation of the United States showed was likely to give guarantees of elasticity and permanency. The maritime provinces had been in the enjoyment of an excellent system of laws and representative institutions for many years, and were not willing to yield their local autonomy in its entirety. The people of the province of Quebec, after experience of a union that lasted from 1841 to 1867, saw decidedly great advantages to themselves and their institutions in having a provincial government under their own control."—J. G. Bourinot, *Federal government in Canada*, lect. 1-2.—"The French in Canada would not willingly have entered a legislative union, but under a federal plan they obtained adequate assurance that their distinctive nationality would be preserved. But this concession to centrifugal tendencies once made, the plan of the Quebec Resolutions and of the Act founded upon them proceeds upon the hypothesis that a strong national government is a good and wholesome thing. The Senate, which represents the federal principle in the Constitution, is designedly weak. The legislative powers exclusively assigned to the Parliament of Canada are wide and numerous. The Governor-General of Canada in Council appoints the provincial governors and may exercise a veto upon provincial legislation, while upon the two important subjects of agriculture and immigration it is competent to the Dominion Parliament to make general laws, which in case of conflict override the enactments of the Provinces. The Constitution was hastily drafted and the partition of exclusive legislative functions between the Dominion and the Provinces has been so defined as to give rise to much ambiguity and litigation. But though the tendency of legal decisions has been to strengthen the position of the provincial legislatures, the Government of the Dominion stands out in sharp contrast to the Government of the United States. At Ottawa the Cabinet reflects the opinion of the majority of the popular assembly and controls the conduct of Parliament. At Washington the Cabinet is neither named by Congress, nor a sharer in its deliberations, nor a dictator of its policy. In Ottawa the Dominion Parliament has wide powers specifically and exclusively ascribed to it. At Washington Congress legislates within a comparatively narrow ambit. Finally, in Canada the residual legislative power is lodged with the central Parliament, in America with the several States."—H. A. L. Fisher, *Political unions*, pp. 24-25.—See also CANADA: 1867; CANADA, CONSTITUTION OF: 1867; 1871; 1886.

ALSO IN: H. E. Egerton, *Federations and unions within the British empire*.—E. V. Robinson, *Nature of the federal state* (*Publications of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, no. 92).—W. L. Griffith, *Dominion of Canada*, pp. 53-56.

CENTRAL AMERICAN FEDERATION. See CENTRAL

AMERICA: 1821-1871; 1895-1902; 1921; CENTRAL AMERICA, CONSTITUTION OF; LATIN AMERICA: Forms of government.

GERMAN CONFEDERATION.—It "was first formed as the result of a civil war in which a considerable number of the small German states, allied with Austria, had been defeated by Prussia. As a result several of them were directly annexed to Prussia and the others north of the Main brought into a federal union in which Prussia was the dominating state. [See GERMANY: 1866.] The larger states south of the Main, Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden, politically and tribally unfriendly to Prussia, were not included. It was the result of the great national successes in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 which brought these states into the union and transformed the confederation into the Empire. [See GERMANY: 1866-1867; 1866-1870; 1870 (September-December).] But the constitution was not changed in its essential nature. The most interesting changes are those in which concessions were granted to the south German states to overcome their reluctance to enter the Empire and their fear of the encroachments of Prussia."—G. B. Adams, *British empire and a league of peace*, pp. 105-106.—When the German empire became the German republic in 1919 its status as a federal government was not materially changed. In the new constitution of August 13, "the territory is stated to consist of the territories of the German states. . . . The legislative competence of the national government is determined in a long enumeration of powers. It is considerably more extensive than that exercised by the imperial government under the old constitution. The special rights of the south German states are swept away. Such matters as the relation of church and state, land tenure, theaters and cinematographs, disposal of the dead, and the general control over public instruction are now placed within the field of national legislation. The national government, moreover, is given an unlimited power of taxation and thus freed from the necessity of relying upon matricular contributions from the states. There is thus exemplified the centripetal and unitary tendency so noticeable in all federal governments. The states enjoy the right of legislation in many of the matters included in the enumeration of national powers, so long as the national government does not exercise them, but such state laws are subject to the federal veto."—W. J. Shepard, *New German constitution* (*American Political Science Review*, Feb., 1920, pp. 38-39).—See also GERMANY, CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE, AND CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC.

SOUTH AFRICAN UNION.—"Among existing federations we may regard the United States as representing one extreme, the extreme of power in the hands of the states, we may also consider the South African Union the other, of powers in the central government. The South African Union indeed goes so far towards this extreme that, though the process by which it was formed was clearly a federative process, the result is so nearly a unitary government that it can hardly be called a federation at all."—G. B. Adams, *British empire and a league of peace*, p. 101.—See SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: 1908-1909; 1910; SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF: Constitution.

SWITZERLAND.—"Turning next to the oldest federation in Europe, that of Switzerland, which with various changes has survived from 1308, though its present constitution dates only from 1874, we find it now embraces three nationalities—German, French, Italian. The original nucleus of the State, however, was German, and even now three-fourths of the population are German. The twenty-two

distinct states are federated under one president elected annually, and the Federal Assembly of two chambers. . . . Each of the cantons is sovereign and independent, and has its own local parliament, scarcely any two being the same, but all based on universal suffrage. Each canton has its own budget of revenue and expenditure, and its own public debt."—J. N. Dalton, *Federal states of the world* (*Nineteenth Century*, July, 1884).—See also SWITZERLAND, CONSTITUTION OF.

UNITED STATES. See U. S. A.: 1787; 1787-1789; 1789-1792; U. S. A., CONSTITUTION OF.

WORLD FEDERATION. See LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

FEDERAL PARTY, Philippine. See PHILIPPINE ISLANDS: 1907.

FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM. See INDEPENDENT TREASURY: United States; MONEY AND BANKING: Modern: 1912-1913: Federal reserve system; U. S. A.: 1911-1915; 1913 (April-December).

FEDERAL STEEL COMPANY. See TRUSTS: United States: Earlier combinations in steel production.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION, United States. See TRUSTS: United States: 1914; U. S. A.: 1914 (September).

"FEDERALIST," remarkable set of essays published anonymously in which Hamilton, Madison, Jay and others explained and defended the new constitution of the United States. See U. S. A.: 1787-1789.

FEDERALISTS, American political party, 1787-1816. See U. S. A.: 1787-1789; 1789-1792; 1812; 1812 (June-October); 1814 (December): Hartford convention; ESSEX JUNTO; VIRGINIA: 1776-1815.

FEDERALISTS, Blue-light. See BLUE-LIGHT FEDERALISTS.

FEDERATED MALAY STATES. See STRAITS SETTLEMENTS: 1909-1914.

FEDERATIONS. See FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

FEDERATIONS OF LABOR. See LABOR ORGANIZATION.

FEDS, nickname for federal soldiers. See BOYS IN BLUE.

FEE. See FEUDALISM: Continental growth.

FeeBLE-MINDED, Education of. See EDUCATION: Modern developments: 20th century: Education for the deaf, blind and feeble-minded: Feeble-minded.

FEHDERECHT, right of private warfare, or diffidation, exercised in medieval Germany. See LANDFRIEDE.

FEHIM PASHA, former head of Turkish espionage department, exiled to Brusa in 1907; lynched in 1909. See TURKEY: 1909 (May-December).

FEHRBELLIN, Battle of (1675). See BRANDENBURG: 1640-1688; SWEDEN: 1644-1697.

FEHRENBACH, Konstantine, appointed chancellor of the German republic in 1920. See GERMANY: 1920.

FEIS OF TARA. See TARA.

FEISAL, Emir (1885-), king of Irak (Mesopotamia), eldest son of Hussein I, king of the Hejaz. In 1919 he represented Hejaz at the peace conference. On March 8, 1920, he was elected king of Syria by a Pan-Syrian Congress, and, on the ground that his presence was needed in Syria to prevent strife, refused to answer a summons before the supreme council of the league of nations, to explain the situation in Syria. He was dethroned in July of the same year by a French force under General Gouraud. In 1921 he was created king of Irak by the British, who hold the mandate for that country, and formally ascended the throne on August 23 at Bagdad.—See also ARABIA: 1916;

1919; SYRIA: 1908-1921; WORLD WAR: 1918: VI. Turkish theater: c, 4.

FEJERVÁRY, Geza, Freiherr von (1833-1914), Hungarian statesman and general. Became state secretary in ministry of national defence, 1872; minister of national defence, 1884; became premier, 1905. See AUSTRIA-HUNGARY: 1905-1906.

FELDKIRCH, Siege of (1799). See FRANCE: 1798-1799 (August-April).

FELICIAN HERESY. See ADOPTIONISM.

FELICITA, benefactress of San Marino. See SAN MARINO.

FELISSU, Battle of (1904). See JAPAN: 1902-1905.

FELIX I, Saint, bishop of Rome, 269-274, martyred in the persecutions under Aurelian.

Felix II (d. 365), antipope, c. 355-358, expelled from Rome on the return of Liberius.

Felix III (d. 492), pope 483-492, provoked the first schism between the Eastern and Western church through his excommunication of the Patriarch of Constantinople, c. 484.

Felix IV, (d. 530), pope 526-530.

Felix V, Amadeus VIII (1383-1451), duke of Savoy, pope 1439-1449.

FELIX, Antonius, Roman curator of Judea, c. 55.

FELIX, name for Campagna. See CAMPAGNA.

FELL, Sir Arthur (1850-), chairman of the house of Commons Channel Tunnel committee. See CHANNEL TUNNEL: 1914 (May).

FELLAHIN, peasants of Egypt. See EGYPT: 1918-1919; 1921: Lord Milner's report.

FELLENBERG, Philipp Emanuel von (1771-1844), Swiss educational reformer. See EDUCATION: Modern: 19th century: Fellenberg, etc.

FELS, Joseph (1854-1914), American manufacturer, an ardent advocate of single tax reform. See OREGON: 1908-1914; SINGLE TAX: History of the idea and movement arising from it.

FELSINA, name given to the Roman colony established 189 B. C., and identified with modern Bologna, Italy. See BOLOGNA: Origin.

FELTRE, Vittorino da (1378-1446), Italian educator and philosopher, established the first great school of the Renaissance at Mantua. See EDUCATION: Modern: 15th-16th centuries: Italy the center.

FELTRE, town of north Italy in the province of Belluno. See WORLD WAR: 1918: IV. Austro-Italian theater: c, 9.

FELUJA, town west of Bagdad on the Euphrates river, Mesopotamia. See WORLD WAR: 1917: VI. Turkish theater: a, 1, (v); a, 2.

FEMINIST MOVEMENT. See WOMAN'S RIGHTS; SUFFRAGE; WOMAN.

FENECHAS, law of the feene or fene. See BREHON LAWS: Description of the laws.

FENELON, François de Salignac de la Mothe (1651-1715), French prelate and author. His principal works are a "Treatise on the Existence of God," "Dialogues on Eloquence," and a "Treatise on the Education of Girls" which was of great influence on eighteenth century thought; appointed by Louis XIV archbishop of Cambrai, 1695; published "Télémaque" and "Maxims of the Saints," 1690. For the latter work he was condemned by Pope Innocent XII.—See also FRENCH LITERATURE: 1608-1715.

FEN-FOLK. See GYRWAS.

FENG KUO-CHANG (1858-), elected vice president of China, 1916; became acting president on the resignation of Li Yuan-bung. See CHINA: 1916-1917; 1917-1918.

FENG YU-HSIANG, Chinese general at Changtsintien. See CHINA: 1922 (April-May).

FENG-TIEN, or **Sheng-King**, southern province of Manchuria. See **SHENG-KING**.

FENIAN SOCIETY, Irish political association which sought independence of England, for Ireland. See **IRELAND**: 1847-1860; 1858-1867; 1873-1879.

In **Canada**. See **CANADA**: 1866-1871; **IRELAND**: 1858-1867.

FENNONMAN MOVEMENT, **Finland**. See **FINLAND**: 1917-1918.

FEODORE. See **THEODORE**.

FEORM-FULTUM. See **FERM**.

FERDINAND I (1503-1564), Holy Roman emperor, 1556-1564; archduke of Austria and king of Hungary and Bohemia, 1526-1564; king of the Romans, 1531-1558. See **GERMANY**: 1552-1561; 1556-1609; **AUSTRIA**: 1496-1526; **BOHEMIA**: 1516-1576; **HUNGARY**: 1526-1567.

Ferdinand II (1576-1637), Holy Roman emperor, 1619-1637; king of Bohemia and Hungary, 1619-1637. See **GERMANY**: 1618-1620; 1621-1623; 1624-1626; 1627-1629; 1630; 1636-1637; **AUSTRIA**: 1564-1618; **BOHEMIA**: 1611-1618; 1618-1620; **HUNGARY**: 1606-1660.

Ferdinand III (1608-1657), Holy Roman emperor, 1637-1657; crowned king of Hungary, 1625; king of Bohemia, 1627; king of the Romans, 1636. See **GERMANY**: 1640-1645; **HUNGARY**: 1606-1660.

Ferdinand I (1793-1875), emperor of Austria, 1835-1848; king of Hungary, 1830. See **AUSTRIA**: 1815-1846; 1848-1849; **HUNGARY**: 1847-1849.

Ferdinand I, "The Just" (1370-1416), king of Aragon, 1412-1416. See **SPAIN**: 1368-1470.

Ferdinand II, king of Aragon. See **FERDINAND V**, king of Castile.

Ferdinand I (Maximilian Karl Leopold Maria) (1861-), king of Bulgaria, 1908-1918; youngest son of Prince Augustus of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha; elected prince, and took the vacant throne of Bulgaria, 1887; declared the independence of Bulgaria and assumed the title of king or tsar in 1908; abdicated in favor of his son, Prince Boris, October 4, 1918, after Bulgaria had surrendered to the Allies.—See also **BULGARIA**: 1887-1904; 1908-1909; 1918; **WORLD WAR**: 1918: V. Balkan theater: c, 11.

Ferdinand I, "The Great" (d. 1065), king of Castile, 1033-1065; king of León, 1037-1065. See **SPAIN**: 1034-1090.

Ferdinand II (d. 1188), king of León, 1157-1188.

Ferdinand III, **Saint** (1199-1252), king of Castile, 1217-1252; king of León, 1230-1252. See **SPAIN**: 1248-1350.

Ferdinand IV (1285-1312), king of Castile and León, 1295-1312.

Ferdinand V, "The Catholic" (1452-1516), king of Castile, 1474-1516; king of Aragon and Sicily, 1479-1516; king of Naples, 1503-1516. See **SPAIN**: 1496-1517; **AMERICA**: 1493; **ITALY**: 1501-1504; **VENICE**: 1508-1509; **NAVARRÉ**: 1442-1521.

Ferdinand VI, "The Sage" (1713-1759), king of Spain, 1746-1759.

Ferdinand VII (1784-1833), king of Spain, 1808; 1814-1833. See **SPAIN**: 1807-1808; 1813-1814 (December-May); 1814-1827.

Ferdinand I (1423-1494), king of Naples, 1458-1494.

Ferdinand II (1469-1496), king of Naples, 1495-1496. See **ITALY**: 1494-1496.

Ferdinand III, king of Naples. See **FERDINAND V** of Castile.

Ferdinand I, "The Handsome" (1345-1383), king of Portugal, 1367-1383. See **PORTUGAL**: 1383-1385.

Ferdinand I (1865-), king of Rumania.

Succeeded to the throne upon the death of King Carol, October 11, 1914. Although a member of the Catholic branch of the German Hohenzollerns, the Rumanian king aligned himself with the Allies in the World War. See **RUMANIA**: 1914-1918; **WORLD WAR**: 1914: III. Balkans: d.

Ferdinand I (1751-1825), king of two Sicilies, 1759-1825. See **ITALY**: 1820-1821; **VIENNA**, CONGRESS OF.

Ferdinand II, "Bomba" (1810-1859), king of two Sicilies, 1830-1859. See **ITALY**: 1848-1849.

Ferdinand I (de Medici) (1549-1609), grand duke of Tuscany, 1587-1609.

Ferdinand II (de Medici) (1610-1670), grand duke of Tuscany, 1621-1670.

Ferdinand III (1769-1824), grand duke of Tuscany, 1790-1799, 1814-1824; archduke of Austria.

FERDINAND (1721-1792), duke of Brunswick, a Prussian field marshal. Served in the first Silesian War under Frederick the Great; achieved notable successes at the battles of Crefeld (1758) and Menden (1759), during the Seven Years' War. See **GERMANY**: 1758; 1759 (April-August).

FERE-CHAMPENOISE, village in Marne, France, twenty miles southeast of Epernay. Here in 1814 the French were defeated by the Allies. A century later Fère-Champenoise was the most critical point in the battle of the Marne. See **WORLD WAR**: 1914: I. Western front: p, 1.

FERE-EN-TARDENOIS, village of France, twelve miles northeast of Château-Thierry; on July 28, 1918, was captured from the Germans by the Americans and French.

FERGHANA, or **Fergana**, province of Russian Turkestan, central Asia. See **TURKESTAN**.

FERGUSON, James Edward (1871-), governor of Texas, 1915-1917; impeached and removed from office, 1917. See **TEXAS**: 1917.

FERGUSON, Patrick (d. 1780), British general killed at King's Mountain, South Carolina, during the American Revolution. See **U. S. A.**: 1780-1781.

FERIÆ. See **LUDI**.

FERINGI, Franks. See **VARANGIANS**, OR **WARIANS**.

FERKET, Battle of (1896). See **EGYPT**: 1885-1896.

FERM, FIRMA, FARM.—"A sort of composition for all the profits arising to the king [in England, Norman period] from his ancient claims on the land and from the judicial proceedings of the shire-moot; the rent of detached pieces of demesne land, the remnants of the ancient folk-land; the payments due from corporate bodies and individuals for the primitive gifts, the offerings made in kind, or the hospitality—the feorm-fultum—which the kings had a right to exact from their subjects, and which were before the time of Domesday generally commuted for money; the fines, or a portion of the fines, paid in the ordinary process of the county courts, and other small miscellaneous incidents. These had been, soon after the composition of Domesday, estimated at a fixed sum, which was regarded as a sort of rent or composition at which the county was let to the sheriff and recorded in the 'Rotulus Exactorious'; for this, under the name of ferm, he answered annually; if his receipts were in excess, he retained the balance as his lawful profit, the wages of his service; if the proceeds fell below the term, he had to pay the difference from his own purse. . . . The farm, ferm, or firma, the rent or composition for the ancient feorum-fultum, or provision payable in kind to the Anglo-Saxon kings. The history of the word in its French form would be interesting. The use of the word for a pecuniary payment is traced long before the Nor-

man Conquest."—W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 11, sect. 126, and note.

FERMENTATION, Study of. See MEDICAL SCIENCE: Modern: 19th century: Study of fermentation and its results.

FERMOY, town of Ireland, situated in the east of County Cork, 19 miles northeast of Cork. See IRELAND: 1010.

FERNANDES, Raul, Brazilian representative at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919.

FERNÁNDEZ DE ENCISO, Martin. See ENCISO, MARTIN FERNÁNDEZ DE.

FERNANDO. See FERDINAND.

FEROZESHUR, Battle of (1845). See INDIA: 1845-1840.

FERRARA, in the Middle Ages an important city and duchy; a modern city of Emilia, northern Italy, northeast of Bologna, capital of the province of Ferrara.

House of Este. See ESTE, HOUSE OF.

1275.—Sovereignty of the pope confirmed by Rudolph of Hapsburg. See GERMANY: 1273-1308. 14th century.—Controlled by Visconti of Milan. See MILAN: 1277-1447.

1556.—Extent of territory. See EUROPE: Map of central Europe: 1556.

1597.—Annexation to the states of the church.—End of the house of Este.—Decay of the city and duchy. See PAPACY: 1597.

1848.—Occupied by Austrians. See FRANCE: 1842-1848.

FERRARI, Paolo (1822-1889), Italian dramatist and critic. See ITALIAN LITERATURE: 1710-1890; 1860-1920.

FERRARIS, Galileo (1847-1897), Italian electrical engineer and physicist, experimented with the electric motor. See ELECTRICAL DISCOVERY: 1823-1921.

FERRER, Francisco (1859-1909), Spanish revolutionist, founder of the Modern School in Spain. He was arrested on the charge of being head of an uprising and condemned to death in 1909. See SPAIN: 1909; FRANCE: 1909-1910 (July-November).

FERRERO, Guglielmo (1872-), Italian historian and publicist. Perhaps his most important work is his "Greatness and decline of Rome." He also wrote "Between Two Worlds, Ancient Rome and Modern America: a Comparative Study of Morals and Manners," and collaborated with his father-in-law, Césaire Lombroso, on the latter's "Female Offender."

FERRI, Enrico (1856-), Italian criminologist. See PRISON REFORM: Italy.

FERRO, island in Canary group, regarded in the 16th century as most westerly point of the Old World. See AMERICA: 1528-1648.

FERRY, Jules François Camille (1832-1893). French statesman. Prefect of the department of the Seine under the government of national defense, 1870-1871; minister to Athens, 1872-1873; minister of public instruction, 1870-1880; president of the council (premier), 1880-1881; minister of public instruction, 1882, when he succeeded in passing the Public Education Act; premier, a second time, 1883-1885; president of the senate, 1893. His name is chiefly associated with extension of French education and with the colonial expansion of France. See FRANCE: Colonial empire; 1875-1880.

FERRYBRIDGE, Battle of (1461). See ENGLAND: 1455-1471.

FERRYLAND (Verulam), old port of entry situated south of St. John's, Newfoundland. See NEWFOUNDLAND: 1610-1655.

FERTILIZERS: Origin.—Use by the ancients.—Knowledge of soil cultivation poor in the Middle Ages.—"The word 'manure,' when first

met with in English, possessed a much wider significance than it does to-day. Of the same origin as manœuvre, it meant, primarily, to work by hand, and it is used in that sense by Defoe in *Robinson Crusoe*—"The land which I had manured or dug"; but it also took on the extended meaning of any process or material by which the land could be ameliorated. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries this latter sense alone began to prevail; agricultural writers enumerated "chalk, lime, marl, burnt clay, etc., as manures, and began to speak of the operations of cultivation as tillages or husbandry. . . . Farmyard manure is the typical 'manure'; marl or chalk would no longer be regarded as manure, because they do not feed the plant directly; while substances like basic slag or nitrate of soda, which simply supply one or other element in the nutrition of a plant, should be termed 'fertilisers' rather than artificial manures. The distinction is not, however, very clearly drawn, and manure and fertiliser are generally and unconsciously used as interchangeable terms. . . . It is impossible to assign a period to the discovery of the fertilising properties of the excrement of animals: agriculture must be almost coeval with the human race. . . . At any rate, when in Roman times we began to get some record of agricultural practices, we find that not only was the value of dung recognised, but that the virtues of certain other manures, such as marl, had been established. . . . But to whatever point the knowledge of manures had reached in the time of the Romans, for a long time it made no further advances and bade fair to be utterly lost with the irruption of the barbarians. . . . Doubtless the old traditions did not perish in the Romance countries, but as before were handed down from one generation to another; as long as corn and wine continued to be cultivated the immemorial precepts concerning their management would linger about the country side and be treasured in the memories of the workers in the fields. But during the Dark Ages this kind of knowledge sank below the level of whatever literature was being written. . . . In many English tenures we find that the flocks of the tenants had to be folded on the lord's land at night, the manure thus brought being one of his most valued privileges; while in Walter de Henley's *Husbandrie*, the great mediæval treatise on the duties of a land agent, we find instructions for the preservation of dung by the use of litter and marl. . . . When, with the general resurrection of learning at the Renaissance, we once more get books on agriculture, we find that either old tradition or the experience of men of an enquiring turn of mind, who had been trying all sorts of things on their land, had already built up a certain knowledge of manures and manuring. The value of marl and chalk, of woolen rags and ashes, was certainly known in the sixteenth century; men had even begun to reason a little on the mode of action of manures. For example, Bernard Palissy the potter, in his *Recepte Vèritable*, published in 1593, not only recommends the use of marl and lime, but can assign a reason for the value of ashes, and shows that the richness of farmyard manure resides in the portion soluble in water. . . . Despite the experience that was accumulating respecting the fertilising value of this or that substance, no real progress towards a theory of manuring was made until the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century."—A. D. Hall, *Fertilisers and manures*, pp. 1-5.

Chemistry applied to soil cultivation.—Work of Boussingault.—Progress towards artificial manures in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.—Use of mineral manures in the nine-

teenth century.—**Nitrogen-manures.**—“Before the development of a science of chemistry it was naturally impossible to form any idea of how a plant came to grow; while the nature of the plant itself, of the air, water, and earth were equally unknown, no correct opinion could be reached as to how the latter gave rise to the former. . . . Boussingault . . . was the first man to undertake field experiments on a practical scale. Farming his own land at Bechelbronne, Alsace, from 1834 onwards, he systematically weighed crops and manure and analysed both so as to obtain a balance-sheet showing the quantities of carbon and nitrogen added in manure and removed in the crops. He thus in 1838 demonstrated on a working scale the enormous amounts of carbon which are assimilated by the plant from the atmosphere—far greater quantities than the humus in the soil could continue to supply. Boussingault’s experiments led him to conclude that the plant derives its nitrogen from the soil, though he also showed that in certain rotations more nitrogen is removed in the crop than is supplied in the manure. . . . It has been indicated how impossible it is to recover the date of the original discovery of the fertilising value of the substances we now call artificial manures; only by an occasional allusion in the older books can we find that particular materials were in common use at the period of the writer. Blithe’s *English Improver*, published in 1653, mentions the value of rags, wool, marrow bones or fish bones, horn shavings, soot, and wood ashes; and Evelyn, writing a few years later, adds also blood, hair, feathers, hoofs, skin, fish, malt dust, and meal of decayed corn, so that a knowledge of the value of these materials must have been widespread. William Ellis, a Hertfordshire farmer who wrote in 1732, enumerates a long list of ‘hand manures,’ the use of which he regarded as characteristic of Hertfordshire farming in his day. These include soot, wood ashes, woollen rags, horn shavings, hoofs, hair, coney clippings, oil cake, and malt dust; and the regular part they evidently played in the farming of that district show that they must have been known and used for a long time previous to Ellis’s writings. Throughout the eighteenth century we hear of the same materials, and also of bones, which Ellis does not mention, though their value is stated by several of the seventeenth century writers. Early in the nineteenth century we begin to hear of guano from Peru, though the first importation did not take place until 1840. The importation of nitrate of soda from Chile had begun a year or two before; its value as manure was for a time in doubt, though as early as 1669 Sir Kenelm Digby had recounted an experiment to show how much barley plants were benefited by watering with a weak solution of nitre, and Evelyn in 1675 had written: ‘I firmly believe that were saltpetre to be obtained in plenty, we should need but few other composts to meliorate our ground.’ The employment of ammoniacal salts seems to have begun entirely upon theoretical grounds; de Saussure had attributed the nitrogen of vegetation to the ammonia in the atmosphere, and in this he was followed by Liebig; fortunately, about the same time, the manufacture of coal-gas gave to the world a cheap source of ammonium salts. Lawes had already been trying them before Liebig’s paper of 1840, and when the Rothamsted experiments were definitely started in 1843, a mixture of muriate and sulphate of ammonia became their standard nitrogenous manure. The use of mineral phosphates as manure begins with Lawes’ super-patents in 1842, although no mineral phosphates were available on a large scale until Henslow’s discovery of the coprolite beds of

Cambridgeshire in 1845, soon after which time Lawes and others took them up as material for the manufacture of superphosphates. Putting aside the various methods adopted for the utilisation of slaughter-house refuse, etc., no further novel manurial substances can be said to have been introduced until the development of the Stassfurt potash deposits, which began about 1860, and the discovery of basic slag in 1870, which has been followed in the last few years by various processes for bringing atmospheric nitrogen into a combined form.”—*Ibid.*, pp. 5, 7, 11-13.—“Investigations made since 1886 have shown that certain bacilli play a very striking part in the process whereby plants assimilate nitrogen. There are certain bacilli in tilled soil which, while performing their vital processes, exhibit the remarkable property of causing the combination of nitrogen with oxygen. The compounds that are produced in this way react, in turn, with substances in the soil to form compounds that dissolve in water—chiefly salts of nitric acid—and these soluble compounds are then assimilated by plants. . . . Plants are known, belonging to the leguminous class, on whose root-nodes so much nitrogen-containing material is stored, in consequence of the activity of bacilli, that the soil is constantly rendered richer in nitrogen compounds by their growth; such plants are known as nitrogen-gatherers. If, then, plants whose roots do not possess this property are cultivated on a certain soil which has been sown the previous year with these nitrogen-gatherers, those plants find a store of material which supports their growth, although the soil has not been directly manured with nitrogen compounds. . . . Attempts were made to apply these nitrogen-gathering bacilli directly to soil culture. The bacilli were bred in pure cultures which were brought into the market with the name nitragin. Before they were sown, the seeds were soaked in nitragin diluted with thin milk, so that the nitrogen-gathering bacilli adhered to each seed. The results of many experiments, made from the year 1806, have led to such unsatisfactory results that the method must be regarded as valueless to agriculture. Now, before all this was known, experiments had shown that the addition to the soil of materials that contain nitrogen—or, as one may say, the assistance of the activity of the bacilli—was very beneficial to the growth of plants. Those nitrogen compounds which are soluble in water are of course the most efficient. There are four compounds which can be obtained in such quantities, and at so moderate a price, as to make them suitable to the agriculturist for this purpose. One of these compounds is sulphate of ammonia; the second is Chili saltpetre; the third is calcium nitride; and the fourth is calcium nitrate. . . . Experiments have shown that saltpetre provides plants with nitrogen more quickly and more thoroughly than any other nitrogen-manure. The third source of nitrogen, calcium nitride, came into use in 1903. . . . Professor Franck discovered that when nitrogen is passed over heated calcium carbide—and nitrogen can be cheaply obtained from the air—a compound, calcium nitride, is formed. The first factory of calcium nitride was established, in 1905, by a German company, at Piano d’Orta in Italy, the site being chosen because of the cheap supply of power obtained from water. The yearly output of this factory is 80,000 centners (nearly 4,000 tons). A considerable amount of calcium nitride is now worked up into sulphate of ammonia, in the factories, and in this way the nitrogen of the atmosphere is made available for agriculture. The problem of applying atmospheric nitrogen to agriculture was solved in quite a different way by Birkeland

and Eyde. It had been known for long that traces of nitric acid were formed by passing electric sparks through moist air. The work of Birkeland and Eyde, and of many other investigators since 1909, has so increased the yield of nitric acid that agriculturists have been able to buy nitric acid produced from the air, in the form of nitrate of calcium, at a sufficiently cheap price.—Dr. Lassar-Cohn, *Chemistry in daily life* (tr. by M. M. P. Muir), pp. 48-51.—See also CHEMISTRY, AGRICULTURAL.

FESCENNINE SONGS, indigenous poetry of ancient Italy. See LATIN LITERATURE: B. C. 753-264.

FESSENDEN, William Pitt (1806-1869), American statesman, leader of the anti-slavery movement in Maine. See MAINE: 1867.

FESSENDEN OSCILLATOR: Use in the submarine. See SUBMARINES: 1915.

FESTETICS, Count Alexander, Hungarian war minister. See HUNGARY: 1918-1919 (December-March).

FESTIVALS, Christian: Their Origin. See CHRISTIANITY: 238-400.

FESTUBERT, village in northeastern France, between Béthune and La Bassée; scene of heavy fighting in November, 1914, and of a great battle from May, 16-25, 1915. See WORLD WAR: 1915: II. Western front: a, 7; e, e, 1, 2; 1919: II. Western front: d, 16.

FETIALES, or *Feciales*.—"The duties of the *feciales*, or *feciales* [among the Romans], extended over every branch of international law. They gave advice on all matters of peace or war, and the conclusion of treaties and alliances. . . . They fulfilled the same functions as heralds, and, as such, were frequently entrusted with important communications. They were also sent on regular embassies. To them was entrusted the reception and entertainment of foreign envoys. They were required to decide on the justice of a war about to commence, and to proclaim and consecrate it according to certain established formalities. . . . The College of *Feciales* consisted of nearly twenty members, with a president, who was called *Pater Patratus*, because it was necessary that he should have both father and children living, that he might be supposed to take greater interest in the welfare of the State, and look backwards as well as forwards. . . . The name of *Feciales* . . . still existed under the emperors, as well as that of *Pater Patratus*, though only as a title of honour, while the institution itself was for ever annihilated; and, after the reign of Tiberius, we cannot find any trace of it."—E. C. G. Murray, *Embassies and foreign courts*, pp. 8-10.—See also AUGURS; ROME: Ancient kingdom: Genesis of the people.

FETIS, François Joseph (1784-1871), Belgian musical scholar and composer. See MUSIC: Modern: 1800-1908.

FETISHISM. See RELIGION: Universal elements; MYTHOLOGY: Rome; Latin American; African.

FETTERMAN MASSACRE. See U. S. A.: 1866-1876; WYOMING: 1866 (June-December).

FEUDAL COURTS. See FEUDALISM: Administration of justice.

England. See COURTS: England: Origin and development.

France. See COURTS: France: Lack of uniformity; PARLEMENT OF PARIS.

Germany. See COURTS: Germany: Feudal system.

FEUDALISM: Definition.—Origin and scope.—"Feudalism is a word loosely used to cover a form of society existing over a large part of the

surface of Europe for many centuries. Its roots may be found in the time of the Roman Empire; it took definite shape in the ninth century, and it did not quite disappear from Western Europe until the end of the eighteenth century. It was thus an important feature of European life for nearly a thousand years. It extended also over a very wide area. It lay at the foundation of the life and institutions of Great Britain, . . . [where] it was always restrained from full growth . . . by the strength of the monarchy; France and Germany were the countries where it could be seen in its freest development; it was important in Spain and Italy; and though Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and Russia were not technically feudal countries, they exhibited some of the characteristics of feudalism in a striking manner, and retained them when they had died out elsewhere in Europe. . . . Feudalism was in fact a spontaneous development, the result of the forces, needs and ideas of the time."—A. J. Grant, *History of Europe*, pp. 336, 337.—The origin of the institution was both Germanic and Roman. "If the tribe to which they belonged was at peace for any length of time, many of the noble [German] youths voluntarily sought other tribes that were at war, because a quiet life was irksome and they gained renown more readily in the midst of perils. Consequently the young men enrolled themselves under the leadership of some chief renowned in war. . . . When they went into battle it was a disgrace for the chief to be outdone in deeds of valor and for his band of followers—the *comitatus*—not to match the courage of their chief; furthermore for any one of the followers to have survived his chief and come unharmed out of a battle was lifelong infamy. [See also *COMITATUS*.] . . . In the Roman society at the beginning of the fifth century there was no civil equality of persons and the lower classes of freemen had fallen almost completely under the power of the nobles. Some of the small land-holders had been violently dispossessed. Frequently poor men with small farms had been compelled to place themselves under the patronage (*patrocinium*) of some wealthy and powerful neighbor in order to secure protection or to escape the burdensome taxation; such protection the powerful man was usually willing to grant, but as payment for his patronage he required the transfer to himself of the title to the land which the poorer man had owned; usually the former owner, as long as he lived, was allowed the usufruct or tenure of the land. Thus the land was passing into the hands of the nobles, and the latter frequently had more than their *coloni* and slaves could cultivate. Consequently, rather than let it lie idle, they often granted the request (*precarium*) of a poor man for the use of some land. Usually there was no payment demanded, but on the other hand the grant could be terminated at any moment when the owner desired, so the user had a precarious tenure. The *patrocinium* and *precarium* became well established, and on each estate the inhabitants looked to the proprietor for protection and the means of earning a livelihood. Consequently it was natural that the administration of justice should also fall into the hands of the proprietors, and many of them possessed a *de facto* private jurisdiction in their villas during the later decades of the Roman rule. . . . After the Germans had become the masters in Gaul, some Roman nobles retained their possessions and became companions and officials of the barbarian rulers. Some lands were confiscated by the invaders and distributed among the companions of the kings, in return for military service or other duties. In either case the tenants and small holders depended

almost wholly, upon the great proprietors for protection and livelihood, and had to serve them in return. . . . All of the Germans, and later all men who were wealthy enough, had to serve in the king's army for several months each year at their own expense. These were the general conditions during all the time from the fifth to the tenth century, and it was in this framework that the kings were obliged to carry on their functions. The customs which had prevailed under the Roman rule were not unlike some of the German customs, and the new institutions which grew out of the fusion have long been a bone of contention between the different schools of historians. One school lays stress upon the Roman origins and shows how vassalage and fiefs developed from the *patrocinium* and *precarium*; the other school derives the vassal relation from the German *comitatus* and points out that the land relation in the fief is the natural outcome of the idea of a gift among the primitive Germans, who were like children, ready to give away anything which they did not desire at the moment, but feeling that they had a perfect right to reclaim the gift if they wanted it. Consequently when the land was distributed among the followers of a German king they had only the tenure and not the ownership, which still was vested theoretically in the king."—D. C. Munro, *Middle Ages*, 395-1272, pp. 31, 120, 127.—See also GAUL: 5th-10th centuries; FRANKS: 500-768; EUROPE: Middle Ages: Influence of feudalism; HEERBAN.

Continental growth.—Decay of free peasantry.—Growth of vassal class.—Influence of invasions.—Dynastic wars.—Rise of vassal states.—Feudal cavalry.—Ravages of the Danes.—Investiture and its symbols.—"The time of Lewis [the Pious] being one in which the central power was rapidly growing weaker, and the independence of the local counts growing more marked, we cannot doubt that the mailed and horsed retainers of these notables must have been continually growing in numbers and importance as compared with the unarmoured infantry of the local levies. The perpetual civil wars which occupied the later years of Lewis' reign are so full of sudden desertions and inexplicable changes from side to side on the part of large bodies of troops, that we see that the self-interest of the counts has become of more importance than the general loyalty of their subjects. Docile obedience to the royal ban has been replaced by the most open treason. Owing to the emperor's foolish liberality to his sons, the realm had four rulers at once, and ambitious nobles could cloak their private schemes by pretending to adhere to one or other of the rebellious young kings. When the will of the local ruler became of more importance than that of the nominal head of the empire, the day of feudalism was beginning to draw nigh. Already in the time of Charles the Great we find the counts accused of pressing hardly upon the smaller freemen, exacting from them illegal impositions and services—misdemeanours against which the capitularies declaim again and again. Under weak rulers like Lewis and his sons the evil was perpetually growing worse. At the same time, the other characteristic sign of feudalism, in its social as opposed to its political aspect—the commendation of an ever-growing proportion of the smaller landholding classes to their greater neighbours—was steadily going forward.

"Probably the heavy burdens of military service on distant frontiers, which Charles had imposed on his subjects, was not one of the least of the causes of the decay of the free peasantry. The duty which had been comparatively light in the lesser realm of the Merovings was immeasurably increased by the

vast extension towards the Elbe and Danube. But the tendencies toward feudalism in the State, with the corresponding tendency towards the depreciation of the national levies of foot-soldiery, would have been comparatively slow in its progress if it had not been suddenly strengthened by new influences from without. The transformation of Western Europe from the military point of view was to a very large extent the direct result of the incursions of the Northmen. The lesser troubles caused by the Magyars on the eastern frontier and the Saracens in Italy were co-operating causes, but not to be compared in importance with the effect of the raids of the Scandinavians. . . . By the year 800 both the Frankish and the English realms possessed an aristocracy, originally dependent on the kings, and wholly official in character—a 'nobility of service.' . . . On the Continent it now included not only actual holders of countships or great offices about the court, but large numbers of persons, both lay and clerical, who held 'beneficia,' feudal grants of land, from the king. [See also BENEFICIUM.] Each of these counts and *vassi* of various sorts had his bands of personal followers, landed or unlanded, *homines casati*, or sub-tenants with holdings of various size. The vassal-class was steadily growing; a family which had once held office and received grants of 'beneficia' did not drop back into the ranks of the ordinary freemen. The class, too, was already tending to encroach on its proper neighbours; the counts were using their official position, the holders of 'beneficia' their less legal but equally efficient powers of bringing pressure to bear on the smaller men. Above all, the Church was extending its boundaries on every side so rapidly, that, as early as 831, Lothar, the son of Lewis the Pious, began special legislation against the handing over of land to the 'dead hand.' When the hideous distress caused by the Danish invasions came to aid the already existing tendency towards feudalisation, the result was easy to foresee. By the end of the tenth century the vast majority of the smaller freemen had passed under the control of their greater neighbours, either by voluntary commendation, or as the result of deliberate encroachment. Nor were the Danish invasions less powerful in hastening the development of the other side of feudalism, the establishment of the counts and dukes as hereditary local potentates, who practically could no longer be displaced by the crown. There was an obvious convenience during the time of trouble in letting the son succeed to the father's government; none would know so well as he the needs and capacities of the district in which he had been brought up. Moreover, there was danger, in those days of incessant dynastic war, in the attempt to remove a powerful noble from his father's post; he might at once transfer his allegiance to some other member of the Carolingian house. Charles the Bald and his short-lived successors habitually bought respite from the peril of the moment by letting the son succeed to his progenitor's office. In the next generation, the counties of West Francia had become hereditary fiefs, in which the right of succession was looked upon as fixed and absolute. In every one of the great vassal States of the later middle age, we find that the commencement of succession within the family starts from the years between the fatal battle of Fontenay and the deposition of Charles the Fat. . . . Now, as we have already seen, the Frankish counts and vassals were accustomed to serve on horseback, and were expected to bring their retainers to the host mounted like themselves, even before the death of Charles the Great. The development of feudalism, therefore, meant the development of cavalry. . . . Dur-

ing the last seventy years of the ninth century, the infantry were always growing less and the cavalry more, just as the freemen were disappearing and the vassals growing ever more numerous. Already, by the middle of the century, the cavalry were the most important arm; in Nithard's account of the manœuvres of his patron Charles the Bald before and after Fontenay, the language used leads us to think that most of the young king's followers must have been mounted. Thirty years later, when this same king invaded Austrasia to snatch territory from his nephew Lewis, he is made to exclaim that 'his army was so great that their horses would drink up the Rhine, so that he might go over dryshod.' The definite date at which we may set the permanent depression of the infantry force in West Francia, is in 806. From this year dates the celebrated clause in the Edict of Pitres, in which Charles orders that every Frank who has a horse, or is rich enough to have one, must come mounted to the host. His words are that, 'pagenses Franci qui caballos habent aut habere possunt cum suis comitibus in hostem pergant,' and no one in future is to spoil a man liable to service of his horse under any pretence. The phrase *pagenses Franci* is evidently intended to cover the surviving freeholders due for service under the count. The 'men' of the *seniores* were already obliged to come horsed, by much older edicts. . . . By the time that the tenth century has arrived, the infantry in West Francia seem wholly to have disappeared; in such battles as the bloody field of Soissons, where King Robert was slain, both armies, without exception, seem to have been composed of mounted men. It is easy to understand the military meaning of the change; it was not merely that the impetus of the mailed horseman alone could break the Danish shield-wall. Almost more important was the fact that the cavalry only could keep up with the swiftly-moving Viking, when he had purveyed himself a horse, and was ranging over the countryside at his wicked will. The local count who could put a few hundred mailed horsemen of approved valour in the field, men bound to him by every tie of discipline and obedience, and practised in arms, was a far more formidable foe to the invader than ten thousand men of the *ban*. . . . The moment that the Frankish cavalry had reached its full development, the career of the Viking was terribly circumscribed. At last, his only method of dealing with it was to learn to fight on horseback himself; the art was acquired too late to influence the general course of history in Western Europe, but by the end of the tenth century the Norman horse was equal to any in Christendom. In the eleventh it was the flower of the chivalry of the first Crusade. . . . The Danish ravages in Germany are of little importance after the year 900; in the Western realm they continued much later, but were never so threatening again as they had been in the years before 886. For the future, the Frankish victories are almost as numerous as those of the Northmen. . . . But it was the new fortifications, even more than the battles, that saved France from utter ruin. When every town had surrounded itself with a ring-wall, and endeavoured to block its river with a fortified bridge-head, the Danes found their sphere of operations much limited. They wanted plunder, not year-long sieges with doubtful success at the end; a gallant resistance like that of Paris in 886, or Sens in 887, not only saved the particular town that was holding out, but was of indirect benefit to every other place that might have to stand a siege hereafter, since it lessened the self-confidence of the Danes, and forced them to contemplate the possibilities of similar failures in the

future. There was little gain in harrying the open country; not only had it been plundered already by fifty previous raids, but now the peasantry flocked into fortified places with all that was worth carrying away. The refuges and strongholds were now numerous enough to afford shelter to the whole countryside; for during several generations, bishops, counts, abbots, and great vassals were hard at work, fortifying every point of vantage. Not only great towns but small were soon wall-girt, and private castles supplemented them as points of resistance. A good deal of this work was only wood-work or palisading, not solid stone; but if properly held, it yet served its purpose."—C. Oman, *History of the art of war*. pp. 87-88, 102-108.—See also MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 15; CRUSADES: Effects and consequences.—"The Franks, like the Lombards, learned the use of cavalry from the Moors or Saracens. Charles Martel was led by his experiences after the battle of Poitiers to the conclusion that only with the help of mounted armies could these enemies be opposed with lasting success. It was between 732 and 758 that the introduction of cavalry service into the Frankish army took place; it had hitherto consisted mainly of infantry. The attempt was first made, and with marked success, in Aquitaine and Septimania; almost contemporaneously also among the Lombards. In order to place the secular nobles in condition to fit out larger masses of cavalry a forced loan from the church was carried through by Charles Martel and his sons, it being under the latter that the matter was first placed upon a legal footing. The nobles received ecclesiastical benefices from the crown and regranted them in the way of sub-loans. The custom of having a 'following' and the old existing relationships of a vassal to his lord furnished a model for the responsibilities of those receiving benefices at first and at second hand. The secular nobles became thus at once vassals of the crown and lords (seigneurs) of those to whom they themselves in turn made grants. The duty of the vassals to do cavalry service was based on the 'commendation'; their fief was not the condition of their doing service but their reward for it. Hence the custom of denominating the fief (Lehn) as a 'fee' (feudum)—a designation which was first applied in southern France, and which in Germany, occasionally in the eleventh and even more frequently in the twelfth century, is used side by side with the older term 'benefice,' until in the course of the first half of the 13th century it completely displaces it. With the further development of cavalry service that of the feudal system kept regular pace. Already in the later Carolingian period Lorraine and Burgundy followed southern France and Italy in becoming feudalized states. To the east of the Rhine on the contrary the most flourishing time of cavalry service and of the feudal system falls in the time of the Hohenstaufens, having undoubtedly been furthered by the Crusades. Here even as late as the middle of the twelfth century the horsemen preferred dismounting and fighting with the sword because they could not yet manage their steeds and the regular cavalry weapons, the shield and the spear, like their western neighbors. But never in Germany did feudalism make its way into daily life as far as it did in France, where the maxim held true: 'nulle terre sans seigneur.' There never was here a lack of considerable allodial possessions, although occasionally, out of respect for the feudal theory, these were put down as 'fiefs of the sun.' The principle, too, was firmly maintained that a fief granted from one's own property was no true fief; for so thoroughly was feudal law the law governing the

realm that a true fief could only be founded on the fief above it, in such manner that the king was always the highest feudal lord. That was the reason why a fief without homage, that is, without the relationship of vassalage and the need of doing military service for the state, could not be looked upon as a true fief. The knight's fee only (*feudum militare*) was such, and only a man of knightly character, who united a knightly manner of living with knightly pedigree, was 'perfect in feudal law,'—in possession, namely, of full feudal rights or of the 'Heerschild.' Whether or not he had been personally dubbed knight made no difference; the fief of a man who was still a squire was also a true fief. . . . The object of the feudal grant could be anything which assured a regular emolument,—especially land, tithes, rents, and other sources of income, tolls and jurisdictions, churches and monasteries; above all, offices of state. In course of time the earlier distinction between the office and the fief which was meant to go with the office ceased to be made. . . . The formal course of procedure when granting was a combination, exactly on the old plan, of the act of commendation, now called *Hulde*, which was the basis of vassalage, and the act of conferring (investiture) which established the real right of the man to the fief. . . . The *Hulde* consisted in giving the hand (= the performing of *mannschaft*, *homagium*, *hominium*, *Hulde*) often combined with the giving of a kiss and the taking of an oath (the swearing of *fidelitas* or *Hulde*) by which the man swore to be 'true, loyal and willing' as regarded his lord. The custom earlier connected with commendation of presenting a weapon had lost its former significance and had become merged in the ceremony of investiture: the weapon had become a symbol of investiture. . . . These symbols of investiture were in part the same as in territorial law: the glove, the hat, the cape, the staff, the twig; occasionally probably also a ring, but quite especially the sword or spear. As regarded the principalities it had quite early become the custom to fasten a banner on the end of the spear in token of the royal rights of supremacy that were to be conferred. Thus the banner became the sole symbol of investiture in the granting of secular principalities and the latter themselves came to be called 'banner fiefs.' The installation of the ecclesiastical princes by the king took place originally without any distinction being made between the office and the appanage of the office. It was done by conferring the pastoral staff (*ferula*, *virga pastoralis*) of the former bishop or abbot; in the case of bishops since the time of Henry III, by handing the ring and crosier. In the course of the struggle concerning the ecclesiastical investitures both sides came to the conviction that a distinction could be made between the appanaging of the church with secular estates and jurisdictions on the one hand, and the office itself and the immediate appurtenances of the church—the so-called 'sacred objects' on the other. A union was arrived at in the Concordat of Worms which provided that for the granting of the former (the so-called *Regalia*) the secular symbol of the sceptre might replace the purely ecclesiastical symbols. As this custom was retained even after the incorporation of the ecclesiastical principalities in the feudalized state-system, the ecclesiastical principalities, as opposed to the secular banner-fiefs, were distinguished as 'sceptre-fiefs.'—Schröder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte* (1889) pp. 381-388.—'By the time at which we have arrived (the Hohenstaufen Period) the knights themselves, 'ordo equestris major,' had come to form a class so distinct and so exclusive that no outsiders could enter it except in the course of three generations

or by special decree of the king. Only to those whose fathers and grandfathers were of knightly origin could fiefs now be granted; only such could engage in judicial combat, in knightly sports and, above all, in the tournament or joust. . . . Feudalism did much to awaken a moral sentiment; fidelity, truth and sincerity were the suppositions upon which the whole system rested, and a great solidarity of interests came to exist between the lord and his vassals. The latter might bring no public charges against their master in matters affecting his life, limb or honor; on three grand occasions, in case of captivity, the knighting of his son, the marriage of his daughter, they were obliged to furnish him with pecuniary aid. Knightly honor and knightly graces come in the twelfth century to be a matter of fashion and custom; a new and important element, too, the adoration of woman, is introduced. [See also CHIVALRY.] A whole literature arises that has to do almost exclusively with knightly prowess and with knightly love."—E. F. Henderson, *History of Germany in the Middle Ages*, pp. 424-425.—See also ENGLAND: 958; 959-975; 1066-1071; 1154-1189; FRANCE: 987-1327; SCOTLAND: 10th-11th centuries; 1066-1003; SWITZERLAND: 536-843; BELGIUM: Ancient and medieval history; YEOMEN; WOMAN'S RIGHTS: 300-1400; 1100-1400; SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: 1000-1300; 1200-1600; IRELAND: 13th-14th centuries; 1269; COMMUNE, MEDIEVAL: 12th century; JERSEY AND GUERNSEY.

ALSO IN: J. T. Abdy, *Feudalism*.—J. H. Round, *Feudal England*.

Disastrous effects of private wars.—Truce of God.—'Feudalism, it has been said, 'was not a disease.' It was a spontaneous stage in the development of society, and at a time of toppling governments and barbarian invasions it performed a necessary service in the maintenance of some sort of social bond. But feudalism was always liable to the disease of anarchy. Each feudal lord upon his estates was in effect sovereign, and the feudal tie was wholly insufficient to maintain harmony. Private war was a recognized right of a feudal chief. . . . So obvious were the disastrous effects of it, and so incapable was the state of putting a stop to it, that other expedients were tried to destroy it or mitigate it. One of these was the Truce of God. The Church, the best organized of all mediæval institutions, attempted to do what the rulers of Europe were unable to do. First the attempt was made absolutely to prohibit private war, and then to limit it within certain periods. The kings often gave the movement their support. In 1085 the emperor Henry IV. proclaimed the Truce of God for Germany. His object, he said, was, as a permanent peace could not be established, at least to exempt certain days from warfare. It was ordained therefore 'that from the first day of the advent of our Lord until the end of the day of Epiphany, and from the beginning of Septuagesima until the eighth day after Pentecost, and on every Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday until sunrise on Monday, peace shall be observed.' The Church was strong, but not strong enough to restrain with a word the warlike passions of feudal barons, though the Truce of God had some effect in limiting and mitigating warfare."—A. J. Grant, *History of Europe*, pp. 341-342.—See also TRUCE OF GOD.

Decentralizing effect.—Influence on ownership of land.—Seigneurial rights.—Appanages.—'Of the two dominant systems which the middle ages had produced, the Empire and feudalism,

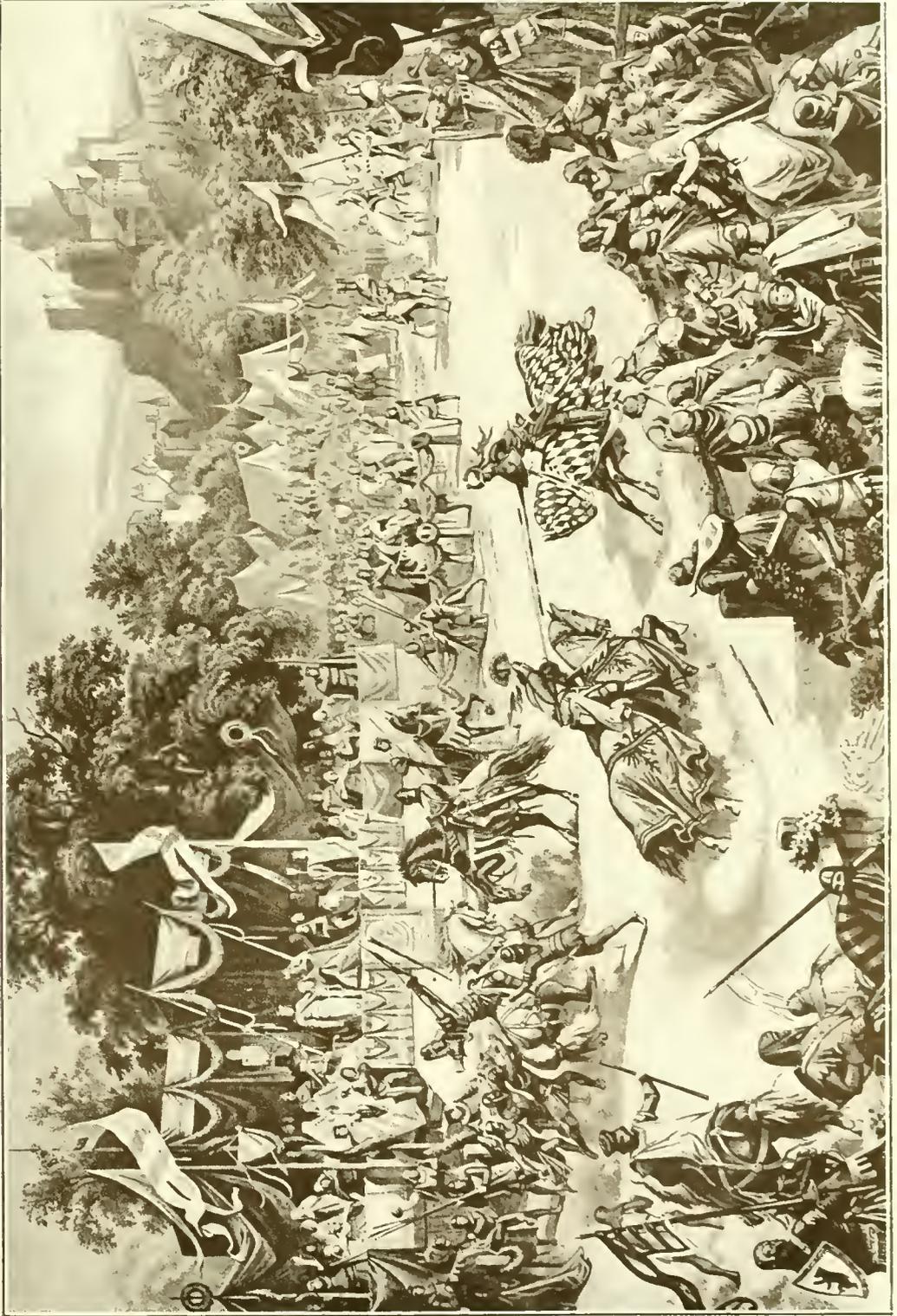
the second . . . almost wholly overpowered the first. It . . . divided Europe into a complex of more or less independent states, infinitely various in size and condition. These were bound together by ties, strong in theory, but in practice weak and provocative of endless strife. So long as feudal principles and practices prevailed it was impossible to establish even considerable kingdoms, much less a European empire. And social progress was scarcely less impossible so long as the class distinction between noble and non-noble which feudalism imposed upon society was maintained, so long as Europe was divided horizontally rather than vertically and knights of whatever nationality had more in common with their order in other lands than with their own vassals. . . . Little by little society tended to divide itself into two classes, the noble and the non-noble, proprietor and tenant, lord and peasant. Little by little government tended to associate itself with landholding; and, as the middle ages went on, the institution of feudalism spread gradually through the continent. It was a form of society and government based on the possession of land, in which the lower classes were bound to the soil and looked to their lords for protection, justice, and some measure of order, in return for their services as tillers of the soil or followers in war. In turn the lord was bound to his overlord by obligation of military service, and the feudal chain led, in theory at least, to the king himself. . . . [But the power of the king was little more than theoretical over the great feudatory dukes, counts and margraves, who in their own territories ruled as monarchs, made treaties between themselves, or waged war against one another, or against the king. Even at the time of the French Revolution some of the great rulers still had the right to exercise both the high justice and the low.] Moreover, feudalism was productive of a system of society which over-spread western Europe with a multitude of estates or manors. [See also AGRICULTURE: Medieval: Manorial system.] Here, for the most part, the lesser nobility lived, and many of them, like their superiors, possessed one or more castles, built for defense, surrounded by the cottages of their tenants, and forming independent and almost wholly self-supporting social and economic units. Here and there, at places convenient for military purposes or more often for trade, had risen towns, many dating from even pre-Roman times, walled and moated like the castles. Scattered no less widely over the continent, as time went on, were monastic houses, often of great magnificence, surrounded by the lands belonging to the order which they represented. About them, too, had not seldom grown up villages like those about the castles. To the great landlords, nobles and clergy alike, belonged not merely the land but the chief public utilities of that simple agricultural society, the mill at which the grain was ground, the smithy at which the tools and armor were made or repaired, often the ovens in which the bread was baked [the seigniorial rights of later date]. Under their lords' direction roads were kept up by the tenants, to the nobles and monastic orders went the tolls and charges of the trade carried on within their domains, by pedlars or by fairs, which brought them in touch with the outside world. Gradually the towns emancipated themselves from this overlordship."—W. C. Abbott, *Expansion of Europe*, pp. 8, 13-15.—Growing out of the feudal system came also the appanage system by which sections of territory were lopped off to provide for the younger children of rulers. This practice produced not only some of the great duchies and

counties in France and Germany, but also many of the minor states of the empire. These were a source of weakness to the crown; were used as pawns in marriage, and helped to create political changes, as for instance Cleves, Juliers and Berg, which had so much influence in Prussian history.—See also APPANAGE.

Organization.—Political and economic tenures.—"In considering the question of the . . . feudal system . . . it is first necessary to determine the sense in which the word feudal is used. In ordinary practice the term is most commonly used somewhat loosely and vaguely to include all kinds of dependent relationships, economic or political, without reference to their institutional character. . . . But the student of institutions cannot be contented with the vague and general. . . . If the word carries with it the meaning systematic, it is a wrong word to use, for there was always much of variety in the details of feudalism as seen in different countries, or even in different parts of the same country. But feudalism did bring together the relationships which belonged to it, from top to bottom, into something like an organized whole which may be called in that sense a system. But little study of the feudalism of Western Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is necessary in order to see that it united in itself two quite different sets of relations and interests. On one side we have the feudalism of lords and ladies, of knights and vassals, of courts and castles and tournaments. But the main business in the world of this sort of feudalism was not chivalry which reached its highest development when this sort of feudalism had almost disappeared. Its real business was to furnish some degree of political organization to society at a time when the lack of common ideas and the break-down of the means of intercommunication made a centralized government in a large state an impossibility. This side of feudalism was essentially political. The services which the vassal paid to his lord for the fief which he had received from him were political. By putting these services together the army was formed, and the law court, council and legislature constituted. As defence was the one great need of the time, the aspect of this side of feudalism was strikingly military, but providing for defence was by no means its only function. The baron was also the active agent by whom all the operations of government were carried on. From his class the administrative officers were drawn, and the justices, and the great officers of the crown, when a real central government began to be reconstituted. It was during the time when a central government could exist in scarcely anything more than name that the great service of feudalism was performed and then, if order was maintained and law enforced, it was due to the local baron whose allegiance to those above him in rising tiers of mesne lords to the king kept alive the idea and formal existence of the state for better times. This sort of feudalism grew out of Roman institutional practices at the time when the Empire was falling to pieces. They developed by very slow degrees, and it is only towards the end of the ninth century that we can say that feudalism as a political system had really been formed. It was finally perfected in the tenth century, and the great feudal age of Western Europe was the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It declined rapidly in the thirteenth and disappeared in the fourteenth century, leaving as its social legacy to the future the modern systems of nobility. On the other hand, this political organization, when it began to take possession of society, found already existing an organization of agriculture which had been formed during the

same period as itself and under the influence of the same general causes but out of original elements and institutions quite unlike its own, and upon this agricultural organization it based itself. . . . Many features of this organization seem superficially parallel to features of political feudalism. It made much of dependent land tenures and of persons in dependent relation to a lord; and it enforced the private jurisdiction of the lord over his unfree tenants and occasionally over some freemen. But the essential institutional characteristics and the purposes sought were wholly different. Agriculture was the chief investment of capital possible to the time; it was almost the only form of industry that had survived; and it was the agriculturist who kept society alive during the feudal age. The baron who paid the rent for his fief in political services to the state obtained the income which enabled him to perform them and to maintain his rank from the economic returns of his domain manors, and the king at the head of the state obtained his chief income in the same way from his domain manors. These two sides of feudalism had not merely a different origin in institutions of the later Empire which were distinct from one another, but they remained distinct in institutions and law so long as they existed side by side. The feudal age never confused them. It always maintained sharply the difference between military tenure and economic tenure, between noble tenure and the servile holding. A given piece of land was as a rule held at the same moment under both kinds of tenure by two different men. The baron held the manor from the king as a knight's fee by the service, let us say, of one knight at his own expense. The greater part of the same manor was held at the same time by servile and free tenants whose economic tenures furnished the labor by which the manor was cultivated and its income obtained. But each tenure was easily distinguished from the other, and each was regulated by its own rules of law, enforced in its own distinct courts. As these two sides of feudalism were distinct in origin and remained distinct during the great period of their history, so their ultimate fate was different. Political feudalism had begun to disappear by the middle of the thirteenth century because the state was discovering better methods of getting its business done, and it did not survive the fourteenth century. Better methods of agricultural organization were discovered more slowly, and the manorial system remained in existence with its law and its courts for two hundred years longer. It was even brought over into some of the American colonies in the seventeenth century, and we now have the printed records of colonial manor courts. . . . A clear perception of the distinction between political and economic feudalism . . . is essential to any understanding of the system in operation, but it is not easy to gain. It was political feudalism which was new to England [at the Conquest], and in constitutional history Norman feudalism must be conceived of not chiefly as a social organization, nor as a method of giving endowment and rank to a national nobility, but as a means of carrying on government. Economic feudalism already existed in England considerably developed, but as a result of the Conquest it was probably extended geographically throughout the kingdom and it was perfected and made more definite. Let us begin with this proposition: During the feudal age two different men held the same piece of land, by two different kinds of tenure, under two different systems of law. On each of these two sides of feudalism the unit is the same piece of land. On the economic side it is known as the manor, on the political as the knight's fee. As a

manor it is a unit in the agricultural organization of the kingdom, and its purpose is economic, that is, it is regarded as a source of income. Its cultivated area is divided into two portions, the lord's domain and the 'tenures,' or holdings of the free and servile dwellers in the manor. The tenants in the manor hold their lands of the lord by a variety of services and payments in kind to which they are held. In the eleventh century actual money payments were relatively unimportant. Payments in kind were of real value to the lord, and the labor services which were due him were used to cultivate his own domain lands, from which his chief income was derived. The services of the free tenants differed at this time from those of the servile tenants chiefly in the fact that they were fixed in amount and could not be varied at the will of the lord. Free and servile alike must attend and constitute the court of the manor, or domanial court, from which the lord obtained considerable income. This court, however, had no governmental function, except the simplest police justice, corresponding to that of the township only, and in all the organization of the manor, and all the services rendered to the lord, the purpose was plainly economic. It was to furnish the lord with the income which enabled him to perform the feudal obligations which he had assumed towards his lord and to maintain his place in the society of his time. A manor so held 'in hand' by the lord, and used for income, was called a 'domain manor,' the word 'domain' being used in a slightly different sense from its use with reference to the domain land within the manor; but its use was economic, contrasting the manors used for income with those which the lords granted to their vassals on a tenure of feudal services. All ranks in the feudal hierarchy must have their domain manors from the simple knight whose only manor must be held in domain, through the various grades of barons who must keep 'in hand' manors enough to maintain their rank, to the king at the top whose domain manors greatly exceeded in number those of the richest baron, partly because he must meet some of the expenses of the state from their income. This body of domain manors, with the economic services by which the lands were held within the manors, and the customary law by which the holdings were regulated in the domanial courts, is the economic feudal system. The political feudal system was a coördinate, coincident scheme, in which the same manors were held, but by a quite different set of services, regulated by their own law. The king was at the head of this hierarchy also. As such he was the owner of all the land of the kingdom, or sometimes to be entirely logical the feudal lawyers said that he held the kingdom of God. All other holders of land at any rate were tenants, tenants in chief of the king or of some mesne lord who stood between them and the king. Of the land of the kingdom, which came by degrees all of it to be considered as contained in manors, the king retained 'in hand' a certain number of manors as domain manors. The others he divided out among his tenants in chief according to their rank, great barons and minor barons. The services which he obtained in return from these tenants were political in character and by them the state got the larger part of its business done. The most common service was military, and the feudal system was the chief dependence of the state for its army. In the same way, as the payment of another feudal service, it got its central great council or curia regis which was at once national council, legislature and highest court. Even when the central court began to cast off by differentiation judicial institutions which were of a more fixed character, practically permanent



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and becoming professional, the idea still lingered that the justices were barons and the peers of all other barons. Even the central administrative machinery was manned and operated chiefly by vassals of the king who were paid not salaries but manors to be held by these services. The practice of the time distinguished between manors held by services of this kind and those held by military services. The former were called serjeanties, grand serjeanties if the services were clearly honorable in character, petty serjeanties if the services were insignificant or more nearly of a menial nature, but serjeanties were feudal, though not military, tenures. They endowed the civil service of the feudal age. The tenant in chief on receiving his fief did the same thing with it that the king had done. Let us say for example's sake that the king grants to the earl of Surrey 80 manors for the service of 40 knights. The earl retains 30 manors as his domain manors and enfeoffs vassals in the remaining fifty for the service of 45 knights, for it was the general rule that the great baron enfeoffed more knights than his service to the king called for, so as to increase his own social and political consideration. This process of enfeoffing rear-vassals was called sub-infeudation. The earl's vassals did the same with their fiefs and so on down to the unit, . . . the simple knight holding a single manor. Each of these vassals from top to bottom assumed not merely the obligation of military service but also of all the customary feudal services, including that of court service, and each lord maintained his own baronial court, if he had feudal tenants enough to justify it, in which the cases of his vassals concerning their holdings and their relations to one another and to himself were judged according to the feudal law. The customary feudal services due from the vassal to his lord included certain payments of money which must be carefully distinguished from payments of an economic character. When the vassal as heir succeeded to the fief he paid a 'relief,' a *relevium*, a taking up again of the fief, which meant that in theory the ownership of the lord entered between the occupation of his vassal and that of the heir. In practice in the case of the tenants in chief the ownership of the king did enter and actual possession, called 'primer seisin,' or first possession, was taken of the fief by the officers of the king. It was only on payment of the relief that the heir obtained recognition and the right to perform homage, swear fealty, and receive the formal investiture which gave him legal possession of his fief. That is, the relief was a payment intended to keep alive in every generation the fact that the holder of the land was a tenant merely and not the owner."—G. B. Adams, *Constitutional history of England*, pp. 41-45, 61-65.—See also AGRICULTURE: Medieval; Manorial system.—"After the feudal system of tenure had been fully established, all lands were held subject to certain additional obligations, which were due either to the King, (not as sovereign, but as feudal lord) from the original grantees, called tenants-in-chief (*tenentes in capite*), or to the tenants-in-chief themselves from their under tenants. Of these obligations the most honourable was that of knight-service. This was the tenure by which the King granted out fiefs to his followers, and by which they in turn provided for their own military retainers. The lands of the bishops and dignified ecclesiastics, and of most of the religious foundations, were also held by this tenure. A few exceptions only were made in favour of lands which had been immemorially held in frankalmoign, or freeholds. On the grant of a fief, the tenant was publicly invested with the land by a symbolical or

actual delivery, termed livery of seisin. He then did homage, so called from the words used in the ceremony: 'Je devoiege votre homme' ['I become your man']. . . . In the case of a subtenant (*vassor* [or *vassal*]), his oath of fealty was guarded by a reservation of the faith due to his sovereign lord the King. For every portion of land of the annual value of £20, which constituted a knight's fee [in England], the tenant was bound, whenever required, to render the services of a knight properly armed and accoutred, to serve in the field forty days at his own expense. . . . Tenure by knight-service was also subject to several other incidents of a burdensome character. . . . There was a species of tenancy in chief by Grand Serjeanty, . . . whereby the tenant was bound, instead of serving the King generally in his wars, to do some special service in his own proper person, as to carry the King's banner or lance, or to be his champion, butler, or other officer at his coronation. . . . Grants of land were also made by the King to his inferior followers and personal attendants, to be held by meaner services. . . . Hence, probably, arose tenure by Petit Serjeanty, though later on we find that term restricted to tenure 'in capite' by the service of rendering yearly some implement of war to the King. . . . Tenure in Free Socage (which still subsists under the modern denomination of Freehold, and may be regarded as the representative of the primitive alodial ownership) denotes, in its most general and extensive signification, a tenure by any certain and determinate service, as to pay a fixed money rent, or to plough the lord's land for a fixed number of days in the year. . . . Tenure in Burgage was a kind of town socage. It applied to tenements in any ancient borough, held by the burgesses, of the King or other lord, by fixed rents or services. . . . This tenure, which still subsists, is subject to a variety of local customs, the most remarkable of which is that of borough-English, by which the burgage tenement descends to the youngest instead of to the eldest son. Gavelkind is almost confined to the county of Kent. . . . The lands are held by suit of court and fealty, a service in its nature certain. The tenant in Gavelkind retained many of the properties of alodial ownership: his lands were devisable by will; in case of intestacy they descended to all his sons equally; they were not liable to escheat for felony. . . . and they could be aliened by the tenant at the age of fifteen. [See also ALOD.] Below Free Socage was the tenure in Villeinage, by which the agricultural labourers, both free and servile, held the land which was to them in lieu of money wages."—T. P. Taswell-Langmead, *English constitutional history*, pp. 58-65.—See also FRANCE: 1314-1328; 1461-1468; 1780; Survey of France on the eve of the revolution; Résumé of causes; SERFDOM; CAPITALISM: 15th-10th centuries; CORVÉE; HUNGARY: 1825-1844; BOUVINES, BATTLE OF; BRITANY: 1401.

ALSO IN: F. W. Maitland, *Constitutional history of England*.

Feudal aids.—"In theory the duty of the noble vassal towards his lord was a purely personal one and to commute it for a money payment was a degradation of the whole feudal relation. The payment of money, especially if it were a fixed and regular payment, carried with it a certain ignoble idea against which, in the form of state taxation, the feudal spirit rebelled to the last. When the vassal agreed to pay something to his lord, he called it, not a tax, but an 'aid' (*auxilium*), and made it generally payable, not regularly, like the tax-bill of the citizen, but only upon certain occasions—a present, as it were, coming out of his good-will and not from compulsion; e. g., whenever

a fief was newly granted, when it changed its lord, and sometimes when it changed its vassal, it was from the beginning customary to acknowledge the investiture by a small gift to the lord, primarily as a symbol of the grant; then, as the institution grew and manners became more luxurious, the gift increased in value and was thought of as an actual price for the investiture, until finally, at the close of our period, it suffered the fate of all similar contributions and was changed into a definite money payment, still retaining, however, its early name of 'relief.' . . . The occasions for levying the aids were various but always, in theory, of an exceptional sort. The journey of a lord to the court of his suzerain, or to Rome, or to join a crusade, the knighting of his eldest son, the marriage of his eldest daughter, and his ransom from imprisonment are among the most frequent of the feudal 'aids.' The right of the lord to be entertained and provisioned, together with all his following, was one of the most burdensome, and at the same time, most difficult to regulate. Its conversion into a money-tax was, perhaps for this reason, earlier than that of many other of the feudal contributions."—E. Emerton, *Medieval Europe*, ch. 14.—See also TAXATION: Growth from earliest times; LABOR REMUNERATION: Development of wage system.

Administration of justice.—"The administration of justice was not more successful under feudalism than the maintenance of order; and nowhere is there a greater contrast between the Middle Ages and the classical world on the one hand and the modern world on the other than in the character of trials and the conception of justice. The administration of justice was in the hands of the feudal noble and the vassals whom he called to his council. His superior in the feudal hierarchy would sometimes interfere, but each nobleman was tenacious of his judicial rights, which were a valuable property. M. Seignobos writes of justice under the feudal régime as follows: 'The court makes no effort to probe the question to the bottom and to determine what really has happened; it judges not according to equity and reason, but according to the forms established by custom. Feudal justice is essentially an affair of forms, and has its strict rules, like a game; the only business of the judges is to see that the rules are observed, to judge the points and proclaim the winner. Every trial consists of several acts consecrated by tradition and accompanied by a solemn form of words. A movement or a word contrary to the rule is enough to condemn the litigant. At Lille a man who moved his hand, which rested upon the gospels, while he took his oath, at once lost his case.' The most characteristic of the legal processes of feudal society were the ordeal and the trial by battle. There were many forms of ordeal, all irrational and superstitious. . . . Reason, evidence, justice had here no place. The function of the court was merely to decide the conditions and to register the result. The practice must have given an evil and dangerous advantage to mere physical strength and placed no check upon the bully. When the men of the Middle Ages, accustomed to such methods of procedure, became acquainted with the principles and methods of Roman law, they were amazed at the difference. For Roman law acted in the interest of society at large, sought after the truth, balanced evidence, and aimed at justice. It seemed to the twelfth and thirteenth century like a new revelation, and the admiration for Roman law partly accounts for the readiness of many of the best minds of Europe to accept the claims of the holy Roman Empire."—A. J. Grant, *History of Europe*, pp. 342-343.—See also COURTS: England: Origin and development;

Lack of uniformity; EUROPE: Modern period: Rise of middle classes; FINLAND: 1018; GERMANY: Feudal system; ARBITRATION, INTERNATIONAL: Middle Ages; PARLEMENT OF PARIS; ADMINISTRATIVE LAW: In France.

Feudal organization in New France. See CANADA: 1750: New France at the time of the conquest.

Feudal system in Asia.—"The authority of the Emperors [in China] during the early centuries was slight, the country being partitioned among feudal princes or dukes, often at war with one another, and many of them at times more powerful than their sovereign-lord. Thus Honan, which was under the direct rule of the Emperor, was the only province in which his authority was much felt, though as Son of Heaven he was . . . in theory the divinely-appointed ruler of the whole world, to whom all other monarchs are tributary. The result of this system was that the country was in a chronic state of civil war, the central authority being far too weak to maintain order among the turbulent dukes."—I. C. Hannah, *Brief history of eastern Asia*, p. 9.—See also CHINA: Origin of the people.—"Ching [under the Chou dynasty] was, in fact, gradually resolved into a group of many states, virtually independent of each other, owing only a nominal allegiance to the emperor, and organized on a basis corresponding somewhat to the feudal system of Europe. . . . The closing centuries of the dynasty are known technically as the period of the 'Contending States.' The different principalities that made up the empire fell to warring with one another on a gigantic scale with fearful results in carnage and in destruction of property. The imperial dignity was reduced to a shadow. Gradually by sheer strength and skill out of the struggle emerged as a leader the state of Ch'in. . . . The princes of Ch'in, . . . finally assumed the imperial throne. . . . The first of the new line to take the title of emperor . . . felt it to be necessary to found the Chinese state entirely anew. To this end he . . . [endeavored] to abolish the last traces of feudalism and to make of the empire a highly centralized monarchy. . . . [Under the founder of the Han dynasty however,] the feudalism of the Chou was reinstated, but was much modified and curtailed. The power of the emperor was supreme and under a number of vigorous monarchs became increasingly such in practice as well as in theory."—K. S. Latourette, *Development of China*, pp. 20, 26, 27, 31.

A type of feudalism was also instituted in India, under the Moguls. "Once firmly seated on the throne, Akbar began the series of conquests which have made his name famous. . . . The vast Empire thus built up, larger, probably, than had ever before existed in India, was most carefully organized. Amirs, absolutely responsible for all their actions to the Sultan—or Great Mogul, as the sovereigns of this Line are usually called—were set over the conquered provinces; while, to minimise the hatred between Moslem and Hindu, a feudal system was instituted to include them both on an equal footing, Amir being the title of the highest grade."—I. C. Hannah, *Brief history of eastern Asia*, p. 113.—See also INDIA: 1300-1605; MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 35.

Feudal system in Hawaii. See HAWAIIAN ISLANDS: Discovery and early history.

Japanese system.—**Bushido.** See JAPAN: Religions; 1150-1190; 1641-1853; 1868-1894.

ALSO IN: G. B. Adams, *Civilization during Middle Ages*.—M. Ashley, *Origin of property in land*.—J. F. Baldwin, *Scutage and knight-service in England*.—E. Emerton, *Introduction to Middle Ages*.—Idem, *Medieval Europe*.—F. W. Maitland, *Constitutional history of England*.—Idem, *Domes-*

day Book and beyond.—*Idem*, *English law before the time of Edward I.*—J. H. Robinson, *Medieval and modern times.*—W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, v. 1.—P. Vindograft, *Vilainage in England*.

FEUERBACH, Ludwig Andreas (1804-1872), German philosopher. A materialist who investigated into the nature of religion and its relation to philosophy. Among his chief works are "Das Wesen des Christentums," and "Das Wesen der Religion." See HISTORY: 33.

FEUILLANTS, club and party of France prominent during the Revolution. See FRANCE: 1790; 1791 (October).

FEZ, chief commercial city of Morocco, south of the Strait of Gibraltar.

9th century.—Founding of the city. See EDRISITES.

1912.—Mutiny of Moorish troops.—Massacre of French troops. See MOROCCO: 1911-1914.

FEZZAN, the Phazania of the ancient Romans; a part of the Sahara region in northern Africa became in 1842 a dependency of the Turkish province of Tripoli; it passed to Italy in 1912, when Tripoli was annexed by that country.

FIALA, Anthony (1869-), American Arctic explorer. See ARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1901-1909.

FIANNA EIRINN, ancient militia of Erin, famous in old Irish romance and song.—T. Moore, *History of Ireland*, v. 1, ch. 7.

FIAT MONEY, currency which has no intrinsic value. It is merely a government's promise to pay. Such money depreciates in value whenever, for any cause, there is doubt about the ability of the government to fulfill its promise. If the government is overthrown, the fiat money is likely to be worthless. Examples of such money are the "Continental" money of the time of the American Revolution, the French "Assignats" of 1789-1796, and the notes of the Confederate States of America.

FICHTE, Johann Gottlieb (1762-1814), German philosopher, the leader of the new idealism, the aim of which was the "reform of life no less than the reform of science and philosophy. . . . [He] wrote a number of works on the *Science of Knowledge*, *Natural Right*, and *Ethics*. . . . Fichte's basal thought . . . is the notion of freedom, the idea that the will, or ego, is not a thing among things, a mere link in the causal chain, but free self-determining activity. . . . The study of knowledge will . . . prove to be the most important subject of philosophical inquiry, and to this Fichte constantly addressed himself during his strenuous career. The *Wissenschaftslehre* is the key to all knowledge: in it he offers a comprehensive and detailed account of the conditions, principles or presuppositions of both theoretical and practical reason."—F. Thilly, *History of philosophy*, pp. 434, 433.—See also ETHICS: 18th-19th centuries; GERMANY: 1808.

FICTION: American. See AMERICAN LITERATURE: 1790-1860.

English. See ENGLISH LITERATURE: 1530-1660; 1660-1780.

FIDENÆ, ancient city on the Tiber, at war with Rome until the latter destroyed it, 426 B. C.

FIEFS. See FEUDALISM: Continental growth; Organization.

FIELD, Cyrus West (1819-1892), American financier, promoter of the transatlantic cable. See ELECTRICAL DISCOVERY: Telegraphy and telephony: Telegraph: 1754-1866.

FIELD, Stephen Johnson (1816-1899), American jurist, chief justice of California, 1859-1863; associate justice of the Supreme Court, 1863-1867. See SUPREME COURT: 1866-1873; 1867-1884.

FIELD OF LIES.—Ludwig, or Louis, the Pious, son and successor of Charlemagne, was a man of gentle character, and good intentions—too amiable and too honest in his virtues for the commanding of a great empire in times so rude. He lost the control of his state, and his family, alike. His own sons headed a succession of revolts against his authority. The second of these insurrections occurred in the year 833. Father and sons confronted one another with hostile armies, on the plain of Rothfeld, not far from Colmar in Alsace. Intrigue instead of battle settled the controversy for the time being. The adherents of the old emperor were all enticed away from him. To signify the treacherous methods by which this defection was brought about, the "Rothfeld" (Red-field) on which it occurred received the name of "Lügenfeld," or Field of Lies.—J. C. L. de Sismondi, *French under the Carolingians* (tr. by Bellingham), ch. 7.

FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.—The place of the famous meeting of Henry VIII of England with Francis I of France, which took place in the summer of 1520 (see FRANCE: 1520-1523), is notable in history, from the magnificence of the preparations made for it, as the Field of the Cloth of Gold. It was at Guisnes, or between Guisnes and Arde, near Calais (then English territory). "Guisnes and its castle offered little attraction, and if possible less accommodation, to the gay throng now to be gathered within its walls. . . . But on the castle green, within the limits of a few weeks, and in the face of great difficulties, the English artists of that day contrived a summer palace, more like a vision of romance, the creation of some fairy dream (if the accounts of eye-witnesses of all classes may be trusted), than the dull every-day reality of clay-born bricks and mortar. No 'palace of art' in these secluded climates of the West ever so truly deserved its name. . . . The palace was an exact square of 328 feet. It was pierced on every side with oriel windows and clerestories curiously glazed, the mullions and posts of which were overlaid with gold. An embattled gate, ornamented on both sides with statues representing men in various attitudes of war, and flanked by an embattled tower, guarded the entrance. From this gate to the entrance of the palace arose in long ascent a sloping daïs or hall-pace, along which were grouped 'images of sore and terrible countenances,' in armour of argentine or bright metal. At the entrance, under an embowed landing place, facing the great doors, stood 'antique' (classical) figures girt with olive branches. The passages, the roofs of the galleries from place to place and from chamber to chamber, were ceiled and covered with white silk, fluted and embowed with silken hanging of divers colours and braided cloths, 'which showed like bullions of fine burnished gold.' The roofs of the chambers were studded with roses, set in lozenges, and diapered on a ground of fine gold. Panels enriched with antique carving and gilt bosses covered the spaces between the windows; whilst all along the corridors and from every window hung tapestry of silk and gold, embroidered with figures. . . . To the palace was attached a spacious chapel, still more sumptuously adorned. Its altars were hung with cloth of gold tissue embroidered with pearls; cloth of gold covered the walls and desks. . . . Outside the palace gate, on the greensward, stood a gilt fountain, of antique workmanship, with a statue of Bacchus 'birlyng the wine.' Three runlets, fed by secret conduits hid beneath the earth, spouted claret, hypocras, and water into as many silver cups, to quench the thirst of all comers. . . . In long array, in the plain beyond, 2,800 tents stretched their white canvas before the eyes of the spectator, gay

with the pennons, badges, and devices of the various occupants; whilst miscellaneous followers, in tens of thousands, attracted by profit or the novelty of the scene, camped on the grass and filled the surrounding slopes, in spite of the severity of provost-marshal and reiterated threats of mutilation and chastisement. . . . From the 4th of June, when Henry first entered Guisnes, the festivities continued with unabated splendour for twenty days. . . . The two kings parted on the best of terms, as the world thought.—J. S. Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, ch. 12.

ALSO IN: Lady Jackson, *Court of France in the 16th century*, v. 1, ch. 11-12.—J. Pardoe, *Court and reign of Francis I*, v. 1, ch. 14.

FIELD SCHOOLS, Virginia. See **EDUCATION**; **Modern**; 19th century: United States: Evolution of the public school system.

FIELDING, Henry (1707-1754), English novelist and dramatist. His plays, written in his early life led to the passage of the Licensing Act of 1737 because of their bold satire on the ministry. His lasting fame, however, rests upon his great novel, "Tom Jones" which gives a detailed picture of English life in town and country. See **ENGLISH LITERATURE**: 1660-1780; **DRAMA**: 1660-1800.

FIELDS, Open and common. See **MANORS**.

FIERA DI PRIMIERO, town in southwestern Tyrol, acquired by Italy by the Treaty of St. Germain, 1019. See **WORLD WAR**: 1918: IV. Austro-Italian theater: c, 12.

FIESCHI, Giuseppe Marco (1790-1836), Corsican adventurer, conspired against the life of Louis Philippe, July, 1835. See **FRANCE**: 1830-1840.

FIESCO FAMILY, or Fieschi, Genoa. See **ITALY**: 1313-1330.

Conspiracy and its failure. See **GENOA**: 1528-1559.

FIESOLE, identified with ancient Etruscan city of Fæsulæ, and situated about three miles northeast of Florence. See **FLORENCE**: Origin and name.

FIFTEEN, The, Jacobite rebellion of 1715. See **SCOTLAND**: 1715.

FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT. See **U. S. A.**: 1860-1870.

FIFTH MONARCHY MEN.—One of the most extreme and fanatical of the politico-religious sects or factions which rose in England during the commonwealth and the protectoral reign of Cromwell, was that of the so-called Fifth Monarchy Men, of whom Major-General Harrison was the chief. Their belief is thus described by Carlyle: "The common mode of treating Universal History, . . . not yet entirely fallen obsolete in this country, though it has been abandoned with much ridicule everywhere else for half a century now, was to group the Aggregate Transactions of the Human Species into Four Monarchies: the Assyrian Monarchy of Nebuchadnezzar and Company; the Persian of Cyrus and ditto; the Greek of Alexander; and lastly the Roman. These I think were they; but am no great authority on the subject. Under the dregs of this last, or Roman Empire, which is maintained yet by express name in Germany, 'Das heilige Römische Reich,' we poor moderns still live. But now say Major-General Harrison and a number of men, founding on Bible Prophecies, Now shall be a Fifth Monarchy, by far the blesseddest and the only real one,—the Monarchy of Jesus Christ, his Saints reigning for Him here on Earth,—if not He himself which is probable or possible,—for a thousand years, &c., &c.—O Heavens, there are tears for human destiny; and immortal Hope itself is beautiful because it is steeped in Sorrow, and foolish Desire lies vanquished under its feet! They who merely laugh at Harrison take but a small portion

of his meaning with them."—T. Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's letters and speeches*, pt. 8, speech 2.—The Fifth Monarchy fanaticism, sternly repressed by Oliver Cromwell, gave some signs of turbulence during Richard Cromwell's protectorate, and broke out in a mad way the year after the Restoration. The attempted insurrection in London was headed by one Venner, and was called Venner's insurrection. It was easily put down. "It came as the expiring flash of a fanatical creed, which had blended itself with Puritanism, greatly to the detriment of the latter; and, dying out rather slowly, it left behind the quiet element of Millenarianism."—J. Stoughton, *History of religion in England*, v. 3, ch. 4.

ALSO IN: D. Masson, *Life of John Milton*, v. 5, p. 16.—L. F. Brown, *Political activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the interregnum*.

"**FIFTY-FOUR FORTY, OR FIGHT**," slogan invented by William Allen, the Democratic campaign issue in the election of 1844. See **OREGON**: 1818-1846.

FIGUERAS Y MORACAS, Estanislao (1819-1882), Spanish statesman. Elected deputy from Barcelona, 1851; became leader of his party; exiled for participation in a plot against Narvaez, 1867; president of the executive, February-June, 1873.

FIJI ISLANDS, group of about two hundred and fifty islands in the south Pacific, which form the link between Polynesia and Melanesia. (See **BRITISH EMPIRE**: Extent.) "The first known European who mentions Fiji is the Dutch navigator Tasman, who in 1643 passed between the islands of Taviuni and Kalmea, and the straits to this day bear his name. He christened the group Prince William's Islands. Captains Cook, Bligh, and Wilson are among the early discoverers who mention the group. . . . In 1808 a brig called the *Elisa* was wrecked off the reef of Nairai, and the escaped crew and passengers, mostly runaway convicts from New South Wales, found there were seven powerful chiefs in the group, that of Verata being leader. The sailors and convicts, however, under the command of a certain Charley Savage, took the side of the Bau people [Bau being one of the small islands of the group]. Powder and shot soon settled the question of ascendancy, and since the *Elisa* was lost Bau has retained it. The chief of Bau at this time was a certain Na Ulivou, and was a brave leader of men. So great was his success that he was accorded the title of Vuni Valu, 'Root of War,' or as some translators have it, 'Source of Power,'—a distinction which has since been hereditary in the chiefs of Bau. Internecine fighting chiefly constituted the Fijian life of those days, but the Vuni Valu of the time maintained the position he had won. He died in 1820, and was succeeded by his brother Tanoa, who, after a troubled reign, five years of which were passed in exile, died on the 8th of December, 1852."—H. S. Cooper, *Coral lands*, v. 1, ch. 2, 4.—"After 1835, two Wesleyan missionaries . . . penetrated to the Fiji Islands. . . . They found there . . . a certain organisation, a sort of customary law, fourteen kinglets, statesmen, politicians, and persons whose business it was to carry from tribe to tribe the news of the day. . . . Among the great chiefs of the Fijian archipelago, Thakombau [spelt, after the orthography invented by the missionaries, Cakobau, which does not correspond with the sound of the word] occupied the first rank, thanks to his intelligence, his energy, and the extent of his dominions. For greater personal safety, he resided in the little island of Bau. He succeeded even in getting himself proclaimed King of Fiji

by a certain number of great chiefs. But an attempt of his to subjugate the other tribes became the cause of his downfall. . . . The missionaries had endeavoured in vain to convert him; but this task was accomplished by the King of Tonga. Thakombau, menaced by a formidable coalition of Fijian chiefs, had applied to King George of Tonga for assistance. The latter came at the head of an imposing force, rescued the King of the Fijis, who was then besieged in his small island, re-established his authority, and enjoined him to embrace the faith of the whites. He obeyed, and the other chiefs followed his example. Thus it was that in 1857 Christianity was introduced into the archipelago. The second part of Thakombau's reign was, so far as he was personally concerned, an alternation of ups and downs, but for his country, a period of progress, inasmuch as the manners of the people became more and more civilised, and cannibalism gradually disappeared. . . . This was . . . in great part due to the missionaries, who had acquired a great influence in political matters, and also to the English Consulate, then recently established at Levuka. But the wars continued, and the prestige of the king declined; so, following the advice of his white friends, he endeavoured to get rid of the dangers that surrounded him by granting his subjects a constitution similar to that which the American missionaries had introduced in the Sandwich Islands. But it appeared that the worthy Fijians were not yet ripe for these blessings. The king's position got worse and worse, and in the end became altogether untenable. One means of escape alone remained: to cede his kingdom to the British Crown, and this he did in 1874. [See PACIFIC OCEAN: 1800-1914.] In the latter years of his reign, his two principal advisers were his daughter, the Princess Antiquilla, and an English resident, Mr. Thurston. . . . From his abdication to his death in 1882, Thakombau lived a retired life, with his numerous family, at his former capital, Bau, maintaining the most friendly relations with the English authorities, and sometimes giving them useful advice. . . . From now [1884] nearly ten years the Fijian Archipelago, including the group of the Exploring Islands, has been under British rule. It owes to that rule undeniable benefits: a comparative degree of prosperity; domestic peace, notwithstanding tribal animosities which in spite of restraint still continue in a latent form; perfect security of life and property; indirect but effectual protection against the enticements of kidnappers, and finally, an organisation adapted as far as is possible to local traditions and usages. . . . A small body of troops, composed exclusively of natives, protects the lives of the Governor and his family, as well as his staff and the white residents."—Baron von Hübnér, *Through the British empire*, v. 2, pt. 5, ch. 2.—See also TONGA ISLANDS.—It is true generally of the South Sea islands, which include the Fiji group, that "the islands were happily populous when the first white men settled there. But year by year the populations have dwindled. The white man brought death. The first settlers were deserters from ships and escaped convicts from the penal settlements of Australia. Then came traders and whalers, reckless men and many of them evil. They brought to the islands the vices of the white man and his diseases. Then came the recruiters, who 'shanghaied' the blacks for enforced labor in Australia. And the missionaries came. And the majority of the islanders who came under missionary influence gave over the healthful custom of oiling their bodies as a protection against wet and chill and put on clothes. Pneumonia and tuberculosis have carried them off

by the hundreds. They struggle little against death. For they live now in an alien civilization in which the wars and dances that made life zestful of old have little part. Though here and there a new lease on life seems to have been taken by an island population, for the most part the old races continued to die and a new population drifts slowly in—half-breeds, Chinese, Malays, Indians and a handful of governing whites. [See also PACIFIC OCEAN: People.] The South Seas are becoming important commercially. The island where Captain Cook was killed now does a thriving business in tourists and pineapple. The Fiji Islanders have turned Methodist and, discarding war as a profession, have taken to producing copra. Everywhere among the island groups western planters have planted coconut groves in which island peoples are learning the meaning of daily labor; for copra, or the dried meat of the coconut, is greatly desired in the West for making soaps and butter substitutes and the many other things for which vegetable oils are needed. Sharks' fins and a sea slug called *bêche-de-mer* are important articles of trade for the Chinese market. Mother-of-pearl, vanilla, rubber—tropical products of many sorts—are being demanded each year in increasing quantities. And great nations are finding in the markets of the islands a field for rivalry in the sale of manufactured goods. Sewing-machines clatter in palm-leaf huts. European cotton prints and laces have superseded the native tapa-cloth, and European perfumes and cosmetics are taking the place of the fragrant hibiscus and coconut-oil. The islands are being 'developed'. . . . The natives who live on the eighty habitable [Fiji] islands are classed as Melanesians, but though they are black, like their neighbors to the west, and have thick, woolly hair, which they bleach with lime and wear in a great mop, they have, too, well-built bodies and handsome faces, inherited from Polynesian ancestors. The Fiji Islands, to the Occidental, call up gruesome feasts of 'long pig', and tales of barbarous cruelty. It is true that the Fijians were once among the fiercest of the islanders. They were the greediest of cannibals, and practised cruelties that made cannibalism sink into insignificance. Yet cruelty for the Fijians was largely a matter of habit. Even in the days of savagery, they possessed the qualities that make them now model citizens. Most of the Fijians are Wesleyan Methodists. Nearly every village has its meeting-house to which the Fijians are called to worship by the big, musical drums that less than a century ago announced cannibal feasts. In connection with each church is a school. Suva, the capital—a thriving little metropolis with all the ear-marks of civilization, including a town hall, a museum, a Carnegie library, a hospital, an insane asylum, a row of shops with plate glass windows, hotels and a jail—boasts several churches and a fine cathedral."—*Asia*, Apr., 1921, pp. 307, 311, 374.—See also MELANESIA; TONGA ISLANDS.

ALSO IN: J. W. Anderson, *Fiji and New Caledonia*.—A. Agassiz, *Islands and coral reefs of Fiji*.—B. Thomson, *Fijians*.—W. A. Chapple, *Fiji*.—A. G. King, *Islands far away*.

FILCHNER, William (1877-), German scientist and explorer. Leader of a German expedition to the South Pole which started out in May, 1911, and returned to Buenos Aires in 1913. See ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1913.

FILI, class of poets among the early Irish, who originally practiced certain rites of incantation. Their art was called Filidecht. At first Fili and bard were separate, but as the true Filidecht gradually fell into disuse, the two branches came together.

FILIBUSTER.—"The difference between a filibuster and a freebooter is one of ends rather than of means. Some authorities say that the words have a common etymology; but others, including Charlevoix, maintain that the filibuster derived his name from his original occupation, that of a cruiser in a 'flibote,' or 'Vly-boat,' first used on the river Vly, in Holland. Yet another writer says that the name was first given to the gallant followers of Dominique de Gourgues, who sailed from Finisterre, or Finibuster, in France, on the famous expedition against Fort Caroline in 1567 [see FLORIDA: 1567-1568]. The name, whatever its origin, was long current in the Spanish as 'filibustero' before it became adopted into the English. So adopted, it has been used to describe a type of adventurer who occupied a curious place in American history during the decade from 1850 to 1860."—J. J. Roche, *Story of the filibusters*, ch. 1.—See also AMERICA: 1639-1700.—In American politics a "filibuster" is a member of a legislature who seeks to prevent the passage of a bill by "talking it to death," making dilatory motions or otherwise delaying its consideration.—See also CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES: Senate: Freedom of debate; U. S. A.: 1806-1807; NICARAGUA: 1855-1860.

FILICAIA, Vincenzo da (1642-1707), Italian lyric poet. See ITALIAN LITERATURE: 1600-1700.

FILIDECHT. See **FILL**.

FILIOQUE CONTROVERSY.—"The Council of Toledo, held under King Reccared, A. D. 589, at which the Visigothic Church of Spain formally abjured Arianism and adopted the orthodox faith, put forth a version of the great creed of Nicæa in which they had interpolated an additional clause, which stated that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father 'and from the Son' (Filioque). Under what influence the council took upon itself to make an addition to the creed of the universal Church is unknown. It is probable that the motive of the addition was to make a stronger protest against the Arian denial of the co-equal Godhead of the Son. The Spanish Church naturally took a special interest in the addition it had made to the symbol of Nicæa, and sustained it in subsequent councils. . . . The Frankish Church seems to have early adopted it from their Spanish neighbours. . . . The question was brought before a council held at Aix in A. D. 809. . . . The council formally approved of the addition to the creed, and Charles [Charlemagne] sent two bishops and the abbot of Corbie to Rome to request the pope's concurrence in the decision. Leo, at a conference with the envoys, expressed his agreement with the doctrine, but strongly opposed its insertion into the creed. . . . Notwithstanding the pope's protest, the addition was adopted throughout the Frankish Empire. When the Emperor Henry V. was crowned at Rome, A. D. 1014, he induced Pope Benedict VIII. to allow the creed with the filioque to be chanted after the Gospel at High Mass; so it came to be generally used in Rome; and at length Pope Nicholas I. insisted on its adoption throughout the West. At a later period the controversy was revived, and it became the ostensible ground of the final breach (A. D. 1054) between the Churches of the West and those of the East."—E. L. Cutts, *Charlemagne*, ch. 23.—"The Filioque controversy relates to the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit, and is a continuation of the trinitarian controversies of the Nicene age. It marks the chief and almost the only important dogmatic difference between the Greek and Latin churches, . . . and has occasioned, deepened, and perpetuated the greatest schism in Christendom. The single word Filioque keeps the oldest, largest and most nearly related

churches divided since the ninth century, and still forbids a reunion."—P. Schaff, *History of the Catholic church*, v. 4, ch. 11, sect. 107.—See also CHRISTIANITY: 330-606.

ALSO IN: G. B. Howard, *Schism between the Oriental and Western churches*.

FILIPESCU, Nicola (1857-1916), Rumanian statesman. Appointed minister of agriculture and domains, 1911; minister of war, 1911-1912; prominent leader of the Rumanian movement for intervention in the World War. See WORLD WAR: 1916: V. Balkan theater: c, 2.

FILIPINOS. See PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

FILIPPO MARIA, duke of Milan, 1412-1447.

FILLMORE, Millard (1800-1874), thirteenth president of the United States. Member of New York State legislature, 1829-1832; member of the Congress, 1833-1835, 1837-1843; state comptroller, 1847-1849; elected vice president on the Whig ticket with Zachary Taylor, 1848; became president on the death of Taylor, 1850. See U. S. A.: 1848-1849; 1850 (April-September); 1850-1851; 1852: Appearance of the Know Nothing or American party; 1856: Eighteenth presidential election; JAPAN: 1797-1854.

FILSON, John (1747-1788), American explorer. See CINCINNATI: 1788.

FILUM AQUAE, imaginary line through the center of a body of water which marks the boundary between lands on opposing shores. See RIPARIAN RIGHTS.

FIMBRIA, Caius Flavius, Roman tribune, B. C. 86, the successor of Flaccus in the Mithradatic wars in the Bosphorus. See MITHRADATIC WARS.

FINAN (d. 661), bishop of Lindisfarne. See LINDISFARNE: 635-664; CHRISTIANITY: 597-800.

FINANCE. See MONEY AND BANKING; BANKRUPTCY; BUDGET; COMMERCE; DEBTS, PUBLIC; INCOME TAX; INSURANCE; INTENDANTS, FRANCE; MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT: City finance; STOCK EXCHANGE; TARIFF; TAXATION; TRUSTS; WEALTH; also names of banks, etc.

FINANCE, Rural. See AGRICULTURE, INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF; RURAL CREDIT.

FINANCE BILL, England (1909). See ENGLAND: 1909 (April-December).

FINCH, Sir John (1584-1660), English politician. Speaker of the House of Commons, 1628-1629; chief justice of court of common pleas; created Baron Finch of Fordwich, 1640. See ENGLAND: 1629.

FINCK, Heinrich (d. c. 1519), German composer. See MUSIC: Modern: 1500-1628.

FINCK, Hermann (1527-1558), German composer. See MUSIC: Modern: 1500-1628.

FINE, clan or sept division of the tribe in ancient Ireland.

FINE SYSTEM. See CRIME AND CRIMINOLOGY: Social regulation.

FINGALL, in Celtic annals "White Strangers" or Scandinavian invaders. See NORMANS: 8th-9th centuries.

FINGER-PRINTS: System of identification. See CRIME AND CRIMINOLOGY: Methods of identifying criminals.

FINIAN, or Findian, Saint (c. 470-548), founder of the famous monastery of Clonard. See EDUCATION: Medieval: 5th-6th centuries; Ireland.

FINISTERRE, western extremity of Spain, the scene of a naval battle in 1805. See FRANCE: 1805 (March-December).

FINLAND: Territory.—Physical features.—Native name.—Population.—Agriculture.—Labor conditions.—Industries.—Natural resources.—Economic conditions.—"Finland is situated in Northern Europe, on the shores of the Baltic; her

adjacent countries are Sweden in the west [Norway in the north] and Russia in the east."—*Republic of Finland, Central Statistical Bureau (Finland), p. 1.*—It is a marshy land, dotted with innumerable lakes. From the nature of the country the Finns got their native name—*Soumilaiset*—which translated into English means—"the people of the fens."—Based on I. D. Levine, *Resurrected nations, p. 173.*—See also RUSSIA: Map of Russia and the new border states.—"Of all the new nations of Europe, Finland is farthest north. What are its resources? What is the physical basis of its strength? . . . Finland is a third as large as Ontario. While the extreme north grades into Arctic tundra, the country as a whole resembles the Lake Superior region in surface and climate. Everywhere the surface is rocky and lake-dotted, with an irregular drainage, a thin soil, and an extensive forest cover. In the milder south, where there is a deeper soil, there are farms producing hardy grains like rye, barley, and oats. The population of Finland is 3,500,000 [1921]. Helsingfors, the capital, has 187,000. The towns are small, and include only 15 per cent of the population (in the United States about half the population is urban). In the cold and remote north the density of population is less than 1 to the square mile; but in the warmer and more fertile south, on the edge of the Gulf of Finland, it reaches 93 to the square mile. Half of the population lives by agriculture and cattle raising, but only 8.5 per cent of the land is cultivated or used for pasture. Nearly a third of the surface is covered with peat marsh and bog, and nearly half is forested. Barley is grown up to latitude 68° north and rye to 64°, or to 67° in favorable years. The farther north one goes the longer—and also the hotter—the summer days; and whereas barley takes 116 days to ripen in the Aland Islands, there are but 63 days between sowing and harvest in the higher latitudes, the limit of its range. No other civilized race lives so far north as the people of Finland. 'The Finns have been bred in the school of adversity.' As a whole the country is poor and famines are not rare. In 1867, for example, there was a fearful dearth, owing chiefly to the poor crop of rye, the principal food. Again in 1869 there was general want, due to the partial failure of the potato crop. The Finns have emigrated in large numbers, chiefly to North America, for Finland cannot support its people on its own produce. The chief wealth of Finland lies in its forests and its water power. Of the 3,000,000 horse power available, only 100,000 are now [1920] in use. In 1913, wood and wood products formed 75 per cent of the exports of the country. Mineral resources are almost unknown. The total mileage of railways is 2,500, which, in relation to the number of people, is a high figure, . . . [but] in relation to area . . . is small. The long and indented seacoast, with innumerable havens and extensive fishing grounds, has naturally bred sailors. . . . For the most part settlements in Finland follow the watercourses, . . . because these are the natural ready made means of communication. Finland has forty times as much water as France. Certain canals date from the Middle Ages. The Saima Canal connects lakes of the Saima system, which covers 2,600 square miles of water, the largest lake group in Europe, of which more than 2,000 square miles are in Finland, . . . directly with the Gulf of Finland and is an outlet of incalculable benefit to the country."—I. Bowman, *New world, pp. 371, 372.*—The area of Finland in 1922 was 149,586 square miles.

"The overwhelming majority of the people in Finland are agricultural labourers. . . . Wages on the

land are low, the weekly wage of a labourer being on an average throughout the country rather below than above 10s, without food. Moreover, winter wages are considerably lower than those paid in summer, and the winter period lasts at least six months of the year. Employment upon home industries fills up the gap, but pay in most branches is low. . . . In general, the peasantry are hardy and laborious."—*Finland, Handbook no. 47, Historical section, Great Britain Foreign Office, p. 83.*—"Methods of cultivation in Finland vary very much according to the district. The most primitive is that of clearing forest land by fire, using the wood ash as manure, and practising an intensive rotation of crops. . . . This method is being gradually abandoned. [It is wasteful and impracticable, as the land becomes unfruitful in a few years.]"—*Finland, Handbook no. 47, Historical section, Great Britain Foreign Office, p. 87.*—"The vast labour spent by the former agricultural inhabitants has, however, for the greater part been taken up by modern industries, and the relative decrease of this part of the inhabitants is an unavoidable consequence of the richer and more detailed division of labour, as well as the consequential change in the economical life, in the direction of developing other natural resources according to modern methods of production."—L. Ekstrand, *Economical powers of Finland (Joint Stock Bank for Foreign Trade, Helsingfors, p. 6).*—"The labouring population of the towns is in general well housed and appears to enjoy a comfort and prosperity of a reasonably high level. Strikes and lockouts showed a decreasing tendency before the war."—*Finland, Handbook no. 47, Historical section, Great Britain Foreign Office, p. 83.*—"Industry in Finland has made remarkable progress. Home industries and handicrafts were common in this country from of old and reached a high standard. By the close of the Middle Ages, Finland had already a considerable export trade. Manufactures, however, began to develop only about [the end of last century]. . . . The young manufacturing industry of Finland tends to be concentrated in modern enterprises on a large scale."—*Economic World, Jan. 31, 1920, p. 155.*—"During the war [World War] new industries . . . attracted more and more attention and a new central establishment, the Industrial Office of Finland, has been founded to encourage the creation of new branches. There . . . [were] established also during the war a special central laboratory for technical chemical investigation, and a Finnish turfi office, to utilize the wealth hidden in the innumerable [peat] swamps."—*Ibid., June 21, 1919, p. 870.*—"The forests . . . have had great influence upon the country's economy in many respects. They have not only been of vital importance for . . . [its] agriculture, but also for . . . [its] industry. The forests produce in the first place cheap raw material for the various, day by day more extensive, export industries, with the produce of which the country has been able to pay for such imported goods as foodstuffs and other material, and the forests have also otherwise helped to develop success, wealth, and increase of population."—L. Ekstrand, *Economical powers of Finland (Joint Stock Bank for Foreign Trade, Helsingfors).*—"During the war [World War] the rearing of live-stock deteriorated considerably. . . . The war had occasioned serious losses to the mercantile marine, . . . and this in its turn adversely affected the export trade. During and after the war the Finnish trade-balance showed a heavy deficit, and expenditure had increased considerably of recent years."—*Welthandel, June 25, 1920*

(quoted in the *Economic Review*, July 23, 1920, p. 253).—See also CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES: Finland.

Education. See EDUCATION: Modern developments: 20th century; General education: Finland; EDUCATION, ART: Modern: Finland.

Ethnology.—Language.—"The Finns are generally thought to belong to the Finno-Ugrian family, a people of Mongolian origin allied to the Lapps and Ostyaks and more remotely to the Magyars and Turks. They probably entered Finland twelve to fourteen centuries ago, after a certain amount of admixture with Slavs. One branch of the Finns, the Karelians, is found in the Kem district of Russia on the White Sea. There, however, they are largely Russified. The Finns form the middle and peasant classes in Finland. About 10 per cent. of the total population are Finns. Most of the remainder are Swedes, with a few Lapps, several thousand Russians, about 1,000 Jews, and 1,000 Gypsies. There were at one time about 2,000 Germans, principally in Viborg and Helsingfors. . . . Of Finnish there are two chief dialects, the Karelian or eastern, showing Russian influence, and the Tavastland or western, which has been much modified by Aryan influence and contains many Swedish words. The written form of the language has been common to all educated Finns for about a century. Finnish is the sole tongue of the peasants and of most of the lower and middle classes in the towns and it is understood, though not used, by most of the Swedish population."—*Finland, Handbook no. 47, Historical section, Great Britain Foreign Office, 1920, pp. 7-8.*—See also TURANIAN RACES AND LANGUAGES; PHILOLOGY: 20; HUNGARY: Origin.

Ancient incantations. See MEDICAL SCIENCE: Ancient Finns.

Early settlements.—"The colonization of Finland may be traced back to the first centuries A.D. Two separate nationalities have gone to the formation of its people, i.e. the Finns and Swedes. In the course of time these nationalities have, however, merged into one nation. The archipelago and the coast were populated first, and from there the migration spread gradually upwards along the rivers and water systems, conquering by hard struggle a wild land, covered with vast virgin forests and immense swamps."—*Republic of Finland, Central Statistical Bureau (Finland) p. 1.*

1157-1809.—Conversion to Christianity.—Under Swedish rule.—Made grand duchy.—Russian conquest and annexation.—Constitutional independence.—"The Finns were converted to Christianity by the Swedes, who for this purpose undertook crusades in the years 1157, 1240 and 1293. At the same time Finland was united politically to Sweden. As the Finns, however, at this epoch had attained almost the same degree of culture as the Swedes, the union with Sweden in no way implied the subjugation of an inferior nation. There was no political distinction between Finns and Swedes . . . and the local administration was entrusted to Finlanders. Although the first Bishops of Finland were English and Swedish, the episcopal seat of the country was occupied from 1291 by a Finn. In the year 1362 the first fundamental law of Finland was established, giving the people the right to take part in the election of the kings of Sweden-Finland. The geographical position of the country also contributed to its distinction, and an independent national existence [apart from Sweden] was fully assured it. . . . This political and spiritual union of Finland with Sweden lasted nearly six hundred years. The Finnish people had during the process of

colonization not only to surmount all the difficulties of a wild and uncultivated country, but were also forced, for several centuries, repeatedly to contend against the swarms advancing from the east, in order to maintain their culture newly won. The Finlanders formed as it were a wall of defence against the Russians, and in recognition of this service, John III, king of Sweden and Finland, in 1581 raised Finland to a Grand Duchy. It was also at this time that Finland received her coat of arms."—*Republic of Finland, Central Statistical Bureau (Finland), pp. 1-2.*—In the Seventeenth century Gustavus Adolphus established a diet composed of nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasants. He and his successor did much toward the advancement of the country. "However, on account of the thinness of the population, the eastern enemy succeeded many times in penetrating deep into the country, devastating again and again the fruits of good labour. Perhaps the darkest period in the history of Finland was the first two decades of the eighteenth century, when the troops of the Czar Peter the Great—while the Finnish army was taking part in the wars of Charles XII in distant lands—occupied the defenceless country, and held it under the bloody tyranny for twenty years, destroying and devastating in the cruelest way, by fire and sword. . . . This reign of terror, which was brought to an end by the conclusion of peace at Usikaupunki (Nystad) in the year 1721 [when the eastern division of Finland was ceded to Russia], has been styled by the people of Finland 'the time of great hate.' [See also SWEDEN: 1720-1702.] As a result of the war of 1808-1800 [Gustavus VI against Russia], Finland was forced to unite itself to Russia. At the assembled Diet of the Estates of Finland at Borga (Porvoo), the Emperor of Russia, Alexander I, signed, on the 27 March, 1809, a decree, guaranteeing the constitution of Finland [and took title of grand-duke of Finland]."—*Ibid., pp. 2-3.*—See also SWEDEN: 1807-1810; GERMANY: 1807 (June-July); FRANCE: 1807-1808 (August-November).

1809-1898.—Independence of Finland under Alexander I, II, and III.—Commencement of the national movement.—"For ninety years after its union with Russian (1809), Finland was practically a distinct state, the tsar as grand-duke governing by means of a nominated senate and a Diet organized on the Swedish model with separate representative bodies of nobles, clergymen, burghers, and peasants. Of the total population of two and one half millions in 1899, the bulk were peasants, . . . preserving their Finnish language and costume; but the upper classes were mainly Swedish, and Swedish was long the official language of the local government. All the inhabitants were Lutheran in religion and jealous of Russian encroachments on their traditional liberties."—C. J. H. Hayes, *Political and social history of modern Europe, p. 468.*—"The Finnish national movement may . . . be said to date from the eighteenth century, although it did not attain its climax until a century later. This movement first aimed at the liberation of the Finns from the cultural Swedish domination. The Finnish language, which is totally foreign to the Swedish, but which had been suppressed, was now revived and propagated. . . . The man mostly responsible for the evolution of a Finnish literary tongue, thus furnishing the backbone for the nationalist movement, was Elias Lönnrot. Born in 1802, a poet by nature, he early devoted himself to the collection of Finnish folk-poetry. For nearly twenty years he journeyed into the remotest corners of his

country, gathering material for a national epic. The fruit of his labors was the famous 'Kalevala,' Finland's Homer, and one of the finest poetical treasures in the literature of the world. [The first edition was published in 1835.] Around Lönnrot gathered the leaders of the rising generation. . . . [In 1844] the first Finnish periodical had already made its appearance, laying the foundation for the Fennoman (Finnish-Finn), as opposed to the Svekomans (Swedish-Finn), party. The country was thus divided into two camps."—J. D. Levine, *Resurrected nations*, pp. 174-181.—The publication of the "Kalevala" gave a great impulse to the study of the Finnish language. More than 300,000 legends, sagas and proverbs have been collected.—See also MUSIC: Folk music and nationalism: England.

ALSO IN: G. Renwick, *Finland to-day*.

1899-1903.—Blow at the constitutional rights of the country.—Russification of the Finnish army.—Resistance to the violation of constitutional rights.—Despotic measures of the tsar.—Plehve's defence.—"The Panславists worked for the political and economic solidarity of Finland and Russia. In 1890 two Commissions were appointed in Petersburg to bring Finnish coinage, customs, and postage into greater conformity with that of the Empire. Separate Finnish postage was abolished in 1899. Greater changes were contemplated. In July 1898 an extraordinary session of the Diet was called to meet on January 19, 1899; on August 24th the Tsar issued his Peace Manifesto, and six days later, August 30th, he appointed Bobrikoff Governor-General of Finland. This was a blow in the face of the 'right and justice' invoked by the Tsar in his Peace Manifesto, for Bobrikoff was notorious for his terroristic rule of the Baltic provinces. On January 10th he laid a Bill before the Diet to bring the Finnish Army into conformity with that of the Empire. The Finnish Army was to be four times larger and to be Russianized and incorporated in the Russian Army. Bobrikoff told the Diet the Bill *must* be passed. . . . The Bill was to be submitted to the Imperial Council 'as a matter of concern to the whole Empire of which the Grand Duchy of Finland is an inseparable part.' . . . While the Bill was being debated the Imperial Manifesto of February 15, 1899, came as a bolt from the blue. . . . All Finnish matters of Imperial interest were hereafter to be dealt with by Russian institutions, the Tsar to decide which matters were Imperial or exclusively local and Finnish. By ten votes to ten the Senate published this manifesto under protest. The Diet declared itself ready to double the number of Finnish troops, and stated that the new military Bill could not become law without the concurring consent of the Emperor Grand Duke and the Estates; it published an *exposé* of Finland's relations to the Empire and the rights of the Diet. The Tsar gave an ungracious answer to their remonstrance."—J. Stefansson, *Denmark and Sweden*, pp. 358-359.

ALSO IN: J. D. Levine, *Resurrected nations*, pp. 178-179.

The measure for Russifying the Finnish army, proposed in 1899, became a law on July 11, 1901. It placed all Finnish troops under the orders of the Russian commander in Finland, authorized the putting of Finnish conscripts into the Russian regiments stationed in Finland, and subjected Finnish regiments to service, when required, outside of Finland, from which service they had been constitutionally exempt hitherto. The resistance to this gross violation of time-honored rights was universal and determined. Conscripts refused to an-

swer the call to military service, subjecting themselves to the penalties for desertion, and practically the whole population stood ready to protect them. Extensive movements of emigration to America and elsewhere were begun. At the same time the tsar's authority, as the common sovereign of Finland and Russia, was used in many ways as autocratically in his constitutional realm as in that where his absolutism knew no bounds. The powers of the Russian governor-general of Finland were enlarged; the Finnish archives were removed to St. Petersburg; Cossacks were sent into the abused country with their knouts to quell resistance to the army law; but the resistance went on, taking presently a more passive form. Communes refused to elect the conscription boards which the law prescribed for carrying out the levy of recruits, and heavy fines were imposed on them without effect. In November, 1902, a convention of delegates from all parts of Finland, composed largely of peasants and workmen, resolved to "continue everywhere, unswervingly, and until legal conditions are restored to the country, the passive resistance against all measures conflicting with, or calculated to abolish, our fundamental laws." An elaborate defence of these Russifying measures in Finland was addressed, in August, 1903, by the Russian minister of the interior, Plehve, to W. T. Stead, editor of the *English Review of Reviews*, by way of reply to an "open letter" to himself on the subject, by Mr. Stead, published in the *Review* of that month. Plehve justified these measures as "the incidental expression of Russian policy, necessitated by an open mutiny against the government in Finland." He emphasized, however, the fact that "the realization of the fundamental aim which the Russian government has set itself in Finland, —i.e., the confirming in that land of the principle of imperial unity,—must continue."—See also RUSSIA: 1902-1904.

1904. — Assassination of Governor-General Bobrikov.—As executor of the Russifying policy in Finland Bobrikov was cordially hated. "On June 16, 1904, Eugen Schauman [a Finnish member of the parliamentary opposition] shot Bobrikov with a pistol as he was entering the Senate House, and immediately afterwards shot himself. . . . The new governor, Prince Obolenski, was conciliatory. He allowed most of the exiled patriots to come back."—J. Stefansson, *Denmark and Sweden*, pp. 362-363.

1905.—Successful revolt against Russifying oppressions.—Concessions by the tsar.—Restoration of ancient liberties.—"In October 1905 the gigantic general strike in Russia wrested from the Tsar the promise of a Constitution. Finland decided to do likewise. From October 31st to November 6th a general strike took place in Finland. The Governor-General and the Senate resigned. The Svecomans and the so-called Young Finns—who desired coöperation with the Swedes against the Panславist danger—formed a 'constitutional' party . . . [and forced the governor, Prince John Obolenski, to send] a petition to the Tsar. His answer was the manifesto of November 4, 1905, which suspended the manifesto of February 15, 1899, and promised to develop the rights of the Finnish people on the basis of their Fundamental Laws, reformed and modernized."—J. Stefansson, *Denmark and Sweden*, p. 363.—The first of the tsar's manifestos bore the following command: "By the grace of God, we, Nicholas II, etc., command the opening at Helsingfors, December 20, of an extraordinary Diet to consider the following questions: *First*.—The proposals for the budget of 1906-07, provisional taxes, and a loan for railway construction. *Second*.—A bill providing, by a new

fundamental law, a parliament for Finland on the basis of universal suffrage, with the establishment of the responsibility of the local authorities to the nation's deputies. *Third.*—Bills granting liberty of the press, of meeting, and of unions."

A subsequent manifesto announced: "We have ordered the elaboration of bills reforming the fundamental laws for submission to the deputies of the nation, and we order the abrogation of the manifesto of February 15, 1899; the ukase of April 15, 1903, concerning measures for the maintenance of public order and tranquillity; the imperial ukase of November 23, 1903, according exceptional rights to the gendarmerie in the grand duchy; Article 12 of the ukase of July 13, 1902, on Finnish legislation; the ukase of September 21, 1902, on the reform of the Senate and the extension of powers of governors; the ukase of April 8, 1903, on instructions for the governor-general and the assistant governor of Finland; the law of July 25, 1901, on military service; the ukase of August 13, 1902, on the duties of civic officials in Finland; the ukase of August 27, 1902, on the resignation of administrative officials and judicial responsibility for offenses and crimes of officials, and the ukase of July 15, 1900, on meetings. We further order the Senate to proceed immediately with the revision of the other regulations enumerated in the petition, and we order the immediate suppression of the censorship. The Senate should prepare bills granting liberty of speech, of the press, of meeting, and of union; a national assembly on the basis of universal suffrage, and the responsibility of the local authorities as soon as possible, in order that the Diet may discuss them. We trust that the measures enumerated, being dictated by a desire to benefit Finland, will strengthen the ties uniting the Finnish nation to its sovereign."

"On the military question a compromise had already been arranged; Finland was once again exempted from the Russian Conscription, but in return the Finnish Legislature undertook to pay an annual contribution to the Imperial Treasury."—R. Butler, *New eastern Europe*, p. 13.—An article quoted from a Danish magazine tells in a few words how the bloodless revolution was accomplished: "The weapon used for the purpose of paralyzing the government was the general strike. It may be questioned to which class belongs the chief part of honor in this struggle. A marvelous unity characterized the whole movement. While post, telegraph, and railroad traffic was stopped the entire light supply was cut off. The strike extended even into the private kitchen, and this was one of the reasons which hastened the departure of the Russian officials. In the meantime the question was not only should Russian guns be directed on Helsingfors, but also should personal safety be maintained. That so few transgressions of the law occurred with the whole police force on strike is a splendid testimony for the Finnish people. The revolution in Finland stands hence as an unparalleled example of a popular upheaval."

Also in: E. Young, *Finland*.

1906.—Reformed constitution ratified by the tsar (Nicholas II).—Political enfranchisement of women.—The Finnish constitution was restored by the decree of November 17, 1905. Following on this the Diet was elected, and sat in December for the first time since 1890, for the purpose of drafting a constitution. "The Senate was reconstituted and composed of constitutionalists with Leo Mechelin at their head. A conciliatory Governor-General, Gerard, was appointed. The Diet

passed a new Law of the Diet. There was to be one single chamber consisting of two hundred members, elected for three years. Every man and woman over twenty-four years of age had the right to vote in the elections for the Finnish Parliament, and was eligible as a member of it. Proportional representation, according to the d'Hondt system, was to be introduced. This was the most democratic Parliament in the world. [The president was elected by direct vote for a term of six years.] The number of voters was increased from 100,000 to 1,250,000, and 25 women were elected in the first elections to sit in the new Parliament. Thus the Finlanders were the first nation not only to give parliamentary suffrage to women, but to give them seats in Parliament."—J. Stefansson, *Denmark and Sweden*, pp. 363-364.—See also SUFFRAGE, WOMAN: Finland.—In 1906 the grand duchy received from Nicholas a grant of this constitution.

Also in: J. S. Shapiro, *Modern and contemporary European history*, pp. 554, 555.

1908-1909.—Russian measures for the destruction of the constitutional autonomy of Finland.—"The Tsar had not time to spare for Finland. He was grappling with revolution at home, and the first and second Duma were not obsequious. As soon as he had got a Duma after his heart the Russian Press began to attack Finland for hatching dangerous revolutionary plots. Questions were asked in the Duma whether Russian authority extended to Finland. Stolypin answered, in May, 1908, that the autonomy of Finland was a spontaneous gift of the Tsar which could be taken back if misused. Russian interests must predominate in Finland, whose relations to Russia were wholly determined by the Treaty of Frederikshamn. In vain Milyukoff defended Finland eloquently against the reactionaries in the Duma. On June 2, 1908, the Tsar issued an ordinance that all Finnish questions should be laid directly before the Russian Ministerial Council, who were to determine which of them were Imperial and discuss them. The Secretary of State for Finland was no longer to report separately to the Tsar. This was an abrogation of the Finnish Constitution, against which Senate and Diet both protested. When the Speaker referred to it in his opening speech the Diet was dissolved."—J. Stefansson, *Denmark and Sweden*, p. 364.—A new election was held early in May, 1909. The election produced substantially the same popular representation in the new Diet that had characterized its predecessor, and its attitude toward the autocratic invasion of Finnish rights was the same. Meantime, the tsar, in sanctioning an act of the previous Diet, after its dissolution, had done it in terms that were deemed contrary to the constitution of Finland, and the Senate petitioned him for a modification of them. His reply was a rebuke and a command that they promulgate the law. Thereupon the vice president of the Senate and four of its members resigned. The remaining five voted with the presiding governor-general for the promulgation. In October, 1909, an imperial rescript decreed that military service legislation for Finland should be transferred to the imperial legislature; and that until such legislation was enacted Finland should pay into the Russian exchequer an annual contribution of 10,000,000 marks (\$2,000,000), to be increased gradually to 20,000,000 marks. This left the Finnish Diet no voice in the appropriation. In October the four vacant seats were filled by an appointment of naval and military officers who were said to be "technically Finnish citizens," but all of whom, save one, had spent their lives in

Russia. In November, the Diet rejected the government bill for the Russian military appropriation, and a request that it be re-introduced in constitution form was sent to the emperor, who accepted the resignations of the five remaining Finnish senators, which had already been sent in, and dissolved the Diet. Some months prior to this time a joint committee of Russians and Finns had been appointed to formulate rules of principle that should apply in future to legislation for Finland. The two constituents of this Russo-Finnish committee were hopelessly opposed in their views of the relation existing between the constitutional grand duchy of Finland and the autocratic empire of Russia, by virtue of their having a common sovereign. Toward the end of November their failure to come to any agreement was made known; and on December 22, a majority vote of the Russian members favored the reduction of Finland to the status of provincial autonomy. The Russians maintained that the constitution did not bind Russia as the sovereign power, and that a new procedure could, therefore, be adopted by Russian legislation. They proposed that legislation on such matters as the Russian language in Finland, the principles of Finnish administration, police, administration of justice, public education, formation of business companies and of associations, public meetings, press, importation of foreign literature, customs tariffs, literary and artistic copyright, monetary system, means of communication, including pilot and lighthouse service, and many other subjects, should be enacted by the Imperial legislation. In addition the report contained a clause providing that other matters might be removed from the competency of the Diet by imperial legislation. It was also proposed that Finland should be represented in the Duma by five members, one of whom should be elected by Russian residents, who were not citizens of Finland; and that the Diet should be represented on the Imperial Council by one member. Following this, (on December 24) the imperial cabinet approved new regulations whereby all documents issued by the Chancellery of the governor-general of Finland shall be worded in Russian without a Finnish or Swedish translation.

1909-1914.—Interference with the country's constitutional rights.—Passive resistance of the Diet.—“The Russian Government prepared and passed through the Duma during the years 1909-1914 a quantity of legislation relating to Russo-Finnish, and sometimes to purely Finnish, questions. To all this legislation the Finnish Diet at the instance of the bourgeois parties, with the occasional exception of the Old Finns, opposed a passive resistance. When the laws were referred to the Diet for its opinion the Diet refused to consider them. Certain Finnish judges declared them illegal. To this policy of passive resistance the Socialists gave a general adhesion, but were at pains on more than one occasion to proclaim solidarity with the Russian proletariat.”—R. Butler, *New eastern Europe*, p. 16.

1910.—Trade union statistics. See LABOR ORGANIZATION: 1910-1910.

1910.—Fresh elections to the Finnish Diet.—Russian Duma assumed authority over Finland.—A new Diet chosen at elections held early in February, 1910, comprised: Old Finns, 42; Young Finns, 28; Swedish People's party, 26; Social Democrats, 86; Agrarians, 17; Christian Labor party, 1. Fifteen women were elected, nine of them by the Social Democrats. In the same year the Russian Council of Ministers accepted a report of the Russian members of the commission and

“virtually abolished the authority of the Finnish Diet, making it a mere shell of legislative institution. This program was accepted by the reactionary Duma and later made permanent. . . . The imperial ‘program’ for Finland was not pressed in its entirety, mainly because of the commotion in Europe.”—I. D. Levine, *Resurrected nations*, pp. 185-186.

ALSO IN: G. Renwick, *Finland to-day*.

1917.—Revival of the Nationalist movement.—Conflict between capital and labor.—Proclamation of independence.—Recognition by western powers.—Beginning of Red revolution.—“With the Russian Revolution [1917] came the revival of Finnish nationalist and socialist activities. . . . The Fennoman movement—such is the name given to the Finnish Renaissance—would perhaps not have gone so far, had it been purely linguistic. But it had almost from the first a political—and it now has in addition an economic—aspect in which the linguistic side of the movement has been wellnigh lost. . . . The old fight between the Fennoman and Svekoman parties became overshadowed by the struggle between capital and labor. . . . The increase in the profits of the capitalist [during the first two years of the World War] was followed by a demand for corresponding increase of wages; and, as in every belligerent country, the readjustment of the national wage-bill was not unattended by friction. The growth of the proletariat in the towns as a consequence of the industrial expansion brought new voting strength to the Socialist Party, and incidentally added to the unruly elements of the population. At the elections of 1916 the Socialists obtained an absolute majority in the Diet, returning 103 out of 200 members. When a few months later the Revolution broke out in Russia, it found the Finnish bourgeoisie in an alarmed and suspicious frame of mind. The disorders which accompanied the Revolution in Helsingfors, and particularly in Viborg, where a detachment of Russian soldiers put some twenty officers to death at the instigation of Finnish agitators from Helsingfors, recalled unpleasant memories of the Sveaborg affair in 1906; and it was largely by way of counter-propaganda to the Socialists, and as a means of cutting the connection between the latter and the revolutionaries in Petrograd, that the bourgeois parties began . . . to press for the complete independence of Finland.”—R. Butler, *New eastern Europe*, pp. 10, 17, 18.—“This was opposed however, by the Russian Provisional Government, both under Prince Lvoff and under M. Kerensky, although the latter was willing to grant wide autonomous powers. The Russian Government ordered the dissolution of the Finnish Diet in August, owing to the recalcitrant behaviour of the assembly. . . . [However] in October a measure was introduced in the Diet establishing the independence of Finland from Russia in all matters except foreign relations, but after the Bolsheviks came into power in Petrograd, another Bill was introduced by Senator Svin Kufvud, declaring the absolute and sovereign independence of the Finnish Republic. The Bill passed in December, and at the end of the year . . . the country was recognised as independent by the French and Swedish Governments, and early in 1918 the Danish and Norse Cabinets took the same action.”—*Annual Register*, 1917, p. 250; 1918, p. 237.—“In the autumn of 1917, the coalition of the bourgeois parties to beat out the Socialists was momentarily successful. The coalition returned 102 members to the Diet to the Socialists' 92. After a failure at compromise, a Ministry was formed excluding the Socialists al-

together. The Russian Bolsheviks did what they could to drive their Finnish comrades to be, as Lenin put it, 'Less meek.' And after the bourgeois majority had authorized the Government to take any measures thought necessary to preserve order, after appeals for help had been addressed to several foreign powers and White Guards had begun to drill, the Left seized the power. On January 27, 1918, the Diet was surrounded; the railways, telegraphs and telephones seized, and the Red revolution was on."—A. B. Ruhl, *New masters of the Baltic*, p. 24.

1918.—Treaty with Germany.—Red terror followed by White terror.—"Torp" tenancy abolished.—Regency.—Declaration of monarchy.—On March 8, "inspired by the wish to establish a condition of peace and friendship between the two countries, after the announcement of the independence of Finland and its recognition by Germany, the Imperial German Government and the Finnish Government have resolved to conclude a peace treaty . . . [by which] the contracting parties declare that no state of war exists between Germany and Finland, and that they are resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship with one another. Germany will do what she can to bring about the recognition of the independence of Finland by all the Powers. On the other hand, Finland will not cede any part of her possessions to any foreign Power or grant a servitude on her sovereign territory to any such Power without first having come to an understanding with Germany on the matter."—*Finland, Handbook no. 47, Historical section, Great Britain Foreign Office*, p. 125.—The treaty further made provision for the immediate resumption of consular and diplomatic relations, the replacement by new treaties of the treaties which had elapsed, owing to the war between Germany and Russia, the non-fortification of the Aland islands, and payment of indemnities for damages done by the parties in each other's territory.

The Red revolution which began in the early part of 1918 "lasted a little over two months—until early April, when General Mannerheim and his White Guards, aided by a German expeditionary force under General von der Goltz defeated the Reds utterly, captured some 20,000 of them, and reprisals began. At no time during the Red régime was there organized killing on a large scale. Helsingfors was taken without bloodshed and given up after slight resistance. The Terror—and it was real terror—was due to desultory but more or less constant killing during all that time; here by groups of peasants, with a grievance, real or imagined, against the local land-owners; there by bands of criminals or degenerates turned loose on the community when the Reds opened the prisons. Hideous things happened. . . . The word 'murder' is so loosely used by both sides in Finland that one must accept figures with the greatest caution, but it seems safe to say that the number of Red killings to which that term might reasonably be applied was not more than 1,000. This would include those shot while trying to get through the Red lines to the White forces organizing in the north. . . . [Finland, under the old régime] was a region of large estates and rather patriarchal customs, and the 'torp' farmers, who owned no land but paid for their little farms by working for the proprietor—two days with man and horse a week, for instance, for the use of sixteen acres—were dissatisfied. There were a good many of these 'torp' tenants on most estates. . . . There must have been scores of . . . wholly unjustifiable killings among the better sort

of land-owners in Russia. . . . It might be said in this case that the 'torp' peasants have now the right, by a subsequent decree of the Diet, to buy the farm which they have cultivated at the price which their land would have sold for before the war. In addition to killing there was a good deal of sacking and general destruction. And although Finland was on the verge of starvation—and presently to be over it—cattle were slaughtered for no reason at all and hay and grain burned. . . . The Whites, cooperating with the Germans, attacked the main Red force from two sides, cut their communications, and captured some 20,000 of them in a herd. So far as armed resistance was concerned the revolution was soon crushed. It is estimated that about 10,000 Finns were killed on each side in actual fighting. Svinhufvud became Regent and continued as such during the terrible summer of 1918, when all Finland was more or less in a state of starvation and thousands of Red prisoners were dying in the prison camps. In October the Diet—from which the Socialist members had been removed by the simple method of accusing them of treason—declared for a monarchy with the German prince, Frederick Charles of Hesse, for King. It should not be assumed that this necessarily represented merely blind reaction, although some of the ultra-conservative Finns, especially Swedish-Finns, are undoubtedly reactionary enough. There were quite sane and moderate men who felt, during the summer of 1918, that in the then state of the world and of Finland, experiment with republican government could never succeed. The war, however, decided the matter. When the Germans were beaten in the West, the prince decided that he did not care to become king of Finland. Svinhufvud, who had been pro-German all along, stepped out, and Mannerheim, who had gone abroad, was recalled [Dec. 11, 1918] and made Regent."—A. B. Ruhl, *New masters of the Baltic*, pp. 25-28, 31-32.—See also BALTIC STATES: Esthonia: 1918-1919: Struggle against Germans.

1918-1920.—Famine.—Work of American Relief Administration.—Revival of trade.—"There were, according to the official figures, after the first weeding out of the obviously innocent, 73,915 Red prisoners. The Reds assert that the number was nearer 90,000, or nearly 3 per cent of the entire population. . . . Everybody was pinched for food in Finland in 1918 and the winter of 1919. People made bread out of bark and straw and sawdust. With a condition of literal starvation among thousands of the population outside, it is not difficult—even without accepting the Red assertion that prisoners were deliberately starved—to imagine conditions in the camps. . . . A *Manchester Guardian* correspondent, an intelligent but prejudiced observer, in quoting these figures, estimated that between 25,000 and 30,000 Reds had been destroyed in one way and another after the White Guard was victorious and the revolution supposedly crushed. . . . [In 1919 American Food Relief ships arrived with wheat and other supplies.] A food-importing corporation, including representatives from the co-operative societies which are so highly developed in Finland, had had charge of food importation for the greater part of the war, and they supplied useful statistics. The Finnish Government contributed 300,000 marks. A central committee was formed. . . . including various public-spirited Finns, with experience useful in such work. This committee, in cooperation with the Food Ministry, took charge of the organization of sub-committees and the distribution of the food delivered to it by the . . . [American Relief Administration]. Here, as elsewhere, food for children was given away instead of

sold, local committees working with the Food Ministry attending to its distribution and preparation. Half the expense of transport was borne by the Food Ministry, half by the Finnish railways. By the end of June about 40,000 children were being fed, and we had given outright (food for adults was sold at cost) about \$525,000. . . . A supplementary program followed the original one, and by the summer of 1920 conditions were such—the American Red Cross had meantime come in—that the . . . [American Relief Association] could discontinue its work in Finland. Bread and sugar cards were still used, but the supply of food, even of white bread, was comparatively normal. . . . The revolution and the closing up of Russia . . . paralyzed industry and trade. Not a pound of paper went abroad in 1918 from January to July. New connections had to be built up in the West and these were hindered, not merely by distance and lack of shipping, but by the distrust of a state so close to Bolshevik Russia. Not even the 'Whitest' Finnish banker or manufacturer could visit the United States, for instance, in 1919 and the early part of 1920, without special individual permission from the State Department. Slowly the new market was made. More than 48,000 tons of paper went abroad in 1919. In the first five months of 1920 this figure had already been passed."—A. B. Ruhl, *New masters of the Baltic*, pp. 34, 35, 41, 51, 55, 57, 58.—See also INTERNATIONAL RELIEF: American Relief Administration.

1919.—Agricultural coöperation. See CO-OPERATION: Finland.

1919.—Trade union statistics. See LABOR ORGANIZATION: 1919-1919.

1919-1920.—Republic formed.—Skyddskorps or protective guards.—Amnesty Bill.—"In June, 1919, the Diet—to which the March election had given the Socialists 80 out of 200 seats—adopted a Republican constitution, providing for a one chamber parliament with a cabinet and a president to be elected, first by the Diet and afterward by the people for a term of six years. With the moderate-liberal Professor [K. J.] Stahlberg as President, order and food again in the land, and Finland's independence recognised by various friendly powers, the little country began to assume the outer air of peace and stability."—A. B. Ruhl, *New masters of the Baltic*, p. 32.—"The Protective guards, or Skyddskorps, were formed in February, 1919, while Mannerheim was still in power. Their duties are those of a civil guard, their members being chiefly drawn from peasant proprietors. Attempts were undoubtedly made during the Summer of 1919 to use them for political purposes, and the impression got about that Mannerheim intended to use them for his advance on Petrograd. This made them very much distrusted by the Socialists, who extorted a promise from the President Stahlberg at his election that he would disband them."—*New Europe*, Mar. 4, 1920, p. 184.—An Amnesty bill was passed, which became a law on Jan. 30, when President Stahlberg affixed his signature to it. The new act provided for the release of about 3,000 prisoners, and the restoration of civil rights to about 40,000 of those who sided with the Reds in the Civil War.

1920.—Principal parties in the Diet.—Status of Socialists.—Political unrest.—Åland islands.—"In the old Finnish Diet, before Finnish independence was realised, the main political parties were the two Finnish Nationalist Parties—the Old Finns (Conservative) and the Young Finns (Liberal); the Swedish National Party; the Agrarians (chiefly peasants), and the Social Democrats. Since the Civil War the party formations have

undergone a change, and there are now [1920] five main political parties in the Diet, of which far the most numerous is the Social Democratic. . . . After the Socialists the most numerous party in the present Diet is the Agrarian, with forty-two seats. The Agrarians are essentially a peasant party, strongly republican and democratic. Together with the Progressive Party, they form the Centre bloc from which the present Government has been formed. The Progressive Party, with twenty-two seats in the Diet, is the direct successor of the Young Finns. The present party dates from the end of 1918, when the bulk of the Young Finns, who had remained true to Republican traditions during the German occupation, united with a number of Old Finns who disapproved of German attempts to force a monarchy on the country. This party consists chiefly of the Finnish *intelligentsia* who, though keen Finnish Nationalists, are not Chauvinist and deprecate the dissensions between Finns and Swedes. They have supplied the majority of the present Government, one of their most prominent members being Mr. Holsti, the present Minister for Foreign Affairs. To the right of the Centre bloc came the Kokoomus (Coalition) Party with twenty-eight seats in the Diet, and the Swedish Party with twenty-two. The Kokoomus Party was founded at the same time as the Progressive Party, and is composed of the bulk of the Old Finns and the Right Wing of the Young Finns, who abandoned their former political standpoint as a result of the Civil War. They favour a Constitutional Monarchy; but, failing that, they demand sufficient guarantees to free the administration from becoming the mere tool of a single Chamber. . . . The Swedish Party, with twenty-two seats in the Diet, unites under its banner the majority of the Swedish population in Finland, though a group known as the Swedish Republican Left has now broken away and has thrown in its lot with the Centre bloc. The hero of the Swedish Party is General Mannerheim, and the hostility of the present Government to Mannerheim's policy makes the Swedish Party the most bitter opponents of the Government's policy both in home and foreign affairs. . . . The Socialists are divided into several camps and Socialism is in a state of flux. . . . At the moment the Moderates in the party outnumber the Left Socialists, who differ very little from the Communists; but the pressure of the latter is strong. . . . Finland is at present passing through a critical phase of her existence as an independent state. She is near the storm-centre of social upheaval in Eastern Europe, and it is difficult for her statesmen to steer a prudent course between reaction and communism. . . . The policy of the present government has been to win over the working classes by conciliation and leniency, but progress in this direction has been slow. There are constant rumours of trouble, and excitement has been caused by the return of Mannerheim to Finland. The workmen fear a *coup* on the part of the Whites; the latter fear disturbance from the Reds. The Civil War left many evils behind it, and with Soviet Russia just beyond the frontiers, the transition from war to peace is slow and difficult."—*New Europe*, Mar. 4, 1920, pp. 181-184.—During the year 1920, relations between Finland and Sweden over the question of the Åland islands reached an alarming state. The Finlanders claimed sovereignty over them on the grounds that the islands were necessary to the national existence of Finland. Their geographical position makes them the natural key to the defense of that country.

1920.—Compulsory school law. See EDUCATION: Modern developments: 20th century: General education: Finland.

1920 (October-December).—Treaty of Dorpat.—“Finland’s chief territorial problem lies on her eastern frontier, long in dispute with Soviet Russia. The main points in contention were the question of an outlet for Finland on the Arctic Ocean (Pechenga region) and the disposition of Eastern Karelia, a province occupied by a people racially allied to the Finns. An agreement was finally reached in a treaty signed 14 October 1920 and ratified 20 December 1920. The boundary articles of the treaty of Dorpat assign to Finland a strip of the Arctic coast and connecting territory; . . . and other articles provide for the neutralization of the frontier. The treaty also guarantees autonomy to eastern Karelia and to the Karelian population of Archangel and Olonetz (Northeast of Lake Ladoga), which is Greek Orthodox in religion and Russian in civilization and has no marked political preference. Transportation and rafting of timber on waters crossing the boundary line is to be permitted to both countries. Commercial freedom of wide scope is guaranteed in articles on the use of ports, railways, telegraph lines, freight and customs rates, on fishing rights, harbor fees, and the like. The Pechenga region which Finland gained is a small, barren strip on the Arctic shore. Its significance arises out of the tempering effect exercised by a branch of the warmer waters of the north Atlantic drift (usually called the Gulf Stream), whereby the ports of Pechenga and Alexandrovsk, 250 miles north of the Arctic Circle . . . remain open throughout the winter months, when all the ports of the eastern Baltic and the White Sea are closed by ice.”—I. Bowman, *New world*, p. 370.—See also RUSSIA: 1920.

1921.—Final report of commission on Aland islands.—Islands awarded to Finland by Council of the League of Nations. See ALAND ISLANDS: 1921.

1921-1922.—Friction with Russia.—“Relations between Finland and Soviet Russia reached a crisis in December 1921 owing to the uprising of the Finnish population of Eastern Karelia. . . . The Finns denied all complicity with the new government set up by the Karelians in November 1921. . . . In January 1922 Finland brought the whole controversy up before the League of Nations, which accepted the task of investigation of the merits of the controversy.”—*New York Times Current History*, Jan., 1922, p. 660; June, 1922, p. 867.

1922.—Presidential Election Bill.—Land legislation.—Interned ship agreement with Russia.—“The bill establishing the Presidential election by 300 electors chosen by the general suffrage was passed by the Diet Oct. 20. This act merely confirms the original constitutional provision. President Stahlberg’s election by the Diet had been exceptional to meet the emergency of an unsettled time in the country, and there had been much controversy as to whether the constitutional indirect-election law should take effect at the end of President Stahlberg’s six-year term, in 1925. The agrarian law was passed Oct. 14, limiting the area of private estates to something like 300 hectares. All the excess areas of the large estates are to be subdivided into small farms for sale at a specified, reasonable rate to persons without land. At the same time the Diet provided for Governmental care of the foreign-owned estates left by Russian and other proprietors during the war of independence. Instead of selling these estates for

back taxes, the Government is to take care of them for five years, but will appropriate those whose owners do not appear by that time and pay the tax arrears, plus the care-taking expenses. In October the reciprocal agreement between Finland and Soviet Russia for the return of each other’s ships, interned since the war of Finnish independence, was carried out according to the Dorpat Treaty terms.”—*New York Times Current History*, Dec., 1922, p. 522.

ALSO IN: H. Gebhard, *Coöperation in Finland*.—A. Reade, *Finland and the Finns*.—S. Henning, *Red insurrection in Finland in 1918: A study based on documentary evidence—Finland’s independence* (*Fortnightly Review*, Nov., 1917).

FINLAND, Constitution of: 1905.—Restoration by decree. See FINLAND: 1905.

1906.—Reformed constitution ratified.—Principal provisions. See FINLAND: 1906.

FINLAND, United States army transport torpedoed by German submarine. See WORLD WAR: 1917: IX. Naval operations: c, 3.

FINLAY, Robert Bannatyne, 1st Viscount (1842-), British jurist; judge at Permanent Court of International Justice, 1922. See INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE, PERMANENT COURT OF.

FINLEY, Robert (1772-1817), American missionary, organizer of the Colonization Society. See LIBERIA: Early history.

FINN GALLS, name given by the Irish to the Scandinavian invaders.

FINNISH LITERATURE. See KALEVALA; FINLAND: 1800-1898.

FINNO-UGRIAN FAMILY. See FINLAND: Ethnology.

FINNS. See FINLAND.

FINSEN, Niels Ryberg (1860-1904), Danish physician. See NOBEL PRIZES: Medicine: 1903.

FIONN, Irish heroic cycle. See MYTHOLOGY: Celtic: Christian era.

FIRBOLGS, one of the races to which Irish legend ascribes the settlement of Ireland. See NEMEDIANS; IRELAND: Primitive inhabitants.

FIRDAUSI, Firdusi, or Firdousi (Abul Kasim Mansur) (c. 940-1020), Persian poet. He turned the history of Persia into a great epic, known as the Shah Nameh or “Book of Kings.” See PERSIAN LITERATURE.

FIRE, Liquid. See LIQUID FIRE.

FIRE ARMS. See ORDNANCE: 14th-18th centuries.

FIRE BROOM. See LIQUID FIRE: 1914-1918.

FIRE CLOCKS. See INVENTIONS: Ancient and medieval: Measurements.

FIRE INSURANCE. See INSURANCE: Fire insurance.

FIRE LANDS. See OHIO: 1786-1796.

FIRE PREVENTION. See MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT: Fire fighting and prevention.

FIRE-EATERS, name applied in the United States to the extreme pro-slavery advocates of the South.

FIRES.—The following is a list of important fires in the world’s history:

A. D. 64, July 10. Rome, Italy. The fire raged for nine days destroying a great part of the city; it constitutes the greatest fire in the annals of Rome.—See also ROME: Empire: A. D. 54-64.

1666, September 6. London, England. “The Great Fire” burned four days, sweeping 436 acres, destroying 13,200 houses, many public buildings and 90 churches, including St. Paul’s Cathedral. Property loss estimated between 8,000,000 and 12,000,000 pounds sterling, which was an immense sum considering the very low values of

commodities at that time.—See also LONDON: 1666.

1812, September 15. Moscow, Russia, four-fifths of the city destroyed.—See also RUSSIA: 1812 (September).

1820, June 10. Savannah, Ga., loss \$5,000,000.

1825, October. New Brunswick, Canada, 5,500 square miles burned over by a forest fire destroying several towns and part of Fredericton.

1835, December 6. New York City, area of 60 acres, south of Wall street to East River, 674 buildings burned; loss between \$10,000,000 and \$20,000,000.

1842, May 14. Hamburg, Germany, 1,992 buildings destroyed; damage estimated at \$35,000,000; Senate, public offices and library also destroyed.

1845, May 28. Quebec, Canada, 1,050 houses destroyed.

1845, June 28. Quebec, Canada, 1,200 houses destroyed.

1845, July 19. New York City, Wall and Broad streets district, 302 buildings destroyed; loss \$6,000,000.

1848, August 10. Albany, N. Y., loss \$5,000,000.

1849-51. San Francisco, Calif., five conflagrations in three years, each destroying great portions of the city.

1852. Sacramento, Calif., 2,500 buildings, practically the entire city destroyed.

1852, July 8. Montreal, Canada, 350 acres in area; loss \$5,000,000.

1854. Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, \$5,000,000 property loss.

1861, June 22. London, England, "Tooley Street" fire, dock warehouses; loss nearly \$10,000,000.

1861, December 12. Charleston, S. C., loss \$10,000,000.

1866, July 4. Portland, Me., firecracker started fire which destroyed \$10,000,000 in property.

1866, October. Quebec, Canada, 300 acres in area; 2,000 houses and 17 churches burned; loss \$3,000,000.

1871, October 9. Chicago, Ill., "The Chicago Fire," 2,500 acres in area; 15,000 buildings destroyed; loss \$175,000,000.—See also CHICAGO: 1871.

1872, November 9. Boston, Mass., 80 acres in area; 750 buildings destroyed; property loss estimated at \$75,000,000.

1875, October 26. Virginia City, Nev., loss \$7,500,000.

1876, September 3. St. Hyacinthe, Quebec, 600 buildings in an area of 100 acres destroyed; loss \$1,500,000.

1877, June 20. St. John, New Brunswick, 350 acres in area; loss about \$15,000,000.

1881, June 8. Quebec, Canada, 50 acres in area; loss over \$2,000,000.

1880, June. Seattle, Wash., mercantile section; loss \$6,000,000.

1880, August. Spokane, Wash.; fire swept almost the entire city; loss, \$4,800,000.

1880, November 26. Lynn, Mass., 60 acres in area, 300 buildings burned.

1880, November 28. Boston, Mass., three acres in area; loss \$2,800,000.

1892, October 28. Milwaukee, Wis., 46 acres in area; property loss \$2,500,000.

1893, March 10. Boston, Mass., 2½ acres in area; loss \$3,000,000.

1895. Toronto, Canada. Three fires in the early part of the year were of conflagration proportions.

1897, June 19. London, England, "Cripplegate" fire, 56 buildings destroyed, 40 damaged.

1897, November 21. Melbourne, Australia, property loss \$4,000,000.

1898, September 10. New Westminster, Canada, business section and part of residential section destroyed.

1900, April 26. Hull, Canada, 800 acres in area, including spread to Ottawa across the river; property loss \$7,500,000.

1901, January 23. Montreal, Canada, "Board of Trade" fire, five acres in area; property loss over \$3,000,000.

1901, May 3. Jacksonville, Fla., area two miles long, one-half mile wide; property loss \$10,000,000.

1902, February 8. Paterson, N. J., two conflagrations practically simultaneous; one 250 acres in area, the other 15 acres; total property loss nearly \$6,000,000.

1903, May 20. St. Hyacinthe, Quebec, 40 acres in area destroyed.

1904, February 7 and 8. Baltimore, Md., many so-called fire-proof buildings in the business district destroyed with a loss of \$50,000,000.

1904, April 10. Toronto, Canada, 20 acres in area; loss \$12,000,000.

1906, April 18. San Francisco, Calif., greater part of business district and a large portion of residential area destroyed; property loss over \$400,000,000.—See also SAN FRANCISCO: 1906.

1908, April 12. Chelsea, Mass., business center and best residential section destroyed; loss over \$10,000,000.

1911, May 21. Atlanta, Georgia, 300 acres in area, 1,938 buildings destroyed; loss \$5,500,000—two simultaneous fires.

1912, February 1. Houston, Texas., loss \$4,500,000.

1914, June 25 and 26. Salem, Mass., 251 acres in area, 1,600 buildings destroyed; loss \$8,000,000.

1915, September 4. Newport News, Va., loss \$2,000,000.

1916, March 21. Paris, Tex., 264 acres in area, 1,440 buildings destroyed; loss \$10,000,000.

1916, March 22 and 23. Augusta, Ga., 160 acres in business and residential district, 682 buildings destroyed; loss \$4,250,000.

1916, March 26. Nashville, Tenn., 64 acres in area, 648 buildings destroyed; loss \$1,500,000.

1916, July 30. Black Tom, N. J., loss \$4,000,000.

1917, January 11. Kingland, N. J., loss \$12,000,000.

1917, January 30. Hartford, Conn., loss \$1,500,000.

1917, February 1. Pittsburgh, Pa., loss \$2,000,000.

1917, February 3. Detroit, Mich., Saxon Motors; loss \$2,600,000.

1917, May 21. Atlanta, Ga., loss \$5,000,000.

1917, October 13. Brooklyn, N. Y., loss \$2,000,000.

1917, November 1. Baltimore, Md., loss \$3,500,000.

1917, December 6. Halifax, Nova Scotia, loss \$2,000,000.

1918, October 5. Morgan, N. J., loss \$20,000,000.

1918, October. Minn., forest fires many towns and inhabitants burned; loss \$30,000,000.

1922, March 14. Chicago, Ill., loss \$5,000,000; business block in "Loop" district.—Based on *Insurance Almanac and Encyclopedia*, 1922, pp. 659-660.

1922, September 14. Smyrna, Asia Minor, about 1,000 lives were lost and \$200,000,000 worth of property.—See also SMYRNA.

FIRE-WORSHIPERS, certain cults which pay devotion to fire as a sacred element. Fire-gods occur in most primitive religions, and in some rela-

tively advanced cults. The religion of Zoroaster is often incorrectly referred to as fire-worship.

FIRMA. See **FERM.**

FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST. See **CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.**

FIRST CONSUL OF FRANCE, Napoleon Bonaparte. See **FRANCE: 1799** (November-December).

FIRST EMPIRE, French. See **FRANCE: 1804-1805, to 1815** (June-August).

FIRST-FRUITS, year's income paid by bishops and archbishops to the pope on receiving their bulls of investment. See **ANNATES.**

FIRST OF JUNE, Battle of (1794), naval victory of Lord Howe over the French, June 1, 1794. It was fought nearly 450 miles off the French coast.

FIRST REPUBLIC, French. See **FRANCE: 1792** (September-November), to 1804-1805.

FIRST ROYAL DRAGOONS, British cavalry regiment. See **MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 31.**

FIRUZ III (1351-1388), ruler of India. See **INDIA: 1200-1308.**

FISCAL BOUNTY. See **BOUNTIES.**

FISCALINI, Gallic serf. See **SERFDOM: 5th-18th centuries.**

FISCHER, Abraham (1850-1913), prime minister of Orange River Colony, 1907-1910; chairman of Oranje Unie. See **ORANGE FREE STATE: 1902-1920.**

FISCHER, Emil (1852-), German chemist. See **NOBEL PRIZES: Chemistry: 1902.**

FISCUS.—"The treasury of the senate [in the early period of the Roman empire] retained the old republican name of the ararium; that of the emperor was denominated the fiscus, a term which ordinarily signified the private property of an individual. Hence the notion rapidly grew up, that the provincial resources constituted the emperor's private purse, and when in process of time the control of the senate over the taxes gave way to their direct administration by the emperor himself, the national treasury received the designation of fiscus, and the idea of the empire being nothing else than Cæsar's patrimony became fixed ineradicably in men's minds."—C. Merivale, *History of the Romans, ch. 32.*—See also **ÆRARIUM.**

FISH, Hamilton (1808-1893), American statesman. Member of Congress, 1843-1845; member New York state legislature, 1847; governor of New York, 1848-1850; member United States Senate 1851-1857; secretary of state under President Grant, 1869-1877. See **ALABAMA CLAIMS: 1869-1871; 1871-1872.**

FISHER, Andrew (1862-), Australian statesman. See **AUSTRALIA: 1908; 1909** (May-June); 1910-1915.

FISHER, Herbert Albert Laurens (1865-), English historian and educator; president of the Board of Education. See **EDUCATION: Modern developments: 20th century: General education: England: Fisher Act.**

FISHER, John (c. 1459-1535), bishop of Rochester. See **ENGLAND: 1520-1535.**

FISHER, John Arbuthnot Fisher, 1st Baron (1841-1920), British admiral. Served in Crimean War, 1855; China War, 1859-1860; Egyptian War, 1882; held high naval offices, including that of admiral of the fleet; first sea lord of the admiralty, 1904-1910; originated the dreadnought type of battleship, 1906; recalled to the admiralty as first sea lord on the resignation of Prince Louis of Battenberg shortly after the outbreak of the World War; resigned in 1915 owing to disagreement with the government policy in the Dardanelles campaign. He published "Memoirs and Records" (2 vols.), 1920.

FISHER, Fort: Capture of. See **U. S. A.: 1864-1865** (December-January); North Carolina.

FISHER ACT (1918), English educational reform act introduced by Herbert A. Fisher in 1917; reintroduced and passed by Parliament the following year. See **EDUCATION: Modern developments: 20th century: General education: England: Fisher Act.**

FISHERIES, North American: 1501-1578.—Portuguese, Norman, Breton and Basque fishermen on the Newfoundland banks. See **NEWFOUNDLAND: 1501-1578.**

1610-1655.—Growth of the English interest. See **NEWFOUNDLAND: 1610-1655.**

1620.—Monopoly granted to the Council for New England. See **NEW ENGLAND: 1620-1623.**

1660-1688.—French gain their footing in Newfoundland. See **NEWFOUNDLAND: 1660-1688.**

1713.—Newfoundland relinquished to England, with fishing rights reserved to France, by the Treaty of Utrecht. See **NEWFOUNDLAND: 1713.**

1720-1745.—French interests protected by the fortification of Louisburg. See **CAPE BRETON ISLAND: 1720-1745.**

1763.—Rights secured to France on the island of Newfoundland and in the gulf of St. Lawrence by the Treaty of Paris.—Articles V and VI of the Treaty of Paris (1763), which transferred Canada and all its islands from France to England, are in the following language: "The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying, on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, such as it is specified in the 13th Article of the Treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the present treaty (except what relates to the island of Cape Breton, as well as to the other islands and coasts, in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Laurence); and his Britannic majesty consents to leave to the subjects of the most Christian king the liberty of fishing in the gulph of St. Laurence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands situated in the said gulph of St. Laurence. And as to what relates to the fishery on the coasts of the island of Cape Breton out of the said gulph, the subjects of the most Christian king shall not be permitted to exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of 15 leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton; and the fishery on the coasts of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and everywhere else out of the said gulph, shall remain on the foot of former treaties. Art. VI. The King of Great Britain cedes the islands of St. Peter and Miquelon, in full right, to his most Christian majesty, to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen: and his said most Christian majesty engages not to fortify the said islands; to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fishery; and to keep upon them a guard of 50 men only for the police."—*Text of the treaty (Parliamentary history, v. 15, p. 1295).*

1778.—French fishery rights recognized in the treaty between France and the United States. See **U. S. A.: 1778** (February).

1783.—Rights secured to the United States by the Treaty of Paris. See **U. S. A.: 1783** (September).

1814-1818.—Disputed rights of American fishermen after the War of 1812.—Silence of the Treaty of Ghent.—Convention of 1818.—In the Treaty of 1783 "we [United States] claimed that the liberty which was secured to the inhabitants of the United States to take fish on the coasts

of Newfoundland, under the limitation of not drying or curing the same on that island, and also on the other coasts, bays, and creeks, together with the limited rights of drying or curing fish on the coasts of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands, and Labrador, were not created or conferred by that treaty, but were simply recognized by it as already existing. They had been enjoyed before the Revolution by the Americans in common with other subjects of Great Britain, and had, indeed, been conquered, from the French chiefly, through the valor and sacrifices of the colonies of New England and New York. The treaty was therefore considered analogous to a deed of partition. It defined the boundaries between the two countries and all the rights and privileges belonging to them. We insisted that the article respecting fisheries was therefore to be regarded as identical with the possession of land or the demarcation of boundary. We also claimed that the treaty, being one that recognized independence, conceded territory, and defined boundaries, belonged to that class which is permanent in its nature and is not affected by subsequent suspension of friendly relations. The English, however, insisted that this treaty was not a unity; that while some of its provisions were permanent, other stipulations were temporary and could be abrogated, and that, in fact, they were abrogated by the war of 1812; that the very difference of the language used showed that while the rights of deep-sea fishing were permanent, the liberties of fishing were created and conferred by that treaty, and had therefore been taken away by the war. These were the two opposite views of the respective governments at the conferences which ended in the treaty of Ghent, of 1814." No compromise appearing to be practicable, the commissioners agreed, at length, to drop the subject from consideration. "For that reason the treaty of Ghent is entirely silent as to the fishery question [see U. S. A.: 1814 (December)]. . . . In consequence of conflicts arising between our fishermen and the British authorities, our point of view was very strongly maintained by Mr. Adams in his correspondence with the British Foreign Office, and finally, on October 20, 1818, Mr. Rush, then our minister at London, assisted by Mr. Gallatin, succeeded in signing a treaty, which among other things settled out rights and privileges by the first article, as follows: . . . 'It is agreed between the high contracting parties that the inhabitants of the said United States shall have forever, in common with the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, the liberty of taking fish of any kind on that part of the southern coast of Newfoundland which extends from Cape Ray to the Rameau Islands; on the western and northern coasts of Newfoundland from the said Cape Ray to the Qurpon Islands; on the shores of the Magdalen Islands, and also on the coasts, bays, harbors, and creeks from Mont Joly, on the southern coast of Labrador, to and through the straits of Belle Isle, and thence northwardly indefinitely along the coast. And that the American fishermen shall have liberty forever to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbors, and creeks in the southern part of Newfoundland herein-before described, and of the coasts of Labrador; but as soon as the same, or any portion thereof, shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such portion, so settled, without previous agreement for such purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground. And the United States hereby renounces forever any liberty heretofore enjoyed, claimed by the inhabitants thereof to take, dry, or cure fish on or within three marine miles

of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors of his Britannic Majesty's dominions in America not included in the above-mentioned limits. Provided, however, That the American fishermen shall be permitted to enter such bays or harbors for the purpose of shelter, of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood, and obtaining water, and for no other purpose whatever. But they shall be under such restrictions as shall be necessary to prevent their taking, drying, or curing fish therein, or in any other manner whatever abusing the privileges hereby secured to them.' The American plenipotentiaries evidently labored to obtain as extensive a district of territory as possible for inshore fishing, and were willing to give up privileges, then apparently of small amount, but now much more important, than of using other bays and harbors for shelter and kindred purposes. For that reason they acquiesced in omitting the word 'bait' in the first sentence of the proviso after 'water.' . . . The power of obtaining bait for use in the deep-sea fisheries is one which our fishermen were afterward very anxious to secure. But the mackerel fisheries in those waters did not begin until several years later. The only contention then was about the cod fisheries."—E. Schuyler, *American diplomacy, ch. 8.—Treaties and conventions between the United States and other powers (ed. of 1889), pp. 415-418.*

1819-1854.—Act of 1819.—Restrictions passed by the legislature of Nova Scotia.—Coasts patrolled by English war vessels.—"On June 14, 1819, an act, closely following the language of the article, was passed by the imperial parliament to carry it into effect; and from that time down to 1836, little trouble seems to have occurred. But in that year the legislature of Nova Scotia passed an act, by which the 'hovering' of vessels within three miles of the coasts and harbors was sought to be prevented by various regulations and penalties; and claims were subsequently asserted to exclude American fishermen from all bays and even from all waters within lines drawn from headland to headland, to forbid them to navigate the Gut of Canso, and to deny them all privileges of traffic, including the purchase of bait and supplies in the British colonial ports. From 1830 down to 1854 there were numerous seizures, and in 1852 the home government sent over a force of war steamers and sailing vessels to assist in patrolling the coast."—J. B. Moore, *Principles of American diplomacy, p. 141.*

1820-1901.—Whaling in the Pacific and Arctic regions. See COMMERCE: Commercial Age: 1820-1920.

1821-1824.—Russian attempt to exclude foreign fishing in Bering sea.—Convention between United States and Russia opening the Pacific ocean to fishing.—Fishery controversies of the nineteenth century were not confined to the north Atlantic. The fisheries of the north Pacific began to become valuable to Russia and "by an imperial ukase or edict of July 8, 1700, Paul I. of Russia granted to the Russian-American Company various important rights on the Russian coasts in America, including that of fishing. Twenty-two years later—on September 7, 1821—there was issued by the Emperor Alexander another ukase, the apparent effect of which was much more far-reaching, since it purported to exclude foreigners from carrying on commerce and from whaling and fishing on the northwest coast of America, from Bering Strait down to the fifty-first parallel of north latitude, and forbade them even to approach within a hundred Italian miles of the coast. Against this ukase both the United States and Great Britain

protested, and it was never enforced. . . . On the other hand, a convention was concluded between the United States and Russia on April 17, 1824, by which it was agreed that 'in any part of the great ocean, commonly called the Pacific Ocean, or South Sea,' the citizens or subjects of the high contracting parties should be 'neither disturbed nor restrained, either in navigation or in fishing.' A treaty in similar terms was made by Great Britain in the following year."—J. B. Moore, *American diplomacy*, p. 98.

1854-1866.—Privileges defined under the Canadian Reciprocity Treaty.—By the first article of the American-Canadian Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 it was agreed that, "in addition to the liberty secured to the United States fishermen by the . . . convention of October 20, 1818, of taking, curing, and drying fish on certain coasts of the British North American Colonies therein defined, the inhabitants of the United States shall have, in common with the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, the liberty to take fish of every kind, except shell-fish, on the sea-coasts and shores, and in the bays, harbors, and creeks of Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, and of the several islands thereunto adjacent, without being restricted to any distance from the shore, with permission to land upon the coasts and shores of those colonies and the islands thereof, and also upon the Magdalen Islands, for the purpose of drying their nets and curing their fish; provided that, in so doing, they do not interfere with the rights of private property, or with British fishermen, in the peaceable use of any part of the said coast in their occupancy for the same purpose. It is understood that the above-mentioned liberty applies solely to the sea-fishery, and that the salmon and shad fisheries, and all fisheries in rivers and the mouths of rivers, are hereby reserved exclusively for British fishermen." The same article provided for the appointment of commissioners and an arbitrator or umpire to settle any disputes that might arise "as to the places to which the reservation of exclusive right to British fishermen contained in this article, and that of fishermen of the United States contained in the next succeeding article, apply." By the second article of the treaty British subjects received privileges on the eastern sea-coasts and shores of the United States north of the 36th parallel of north latitude, identical with those given by the first article to citizens of the United States on the coasts and shores mentioned above.—*Treaties and conventions between the United States and other powers* (ed. of 1866), pp. 448-452.—This treaty was abrogated in 1866 by the United States.

1867-1899.—Fisheries in the Pacific. See **BERING SEA QUESTION**; **CANADA**: 1808-1899; **COMMERCE**: Commercial Age: 1820-1920.

1871.—Reciprocal privileges adjusted between Great Britain and the United States by the Treaty of Washington. See **ALABAMA CLAIMS**: 1871.

1877-1898.—Halifax award.—**Termination of the fishery articles of the Treaty of Washington.**—**Rejected Treaty of 1888.**—In accordance with the terms of Articles 22 and 23 of the Treaty of Washington (see **ALABAMA CLAIMS**: 1871), a commission appointed to award compensation to Great Britain for the superior value of the fishery privileges conceded to the citizens of the United States by that treaty, met at Halifax on June 5, 1877. The United States was represented on the commission by E. H. Kellogg, of Massachusetts, and Great Britain by Sir Alexander F. Gault, of Canada. The two governments having failed to agree in the selection of the third commissioner,

the latter was named, as the treaty provided, by the Austrian ambassador at London, who designated M. Maurice Delfosse, Belgian minister at Washington. The award was made November 27, 1877, when, "by a vote of two to one, the Commissioners decided that the United States was to pay \$5,500,000 for the use of the fishing privileges for 12 years. The decision produced profound astonishment in the United States." Dissatisfaction with the Halifax award, and generally with the main provisions of the Treaty of Washington relating to the fisheries, was so great in the United States that, when, in 1878, Congress appropriated money for the payment of the award, it inserted in the bill a clause to the effect that "Articles 18 and 21 of the Treaty between the United States and Great Britain concluded on the 8th of May, 1871, ought to be terminated at the earliest period consistent with the provisions of Article 33 of the same Treaty." "It is a curious fact that during the time intervening between the signing of the treaty of Washington and the Halifax award an almost complete change took place in the character of the fisheries. The method of taking mackerel was completely revolutionized by the introduction of the purse-seine, by means of which vast quantities of the fish were captured far out in the open sea by enclosing them in huge nets. . . . This change in the method of fishing brought about a change in the fishing grounds. . . . The result of this change was very greatly to diminish the value of the North-eastern Fisheries to the United States fishermen. . . . [On July 1, 1883] in pursuance of instructions from Congress, the President gave the required notice of the desire of the United States to terminate the Fishery Articles of the Treaty of Washington, which consequently came to an end the 1st of July, 1885. The termination of the treaty fell in the midst of the fishing season, and, at the suggestion of the British Minister, Secretary Bayard entered into a temporary arrangement whereby the American fishermen were allowed the privileges of the treaty during the remainder of the season, with the understanding that the President should bring the question before Congress at its next session and recommend a joint Commission by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain." This was done, but Congress disapproved the recommendation. The question of rights under former treaties, especially that of 1818, remained open, and became a subject of much irritation between the United States and the neighboring British American provinces. The local regulations of the latter were enforced with stringency and harshness against American fishermen; the latter solicited and procured retaliatory legislation from Congress. To end this unsatisfactory state of affairs, a treaty was negotiated at Washington in February, 1888, by Thomas F. Bayard, secretary of State, William L. Putnam and James B. Angell, plenipotentiaries on the part of the United States, and Joseph Chamberlain, M. P., Sir L. S. Sackville West and Sir Charles Tupper, plenipotentiaries on the part of Great Britain, which treaty was approved by the president and sent to the Senate, but rejected by that body on August 21, by a negative vote of 30 against 27 in its favor.—C. B. Elliott, *United States and the north-eastern fisheries*, pp. 79-100.—"President Cleveland then recommended to Congress a definite course of retaliation. . . . This recommendation failed; . . . a system of licenses was established, continued for the time being to operate by virtue of Canadian orders in council. The fisheries question was one of the subjects considered by the Quebec commission of 1868, but no conclusive results on any matter were reached by

that body."—J. B. Moore, *American diplomacy*, p. 97.

ALSO IN: J. H. De Ricci, *Fisheries dispute* (1888).—*Annual Report of United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries for 1886.—Correspondence relative to proposed Fisheries Treaty* (Senate Executive Documents, no. 113; 50th Congress, 1st Session).—*Documents and proceedings of Halifax Commission* (House of Representatives Executive Documents, no. 89; 45th Congress, 2nd Session).

1899-1901.—"Modus vivendi" between France and England regarding the Newfoundland shore question. See NEWFOUNDLAND: 1899-1901.

1908.—Convention respecting the protection, preservation, and propagation of food fishes in the waters contiguous to the United States and Canada.—The following are the articles of a convention negotiated at Washington and signed by Ambassador James Bryce, for the government of Great Britain, and by Secretary Elihu Root, for that of the United States, on April 11, 1908. Ratifications of the convention were exchanged on June 4.

ARTICLE 1. The time, seasons, and methods of fishing in the waters contiguous to the United States and Canada as specified in Article 4 of this Convention, and the nets, engines, gear, apparatus, and appliances which may be used therein, shall be fixed and determined by uniform and common international regulations, restrictions, and provisions; and to that end the High Contracting Parties agree to appoint, within three months after this Convention is proclaimed, a Commission to be known as the International Fisheries Commission, consisting of one person named by each Government.

ARTICLE 2. It shall be the duty of this International Fisheries Commission, within six months after being named, to prepare a system of uniform and common International Regulations for the protection and preservation of the food fishes in each of the waters prescribed in Article 4 of this Convention, which Regulations shall embrace close seasons, limitations as to the character, size, and manner of use of nets, engines, gear, apparatus, and other appliances; a uniform system of registry by each Government in waters where required for the more convenient regulation of commercial fishing by its own citizens or subjects within its own territorial waters or any part of such waters; an arrangement for concurrent measures for the propagation of fish; and such other provisions and measures as the Commission shall deem necessary.

ARTICLE 3. The two Governments engage to put into operation and to enforce by legislation and executive action, with as little delay as possible, the Regulations, restrictions, and provision with appropriate penalties for all breaches thereof; and the date when they shall be put into operation shall be fixed by the concurrent proclamations of the President of the United States and the Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada in Council. And it is further agreed that jurisdiction shall be exercised by either Government, as well over citizens or subjects of either party apprehended for violation of the Regulations in any of its own waters to which said Regulations apply, as over its own citizens or subjects found within its own jurisdiction who shall have violated said Regulations within the waters of the other party.

ARTICLE 4. It is agreed that the waters within which the aforementioned Regulations are to be applied shall be as follows: (1) The territorial waters of Passamaquoddy Bay; (2) The St. John

and St. Croix Rivers; (3) Lake Memphremagog; (4) Lake Champlain; (5) the St. Lawrence River, where the said River constitutes the International Boundary; (6) Lake Ontario; (7) the Niagara River; (8) Lake Erie; (9) the waters connecting Lake Erie and Lake Huron, including Lake St. Clair; (10) Lake Huron, excluding Georgian Bay but including North Channel; (11) St. Mary's River and Lake Superior; (12) Rainy River and Rainy Lake; (13) Lake of the Woods; (14) the Strait of San Juan de Fuca, those parts of Washington Sound, the Gulf of Georgia and Puget Sound lying between the parallels of 48° 10' and 49° 20'; (15) and such other contiguous waters as may be recommended by the International Fisheries Commission and approved by the two Governments. It is agreed on the part of Great Britain that the Canadian Government will protect by adequate regulations the food fishes frequenting the Fraser River.

The two Governments engage to have prepared as soon as practicable charts of the waters described in this Article, with the International Boundary Line indicated thereon; and to establish such additional boundary monuments, buoys, and marks as may be recommended by the Commission.

ARTICLE 5. The International Fisheries Commission shall continue in existence so long as this Convention shall be in force, and each Government shall have the power to fill, and shall fill from time to time, any vacancy which may occur in its representation on the Commission. Each Government shall pay its own Commissioner, and any joint expenses shall be paid by the two Governments in equal moieties.

ARTICLE 6. The Regulations, restrictions, and provisions provided for in this Convention shall remain in force for a period of four years from the date of their executive promulgation, and thereafter until one year from the date when either the Government of Great Britain or of the United States shall give notice to the other of its desire for their revision; and immediately upon such notice being given the Commission shall proceed to make a revision thereof, which Revised Regulation, if adopted and promulgated by the President of the United States and the Governor-General of Canada in Council, shall remain in force for another period of four years and thereafter until one year from the date when a further notice of revision is given as above provided in this Article. It shall, however, be in the power of the two Governments, by joint or concurrent action upon the recommendation of the Commission, to make modifications at any time in the Regulations.

ARTICLE 7. The present Convention shall be duly ratified by His Britannic Majesty and by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in Washington as soon as practicable.

1909.—Depression in Newfoundland. See NEWFOUNDLAND: 1909.

1909-1910.—Hague arbitration of Newfoundland fishery dispute.—"By an agreement of January 27, 1909, the north Atlantic fisheries dispute was referred to The Hague Court. Five arbitrators sat, and, September 7, 1910, signed the award, holding that Great Britain, or the local colony, might by laws or ordinances designed to preserve the fisheries or public order and morals, but subject to review by a mixed commission of experts, regulate the exercise of the 'liberties' not renounced in 1818; that, while persons not inhabiting the United States might be enrolled on American fish-

ing-vessels, they gained no treaty immunities; that such vessels, though exempt from commercial formalities, and from dues not imposed on British fishermen, should, if proper conveniences existed, report their presence, and, even when coming in for shelter, repairs, wood, or water, might be required when staying over forty-eight hours similarly to report, personally or by telegraph. American fishing-vessels, if commercially documented, might, it was held, exercise privileges, but not when on a fishing voyage. The award, adopting the provisions of the Bayard-Chamberlain arrangement [see above: 1877-1808], delimited certain waters as exclusively British, and for the rest recommended, as to bays, the ten-mile rule. The right of the Americans to fish on the treaty coasts of Newfoundland and the Magdalen Islands, was affirmed."—J. B. Moore, *Principles of American diplomacy*, pp. 152-156.—See also NEWFOUNDLAND: 1905-1909.

1911-1912.—*Fur-seal convention of 1911.—Agreement between United States, Great Britain and Japan.—Seal Bill of 1912.*—"In spite of the efforts made for their protection, the number of seals in the north Pacific diminished rather than increased. Warm discussions, conducted with epithets as well as with figures, took place as to the respectively injurious effects of pelagic sealing and killing on land. Besides, the controversy tended, like that regarding the suffrage, to follow sexual lines, the killing on land affecting chiefly the fathers of the race, while that on the sea destroyed chiefly the mothers. Eventually, a further treaty was entered into by the United States and Great Britain on February 7, 1911, but its provisions were in the main either duplicated or superseded by the treaty concluded at Washington, on the 7th of the following July, between the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and Russia, for the protection of sea-otters as well as of fur-seals. By this treaty the contracting parties agreed for a definite period of fifteen years to prohibit all persons subject to their laws and treaties, and also their vessels, from engaging in 'pelagic sealing'—which was defined, for the purpose of the convention, as the 'killing, capturing, or pursuing' in the waters of the north Pacific above 30° latitude, including the seas of Bering, Kamchatka, Okhotsk, and Japan. The waters thus designated were to be patrolled. Offenders against the treaty were subject to arrest on the high seas by the authorities of any of the contractants, but must be handed over to their own nation for trial; while skins not certified as taken under the authority of the respective powers were excluded from importation. Sea-otters were similarly protected. On the other hand, the powers undertook to solace one another for foregoing the exercise of the right to kill at sea by furnishing certain compensations, chiefly out of the profits of killing on land. In case the number of seals visiting the United States islands in any year fell below 100,000, or the Russian islands below 18,000, or the Japanese below 6,500, it was permissible to suspend all killing without any allowance in skins or in money till the specified standard should again be exceeded. Subject to this stipulation, each of the powers possessing, within the designated area, islands and shores frequented by seals, agreed to deliver up a certain gross percentage, in number and value, of the skins thereon taken. Of the skins taken on the islands and shores of the United States and of Russia, the governments of Canada and Japan were each to receive 15 per cent., while of those taken on Japanese islands and shores, the United States, Japan, and Russia were each to get 10 per cent.;

but it was further stipulated that Canada and Japan should each receive from the American herd not less than one thousand skins annually. In case any British islands or shores should become the resort of seals, the United States, Japan, and Russia were each to receive 10 per cent. of the skins thereon taken. These stipulations, however, do not limit the right of the territorial sovereigns from time to time altogether to suspend the killing of seals on their respective shores and islands, or to impose restrictions and regulations necessary to protect and preserve the herd and to increase its number. But, if killing is altogether prohibited, for any reason other than that the number of visiting seals has fallen below the standard, then the United States must during such suspension pay Great Britain and Japan each an annual sum of \$10,000 for which it may, after killing is resumed, reimburse itself by retaining skins taken in excess of the minimum of one thousand agreed to be turned over. Russia agreed, during the last ten years of the conventional term of fifteen, to kill in each year at least 5 per cent. of the seals visiting her hauling-grounds and rookeries, provided this did not exceed 85 per cent. of the three-year-old male seals hauling in such year. Japan made a similar engagement in regard to the killing of her seals. Finally, the United States agreed, when the treaty took effect, to advance to Great Britain and to Japan, each, on account of the skins to which they would be entitled, the sum of \$200,000, and to repay itself by retaining an equivalent in skins, reckoned by their market value in London less cost of transportation, such reckoning, if disputed, to be made by an 'umpire,' chosen by the governments concerned. In explanation of the standard of valuation thus adopted, the fact may be stated that London had for many years been the almost exclusive seat of the industry of dressing sealskins. The undressed skins, therefore, for the most part found their way thither; and it was the only place where a market value of such skins, resulting from public sales at stated seasons, could then be said to exist. These circumstances also help to elucidate the diversity, which prior negotiations had at times disclosed, between the inclinations of the British and those of the Canadian government, the latter having an immediate interest in pelagic sealing, while the former was substantially interested in preserving a flourishing industry which was said to affect the livelihood of ten thousand persons in England, and which was dependent upon a steady and permanent supply of the raw material."—J. B. Moore, *Principles of American diplomacy*, pp. 152-156.—"On February 15, 1912, a bill, which has since become a law, was introduced in the House of Representatives to give effect to certain provisions of the treaty of 1911. An effort was at once made by certain interested parties, ostensibly for the welfare of the herd, to attach to this bill an amendment providing for the suspension of land sealing for the period of the treaty. This amendment was virtually defeated in the House, the bill passing that body with provision for a single season's suspension only. In the Senate, however, the fight was more successful, a 10-year close season for land sealing being secured. In conference with the House the period of suspension of land sealing was reduced to 5 years, and this is the present law [1912]. A provision of the amendment permits a limited killing for food for the natives on the fur-seal islands."—United States Fisheries Bureau, *Economic Circular no. 4*, Dec. 20, 1912, pp. 4-5.

1915.—*Halibut fishing in the Pacific.*—Trade diverted to Canada.—"Prior to 1915 nearly all of

the halibut supply for the East was obtained through Alaskan ports and Seattle. The halibut banks lie largely about 700 miles north of Seattle and extend for 1,500 miles along the Alaskan coast but outside of the 3-mile limit. They are thought to be the most extensive halibut banks in the world. . . . Early in 1915 the Grand Trunk Pacific Railroad was completed to Prince Rupert. It was largely financed by the Canadian Government, which laid out the town site of Prince Rupert at the terminus of the railroad. Prince Rupert is about 600 miles north of Seattle and within 32 miles of the Alaskan coast. It is 600 miles nearer the halibut grounds than Seattle, lying directly on the line between Seattle and the Alaskan ports and fishing banks . . . with rail connections to the eastern market . . . [and] the halibut industry was rapidly diverted to Canadian ports, especially Prince Rupert. Many of the Seattle firms were compelled to open offices at Prince Rupert; Alaskan plants were shut down and much of their business transferred to Prince Rupert."—*Congressional Record*, Aug. 25, 1915.

1920.—Treaty between Canada and United States for the protection and conservation of fish. See U. S. A.: 1920 (July).

FISHER'S HILL, Battle of. See U. S. A.: 1864 (August-October; Virginia).

FISHING CREEK, Battle of. See U. S. A.: 1862 (January-February; Kentucky-Tennessee).

FISMES, town seventeen miles west of Reims, France, on the Vesle. Taken by the Germans in their 1918 offensive, and on August 4, 1918, recaptured by the Americans and French. See WORLD WAR: 1918: II. Western front: d, 19.

FIST OF PUBLIC HARMONY, Society of the. See CHINA: 1900.

FITCH, Clyde (1865-1900), American dramatist. See DRAMA: 1865-1913.

FITCH, John (1743-1798), American inventor. See STEAM NAVIGATION: Beginnings.

FITZGERALD, Lord Edward (1763-1798), Irish revolutionist. See DUBLIN: 1700-1798.

FITZGERALD, Lord Thomas, 10th earl of Kildare (1513-1537), vice deputy of Ireland, leader of a rebellion against English rule in the reign of Henry VIII. See IRELAND: 1535-1553.

FITZGERALD, S. See GERALDINES.

FITZMAURICE, Edmund George, Baron (1846-), British representative of Eastern Roumelian Commission to regulate the affairs of Turkey, 1880; under-secretary of foreign affairs, 1882-1885. See ALBANIA: 1478-1880.

FITZROY, Sir Charles Augustus (1796-1858), British colonial governor of New South Wales. See NEW SOUTH WALES: 1831-1855.

FITZWILLIAM, William Wentworth Fitzwilliam, 2nd Earl (1748-1833), English statesman, an active supporter of the Whigs. Viceroy to Ireland, 1794-March, 1795; appointed lord-lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1798. See IRELAND: 1778-1782.

FIUME, "free" city-state situated at the head of Quarnero bay on the eastern side of the Gulf of Fiume, at the head of the Adriatic sea. The area of the state is about eleven square miles, including a narrow strip of coast line, which provides a road to Italian territory to the north. The population is estimated at 50,000. The city, which had attained great importance as a sea port, under Austro-Hungarian dominance, became a storm center between the Italians and Jugo-Slavs after the armistice which terminated the World War.

After the Napoleonic era, Fiume belonged alternately to Croatia and Hungary until 1870 when it became definitely a Hungarian possession, and the

kingdom's only outlet to the sea. "Fiume has a splendid harbor upon the development of which the Hungarian Government . . . spent millions. The docking facilities are of the most modern kind. Ships can tie up at the docks of Fiume and their cargoes can be stored in warehouses at terminals equal to those controlled by the Bush Terminal Company in Brooklyn. The city had every reason to look forward with confidence to a great commercial future. It is well built, with notable streets and some imposing public buildings."—F. W. Halsey, ed., *Literary Digest History of the World War*, v. 10, pp. 379.—Fiume's prosperity began when its railways made it the port of a growing hinterland. The timber of Carniola and Croatia, the corn of the Hungarian plain, English coal, colonial products, etc., go to swell a traffic which from 130,000 tons in 1869 had risen to 4,000,000 tons in 1913.

1915-1918.—Pact of London.—Allied occupation.—The secret Treaty of London (April, 1915), known as the "Pact of London" recognized by section 5th that the whole coast of Croatia, the port of Fiume and the small ports of Nevie and Carlopago shall be included in the territory of Croatia.—See also EUROPE: Modern: Political map.—The city was taken from Hungary by the allies in the World War, and its strategic commercial situation made it one of the great prizes of victory, a prize which was claimed both by Italy and the new kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, commonly known as Jugo-Slavia. Fiume, until its status could be definitely fixed by the Peace Conference, was nominally under the allied control as arranged by the Diaz armistice of Nov. 4, but the fact that the people of Fiume, on Oct. 30, 1918, had declared for adhesion to Italy and established a civil government, and that on Nov. 16, a strong Italian force had taken possession of the city in order to save the people from the Croats somewhat complicated matters, particularly when the French temporarily took over one of the harbors as a port of debarkation for food supplies.—See also HUNGARY: 1918: End of the World War.—"The Austrian armistice required the evacuation of the territory assigned to Italy by the pact of London, and it was occupied by Italian troops. Just before the armistice, in the confused days when Austria-Hungary was falling to pieces, the city of Fiume had proclaimed its desire to be united with Italy. The Croatians attempted to gain possession of the town for the new South Slav State which was forming, but Italian and later other Allied troops occupied it. . . . The Italians seemed willing to modify their claims to Dalmatia if Fiume, to which they had no claim under the Treaty of London, were given to them instead. The South Slavs insisted on having both Dalmatia and Fiume and a large part of eastern Istria, enough, that is, to control the main railroad to Fiume. . . . The [geographical] situation in many ways resembles the Polish outlet at Dantzic, and the proposal to make Fiume a free city under the protection of the League of Nations was soon put forward. Difficulties then arose as to the customs régime to which the town should belong, and as to the nation which should look after its diplomatic interests in other countries. England and France, though they felt bound to carry out the Treaty of London if Italy insisted, were anxious to see a compromise which should satisfy both sides."—A. P. Scott, *Introduction to the peace treaties*, p. 276-277.—See also LONDON, TREATY OR PACT OF.

1919.—Claims of Italians and Jugo-Slavs.—Arguments for each side.—At the Peace confer-

ence the Italian delegates, Orlando (prime minister) and Sonnino, made a strong claim for the city. On behalf of this claim it was argued that the majority of the population (something over half) was Italians; the education Italian. "It has always been truly Italian in its atmosphere; its architecture is Italian; its mode of outdoor life has been such as one finds in Italy; most of its stores . . . are Italian, though the best and largest before the war were kept by Austrian Jews, and most hotel-keepers and tradesmen spoke German. But it was absurd to attempt to separate Fiume from the neighboring Slavonic city, Sussak, for administrative purposes. The stream that divided them is scarcely wider than the Bronx river. A great number of the population of Sussak simply reside there and work in Fiume; Sussak bears the same relation to Fiume that Brooklyn bears to Manhattan. Surrounding hills hem in the two communities as a unit apart from the hinterland."—F. W. Halsey, ed., *Literary Digest history of the World War*, v. 10, p. 380.—As against this claim Milenko R. Vesnitch, Serbian delegate, claimed the city as necessary to the prosperity of Jugo-Slavia, and on behalf of this claim various arguments were raised. It was said that the problem of Fiume was above all economic. "Its severance from Jugoslavia would not only be an injury in which the new State could never tamely acquiesce, but would spell utter ruin for Fiume itself, since the Croats, if deprived of their chief port would have no course save to divert the railway traffic to Bucari, where they could not be interfered with. It is quite true that in five or ten years the whole problem may have been transformed, and that when the railways of Jugoslavia have been completed, Spalato will become her chief commercial outlet. But as matters stand to-day, Fiume is the only Jugoslav port which has a broadgauge railway connection with the interior, and must therefore, for a long time to come, be the chief harbour of Serbia and Croatia alike. Indeed, even if the trade of Belgrade is eventually diverted farther to the south, Fiume will always remain the chief Adriatic outlet of Zagreb, Budapest, Central and Southern Hungary, and even of Bohemia."—R. W. Seton-Watson, *Europe in the melting pot*, pp. 316, 317.—"Fiume's economic life is Jugoslav. Cut off from Jugoslavia, it is doomed to decay; while the Jugoslav State, robbed of its only real port, is condemned to vegetate and suffer, and is placed before the alternative of falling into the economic vassalage of its neighbor, or of resorting to a policy of resistance which can only end in a fresh conflict. The importance of Fiume rests above all upon the sea, the harbor, the mercantile fleet. Now, the great majority of this fleet is Jugoslav. [Croatian.] The leading shipowners, almost all the captains and officers, practically all the crews, are Croats; . . . there are no Italian companies. All the shipowner organizations are Croat. Not one of the big banks of Fiume is Italian; four are Croat, two Croat-Italian mixed, one Magyar, one Austro-Hungarian. The Italians only have municipal savings banks. All the big fortunes of Fiume are Jugoslav, not Italian. Seven-tenths of the house property there are Jugoslav. . . . This [entire] domination of the Adriatic would give Italy control of all the communications of Western Europe with Jugoslavia—not only the sea route, but the only two main railways—the Mont Cenis or Simplon route to Trieste, and the Arlberg-Pustertal route between the Brenner and Toblach, a corner assured to Italy for strategic reasons under the Treaty of London."—*La question de Fiume* (*New Europe*, Mar. 13, 1919, pp. 212-213).—See

also ITALY: 1918-1919; ADRIATIC QUESTION: Summary of arguments, etc.

1919.—Attitude of President Wilson at peace conference.—Support by Lloyd George and Clemenceau.—The Italian premier, Signor Orlando, and his colleagues, made demand for Fiume on the ground that the changed conditions made its allocation to Croatia no longer valid and rather brought it within the scope of the principle of self-determination. President Wilson strenuously opposed this demand, and on April 14, 1919, handed to Signor Orlando a memorandum which set out at length the reasons for his opposition to the Italian claim. This memorandum said in part: "It is commonly agreed, and I very heartily adhere to the agreement, that the ports of Trieste and Pola, and with them the greater part of the Istrian Peninsula, should be ceded to Italy, her eastern frontier running along the natural strategic line established by the physical conformation of the country—a line which it has been attempted to draw with some degree of accuracy on the attached map. Within this line on the Italian side will lie considerable bodies of non-Italian populations, but their fortunes are so naturally linked by the nature of the country itself with the rest of the Italian people that I think their inclusion is fully justified. There would be no justification in my judgment in including Fiume, or any part of the coastline to the south of Fiume, within the boundaries of the Italian Kingdom. Fiume is by situation and by all the circumstances of its development not an Italian, but an international, port serving the countries to the east and north of the Gulf of Fiume. Just because it is an international port and cannot with justice be subordinated to any one sovereignty, it is my clear judgment that it should enjoy a very considerable degree of genuine autonomy, and while it should be included no doubt within the customs system of the new Jugoslav State, it should nevertheless be left free in its own interest, and in the interest of the States lying about it, to devote itself to the service of the commerce which naturally and inevitably seeks an outlet or inlet at its port. The States which it serves will be new States. They will have complete confidence in their access to an outlet on the sea. The friendship and the connections of the future will largely depend upon such an arrangement as I have suggested, and friendship, co-operation, and freedom of action must underlie every arrangement of peace if peace is to be lasting. . . . These are conclusions which I am forced to by the understandings which underlie the whole situation of the present peace. . . . [The memorandum concludes by stating that by following the course thus laid out] at the very outset we shall have avoided the fatal error of making Italy's nearest neighbors on her east her enemies, and nursing just such a sense of injustice as has disturbed the peace of Europe for generations together, and played no small part in bringing on the terrible conflict through which we have just passed."—*New York Times Current History*, June, 1919, p. 411.—On April 23, 1919, President Wilson issued an emphatic declaration that he would not yield on the Fiume question. He referred to the "Fourteen Points" and particularly to Numbers 9 and 10. "A readjustment of the frontier of Italy [he said] should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality," (Number 9) and "Serbia [should be] accorded free and secure access to the sea," (Number 10)—principles which were proclaimed before the entire dissolution of the Dual Monarchy was contemplated. "If those principles are to be adhered to Fiume must serve

as the outlet of the commerce, not of Italy, but of the land to the north and northeast of that port. Hungary, Bohemia, Rumania, and the States of the new Yugoslav group. To assign Fiume to Italy would be to create the feeling that we have deliberately put the port, upon which all those countries chiefly depend for their access to the Mediterranean, in the hands of a power of which it did not form an integral part, and whose sovereignty, if set up there, must inevitably seem foreign, not domestic or identified with the commercial and industrial life of the regions which the port must serve. It is for that reason, no doubt, that Fiume was not included in the Pact [Treaty] of London, but was definitely assigned to the Croats. And the reason why the line of the Pact of London swept about many of the islands of the eastern coast of the Adriatic and around the portion of the Dalmatian coast which lies most open to that sea was not only that here and there on those islands, and here and there on that coast, there are bodies of people of Italian blood and connection, but also, and no doubt chiefly, because it was felt that it was necessary for Italy to have a foothold amid the channels of the Eastern Adriatic in order that she might make her own coasts safe against the naval aggression of Austria-Hungary. But Austria-Hungary no longer exists. It is proposed that the fortifications which the Austrian Government constructed there shall be razed and permanently destroyed. It is part also of the new plan of European order which centers in the League of Nations that the new States erected there shall accept a limitation of armaments which puts aggression out of the question. There can be no fear of the unfair treatment of groups of Italian people there, because adequate guarantees will be given, under international sanction, of the equal and equitable treatment of all racial or national minorities."—*New York Times Current History, June, 1919, pp. 405, 406.*

In his reply, Premier Orlando declared that the Italian claim was based on the principles of President Wilson's "Fourteen Points." Citing the president's argument that the concessions granted bring Italy to its natural defenses, the Alps, he said in rebuttal, "This problem is that of the Adriatic in which is summed up all the rights of both the ancient and the new Italy, all her sufferings throughout the centuries and all the benefits she is destined to bring to the great international community." The Presidential message affirms that with the concessions which she has received, Italy would attain the walls of the Alps, which are her natural defences. "This recognition is of great importance, provided that the eastern flank of this wall does not remain open and that the right of Italy should be interpreted to include the line of Monte Nevoso, north and west of Fiume, which separates the waters running toward the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. [Monte Nevoso was awarded to Italy by the Treaty of Rapello.] Without this protection a dangerous breach is left in this admirable barrier of the Alps, rupturing the unquestionable political, economic, and historical unity of the Istrian Peninsula. I contend, furthermore, that he who is entitled to the honor of proclaiming to the world the right of the free determination of peoples should recognize this right for Fiume, an ancient Italian city which proclaimed its Italian nature before the Italian ships arrived—an admirable example of national consciousness perpetuated throughout centuries. To deny this right only because of the small number concerned would mean the admission that the criterion of justice toward peoples

varies according to their territorial extent."—*New York Times Current History, June, 1919, p. 408.*—A meeting between the British, French and Italian premiers and President Wilson was arranged by Lloyd George, with the hope of settling the dispute, but the discussion was fruitless, and the Italian delegates withdrew from the conference on April 21, 1919.—Lloyd George "supported President Wilson in the difference with Italy over Fiume, and Clemenceau supported both. But he always hoped to effect a settlement by persuasion. When President Wilson had made up his mind to issue an appeal to the Italian nation, Mr. Lloyd George persuaded him to agree to a postponement of twenty-four hours. President Wilson kept precisely to his promise. But it unfortunately happened that, just as the twenty-four hours expired, delicate negotiations were proceeding between Orlando and Mr. Lloyd George, and there were still hopes of a settlement. The appeal was published in the afternoon papers of Paris, and its immediate effects were to offend the Italian delegates, throw them back on to the point of honor, and drive them out of the Peace Conference. President Wilson acted with his usual high and simple honesty; but in this case, at any rate, if the aim was peace, open diplomacy did not score a conspicuous triumph."—H. Spender, *Prime minister, pp. 294-295.*—The expectation was that "under the arrangement of the Pact of London (by which the principal Allies [Russia pledging particular help to Italy] agreed each and severally not to conclude a separate peace) the further progress of negotiations with Germany would be impossible. It was to meet this contention that in a protocol to the actual Treaty [of Versailles] subsequently presented, it was laid down that the Treaty should come into operation so soon as it has been ratified by Germany and any three of the five principal Allies. The withdrawal of the Italian delegates from Paris was not of long duration, and Signor Orlando and his colleagues returned on May 5 [1919] to negotiate. Agitation, however, continued violent in Italy, notwithstanding a large number of proposals which were put forward in the hope of meeting a difficult case. On June 20 [1919 the Orlando] . . . government fell. Signor Nitti, who became premier on June 23, included in his party some members of the Giolitti party, which before Italy came into the war, had stood for the maintenance of neutrality. The German Treaty was signed and the Fiume question still left in abeyance even after the further Treaty [St. Germain] had been presented to Austria."—*Hazell Annual and Almanack, 1920, p. 710.*—See also PARIS, CONFERENCE OF: Courses of discussion.

1919.—**Conflict between French and Italian troops.**—In July a quarrel occurred between the French and Italian troops in the city. "Italian accounts deal principally with the cause—the tearing up of an Italian flag and other insults alleged to have been inflicted by French soldiers on Italian soldiers and Italo-Fiumeians. The French accounts, including that of an American correspondent, deal with an unprovoked attack by a mob and [by] Italian soldiers and sailors, more or less under orders, upon the French compound, and the slaying there of half a dozen French Asiatics and the wounding of twenty. The day after the riot General Savy, the commander of the French troops at Fiume, described the affair in the *Giornale D'Italia* as 'most deplorable,' and added that it would be a 'mistake to generalize and make the fault of a few that of the whole French contingent.' The same day the National Council of Fiume passed a resolution asking the withdrawal

of the French troops, as their presence endangered friendly Franco-Italian relations."—*New York Times Current History*, Aug., 1919.

1919-1921.—Seizure by D'Annunzio.—Dictatorship.—Made an independent state by the Treaty of Rapallo.—Provisional government.—"It is understood that an arrangement [of the Italian-Jugo-Slav dispute] had almost been reached when a dramatic stroke threw everything into confusion once more. On September 17, 1919, Gabriele D'Annunzio, the Italian poet and soldier, who had been fervently pressing the extreme nationalistic claims, persuaded some Italian troops to seize Fiume in the name of the annexationist cause. No one dared to put a forcible end to his comic-opera adventure for fear of causing a popular uprising in Italy."—A. P. Scott, *Introduction to peace treaties*, p. 277.—Two days before the seizure, D'Annunzio, "on September 15th, supported by a force of *Arditti*, went to Fiume and proclaimed a union of the city with Italy. Fiume thus



GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO

became plunged into a state of anarchy. British and French troops left the city, lowering their flags at D'Annunzio's request. . . . By September 19th D'Annunzio's army had increased to over 11,000, including 1,600 volunteers from Trieste, and Fiume was ablaze with flags, her streets filled with marching soldiers and her air vibrant with the confidence felt by men who, under the command of D'Annunzio, had marched into the city and were able firmly to hold it. Soldiers were to be seen everywhere. Motor-trucks lurched through the streets carrying armed men from one point to another, and hundreds of troops could be seen at any hour marching with the greatest precision and the strictest military discipline."—F. W. Halsey, ed. *Literary Digest history of the World War*, v. 10, pp. 378-379.—The environs of the city and district and some of the neighboring islands also fell in possession of D'Annunzio, who called himself "Rector of the Regency of the Quarnero" and declared Fiume an independent state of which he remained in possession until December, 1920. Meantime the governments of the two countries were endeavoring to make a direct settlement, and an agreement

was reached on November 10. "On November 12, [1920] at Rapallo, a little winter resort near Genoa, a treaty [was signed] between Italy and the kingdom of the Serbs, the Croats, and the Slovenes, which settled their differences as to the Adriatic. By this treaty Fiume with a small strip running along the gulf, becomes independent. Thus far, we might be in Paris instead of at Rapallo. But the Wilson line in Istria becomes a thing of dreams. Not only do the Italians get a frontier touching that of Fiume; not only do they get all of Istria; but the line near Laibach goes even east of the line of the Pact of London, making a strategic frontier even more strategic than before."

—D. H. Miller, *Adriatic negotiations at Paris (Atlantic Monthly, Aug., 1921)*.—See also RAPALLO, TREATY OF (1920).—D'Annunzio "vehemently denounced the treaty. When it became evident that Italy intended to enforce . . . [its] terms D'Annunzio on December 3 condemned the government as traitorous and declared war on Italy. After considerable parley with the obdurate poet, Fiume was bombarded on December 27, 1920, by Italian regulars. . . . [The city authorities accepted the government edict on December 20] and D'Annunzio after expressing his disappointment that the people of Italy had not rallied to his standard, departed, January 18, for Paris. Elections to a constituent assembly . . . held April 24, [1921] resulted in the defeat of the Nationalists."—*Political Science Quarterly, Supplement, Sept., 1921*.—"The Rome government endeavored to regain authority by the institution of a blockade, but the strong feeling in the Italian nation and army, over whom d'Annunzio had established a popular hold, made action on its part extremely difficult. On November 14, d'Annunzio, evading the blockade, made a further raiding visit to Zara and even persuaded Admiral Millo to put the ship *Zeffiro* at the disposal of the committee of the inhabitants, in order that they too might proceed to Fiume."—*Hazell Annual and Almanack, 1920, p. 710*.—The *Zeffiro*, however, remained under government control, although some other Italian boats as well as several bodies of troops went over to D'Annunzio. A month later owing to terrorism on the part of some brigands, former D'Annunzio followers, the leader of the autonomists, Riccardo Zanella, formed his government at Buccari, on the Jugo-Slav side of the bay. In October, 1921, Zanella was elected president of the state, by the constituent assembly.

1922 (March).—Overthrow of provisional government by Fascisti.—Trouble was again brewed in Fiume in 1922 by the Italian Fascisti, and as the result of severe fighting on March 3 (when the government palace was bombarded) the provisional government retired to Jugo-Slav territory. "Order was maintained by Italian carabinieri, and the Italian government was asked to take over the administration. . . . The Italian Government's attitude was that though it realized the delicacy of the situation, . . . it was in honor bound to execute the terms of the treaty with Jugoslavia. The first step taken by the Cabinet was to send Italian troops to the city to make sure that there should be no further outbreaks. Some 500 carabinieri were sent on March 5 to reinforce the carabinieri already on the ground. . . . [Riccardo Zanella, the president] by this time had been taken away on a torpedo boat. . . . On March 17 the Italian Government ordered the occupation of Fiume by Italian troops, as a decisive step toward fulfilling its promises under the Treaty of Rapallo."—*New York Times Current History, Apr., 1922, pp. 169, 170*.

See also ADRIATIC QUESTION.

FIVE ARTICLES OF PERTH, adopted by an assembly at Perth submitting to certain ordinances of James VI against the Scottish church. See SCOTLAND: 1618.

FIVE BLOODS. See IRELAND: 13th-14th centuries.

FIVE BOROUGHES, confederation of towns occupied by the Danes in England, including Derby, Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham and Stamford, which played a part in the events of the tenth and eleventh centuries. It afterwards became Seven Boroughs by addition of York and Chester. See NORMANS: Influence of Vikings upon British Isles.

FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES OF INDIANS, the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Muscogee (or Creek) and Seminole nations which occupy large tracts of lands in the Indian Territory of the United States. In 1893 a commission, sometimes known as the Dawes commission, was created to settle questions in dispute between the United States government and the Indians. See INDIANS, AMERICAN: 1893-1899; 1901-1902; 1920: Facts on Oklahoma Indians; OKLAHOMA: 1830-1844; 1844-1856; 1866-1879.

FIVE FORKS, Battle of. See U. S. A.: 1865 (March-April; Virginia).

FIVE GLORIOUS DAYS OF MILAN, 1848, in the Austro-Sardinian War. See WORLD WAR: Causes: Indirect: b, 2.

FIVE HUNDRED, Council of the lower house of the French legislature created in 1795. See FRANCE: 1795 (June-September).

FIVE MEMBERS.—As an act of vengeance against the leaders of the parliamentary opposition, King Charles I attempted to arrest and impeach five members of the House of Commons for high treason. See ENGLAND: 1642 (January).

FIVE-MILE ACT, act passed in England in 1665; directed against Nonconformist clergy who were forbidden to teach or come within five miles of a city or corporate town unless they took the oath of non-resistance. See ENGLAND: 1662-1665.

FIVE NATIONS OF INDIANS.—The five original tribes of the Iroquois confederacy,—the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas,—were commonly called by the English the Five Nations. Subsequently, in 1715, a sixth tribe, the Tuscaroras, belonging to the same stock, was admitted to the confederacy, and its members were then known as the Six Nations. See IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY: Tribes of the south; HIAWATHA; NEW YORK: 1684.

FIVE THOUSAND, Athenian assembly. See ATHENS: B. C. 413-411.

FLACIUS, Matthias, surnamed Illyricus (1520-1575), German Lutheran theologian. See HISTORY: 23.

FLAGELLANTS.—"Although the Church's forgiveness for sin might now [fourteenth century] be easily obtained in other ways, still flagellation was not only greatly admired among the religious, but was also held in such high estimation by the common people, that in case of any calamity or plague, they thought they could propitiate the supposed wrath of God in no more effectual manner than by scourging, and processions of scourgers; just as though the Church's ordinary means of atonement were insufficient for extraordinary cases. . . . Clement VI. put an end to the public processions of Flagellants, which were already widely prevalent: but penance by the scourge was only thus forced into concealment. . . . Thus there now rose heretical Flagellants, called also by the common name of Beghards. . . . When the Whitemen (Bianchi) [see WHITE PENITENTS], scourging themselves as they went, descended from the Alps

into Italy, they were received almost everywhere with enthusiasm by the clergy and the people; but in the Papal territory death was prepared for their leader, and the rest accordingly dispersed themselves."—J. C. L. Gieseler, *Compendium of ecclesiastical history*, v. 4, sect. 123.—"Divided into companies of male and female devotees, under a leader and two masters, they stripped themselves naked to the waist, and publicly scourged themselves, or each other, till their shoulders were covered with blood. This expiatory ceremony was repeated every morning and afternoon for thirty-three days, equal in number to the years which Christ is thought to have lived upon earth. . . . The Flagellants appeared first in Hungary; but missionary societies were soon formed, and they hastened to impart the knowledge of the new gospel to foreign nations. . . . A colony reached England, and landed in London. . . . The missionaries made not a single proselyte."—J. Lingard, *History of England*, v. 4, ch. 1.

FLAGLER, Henry M. (1830-1913), American capitalist interested in developing the east coast of Florida, and in the extension of railway there. See FLORIDA: 1885-1915; RAILROADS: 1912-1915.

FLAGS: Origin.—A search for the origin of national flags brings us back to very early times when sacred emblems were carried before the host on the march or in battle as a protection and a guide. "The earlier national symbols were ordinary images or badges wrought in metal, stone or wood, and carried at the top of a pole or spear. Thus the host of Egypt marched to war beneath the sacred emblems of their gods or the fan of feathers of the Pharaohs. . . . The Greeks in like manner used symbols of their deities such as the owl of Athens . . . though Homer makes Agamemnon use a purple veil as a rallying signal. The sculptures of Persepolis show us that the Persians adopted the figures of the sun, the eagle and the like which in time were replaced by the blacksmith's apron. In Rome, the original standard was . . . [a] simple wisp of straw. . . . Under the later Dictators this gave place to a hand erect; or the figure of a horse or wolf or other animal was used until the eagle alone was adopted. . . . The vexillum or cavalry flag was according to Livy a square piece of textile material fixed to a cross-bar at the end of a spear, often richly fringed and either plain or with devices, and was undoubtedly a flag. . . . Later on the Romans adopted for their auxiliaries the dragon of Parthia which in time became the standard of the Emperors of the West and the origin of the golden dragon of Wessex and the red dragon of Wales. The Jutes carried the rampant white horse, at first as an image, which became the flag of the Men of Kent; the Danes carried the raven, also at first as an image and then as a flag which when captured in 878 was a small triangular banner, fringed, bearing a black raven on a blood-red field. The Gauls fought under a carved lion, bull or bear until they adopted the Roman eagle. The Imperial Standard or Labarum of Constantine [the Great] and his successors resembled the cavalry vexillum. It was of purple silk richly embroidered with gold, and, though generally hung from a horizontal cross-bar like that we now know as a banner, was in later days occasionally displayed in accordance with present usage by attaching one of the sides to a staff—a style adopted from the Saracens. The Roman standards were guarded with religious veneration in the temples of the chief cities, and, after Christianity was adopted, and particularly after the emperor's portrait appeared on them, in the churches; and modern practice follows ancient

precedent. At the presentation of colours to a regiment a solemn service of prayer and praise is held . . . and when they return in honour, . . . [in most countries] they are reverently deposited in some church or public building, such as the forty in Edinburgh cathedral, never to be removed until nothing is left but the staff on which they were borne. . . .

"The sacred standard of the Turks, fabled to have been given to Mohammed by the Angel Gabriel, was used by the prophet as a curtain which, when he was lying, was torn down by Ayesha and given by her to serve as the chief banner of Islam, and it is still preserved, being of green silk on a pole surmounted by a golden hand that holds a copy of the Kôran. Pope Alexander II sent a consecrated white banner to William of Normandy previous to his expedition against Harold, and the Normans fought under it at Hastings; and when the armies of Christendom went forth to rescue the Holy Land from the infidel they received their banners from the foot of the altar. . . . Banners . . . were formerly part of the usual ornaments of the altar and are still largely used to add to the pomp of religious processions. Heraldic and political devices upon flags are of later date, and even when these came freely into vogue they did not supplant ecclesiastical symbols. [The pennons and standards of the knights and barons in feudal times were carried in battle as guides to their men and rallying points, or flown from castles and fortresses to show whether they were held by friends or enemies.] The banners of the original orders of Knighthood belong to the religious group. . . . The Templars carried before them to battle a banner black over white horizontal which they called Beauséant 'because they were fair and favourable to the friends of Christ but black and terrible to His enemies.' The Teutonic Knights bore the black cross patée on a white field which survives in the Iron Cross [of Prussia]."—W. J. Gordon, *Flags of the world*, pp. 2-4, 6.

In the Middle Ages, a simple knight carried on his lance a long fluttering pennon, which bore his device. If he were honored by being made a banneret on the field, the ends were torn off by the commander-in-chief, and the square banner handed back to be preserved as a token of the honor done him. The guidhomme, our guidon, was also pennon shaped; but the banner of all above the rank of banneret was square. Guidons were used as guides for large bodies of mounted men. The size of pennons, banners and standards was carefully prescribed. Thus the pennon of the knight was two and a half yards long; the banner of the banneret the square of the pennon with its tails torn off—bannerets, it is said, were first created in the fourteenth century; the banner of the baron was three feet square, while the standard of a king was five feet square, and that of an emperor six feet square. "The old badge of the Percies was the white lion statant. . . . The guilds and companies of the Middle Ages had all their special banners that came out, as do those of their successors, on occasions of civic pageantry; and in many cases, as shone in the illuminated MSS. in the British Museum and elsewhere, they were carried to battle by the companies of men provided at the cost of those corporations."—*Ibid.*, p. 20.—In later times each regiment of soldiers, following this ancient custom, adopted a distinctive flag, the "regimental color" to be carried with the national flag. Both colors were carried into battle under care of the color guard, and many inspiring tales have been handed down in the histories of regiments of deeds of valor done and lives lost to save the colors. But

during the South African war it was found that the colors made so good a mark for modern long distance arms of precision that their use in warfare was discontinued. Colors are now deposited in a place of security when the regiment goes to war, as when, during the World War, American flags were hung in St. Paul's Cathedral with reverent ceremony, and kept there while the army was in France. Aerial observation makes the use of flags, even at headquarters, highly dangerous, and in the World War commanders of all grades were forced to deny themselves the honor of displaying their colors. "The first legal and international obligation on record to carry colours at sea appears to have been agreed upon at the Convention of Bruges when Edward I and Guy, Count of Flanders, undertook that their respective subjects should 'for the future carry in their ensigns or flags the arms of their own ports certifying their belonging to the said ports,' but the Cinque Ports had carried colours for many years before, and a sort of code of flag etiquette was already in existence."—*Ibid.*, p. 32.

"In its earlier form as a flag the Standard was long and tapering with fringed or bordered edges and split rounded ends. It generally bore its possessor's badge and motto, and varied in size according to his rank. Too large to be carried into battle, it was generally used to mark the actual position of its owner on ceremonial occasions. The term Standard now correctly means the personal flag of the [ruler of any state]."—*Ibid.*, p. 4.

It is from the standard, however, that national flags and their present day use have originated. The standard of the king became associated with his person, as a symbol of his sovereignty. But as the idea of sovereignty was transferred from the person of the king to the state, by a natural process of thought, the flag which had been adopted as a national emblem became the symbol of the state itself, and the object of patriotic fervor. In the flags of some of the nations, some of the king's devices are still shown, in others, entirely new designs have been chosen.

Austria.—The old standard of imperial Austria-Hungary had a yellow ground, surrounded by flames, represented by a black border, or tressure, dented red and white. The arms were the black double-headed eagle, of the Holy Roman Empire, surmounted by the crown of Austria, bearing in its claws the sword and scepter and the orb, and on its wings the arms of the provinces. A shield on its breast carried insignia to represent the houses of Hapsburg and Lorraine, and the arch-duchy of Austria, the whole being surrounded by the colors of the Golden Fleece and of Maria Theresa. The imperial ensign was composed of three horizontal stripes, red on white on red, with the arms of Austria and Hungary imposed side by side on the white. In 1869, the outer half of the lower stripe was colored green, the Hungarian tri-color, to symbolize the union between the countries. When the union was broken, and Austria became a republic, the green color was dropped, the royal arms dispensed with, and the national flag is now a simple ensign of three horizontal stripes, of equal width, in two colors—red on white on red.

Belgium.—Belgium flies the vertical tricolour, black, yellow, red, the old colours of Brabant. With the royal arms, of which the shield is the golden lion on black of Brabant, this is the standard; without the arms, it is used by both warships and merchant vessels."—W. J. Gordon, *Flags of the world*, p. 238.

Brazil.—"In the imperial days [of Brazil] the flag was green with a yellow diamond as now and

a shield flanked with sprigs of coffee and tobacco. Crown, shield and sprigs have gone, and in their place is a blue celestial globe, once an armillary sphere, with a white equator on which is written 'Ordem e progresso,' the globe sprinkled with stars [to represent the constellation of the Southern Cross]. The Brazilian badge is the Southern Cross, yet again, in the centre of a . . . five-pointed star of yellow and green; [surrounded by sprays] begirt by twenty-one [silver] stars in its complete form [the constellation on blue] as borne by the president is centered in his standard which is green, and besides the badge displays the date '15 de Novembro de 1889.'—W. J. Gordon, *Flags of the world*, p. 208.—The badge is borne on an upward-turned sword. The stars represent the provinces and the city of Janeiro.

British Empire and dominions.—"The Royal Standard [of the British empire] is the symbol of the personal tie that unites the British power throughout the world under one King. In it the three golden lions stand for England, the red lion rampant for Scotland, the golden harp for Ireland, being the three States of the United Kingdom from which the empire grew. . . . How the three lions of England arose is not clear as it might be. . . . The first unquestionable example of an heraldic device is that of a demi-lion rampant on the seal of Philip I, Count of Flanders, in 1164, and the first English shield of arms is that of Geoffrey Magnaville, Earl of Essex, in 1165. Both these are in the reign of Henry II, and so late as that monarch the royal bearing is still traditional when it is said that on his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine and Guienne he incorporated with his own two lions the single lion of his father-in-law. During his crusading experiences *Cœur-de-Lion's* banner bore 'two lions combattant or [gold],' as appear on his first great seal; but on his second great seal we have the 'three lions passant guardant, in pale or, on a field gules [red,]' which have been described as his father's arms. The date of this seal is 1105. . . . The rampant lion was borne by William the Lion [of Scotland] about 1165, and, within the tressure [border], is first seen on the Great Seal of King Alexander II, who married the daughter of King John. The same device without any modification of colour or form was thenceforward borne by all the Sovereigns of Scotland, and on the accession of James to the throne of the United Kingdom, in the year 1603, became an integral part of the Royal Standard. . . . An early standard of Ireland has three golden crowns on a blue field, and arranged over each other as are the English lions; and a commission appointed in the reign of Edward IV, . . . reported in favour of the three crowns. . . . Henry VIII substituted the harp on the coins, [and this was added to the Royal Standard in] the reign of James I. . . .

"And now for the National Flag, . . . [which with added emblems is used throughout the empire, except in the Irish Free State]. The Cross of St. George was worn as a badge, over the armour, by every English soldier in the fourteenth century, if the custom did not prevail at a much earlier period. . . . On the union of the two crowns at the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne, the Cross of St. Andrew was combined with that of St. George, but the English ships still flew the red cross in the foretop and Scottish ships the white cross. The Cross of St. Andrew is a saltire, that is, it is shaped like the letter X. . . . On the blending of the two kingdoms into one under the sovereignty of King James, it became necessary to design a new flag that should typify this union, and blend together the emblems of the

two patron saints—the flag of the united kingdoms of England and Scotland, henceforth to be known as Great Britain. . . . The ordinance for the reunion of Scotland with England and Ireland was promulgated on April 12th 1654. In the first flag following that ordinance, England and Scotland were represented by the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, and Ireland by a golden harp on a blue ground. . . . The harp, however, seemed quite out of place in this flag, and another was tried in which St. George was in the first and fourth, St. Andrew in the second, and the red saltire on white daringly placed in the third as representing Ireland. This was a most unsatisfactory arrangement for visibility at sea, and the old Union was reverted to, but as Ireland was not shown on it, a golden harp was placed in the centre, and at the Restoration the harp was removed and the flag became as it was at the death of Charles I. And such it remained until the union of Ireland with Great Britain in 1801 when a new Union Flag had to be devised in which some emblem of Ireland had to be introduced; and for this purpose the . . . cross of St. Patrick was added. . . . The dimensions of the Union Flag are officially given as follows:—in the St. George's Cross the red cross is one fifth the width of the flag and its white borders one fifteenth the width of the flag, that is one third the width of the red cross; in the St. Andrew's and St. Patrick's Crosses the red is one fifteenth the width of the flags, or one third the width of St. George's Cross, that is equal to the border of that cross, the narrow white border is one thirtieth the width of the flag, or one sixth the width of the red of St. George's Cross, the broad white border is one tenth the width of the flag, or one half the red of St. George's Cross, and therefore equal to the red and narrow white together. . . . There are three British ensigns, the white, the blue, and the red; the white ensign, the white flag with the red cross of St. George and the Union in the upper canton, being distinctive of the Royal Navy [the fighting flag]."—W. J. Gordon, *Flags of the world*, pp. 37-39, 41, 46, 49, 51, 53, 59, 60, 64, 65.—The blue ensign is borne by ships of the naval reserve, or ships of the merchant marine, commanded by naval reserve officers. The red ensign is borne by all other merchant ships. The red ensign has also been practically adopted by the dominions as the national flag, each dominion having its own badge surrounded by a wreath in the fly, or, in the case of the governor-generals, superimposed on the intersection of the crosses. The blue ensign is used on government ships.

Canada.—"The arms of Canada, appearing on the Dominion flag will be found to consist of those of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick combined, and date from 1860. It is owing to this fact that the other provinces find no place there; their . . . [entrance into the confederation] being subsequent to that date."—*World's flags at a glance*, p. 7.

China.—For centuries, China used the five clawed imperial dragon as its emblem. The Chinese color was yellow, and the standard showed a blue dragon on a yellow ground, devouring a red sun. At the overthrow of the empire, the navy adopted a red ensign, with a large rayed sun in white on a blue canton. The merchant flag, which also does duty as a national flag, has five horizontal stripes, red on yellow, on blue, on white, on black, to represent China, Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet and Turkestan. The army flag has a black, eight-pointed star, tipped with golden balls, centered on a red field. In the center is a golden

disk, surrounded by eight others, one for each point of the star.

Czecho-Slovakia.—Czecho-Slovakia, which obtained its independence in 1918, adopted an interesting flag, in which a blue peak, the emblem of the Carpathians, is based on the hoist end of the fly, and let in on the Bohemian colors—two broad stripes, white over red. For its coat of arms, it kept the arms of Bohemia, on which are quartered the shields of the other states of the republic.

Denmark.—“The Danish ensign is . . . swallow-tailed, and the white cross is not tapered out into a point but ends squarely, the inner edges of the red tails leading off from the upper and lower edges of the bar. This is the Dannebrog, one of the oldest national flags in continuous use. In the year 1219, King Waldemar of Denmark . . . saw, a white cross in the red sky. He was then leading his troops to battle against the pagan Livonians, and gladly welcomed such an assurance of celestial aid in answer to his prayers, and as soon as could be, adopted it as his country's flag under the well-known name which signifies the strength of Denmark. The Danish merchant flag is rectangular, with the bar of the cross longer towards the fly than towards the hoist.”—W. J. Gordon, *Flags of the world*, p. 237.

Egypt. See EGYPT: 1922 (April-September).

Finland.—The flag adopted by Finland, when she declared her independence in 1917, is a white swallow-tailed ensign, with an upright cross of dark blue upon it. The flag of the merchant marine is oblong without the crest.

France.—“The early history of the French flag is lost in obscurity, and it is not always easy to trace the various modifications that it has undergone. At the earliest date of which we have record we find the kings of the Franks marshalling their forces under the plain blue flag known as the Chape . . . [or cape of] St. Martin. . . . The Chape de St. Martin was originally in the keeping of the monks of the Abbey of Marmoutiers, and popular belief held it to be a portion of the actual blue cloak that the legend affirms the Saint divided with the beggar suppliant. . . . We find it borne by Clovis in the year 507 against Alaric, and again by Charlemagne at the battle of Narbonne; and time after time it led the hosts of France to victory. When the kings of France transferred the seat of government to Paris, the great local Saint, St. Denis, was held in high honour, and the scarlet flag [the oriflamme] of the Abbey Church of St. Denis gradually ousted the blue flag of St. Martin, and [by the tenth century] ‘St. Denis’ became the war-cry of France. . . . The ‘Chronique de Flandre’ describes . . . [the flag] as having three points and tassels of green silk attached thereto, while an English authority says, ‘The celestial auriflamb, . . . [was] a square redde banner.’ Du Cange . . . affirms that it was simple, ‘sans portraiture d’oultre affaire’ . . . —a plain scarlet flag. The last time that the sacred ensign was borne to battle was at Agincourt. . . . The precise date when the golden fleurs-de-lys were added to the blue flag [of St. Martin] is open to doubt, but we find the form at a very early date, and from the first recognition of heraldic coats of arms this blazon was the accepted cognizance of the kings of France. . . . Originally the fleurs-de-lys were powdered . . . over the whole surface, but in the reign of Charles V., A. D. 1365, the number was reduced to three. The meaning of the fleur-de-lys has given rise to much controversy; some will tell us that it is a lily flower or an iris, while others affirm that it is a lance-head. . . . The lilies were held for centuries in great favour; and the fleur-

de-lys did not finally disappear from the flag of France until the downfall of Louis Philippe in the year 1848. . . . The whole history of the flag prior to the Great Revolution, is somewhat confused, and in the year 1669, which we may consider about the middle of the Bourbon or white flag period, [white was the color of the Bourbons] we find the order given by the Minister of the Marine that ‘the ensigns are to be blue, powdered with yellow fleurs-de-lys, with a large white cross in the middle.’ Merchant ships were to wear the same flag as the ships of war except that in the canton corner was to be placed the device of their province or town. Before the end of the year . . . [new decree ordered] that ‘the ensigns at the stern are to be in all cases white,’ while the merchants were to fly the white flag with the device of the port in the corner. The white flag was sometimes plain, . . . and at other times provided with yellow fleurs-de-lys. On the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, . . . the white flag was again the flag of the nation, and remained so until 1830, its last appearance in France. . . . The well-known tricolor of France . . . dates from the era of the Revolution and came into existence in 1789. It has, with the exception of the short Bourbon Restoration, been the flag of France for over a century, and it remains so to this day, though it underwent some few modifications ere it settled down to the present form. Thus, for instance, on October 24th, 1790, it was decreed that the colour next the staff was to be red, the central strip white and the outer blue, but on February 15th, 1794, it was ordered that . . . ‘the national flag shall be formed of the three national colours in equal bands placed vertically, the hoist being blue, the centre white, and the fly red.’ . . . During the first and second Empire the Imperial Standard was still the tricolor, but it bore in the centre of the white strip the eagle; and all three strips were richly diapered over with the golden bees of the Napoleons. The national flag was the tricolor pure and simple, both for the Imperial and the Commercial Navy. As the flags of the army were borne on staffs surmounted by a golden eagle, the term ‘eagle’ was often applied to these colours.”—F. F. Hulme, *Flags of the world*, pp. 105-109.

Germany.—“In October, 1867, the North German Confederation originated the first German national flag, three stripes, black, white and red, horizontal, in which the red represents the old Hansa. In January, 1871 . . . the imperial flags were introduced, the merchant flag remaining as it was and forming the upper canton of the black-cross white ensign, the cross in the canton, as on the jack, being the iron cross, as we now know it, of the old Teutonic Knights, the ‘Teutsch Ritterdom,’ as Carlyle says, ‘which flamed like a bright blessed beacon through the night of things in those northern countries’ when ‘the Prussians were a fierce fighting people, fanatically Anti-Christian.’ The same cross, with its bars a little less incurved, is the principal feature of the standard, which, like the presidential flags of several of the American republics, bears on it the date of its origin.”—W. J. Gordon, *Flags of the world*, pp. 230-240.—To the old merchant flag the German republic added a “union” of three bars, black, red, yellow, the colors of the revolutionists in 1848.

Greece.—“The Greeks adopted pale blue and white as a compliment to the Bavarian prince who, in 1833, was . . . [the] first king, but when the Bavarian influence departed the colour became dark blue. The standard is a white rectangular cross on dark blue with the royal arms in the centre, the shield of which has the Danish giants as

supporters, and bears on its dark blue field a prominent white rectangular cross, so that it looks like a miniature copy of the flag. The ensign has nine horizontal stripes, of which five are dark blue and the others white, and in the canton is a reproduction of the standard with a crown taking the place of the arms, the merchant flag being without the crown."—W. J. Gordon, *Flags of the world*, pp. 234-235.

Italy.—"The badge of Italy is a white cross on a red field [the bars of which extend to the edges of the shield]. . . . The Savoy cross is the centre of the Italian standard, . . . it is the centre of the national flag, and it was the nucleus of modern Italy. . . . Italy had been a kingdom before under Napoleon with Eugène Beaubarnais as his viceroy, and Napoleon designed the flag for it, a tricolour of green, white and red, vertical. . . . In 1848 this flag, which had been withdrawn on the downfall of the emperor, was hoisted again by the nationalists of the peninsula, being accepted by the King of Sardinia as the ensign of his own dominion, and charged by him with the arms of Savoy. Thus Italy regained the old tricolour for its merchant flag, which would be as Napoleon left it, were it not . . . [that Mexico adopted the same colors, and as a distinction the Italian merchant flag] bears the Savoy shield without a crown. The ensign has the crown. The jack is square, being a white cross on red with a broad blue border taking the place of the border of the shield"—W. J. Gordon, *Flags of the world*, pp. 232-233.

Japan.—"Japan has always been happy in its choice of flags, and as the Japanese captured Korea in the first century of our era their history is a long one; indeed it is said to begin in 600 B. C. The standard is the golden chrysanthemum of sixteen rays, that of the emperor being rectangular, that of the empress swallowtailed, that of the crown prince [also rectangular] with the flower in a white frame. Japan is the land of the rising sun, and the sun as a plain red ball on a white field is its . . . merchant flag."—W. J. Gordon, *Flags of the world*, p. 217.—The ensign is the rising sun in red, with radiating rays, set a little to the left of the center of a white field.

Jugo-Slavia.—The flag of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, commonly known as Jugo-Slavia, is the Serbian flag, a variation of the red, white and blue tri-color—blue on white on red, in horizontal stripes of equal width. This flag, under which Serbia fought throughout the Balkan Wars and the World War, was adopted in the union of 1918.

Mexico.—"Mexico has had many flags, home and foreign, but the green, white and red tricolour it flies now was simply taken from the Italians because it looked pretty, and the meaning for it found afterwards. Italy protested unavailingly; but as Mexico declined to change, she placed the shield of Savoy without the crown in the white stripe of the Italian merchant flag, the shield with a crown having already been used in the ensign; and to this the Mexicans replied by placing on their warship flag the eagle and snake, the eagle standing on a prickly pear. Thus the Mexican merchant flag is the Italian flag without the Savoy shield."—W. J. Gordon, *Flags of the world*, p. 201.

Netherlands.—"Holland [or the Netherlands] came into existence as an independent state in 1570, when the Dutch adopted as their flag the colours of William, Prince of Orange, their famous leader—orange, white and blue. At first there was great latitude of treatment, the number of bars of each colour and their order being variable, but in

1599 it was officially fixed that the flag of the Netherlands was to be orange, white and blue in three horizontal stripes of equal width. How the orange came to be changed to red is not yet known, but . . . the Dutch flag in 1643 was the tricolour we know of—red, white and blue [in horizontal bars]. During the French Revolution, when Holland became the Batavian Republic under the French, the naval flag had in the upper canton a figure of Liberty on a white field, but the innovation was not popular [and soon disappeared]."—W. J. Gordon, *Flags of the world*, pp. 237-238.

Poland.—The new republic of Poland adopted in 1918 a flag of white and red horizontal stripes. Centered in the upper half is a red shield, emblazoned with a crowned white eagle. The stripes have taken the place of the blue St. Andrew on a white field, which was formerly used.

Portugal.—"As a republic [Portugal] retains as its 'emblem' the arms of the monarchy, the simple and effective device of the seven castles and five shields. The shields commemorate the great victory of Alfonso Henriquez in 1139 over the five Moorish princes at the battle of Ourique, while the five white circles placed on each symbolize the five wounds of the Saviour in whose strength he defeated the infidels and became the first king of Portugal. The scarlet border with its castles was added by Alfonso III after his marriage in 1252 with the daughter of Alfonso the Wise, King of Castile. These arms have been unaltered for centuries. . . . The republican ensign is green and red vertical with the shield framed in an armillary sphere, such as used to appear on the Braganza arms of Brazil; and in this ensign the Portuguese have taken a hint from the French and made the red larger than the green."—*Ibid.*, pp. 30, 231.

Russia.—"On the Russian [imperial] standard the introduction of the black two-headed eagle dated back to the year 1472, when Ivan the Great married Sophia, a niece of Constantine Palaeologus, and thence assumed the arms of the Greek empire. On the breast of the eagle . . . [was] an escutcheon bearing on its red field in silver the figure of St. George slaying the dragon, the whole being surrounded by the collar of St. Andrew. On the displayed wings of the eagle . . . [were] other shields with the arms of Kieff, a silver angel on an azure field; of Novgorod, two black bears on a golden shield; of Voldermirz, a golden lion rampant on a red shield; of Kasan, a black wyvern on a silver ground, and so forth; and between the eagle's legs . . . the blue Cross of St. Andrew which, on a white field, . . . [was] the Russian ensign. The merchant flag . . . [was] a horizontal tricolour of white, blue and red. Once upon a time it was the Dutch flag reversed, then the same flag with a blue St. Andrew in the white to distinguish it. Peter the Great took the original flag with him from Amsterdam and hoisted it upside down, but the idea of a Russian being a Dutchman in distress was not pleasing to the national pride, and so the stripes were rearranged. The jack—white St. George on red, combined with blue St. Andrew edged with white . . . [was] one of the handsomest afloat."—W. J. Gordon, *Flags of the world*, pp. 235-236.—The imperial flag was replaced after the revolution of 1917 with the all red flag. See RUSSIA, SOVIET CONSTITUTION OF.

Siam.—The merchant flag is horizontally barred with red on yellow, on red, on white on red, the central stripe being much wider than the others. The merchant flag is quite new, and is used in place of the ancient red flag, centered with the white elephant, without trappings, which is so well known as the flag of Siam.

Spain.—“The war and mercantile flags of Spain have undergone many changes, and their early history is very difficult to unravel; but on May 28th, 1785, the flags were adopted that have continued in use ever since. . . . The flag of the Spanish Navy . . . consists . . . of three stripes—a central yellow one, and a red one, somewhat narrower, above and below. The original proportion was that the yellow should be equal in width to the two red ones combined. This central stripe is charged, near the hoist, with an escutcheon containing the arms of Castile and Leon, and surmounted by the royal crown. The mercantile flag . . . is also red and yellow. The yellow stripe in the centre is without the escutcheon, and in width it should be equal to one-third of the entire depth of the flag, the remaining thirds above and below it being divided into two equal strips, the one red and the other yellow.”—F. E. Hulme, *Flags of the world*, p. 110.—The elaborate standard combines the lion of Leon, the castle of Castile; the device of Sicily, the red and white stripes of the arms of Austria, the ancient flag of Burgundy, the black lion on gold of Flanders, the red eagle of Antwerp, the golden lion of Brabant, the arms of Portugal and the fleur-de-lys of France, and is thus almost an epitome of the history of the pretensions of the royal house.

Sweden.—“Sweden has flown the yellow cross on the pale blue field since Gustavus Vasa became its king in 1523, and its ensign like that of the other two Scandinavian powers is swallow-tailed. It has also the horizontal bar of the cross prolonged into a point so as to give the flag three tails. In the national flag the bar is unpointed and the space between the tails is filled up with the blue field, thus bringing the upright of the cross on the boundary of the inner third. The standard is the ensign with a white square in the centre on which is the royal coat of arms.”—W. J. Gordon, *Flags of the world*, p. 236.

Switzerland.—“The Swiss, being in want of a flag, chose the simple white cross of the Crusaders, and Gautier tells us why. ‘The first time it is mentioned is in the chronicle of Justinger and Béarnois.’ He says, after giving an enumeration of the Swiss forces leaving Berne to march against the coalition of nobles in 1338—‘And all were distinguished by the sign of the Holy Cross, a white cross on a red shield, for the reason that the freeing of the nation was for them a cause as sacred as the deliverance of the Holy Places!’ Truly an excellent flag and an excellent reason for it.”—W. J. Gordon, *Flags of the world*, p. 231.

Turkey.—The flag of Turkey has a long and interesting history. “The crescent moon and star, were adopted by the Turks as their device on the capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II., in 1453. They were originally the symbol of Diana, the Patroness of Byzantium, and were adopted by the Ottomans as a badge of triumph. Prior to that event, the crescent was a very common charge in the armorial bearings of English Knights, but it fell into considerable disuse when it became the special device of the Mohamedans. . . . Though the crescent was, . . . originally a Pagan symbol, it remained throughout the rise and development of the Greek Church the special mark of Constantinople, and even now in Moscow and other Russian cities the crescent and the cross may be seen combined on the churches, the object being to indicate the Byzantine origin of the Russian Church. . . . The War Flag of Turkey . . . [and the flag of the merchant service both carry] the crescent and star on the scarlet field. . . . In a map bearing the date 1502 the Turkish Dominions are

marked by a scarlet flag having three points and bearing three black crescents, while in a sheet of flags with the comparatively modern date of 1735, ‘Turk’ is represented by a blue flag with three crescents in white upon it. The personal flag of the Sultan . . . is scarlet, and bears in its centre the device of the reigning sovereign: hence it undergoes a change at each accession to the throne. This device, known as the Tughra, is placed on the coinage, postal stamps, etc., as well as on the Royal flag, and consists of the name of the Sultan, the title Khan, and the epithet *El muzaffar daima*, signifying the ever-victorious. The history of the Tughra is curious: When Sultan Murad I. entered into a treaty of peace with the Ragusans, he was not sufficiently scholarly to be able to affix his signature to the document, so he wetted his open hand with ink and pressed it on the paper, the first, second, and third fingers making smears in fairly close proximity, while the thumb and fourth finger were apart on either side. Within the mark thus made, the Ottoman Scribes wrote the name of Murad, his title, and the epithet that bore testimony to his ever-victorious career. The Tughra remains the symbol of this, the three upright forms being the three fingers of Murad, the rounded line to the left the thumb, and the line to the right the little finger; these leading forms do not vary, but the smaller characters change with the change of sovereign.”—F. E. Hulme, *Flags of the world*, pp. 110-121.

United States of America.—The history of the flag of the United States of America dates from Revolutionary times and may have had its origin in Washington’s heraldic device. At the outbreak of the revolt of the colonies, a variety of devices appeared on the flags borne by the Continental troops. A pine tree seems to have been the favorite New England emblem; a coiled serpent, with the motto, “Beware,” or “Don’t tread on me,” was that of the South. A representation of the thirteen colonies by alternate red and white stripes on a flag is said to have been made first at Washington’s headquarters, Cambridge, on January 2, 1776. The blue field of white stars, in the corner (the part of a flag called “the union”) was introduced, by order of Congress, on June 14, 1777. There seems to be no doubt that the first flag, thus determined by law to be the flag of the United States, was made by Mrs. Betsey Ross, an upholsterer, on Arch street, Philadelphia, and, according to tradition, Washington pencilled the plan of it. The first military use of the flag is claimed to have been at Fort Stanwix (now Rome, N. Y.), when the fort was besieged in August, 1777. The banner was improvised on that occasion, out of a red petticoat, a white shirt, and Col. Gansevoort’s blue cloak. “On June 14, 1777, John Adams, in pursuance of the report of a committee, introduced in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia the following resolution which was passed unanimously: ‘Resolved, That the flag of the thirteen United States shall be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white on a blue field, representing a new constellation.’ Even after this there was delay in promulgating the action of Congress. The public announcement to the nation was made on September 3, 1777. Throughout the month of June, 1777, Washington’s Army Headquarters were at Middlebrook Heights, near Bound Brook, New Jersey. To this place came a courier riding swift from Philadelphia on the evening of June 14, with news of the action of Congress, and next morning, according to all evidence scrupulously weighed in late years by the State of New Jersey, the new na-

tional flag was raised before the commander-in-chief over his headquarters and formally designated the new flag of the Republic. . . . In 1791 Vermont was admitted as a state, and the next year Kentucky was admitted, thus making fifteen states in the Union. On May 1, 1795, Congress with short-sighted judgment, enacted a law providing that the flag 'be fifteen stripes.' This was the national ensign for twenty-three years; it was this flag that waved over Ft. McHenry when Francis Scott Key wrote 'The Star Spangled Banner.' Finally, on March 4, 1818, Congress enacted the law which fixes the form of the flag for all time. The act is as follows: 'An Act to Establish the Flag of the United States. Section 1. Be it enacted,' etc., 'That from and after the fourth day of July next, the flag of the United States be thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union have twenty stars, white in a blue field. Section 2. Be it further enacted, That on the admission of every new State into the Union, one Star be added to the Union of the Flag; and that such addition shall take effect on the fourth of July next succeeding such admission.' (The Act was approved by President Monroe on April 4, 1818.)"—P. R. Dillon, *American anniversaries*, pp. 124-126.—Another account of the origin of the flags gives more detail, and slightly varying particulars. "Our fathers of the thirteen colonies . . . raised at Cambridge, Mass., January 1, 1776, the 'Unions' of the two countries, Netherlands and Great Britain, that had held sovereignty of the land they lived on. . . . From 1609 to 1604, a tricolored republican flag of a federal union of states had floated over New Netherland, or the soil of the four middle colonies, later called New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware as the flag of the homeland. The seven alternate red and white stripes recalled to our fathers, in 1776, the successful revolt against 'taxation without representation,' or, as the Dutch Parliament of 1477 put it, 'no taxation without consent.' . . . The stripes have never left the flag, because they represent a vital fundamental idea. They have been from first to last the one permanent element in our national standard. When unfurled, January 1, 1776, the first Union flag raised over the first American army mirrored true history. Flags many, of astonishing variety of color, inscription and emblem came into view and use. There were pine trees, rattlesnakes, beavers, threefold knotted cords, with their thirteen ends free, a chain or circle of thirteen rings linked together, and other objects notably American, with some borrowed from heraldry, or from British or Dutch history. In the latter case, the sheaf of arrows, the hat of liberty, and the Netherlands lion were ancestral. Meanwhile, officers of the seventeen Continental men-of-war and of scores of privateers kept clamoring for something significant to display in foreign ports, especially while buying munitions of war. These calls for a 'distinctive standard' increased in volume even to indignant remonstrance. Still there was nothing, until June 14, 1777, except local or colonial symbols and 'the Congress flag' of the thirteen stripes. . . . Abundance of exact documentary proof shows that the thirteen stripes were ever present, but there is no proof that the stars were. In the book of photographs of extant flags used, or alleged to be used in the American Revolution (made by Gherardi Davis, New York, 1908), the field of stars is rarely seen and in none with absolute surety, before 1780, but the stripes are always in evidence. . . . The record of the Continental Congress, June 14, 1777, reads as follows: 'Resolved, that the flag of the United States be

thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, that the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation.' The entry in the journal of Captain Abraham Swarthout of Colonel Gansevoort's New York regiment, written August 3, 1777, in Fort Schuyler, shows beyond cavil, where the first flag of stars and stripes, of which we have record, was made and hoisted; but this was in a fort not in the field, or at the head of a regiment. The vote of Congress on the flag was not officially published until September 3, 1777. There is no record that the Stars and Stripes were carried at Brandywine, Pa., at Gooch's Bridge, Del., or that even the 'Quiberon' French salute of November 1, 1777, to the U.S.S. 'Ranger,' commanded by Paul Jones, was given to any but the striped flag without stars. . . . In fact the resolution of Congress of June 14, 1777, was not headed, even by Washington himself, or even by the Board of War. One Continental officer wrote with surprise on August 3, 1777: 'It appears by the papers that Congress resolved on the 14th of June last,' &c. As late as May 10, 1779, Washington in correspondence with the Board of War, states that applications came to him repeatedly for drums and colors, but there were many varying flags for particular regiments, and 'it is not yet settled what is the standard of the United States.' The War Board replied, through Richard Peters, that if 'General Washington would favor the Board with his opinion on the subject as to what was the one common flag of the United States,' a recommendation to Congress would be made and they would get the materials and 'order a number for the army.' Replying on September 3, 1779, Washington says nothing about stars, but recommended that the number belonging to the regiments from each State should be 'inserted within the curve of the serpent.' In 1847 the Dutch Government politely made the inquiry, 'What is the American flag?' In 1857, in the harbor of New York, nine different styles of arrangement of stars were noted in one day. On March 16, 1896, the Secretary of War, Daniel Lamont, ordered that the constellation should be in six rows."—W. E. Griffin, *Origin of the flag of the United States (Independent, July 4, 1912)*.—"The official flags of the United States, those used by the Army and Navy, have, from the very beginning, had the stars arranged in parallel rows. The suggestion that the first flag was made with a circle of stars can not be authenticated. The earliest official flags show the parallel arrangement. May 18, 1818, James Monroe, President of the United States, issued an order that the arrangement of the stars should be in parallel rows on the flags used by the Army and Navy, and other branches of the United States Government. President Monroe also decided that the official flags should be in the proportion of 14 feet to 24; that the union must be one-third of the length of the flag and seven-thirteenths of its depth, so that from the top to the bottom of the union there will be seven stripes, and six stripes from the bottom of the union to the bottom of the flag. The lower stripe and the top stripe to be red. Seven red and six white."—*Congressional Record, Sixty-fifth Congress, 1st Session, v. 55, no. 62, June 14, 1917, p. 3880*.—"Utah was admitted into the Union on January 4, 1806, and in anticipation of placing the forty-fifth star in the canton of the flag, to mark that event, the following order relative to army flags was issued: 'War Department, Washington, March 18, 1806. The field or union of the National flag in use in the army will, on and after July 4, 1806, consist of forty-five stars, in six rows, the first, third and fifth rows to have

eight stars, and the second, fourth and sixth rows seven stars each, in a blue field. . . . Secretary Herbert agreed to the same arrangement for the ensigns of the navy, and from July 4, 1896, to July 4, 1908, the stars in the army and navy flags were placed in accordance with the above design. On July 4, 1908, the 46th star for the State of Oklahoma was placed on the blue field. These stars were in six rows, the first, third, fourth, and sixth, having eight stars, and the second and fifth rows having seven stars each. The arrangement of the stars continued until the States of New Mexico and Arizona were represented on the flag. On July 4, 1912, two stars were added to mark the admission of these States into the Union. These 48 stars were placed in six rows of eight stars each, with the corresponding stars of each row in a vertical line, and this arrangement still continues."—P. D. Harrison, *Stars and stripes and other American flags*, pp. 79, 80.—When the President visits a vessel of the United States his flag is broken at the main as he reaches the deck and kept flying as long as he remains on board. This is a blue flag, bearing the coat of arms shown on the President's seal, and four white stars (sign of command) arranged one in each corner. This flag dates from 1915. Prior to that time the President's flag bore a large crimson star outlined with white, which held the coat of arms of the United States. Outside of this and within its angles were powdered stars representing the states in the Union.

ALSO IN: E. K. Ide, *History and significance of the American flag*.—G. H. Preble, *Origin and history of the American flag*.

FLAGS OF TRUCE. See HAGUE CONFERENCES: 1899: Convention with respect to laws and customs of war on land.

FLAMBARD, Ranulf (Ralph) (d. 1128), English ecclesiastic and statesman. Bishop of Durham (1099); chief minister of William Rufus; confined most of his attention to financial affairs; furthered the building of the cathedral in his see; fortified Durham; built Norham castle and endowed the college of Christchurch, Hampshire.

FLAMENS, FLAMINES.—"The pontifices, like several other priestly brotherhoods [of ancient Rome] . . . had sacrificial priests (flamines) attached to them, whose name was derived from 'flare' (to blow the fire). The number of flamines attached to the pontifices was fifteen, the three highest of whom, . . . viz., the Flamen Dialis, Martialis, and Quirinalis, were always chosen from old patrician families. . . . Free from all civil duties, the Flamen Dialis, with his wife and children, exclusively devoted himself to the service of the deity. His house . . . lay on the Palatine hill. His marriage was dissoluble by death only; he was not allowed to take an oath, mount a horse, or look at an army. He was forbidden to remain a night away from his house, and his hand touched nothing unclean, for which reason he never approached a corpse or a burial-place. . . . In the daytime the Flamen Dialis was not allowed to take off his headdress, and he was obliged to resign his office in case it fell off by accident. In his belt he carried the sacrificial knife, and in his hand he held a rod, in order to keep off the people on his way to the sacrifice. For the same purpose he was preceded by a lictor, who compelled everybody on the way to lay down his work, the flamen not being allowed to see the business of daily life."—E. Guhl and W. Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, sect. 103.—See also AUGURS.

FLAMINIAN WAY, ancient road of northern Italy, leading from Rome to Ariminum (Rimini).

See **ROME**: Republic: B. C. 295-191; **ÆMILIAN WAY**.

FLAMININUS, Titus Quinctius (c. 228-174 B. C.), Roman statesman and general. See **ROME**: Republic: B. C. 215-196.

FLAMINIUS, Caius (d. 217 B. C.), Roman consul defeated in the battle of Trasimene, 217 B. C. See **PUNIC WARS**: Second.

FLANDERS, geographical title covering the territory which at one time was the County of Flanders. It now corresponds to two departments of France, Nord and Pas-de-Calais, the southern part of the province of Zealand, Holland and the provinces of East and West Flanders, Belgium. See **NETHERLANDS**: Map of the Netherlands and Belgium.

863.—**Creation of the County.**—Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, of France (not yet called France), and a twice widowed Queen of England, through hardly yet out of her girlhood (she had wedded Ethelwulf and Ethelbald, father and son, in succession), took a mate, at last, more to her liking, by a runaway match with one of her father's foresters, named Baudouin, or Baldwin, Bras-de-fer. This was in 862. King Charles, in his wrath, caused the impudent forester to be outlawed and excommunicated, both; but after a year of intercession and mediation he forgave the pair and established them in a suitable fief. Baudouin was made Count or Marquis of Flanders. "Previously to Baudouin's era, Flanders or 'Flandria' is a designation belonging, as learned men conjecture, to a Gau or Pagus, afterwards known as the Franc de Bruges, and noticed only in a single charter. Popularly, the name of Flanders had obtained with respect to a much larger surrounding Belgic country. . . . The name of 'Flanders' was thus given to the wide, and in a degree indefinite tract, of which the Forester Baudouin and his predecessors had the official range or care. According to the idiom of the Middle Ages, the term 'Forest' did not exactly convey the idea which the word now suggests, not being applied exclusively to wood-land, but to any wild and unreclaimed region. . . . Any etymology of the name of Flamingia, or Flanders, which we can guess at, seems intended to designate that the land was so called from being half-drowned. Thirty-five inundations, which afflicted the country at various intervals from the tenth to the sixteenth century, have entirely altered the coast-line; and the interior features of the country, though less affected, have been much changed by the diversions which the river-courses have sustained. . . . Whatever had been the original amplitude of the districts over which Baudouin had any control or authority, the boundaries were now enlarged and defined. Kneeling before Charles-le-Chauve [Charles the Bald] placing his hands between the hands of the Sovereign, he received his 'honour':—the Forester of Flanders was created Count or Marquis. All the countries between the Scheldt, the Somme and the sea, became his benefice; so that only a narrow and contested tract divided Baudouin's Flanders from Normandy. According to an ancient nomenclature, ten counties, to wit, Theerenburch, Arras, Boulogne, Guisnes, Saint-Paul, Hesdin, Blandemont, Bruges, Harlebec, and Tournay, were comprehended in the noble grant which Baudouin obtained from his father-in-law."—F. Palgrave, *History of Normandy and of England*, bk. 1, ch. 4.—See also **BELGIUM**: Ancient and medieval history.

1096.—**Crusade of Count Robert.** See **CRUSADES**: 1096-1099.

1201-1204.—**Diverted crusade of Count Baldwin and the imperial crown he won at Constan-**

tinople. See CRUSADES: 1201-1203; BYZANTINE EMPIRE: 1204-1205.

1214.—Humbled at the battle of Bouvines. See BOUVINES, BATTLE OF.

13th century.—Industry, commerce and wealth of the Flemings.—“In the 13th century, Flanders was the most populous and the richest country in Europe. She owed the fact to the briskness of her manufacturing and commercial undertakings, not only amongst her neighbours, but throughout Southern and Eastern Europe. . . . Cloth, and all manner of woollen stuffs, were the principal articles of Flemish production, and it was chiefly from England that Flanders drew her supply of wool, the raw material of her industry. Thence arose between the two countries commercial relations which could not fail to acquire political importance. As early as the middle of the 12th century, several Flemish towns formed a society for founding in England a commercial exchange, which obtained great privileges, and, under the name of the Flemish hanse of London, reached rapid development. The merchants of Bruges had taken the initiative in it; but soon all the towns of Flanders—and Flanders was covered with towns—Ghent, Lille, Ypres, Courtrai, Furnes, Alost, St. Omer, and Douai, entered the confederation, and made unity as well as extension of liberties in respect of Flemish commerce the object of their joint efforts. Their prosperity became celebrated; and its celebrity gave it increase. It was a burgher of Bruges who was governor of the hanse of London, and he was called the Count of the Hanse. The fair of Bruges, held in the month of May, brought together traders from the whole world. ‘Thither came for exchange,’ says the most modern and most enlightened historian of Flanders (Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, ‘Histoire de Flandre,’ t. ii., p. 309), ‘the produce of the North and the South, the riches collected in the pilgrimages to Novgorod, and those brought over by the caravans from Samarcand and Bagdad, the pitch of Norway and the oils of Andalusia, the furs of Russia and the dates from the Atlas, the metals of Hungary and Bohemia, the figs of Granada, the honey of Portugal, the wax of Morocco, and the spice of Egypt; whereby, says an ancient manuscript, no land is to be compared in merchandise to the land of Flanders.’ . . . So much prosperity made the Counts of Flanders very puissant lords. ‘Marguerite II., called “the Black,” Countess of Flanders and Hainault, from 1244 to 1280, was extremely rich,’ says a chronicler, ‘not only in lands, but in furniture, jewels, and money; . . . insomuch that she kept up the state of queen rather than countess.’ Nearly all the Flemish towns were strongly organised communes, in which prosperity had won liberty, and which became before long small republics, sufficiently powerful not only for the defence of their municipal rights against the Counts of Flanders, their lords, but for offering an armed resistance to such of the sovereigns their neighbours as attempted to conquer them or to trammel them in their commercial relations, or to draw upon their wealth by forced contributions or by plunder.”—F. P. Guizot, *Popular history of France*, ch. 18.—See also COMMERCE: Medieval: 8th-16th centuries; BRUGES: 13th-15th centuries.

ALSO IN: J. Hutton, *James and Philip van Artevelde*, pt. 1, ch. 2.

1299-1304.—War with Philip the Fair.—As the Flemings advanced in wealth and consequence, the feudal dependence of their country upon the French crown grew increasingly irksome and oppressive to them, and their attitude towards France became one of confirmed hostility. At the same time, they

were drawn to a friendly leaning towards England by common commercial interests. This showed itself decisively on the occasion of the quarrel that arose (1205) between Philip IV, called the Fair, and Edward I of England, concerning the rule of the latter in Aquitaine or Guienne. The French king found allies in Scotland; the English king found allies in Flanders. An alliance of marriage, in fact, had been arranged to take place between king Edward and the daughter of Guy de Dampierre, count of Flanders; but Philip contrived treacherously to get possession of the persons of the count and his daughter and imprisoned them both at Paris, declaring the states of the count to be forfeited. In 1209 the two kings settled their quarrel and abandoned their allies on both sides—Scotland to the tender mercies of Edward, and Flanders to the vengeance of the malignant king Philip the Fair. The territory of the Flemings was annexed to the crown of France, and Jacques de Châtillon, uncle of the queen, was appointed governor. Before two years had passed the impatient Flemings were in furious revolt. The insurrection began at Bruges, May 18, 1302, and more than 3,000 Frenchmen in that city were massacred in the first rage of the insurgents. This massacre was called the Bruges Matins. A French army entered Flanders to put down the rising and was confronted at Courtrai (July 11, 1302) by the Flemish militia. The latter were led by young Guy de Dampierre and a few knights, who dismounted to fight on equal terms with their fellows. “About 20,000 militia, armed only with pikes, which they employed also as implements of husbandry, resolved to abide the onset of 8,000 Knights of gentle blood, 10,000 archers, and 30,000 foot-soldiers, animated by the presence and directed by the military skill of Robert, Count of Artois, and of Raoul de Nesle, Constable of France. Courtrai was the object of attack, and the Flemings, anxious for its safety, arranged themselves on a plain before the town, covered in front by a canal.” An altercation which occurred between the two French commanders led to the making of a blind and furious charge on the part of the French horsemen, ignorant and heedless of the canal, into which they plunged, horses and riders together, in one inextricable mass, and where, in their helplessness, they were slain without scruple by the Flemings. “Philip had lost his most experienced Generals, and the flower of his troops; but his obstinacy was unbending.” In repeated campaigns during the next two years, Philip strove hard to retrieve the disaster of Courtrai. He succeeded, at last (1304), in achieving, with the help of the Genoese, a naval victory in the Zurruck-Zee, followed by a victory, personally his own, at Mons-en-Puelle, in September of the same year. Then, finding the Flemings as dauntlessly ready as ever to renew the fight, he gave up to their obstinacy and acknowledged the independence of the county. A treaty was signed, in which “the independence of Flanders was acknowledged under its Count, Robert de Bethune (the eldest son of Guy de Dampierre), who, together with his brothers and all the other Flemish prisoners, was to be restored to liberty. The Flemings, on the other hand, consented to surrender those districts beyond the Lys in which the French language was vernacularly spoken; and to this territory were added the cities of Douai, Lille, and their dependencies. They engaged, moreover, to furnish by instalments 200,000 livres in order to cover the expenses which Philip had incurred by their invasion.”—E. Smedley, *History of France*, pt. 1, ch. 7.

ALSO IN: J. Hutton, *James and Philip van*

Artevelde, pt. 1, ch. 2-3.—J. Michelet, *History of France, bk. 5, ch. 2.*

1314.—Dishonesty of Philip of France.—Philip was one of the most treacherous of princes, and his treaty with the Flemings did not secure them against him. "The Flemings, who had paid the whole of the money stipulated by the treaty of 1305, demanded the restitution of that part of Flanders which had been given up as a pledge; but Philippe refused to restore it on the plea that it had been given to him absolutely and not conditionally. He commenced hostilities [1314] by seizing upon the counties of Nevers and R  thel, belonging to the count of Flanders and his eldest son, who replied by laying siege to Lille." Philip was making great exertions to raise money for a vigorous prosecution of the war, when he died suddenly, Nov. 25, 1314, as the result of an accident in hunting.—T. Wright, *History of France, v. 1, bk. 2, ch. 2.*

1328.—Battle of Cassel.—The first act of Philip of Valois, King of France, after his coronation in 1328, was to take up the cause of his cousin, Louis de Nevers, Count of Flanders, who had been driven from his territories by the independent burghers of Bruges, Ypres, and other cities, and who had left to him no town save Ghent, in which he dared to appear. The French king "gathered a great host of feudal lords, who rejoiced in the thought of Flemish spoil, and marched to Arras, and thence onwards into Flanders. He pitched his tent under the hill of Cassel, 'with the fairest and greatest host in the world' around him. The Flemish, under Claus Dennequin, lay on the hill-top; thence they came down all unawares in three columns on the French camp in the evening, and surprised the King at supper and all but took him. The French soon recovered from the surprise; 'for God would not consent that lords should be discomfited by such rirraff': they slew the Flemish Captain Dennequin, and of the rest but few escaped; 'for they deemed not to flee,' so stubborn were those despised weavers of Flanders. This little battle, with its great carnage of Flemish, sufficed to lay all Flanders at the feet of its conqueror."—G. W. Kitchin, *History of France, bk. 4, ch. 1.*—"Sixteen thousand Flemings had marched to the attack in three divisions. Three heaps of slain were counted on the morrow in the French lines, amounting altogether to 13,000 corpses; and it is said that Louis . . . inflicted death upon 10,000 more of the rebels."—E. Smedley, *History of France, pt. 1, ch. 8.*

ALSO IN: J. Froissart, *Chronicles* (Johnes tr.), *bk. 1, ch. 21-22.*

1335-1337.—Revolt under Jacques van Artevelde.—Alliance with England.—The most important measure by which Edward III of England prepared himself for the invasion of France, as a claimant of the French crown (see FRANCE: 1328-1339) was the securing of an alliance with the Flemish burghers. This was made easy for him by his enemies. "The Flemings happened to have a count who was wholly French—Louis de Nevers—who was only count through the battle of Cassel and the humiliation of his country, and who resided at Paris, at the court of Philippe de Valois. Without consulting his subjects, he ordered a general arrest of all the English throughout Flanders; on which Edward had all the Flemings in England arrested. The commerce, which was the life-blood of each country, was thus suddenly broken off. To attack the English through Guyenne and Flanders was to wound them in their most sensible parts, to deprive them of cloth and wine. They sold their wool at Bruges, in order to buy wine at Bordeaux. On the other hand, without English

wool, the Flemings were at a standstill. Edward prohibited the exportation of wool, reduced Flanders to despair, and forced her to fling herself into his arms. At first, a crowd of Flemish workmen emigrated into England, whither they were allured at any cost, and by every kind of flattery and caress. . . . I take it that the English character has been seriously modified by these emigrations, which went on during the whole of the fourteenth century. Previously, we find no indications of that patient industry which now distinguishes the English. By endeavouring to separate Flanders and England the French king only stimulated Flemish emigration, and laid the foundation of England's manufactures. Meanwhile, Flanders did not resign herself. The towns burst into insurrection. They had long hated the count, either because he supported the country against the monopoly of the towns, or because he admitted the foreigners, the Frenchmen, to a share of their commerce. The men of Ghent, who undoubtedly repented of having withheld their aid from those of Ypres and of Bruges at the battle of Cassel, chose, in 1337, as their leader, the brewer, Jacquemart Artevelde. Supported by the guilds, and, in particular, by the fulers and clothiers, Artevelde organized a vigorous tyranny. He assembled at Ghent the men of the three great cities, and showed them that they could not live without the king of England; for all Flanders depended on cloth-making, and, without wool, one could not make cloth; therefore he recommended them to keep the English king their friend."—J. Michelet, *History of France, bk. 6, ch. 1.*

ALSO IN: F. P. Guizot, *Popular history of France, ch. 20.*—J. Hutton, *James and Philip van Artevelde, pt. 3.*—J. Froissart, *Chronicles* (Johnes tr.), *bk. 1, ch. 29.*

1345.—End of Jacques van Artevelde.—"Jacob von Artveld, the citizen of Ghent that was so much attached to the king of England, still maintained the same despotic power over all Flanders. He had promised the king of England, that he would give him the inheritance of Flanders, invest his son the prince of Wales with it, and make it a duchy instead of an earldom. Upon which account the king was, at this period, about St. John the Baptist's day, 1345, come to Sluys, with a numerous attendance of barons and knights. He had brought the prince of Wales with him, in order that Jacob von Artveld's promises might be realized. The king remained on board his fleet in the harbour of Sluys, where he kept his court. His friends in Flanders came thither to see and visit him; and there were many conferences between the king and Jacob von Artveld on one side, and the councils from the different capital towns on the other, relative to the agreement before mentioned. . . . When on his return he [van Artevelde] came to Ghent about midday, the townsmen who were informed of the hour he was expected, had assembled in the street that he was to pass through; as soon as they saw him, they began to murmur, and put their heads close together, saying, 'Here comes one who is too much the master, and wants to order in Flanders according to his will and pleasure, which must not be longer borne.' With this they had also spread a rumour through the town, that Jacob von Artveld had collected all the revenues of Flanders, for nine years and more. . . . Of this great treasure he had sent part into England. This information inflamed those of Ghent with rage; and, as he was riding up the streets, he perceived that there was something in agitation against him; for those who were wont to salute him very respectfully, now turned their backs, and

went into their houses. He began therefore to suspect all was not as usual; and as soon as he had dismounted, and entered his hôtel, he ordered the doors and windows to be shut and fastened. Scarcely had his servants done this, when the street which he inhabited was filled from one end to the other with all sorts of people, but especially by the lowest of the mechanics. His mansion was surrounded on every side, attacked and broken into by force. Those within did all they could to defend it, and killed and wounded many: but at last they could not hold out against such vigorous attacks, for three parts of the town were there. When Jacob von Artaveld saw what efforts were making, and how hardly he was pushed, he came to a window; and, with his head uncovered, began to use humble and fine language. . . . When Jacob von Artaveld saw that he could not appease or calm them, he shut the window, and intended getting out of his house the back way, to take shelter in a church adjoining; but his hôtel was already broken into on that side, and upwards of four hundred were there calling out for him. At last he was seized by them, and slain without mercy: his death-stroke was given him by a saddler, called Thomas Denys. In this manner did Jacob von Artaveld end his days, who in his time had been complete master of Flanders. Poor men first raised him, and wicked men slew him."—J. Froissart, *Chronicles* (Johnes tr.), v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 115.

1379-1381.—Revolt of the White Hoods.—“We will . . . speak of the war in Flanders, which began about this time [1379]. The people were very murderous and cruel, and multitudes were slain or driven out of the country. The country itself was so much ruined, that it was said a hundred years would not restore it to the situation it was in before the war. Before the commencement of these wars in Flanders, the country was so fertile, and everything in such abundance, that it was marvellous to see; and the inhabitants of the principal towns lived in very grand state. You must know that this war originated in the pride and hatred that several of the chief towns bore to each other: those of Ghent against Bruges, and others, in like manner, vying with each other through envy. However, this could not have created a war without the consent of their lord, the earl of Flanders, who was so much loved and feared that no one dared anger him.” It is in these words that the old court chronicler, Froissart, begins his fully detailed and graphic narrative of the miserable years, from 1379 to 1384, during which the communes of Flanders were at war with one another and at war with their worthless and oppressive count, Louis de Maele. The picturesque chronicle is colored with the prejudices of Froissart against the Flemish burghers and in favor of their lord; but no one can doubt that the always turbulent citizens were jealous of rights which the always rapacious lord never ceased to encroach upon. As Froissart tells the story, the outbreak of war began with an attempt on the part of the men of Bruges to dig a canal which would divert the waters of the river Lys. When the men of Ghent had news of this unfriendly undertaking, they took counsel of one John Yoens, or John Lyon, a burgher of much cunning, who had formerly been in favor with the count, but whom his enemies had supplanted. “When he [John Lyon] was prevailed on to speak, he said: ‘Gentlemen, if you wish to risk this business, and put an end to it, you must renew an ancient custom that formerly subsisted in the town of Ghent: I mean, you must first put on white-hoods, and choose a leader, to whom every one may look, and rally at his signals.’ This

harangue was eagerly listened to, and they all cried out, ‘We will have it so, we will have it so! now let us put on white-hoods.’ White-hoods were directly made, and given out to those among them who loved war better than peace, and had nothing to lose. John Lyon was elected chief of the White Hoods. He very willingly accepted of this office, to avenge himself on his enemies, to embroil the towns of Ghent and Bruges with each other and with the earl their lord. He was ordered, as their chief, to march against the pioneers and diggers from Bruges, and had with him 200 such people as preferred rioting to quiet.”—J. Froissart, *Chronicles* (Johnes tr.), bk. 2, ch. 36-102.—When the White Hoods had driven the ditchers of Bruges from their canal, they returned to Ghent, but not to disband. Presently the jealous count required them to lay aside the peculiar badge of their association, which they declined to do. Then Count Louis sent his bailiff into Ghent with 200 horsemen, to arrest John Lyon, and some others of his band. The White Hoods rallied, slew the bailiff and drove his posse from the town; after which unmistakable deed Ghent and the count were distinctly at war. The city of the White Hoods took prompt measures to secure the alliance and support of its neighbors. Some nine or ten thousand of its citizens marched to Bruges, and partly by persuasion, partly by force, partly by the help of the popular party in the town, they effected a treaty of friendship, and alliance—which did not endure, however, very long. Courtray, Damme, Ypres and other cities joined the league and it soon presented a formidable array. Oudenarde, strongly fortified by the count, became the key of the situation, and was besieged by the citizen-militia. In the midst of the siege, the Duke of Burgundy, son-in-law of the count, made successful efforts to bring about a peace (Dec., 1379). “The count promised to forget the past and return to his residence in Ghent. This peace, however, was of short duration; and the count, after passing only two or three days in Ghent, alleged some cause of dissatisfaction and returned to Lille, to recommence hostilities, in the course of which, with the assistance of the richer citizens, he made himself master of Bruges. Another peace was signed in the August of 1380, which was no more durable than the former, and the count reduced Ypres; and, at the head of an army of 60,000 men, laid siege to Ghent itself, the chief and soul of the popular confederacy, in the month of September. But the citizens of Ghent defended themselves so well that he was obliged to raise the siege in the middle of November, and agree to a truce. This truce also was broken by the count’s party, the war renewed in the beginning of the year 1381, and the men of Ghent experienced a disastrous defeat in the battle of Nevelle towards the middle of May. It was a war of extermination, and was carried on with extreme ferocity. . . . Ghent itself, now closely blockaded by the count’s troops, was only saved by the great qualities of Philip Van Artevelde [son of Jacques Van Artevelde, of the revolution of 1337], who, by a sort of peaceful revolution, was placed at the head of affairs [Jan. 25, 1381]. The victory of Beverholt, in which the count was defeated with great slaughter, and only escaped with difficulty, made the town of Ghent again master of Flanders.”—T. Wright, *History of France*, bk. 2, ch. 8.

Also in: J. Hutton, *James and Philip van Artevelde*, ch. 14-16.—W. C. Taylor, *Revolutions, insurrections and conspiracies of Europe*, v. 2, ch. 7-9.

1382.—Rebellion crushed.—By the marriage of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, to the daughter and

heir of the Count of Flanders, that powerful French prince had become interested in the suppression of the revolt of the Flemish burghers and the restoration of the count to his lordship. His nephew, the young king of France, Charles VI, was easily persuaded to undertake a campaign to that end, and an army of considerable magnitude was personally led northwards by the monarch of fourteen years. "The object of the expedition was not only to restore to the Count of Flanders his authority, but to punish the turbulent commons, who stirred up those of France to imitate their example. Froissart avows it to have been a war between the commons and the aristocracy. The Flemings were commanded by Artavelde, son of the famous brewer, the ally of Edward III. The town of Ghent had been reduced to the extreme of distress and famine by the count and the people of Bruges, who supported him. Artavelde led the people of Ghent in a forlorn hope against Bruges, defeated the army of the count, and broke into the rival town, which he took and plundered. After this disaster, the count had recourse to France. The passage of the river Lys, which defended Flanders, was courageously undertaken, and effected with some hazard by the French. The Flemings were rather dispirited by this first success: nevertheless, they assembled their forces; and the two armies of French knights and Flemish citizens met at Rosebecque [or Rosebeck], between Ypres and Courtray. The 27th of November, 1382, was the day of battle. Artavelde had stationed his army on a height, to await the attack of the French, but their impatience forced him to commence. Forming his troops into one solid square. Artavelde led them against the French centre. Froissart compares their charge to the headlong rush of a wild boar. It broke the opposite line, penetrating into its ranks: but the wings of the French turned upon the flank of the Flemings, which, not having the advantage of a charge or impulse, were beaten by the French men at arms. Pressed upon one another, the Flemings had not room to fight: they were hemmed in, surrounded, and slaughtered: no quarter was asked or given; nearly 30,000 perished. The 9,000 Ghen-tois that had marched under their banner were counted, to a man, amongst the slain: Artavelde, their general, was among the foremost who had fallen. Charles ordered his body to be hung upon a tree. It was at Courtray, very near to the field where this battle was fought, that Robert of Artois, with a French army, had perished beneath the swords of the Flemings, nearly a century previous. The gilded spurs of the French knights still adorned the walls of the cathedral of Courtray. The victory of Rosebecque in the eyes of Charles had not sufficiently repaid the former defeat: the town of Courtray was pillaged and burnt; its famous clock was removed to Dijon, and formed the third wonder of this kind in France. Paris and Sens alone possessing similar ornaments. The battle of Rosebecque proved more unfortunate for the commons of France than for those of Flanders. Ghent, notwithstanding her loss of 9,000 slain, did not yield to the conqueror, but held out the war for two years longer; and did not finally submit until the Duke of Burgundy, at the death of their count, guaranteed to the burghers the full enjoyment of their privileges. The king avenged himself on the mutinous city of Paris; entered it as a conqueror; took the chains from the streets and unhinged the gates: one hundred of the citizens were sent to the scaffold; the property of the rich was confiscated; and all the ancient and most onerous taxes, the gabelle, the duty on sales, as well as that of entry, were declared by royal ordinance to be

established anew. The principal towns of the kingdom were visited with the same punishments and exactions. The victory of Rosebecque overthrew the commons of France, which were crushed under the feet of the young monarch and his nobles."—E. E. Crowe, *History of France*, ch. 4.

ALSO IN: J. Froissart, *Chronicles* (Johnes tr.), bk. 2, ch. 111-130.—J. Michelet, *History of France*, v. 2, bk. 7, ch. 1.—F. P. Guizot, *Popular history of France*, v. 3, ch. 23.

1383.—Bishop of Norwich's crusade.—The crushing defeat of the Flemings at Rosebeke produced alarm in England, where the triumph of the French was quickly felt to be threatening. "English merchants were expelled from Bruges, and their property was confiscated. Calais even was in danger. The French were at Dunkirk and Gravelines, and might by a sudden dash on Calais drive the English out." There had been aid from England promised to Van Artevelde, but the promise had only helped on the ruin of the Ghent patriot by misleading him. No help had come when he needed it. Now, when it was too late, the English bestirred themselves. For some months there had been on foot among them a Crusade, which Pope Urban VI had proclaimed against the supporters of the rival Pope Clement VII—the "Schismatics." France took the side of the latter and was counted among the Schismatics. Accordingly, Pope Urban's crusade, so far as the English people could be moved to engage in it, was now directed against the French in Flanders. It was led by the Bishop of Norwich, who succeeded in rousing a very considerable degree of enthusiasm in the country for the movement, despite the earnest opposition of Wyclif and his followers. The crusading army assembled at Calais in the spring of 1383, professedly for a campaign in France; but the Bishop found excuses for leading it into Flanders. Gravelines was first attacked, carried by storm, and its male defenders slaughtered to a man. An army of French and Flemings, encountered near Dunkirk, was routed, with fearful carnage, and the whole coast, including Dunkirk, fell into the hands of the English. Then they laid siege to Ypres, and there their disasters began. The city held out with stubbornness from the 6th of June until the 10th of August, when the baffled besiegers—repulsed in a last desperate assault which they had made on the 8th—marched away. "Ypres might rejoice, but the disasters of the long siege proved final. Her stately faubourgs were not rebuilt, and she has never again taken her former rank among the cities of Flanders." In September a powerful French army entered Flanders, and the English crusaders could do nothing but retreat before it, giving up Cassel (which the French burned), then Bergues, then Bourbourg, after a siege, and, finally, setting fire to Gravelines and abandoning that place. "Gravelines was utterly destroyed, but the French soon began to rebuild it. It was repopled from the surrounding country, and fortified strongly as a menace to Calais." The Crusaders returned to England "dripping with blood and disgracing their country. Blessed be God who confounds the proud," says one sharp critic, who appears to have been a monk of Canterbury."—G. M. Wrong, *Crusade of mcccxxxiii*.

ALSO IN: J. Froissart, *Chronicles* (Johnes tr.), v. 1-2, bk. 2, ch. 130-145.

1383.—Joined to the dominions of the Duke of Burgundy.—"Charles V [of France] had formed the design of obtaining Flanders for his brother Philip, Duke of Burgundy, afterwards known as Philip the Bold—by marrying him to Margaret [daughter and heir of Louis de Mace], count of

Flanders]. To gain the good will of the Communes, he engaged to restore the three bailiwicks of Lille, Douai, and Orchies as a substitute for the 10,000 livres a year promised to Louis de Mæle and his successors in 1351, as well as the towns of Peronne, Crèvecœur, Arleux and Château-Chinon, assigned to him in 1358. . . . On the 13th May, 1369, the 'Lion of Flanders' once more floated, after an interval of half a century, over the walls of Lille, Douai, and Orchies, and at the same time Flemish garrisons marched into St. Omer, Aire, Béthune and Hesdin. The marriage ceremony took place at Ghent on the 10th of June." The Duke of Burgundy waited fourteen years for the heritage of his wife. In January, 1383, Count Louis died, and Flanders was added to the great and growing dominion of the new Burgundian house.—J. Hutton, *James and Philip van Artevelde*, ch. 14 and 18. See BURGUNDY: 1364.

1451-1453.—Revolt against the Burgundian gabelle. See GHENT: 1451-1453.

1477.—Severance from Burgundy.—Transference to the Austrian house by marriage of Mary of Burgundy. See NETHERLANDS: 1477.

1482-1488.—Resistance to Maximilian. See NETHERLANDS: 1482-1493.

1494-1588.—Austro-Spanish sovereignty and its oppressions.—Great revolt and its failure in the Flemish provinces. See NETHERLANDS: 1494-1519, and after.

1529.—Pretensions of the king of France to suzerainty resigned. See ITALY: 1527-1529.

1539-1540.—Unsupported revolt of Ghent. See GHENT: 1539-1540.

1568-1572.—Destruction of Flemish trade. See NETHERLANDS: 1568-1572.

1577-1581.—Corruption of Flemish nobles by Spain. See NETHERLANDS: 1577-1581.

1584-1585.—Recovery by Spain. See NETHERLANDS: 1584-1585.

1594-1609.—Decline of Spanish power. See NETHERLANDS: 1594-1609.

1630-1632.—Siege by Frederick Henry of the Netherlands. See NETHERLANDS: 1625-1647.

1648.—Separated from United Provinces. See BELGIUM: 1648.

1797.—Ceded to France. See FRANCE: 1707 (May-October).

1815-1830.—United with Netherlands.—By the Treaty of Vienna Flanders with the rest of modern Belgium was united with Holland in the new kingdom of the Netherlands. This union lasted until 1830. See BELGIUM: 1797-1815, and after.

1914-1918.—Fighting in, during World War. See WORLD WAR: 1914: I. Western front; 1915: II. Western front, etc.

FLANDIN, Étienne, French resident-general of Tunis, 1018-1020. See TUNIS: 1019.

FLANN (d. 1056), Irish annalist. See ANNALS: Irish.

FLATHEADS (SALISHAN FAMILY).—"The name Flathead was commonly given to the Choctaws, though, says Du Pratz, he saw no reason why they should be so distinguished, when the practice of flattening the head was so general. And in the enumeration just cited [Documentary Hist. of N. Y., v. 1, p. 24] the next paragraph . . . is: 'The Flatheads, Cherakis, Chicachas, and Totiris are included under the name of Flatheads by the Iroquois.'—M. F. Force, *Some early notices of the Indians of Ohio*, p. 32.—"The Salish . . . are distinctively known as Flatheads, though the custom of deforming the cranium is not confined to them."—D. G. Brinton, *American race*, p. 107.—"In . . . early times the hunters and trappers could not discover why the Blackfeet and Flatheads [of Mon-

tana] received their respective designations, for the feet of the former are no more inclined to sable than any other part of the body, while the heads of the latter possess their fair proportion of roundness. Indeed it is only below the falls and rapids that real Flatheads appear, and at the mouth of the Columbia that they flourish most supernaturally. The tribes who practice the custom of flattening the head, and who lived at the mouth of the Columbia, differed little from each other in laws, manners or customs, and were composed of the Cathlamahs, Killmucks, Clatsops, Chinooks and Chilts. The abominable custom of flattening their heads prevails among them all."—P. Roman, *Historical sketch of the Flathead Indian nation*, p. 17.—In Major Powell's linguistic classification, the "Salishan Family" (Flathead) is given a distinct place.—J. W. Powell, *Seventh annual report of the bureau of ethnology*, p. 102.



PHILIP THE BOLD; DUKE OF BURGUNDY

FLAUBERT, Gustave (1821-1880), French novelist. See FRENCH LITERATURE: 1800-1921: Realistic school.

FLAVIA CÆSARIENSIS, middle portion of Britain. See BRITAIN: 323-337.

FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATER. See COLOSSEUM.

FLAVIAN FAMILY.—"We have designated the second period of the [Roman] Empire by the name of the Flavian family—the family of Vespasian [Titus Flavius Vespasian]. The nine Emperors who were successively invested with the purple, in the space of the 123 years from his accession, were not all, however, of Flavian race, even by the rites of adoption, which in Rome was become a second nature; but the respect of the world for the virtues of Flavius Vespasian induced them all to assume his name, and most of them showed themselves worthy of such an affiliation. Vespasian had been invested with the purple at Alexandria, on the 1st of July, A. D. 69; he died in 70. His two sons reigned in succession after him; Titus,

from 79 to 81; Domitian, from 81 to 96. The latter having been assassinated, Nerva, then an old man, was raised to the throne by the Senate (96-98). He adopted Trajan (98-117), who adopted Adrian (117-138). Adrian adopted Antonius Pius (138-161), who adopted Marcus Aurelius (161-180); and Commodus succeeded his father, Marcus Aurelius (180-192). No period in history presents such a succession of good and great men upon any throne: two monsters, Domitian and Commodus, interrupt and terminate it."—J. C. L. Sisoni, *Fall of the Roman empire*, ch. 2.—See also **ROME: Empire: A. D. 70-96.**

FLAVIO BIONDO (1388-1463), Italian historian and humanist. See **HISTORY: 22.**

FLEETWOOD, or **Brandy Station, Battle of.** See **U. S. A.: 1863 (June: Virginia).**

FLEIX, **Peace of (1580).** See **FRANCE: 1578-1580.**

FLÉMALLE, one of the forts around Liège, Belgium. See **WORLD WAR: 1914: I. Western front: b.**

FLEMINGS. See **FLANDERS**; also **BELGIUM: Ancient and medieval history.**

FLEMISH GUILDS. See **GUILDS OF FLANDERS.**

FLEMISH ISLES. See **AZORES.**

FLEMISH SCHOOL OF PAINTING. See **PAINTING: Flemish.**

FLERON, one of the forts around Liège, Belgium. See **WORLD WAR: 1914: I. Western front: b.**

FLERS, village about four miles south of Bapaume, northeastern France. In 1916 it was on the German third line of defense in the battle of the Somme, and was captured by the New Zealanders. See **WORLD WAR: 1916: II. Western front: d, 13.**

FLETA. See **COMMON LAW: 1292.**

FLETCHER, John (1579-1625), English dramatist. See **DRAMA: 1592-1648.**

FLETCHER VS. PECK.—"This case arose over the question of a title to land which rested ultimately on the Georgia act of 1795. . . . In a detailed and luminous opinion [1810], Marshall decided in favor of the title. In the course of this decision he took up the point as to the validity of the act of 1795, which was the result of the operation of corrupt motives. Marshall thought that the fact of the corruption of the legislators could not in any way affect the title of an honest holder under the law, and doubted whether it was within the province of the judiciary to control the conduct of a bribed legislature. He did not say so, but the inference is not a violent one that the people of Georgia should have selected legislators who were not open to bribery. At all events, having chosen the legislature whose majority acted from impure motives, the people, whose representatives they were, were bound by their act. For these and other reasons, the title of an innocent holder under the act of 1795 in itself was good. Then Marshall took up the question of the validity of the Rescinding Act; he laid down the general principle that its validity might well be doubted were Georgia a single sovereign power. As a matter of fact, however, she was a member of the American Union, and in common with other states her legislature was limited in its power. Especially was this the case as to bills of attainder, *ex post facto* laws, and laws impairing the obligations of contracts. The Rescinding Act of 1796 was clearly an *ex post facto* law; it had some of the elements of an act of attainder in that it led to a confiscation of property, and it impaired the obligation of contracts, for a grant of land by legislative act was

clearly a contract within the meaning of the Constitution. The Eleventh Amendment had been adopted to preserve Georgia from the indignity of being sued by the Yazoo men; and now the supreme court of the United States, regardless of Georgia dignity, had decided that the Yazoo land titles were good in law."—E. Channing, *Jeffersonian system*, pp. 137-139.—Yazoo men were land-jobbers. There were two companies which bought land from the legislature of Georgia in 1789, known as the Virginia Yazoo Company and the South Carolina Yazoo Company.—See also **SUPREME COURT: 1789-1835.**

FLEURS-DE-LIS, coat of arms of France from the reign of Louis VII to the revolution and again under the restoration. According to some, they represent the iris or the marsh lily in remembrance of the marshy fatherland of the early Franks; according to others they reproduce the shape of an ancient iron halberd. This heraldic design, whatever may be its origin, is found on the scepter or on the crown or robes of many princes, both French and foreign. Louis VII seems to be the first to claim it for France, taking, on his departure for the second crusade (1147-1149), an azure blue banner strewn with fleurs de lis. Under Philippe III (1270-1285), but chiefly from the time of Charles V (1364-1380), the number of the fleurs-de-lis on the royal escutcheon was reduced to three.—L. Grégoire, *Dictionnaire encyclopedique d'histoire*.—See **FLAGS: France.**

FLEURUS, **Battle of: 1690.** See **FRANCE: 1689-1691.**

1794. See **FRANCE: 1794 (June-July): French victory at Fleurus.**

FLEURY, André Hercule de (1653-1743), French prelate and statesman. Member of the king's council, 1723; appointed cardinal, 1726; from 1726 until his death, prime minister for Louis XV; and instigator of the war of the Austrian Succession. See **FRANCE: 1723-1774.**

FLEURY, Emile Félix, Comte (1815-1884), French general. Served in Algeria in the Spahis; took an active part in the coup d'état of 1851; became brigadier-general, 1856; chief aide-de-camp to the emperor, 1865; ambassador to Florence and to Russia; retired in 1870.—See also **FRANCE: 1851: Plot of the coup d'état.**

FLEURY, Tony Robert (1838-1911), French painter. See **PAINTING: Europe (19th century).**

FLEURY, village about two miles northeast of Verdun, eastern France. In 1916, during the prolonged German assaults, it repeatedly changed hands. See **WORLD WAR: 1916: II. Western front: b, 15.**

FLEXNER, Simon (1863-), American pathologist and bacteriologist. See **MEDICAL SCIENCE: Modern: 20th century: Experimental method.**

FLINDERS, Matthew (1774-1814), English navigator, scientist and hydrographer. See **AUSTRALIA: 1601-1800; PACIFIC OCEAN: 1764-1850.**

FLINT GLASS. See **INVENTIONS: 16th-17th centuries: Industry.**

FLINT IMPLEMENTS, Prehistoric. See **EUROPE: Prehistoric period: Stone Age.**

FLIREY, town in France north of Toul. See **WORLD WAR: 1915: II. Western front: j, 6.**

FLOATERS, term used in the United States to describe purchasable voters. See **BLOCKS OF FIVE.**

FLODDEN, **Battle of.** See **SCOTLAND: 1513.**

FLORAL GAMES. See **TOULOUSE: 1323-1324.**

FLORALIA. See **LUDI.**

FLOREAL, eighth month in the French republican calendar. See **CHRONOLOGY: French revolutionary era and calendar.**

FLORENCE, formerly the capital of Tuscany; now the most important city of central Italy north of Rome. It is situated on both banks of the river Arno, which at this point flows through a broad, fertile valley between two spurs of the Apennines. From this valley, bordered with gently-sloping hills, covered with olive groves, orchards and vineyards it has derived its title, "Firenze la Bella" (Florence the Beautiful). More than any other city, Florence was the cradle of Italian culture. Few cities are so rich in collections of works of artistic and historic interest. The chief art galleries are the Uffizi, the Pitti and the Accademia; the two former are among the finest in the world. The estimated population in 1915 was 242,147.

ALSO IN: E. Hutton, *Italy and the Italians*.

Origin and name.—"Fæulæ was situated on a hill above Florence. Florentine traditions call it the metropolis of Florence, which would accordingly be a colony of Fæsulæ; but a statement in Machiavelli and others describes Florence as a colony of Sulla, and this statement must have been derived from some local chronicle. Fæsulæ was no doubt an ancient Etruscan town, probably one of the twelve. It was taken in the war of Sulla [B. C. 82-81]. . . . My conjecture is, that Sulla not only built a strong fort on the top of the hill of Fæsulæ, but also the new colony of Florentia below, and gave to it the 'ager Fæsulanus.'"—B. G. Niebuhr, *Lectures on ancient ethnography and geography*, v. 2, p. 22.—"We can reasonably suppose that the ancient trading nations may have pushed their small craft up the Arno to the present site of Florence, and thus have gained a more immediate communication with the flourishing city of Fiesole than they could through other parts of Etruria, from whatever race its people might have sprung. Admitting the high antiquity of Fiesole, the imagined work of Atlas, and the tomb of his celestial daughter, we may easily believe that a market was from very early times established in the plain, where both by land and water the rural produce could be brought for sale without ascending the steep on which that city stood. Such arrangements would naturally result from the common course of events, and a more convenient spot could scarcely be found than the present site of Florence, to which the Arno is still navigable by boats from its mouth, and at that time perhaps by two branches. . . . 'There were,' says Villani, 'inhabitants round San Giovanni, because the people of Fiesole held their market there one day in the week, and it was called the Field of Mars, the ancient name: however it was always, from the first, the market of the Fiesolines, and thus it was called before Florence existed.' And again: 'The Prætor Florinus, with a Roman army, encamped beyond the Arno towards Fiesole and had two small villages there, . . . where the people of Fiesole one day in the week held a general market with the neighbouring towns and villages.' . . . On the site of this camp, as we are also assured by Villani, was erected the city of Florence, after the capture of Fiesole by Pompey, Cæsar, and Marius; but Leonardo Arcino, following Malespini, asserts that it was the work of Sulla's legions, who were already in possession of Fiesole. . . . The variety of opinions almost equals the number of authors. . . . It may be reasonably concluded that Florence, springing originally from Fiesole, finally rose to the rank of a Roman colony and the seat of provincial government; a miniature of Rome, with its Campus Martius, its Capitol, Forum, temple of Mars, aqueducts, baths, theatre and amphitheatre, all erected in imitation of the 'Eternal City'; for vestiges of all these are still existing either in name or substance. The name of Florence is as dark as its

origin, and a thousand derivations have confused the brains of antiquarians and their readers without much enlightening them, while the beautiful Giagiolo or Iris, the city's emblem, still clings to her old grey walls, as if to assert its right to be considered as the genuine source of her poetic appellation. From the profusion of these flowers that formerly decorated the meads between the rivers Mugnone and Arno, has sprung one of the most popular opinions on the subject; for a white plant of the same species having shown itself amongst the rising fabrics, the incident was poetically seized upon and the Lily then first assumed its station in the crimson banner of Florence."—H. E. Napier, *Florentine history*, bk. 1, ch. 1.

406.—Siege of Radagaisus.—Deliverance by Stilicho. See **ROME**: Empire: 404-408.

12th century.—Acquisition of republican independence.—"There is . . . an assertion by Villani, that Florence contained 'twenty-two thousand fighting men, without counting the old men and children,' about the middle of the sixth century; and modern statisticians have based on this statement an estimate which would make the population of the city at that period about sixty-one thousand. There are reasons too for believing that very little difference in the population took place during several centuries after that time. Then came the sudden increase arising from the destruction, more or less entire, of Fiesole, and the incorporation of its inhabitants with those of the newer city, which led to the building of the second walls. . . . An estimate taking the inhabitants of the city at something between seventy and eighty thousand at the period respecting which we are inquiring [beginning of the 12th century] would in all probability be not very wide of the mark. The government of the city was at that time lodged in the hands of magistrates exercising both legislative and administrative authority, called Consuls, assisted by a senate composed of a hundred citizens of worth—buoni uomini. These Consuls 'guided everything, and governed the city, and decided causes, and administered justice.' They remained in office for one year. How long this form of government had been established in Florence is uncertain. It was not in existence in the year 807; but it was in activity in 1102. From 1138 we have a nearly complete roll of the names of the consuls for each year down to 1219. . . . The first recorded deeds of the young community thus governed, and beginning to feel conscious and proud of its increasing strength, were characteristic enough of the tone of opinion and sentiment which prevailed within its walls, and of the career on which it was entering. 'In the year 1107,' says Malispini, 'the city of Florence being much increased, the Florentines, wishing to extend their territory, determined to make war against any castle or fortress which would not be obedient to them. And in that year they took by force Monte Orlando, which belonged to certain gentlemen who would not be obedient to the city. And they were defeated, and the castle was destroyed.' These 'gentlemen,' so styled by the civic historian who thus curtly records the destruction of their home, in contradistinction to the citizens who by no means considered themselves such, were the descendants or representatives of those knights and captains, mostly of German race, to whom the Emperors had made grants of the soil according to the feudal practice and system. They held directly of the Empire, and in no wise owed allegiance or obedience of any sort to the community of Florence. But they occupied almost all the country around the rising city; and the citizens 'wanted to extend their territory.' Besides, these territorial

lords were, as has been said, gentlemen, and lived as such, stopping wayfarers on the highways, levying tolls in the neighbourhood of their strongholds, and in many ways making themselves disagreeable neighbours to peaceable folks. . . . The next incident on the record, however, would seem to show that peaceful townfolk as well as marauding nobles were liable to be overrun by the car of manifest destiny, if they came in the way of it. 'In the same year,' says the curt old historian, 'the men of Prato rebelled against the Florentines; wherefore they went out in battle against it, and took it by siege and destroyed it.' Prato rebelled against Florence! It is a very singular statement; for there is not the shadow of a pretence put forward, or the smallest ground for imagining that Florence had or could have claimed any sort of suzerainty over Prato. . . . The territorial nobles, however, who held castles in the district around Florence were the principal objects of the early prowess of the citizens; and of course offence against them was offence against the Emperor. . . . In 1113, accordingly, we find an Imperial vicar residing in Tuscany at St. Miniato; not the convent-topped hill of that name in the immediate neighbourhood of Florence, but a little mountain city of the same name, overlooking the lower Valdarno, about half way between Florence and Pisa. . . . There the Imperial Vicars perched themselves hawk-like, with their Imperial troops, and swooped down from time to time to chastise and bring back such cities of the plain as too audaciously set at naught the authority of the Emperor. And really these upstart Florentines were taking the bit between their teeth, and going on in a way that no Imperial Vicar could tolerate. . . . So the indignant cry of the harried Counts Cadolingi, and of several other nobles holding of the Empire, whose houses had been burned over their heads by these audacious citizens, went up to the ears of 'Messer Ruberto,' the Vicar, in San Miniato. Whereupon that noble knight, indignant at the wrong done to his fellow nobles, as well as at the offence against the authority of his master the Emperor, forthwith put lance in rest, called out his men, and descended from his mountain fortress to take summary vengeance on the audacious city. On his way thither he had to pass through that very gorge where the castle of Monte Orlando had stood, and under the ruins of the house from which the noble vassals of the Empire had been harried. . . . There were the leathern-jerked citizens on the very scene of their late misdeed, come out to oppose the further progress of the Emperor's Vicar and his soldiers. And there, as the historian writes, with curiously impassible brevity, 'the said Messer Ruberto was discomfited and killed.' And nothing further is heard of him, or of any after consequences resulting from the deed. Learned legal antiquaries insist much on the fact that the independence of Florence and the other Communes was never 'recognised' by the Emperors; and they are no doubt perfectly accurate in saying so. One would think, however, that that unlucky Vicar of theirs, Messer Ruberto, must have 'recognised' the fact, though somewhat tardily."—T. A. Trollope, *History of the commonwealth of Florence*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 1.—Countess Matilda, the famous friend of Pope Gregory VII, whose wide dominion included Tuscany, died in 1115, bequeathing her vast possessions to the Church (see PAPACY: 1077-1102). "In reality she was only entitled thus to bequeath her allodial lands, the remainder being imperial fiefs. But as it was not always easy to distinguish between the two sorts, and the popes were naturally anxious to get as much as they could, a fresh source of contention was added to the constant

quarrels between the Empire and the Church. 'Henry IV immediately despatched a representative into Tuscany, who under the title of Marchio, Judex, or Praeses, was to govern the Marquisate in his name.' 'Nobody,' says Professor Villari, 'could legally dispute his right to do this: but the opposition of the Pope, the attitude of the towns which now considered themselves independent and the universal confusion rendered the Marquis's authority illusory. The imperial representatives had no choice but to put themselves at the head of the feudal nobility of the contado and unite it into a Germanic party hostile to the cities. In the documents of the period the members of this party are continually described as Teutonici.' By throwing herself in this juncture on the side of the Pope, and thus becoming the declared opponent of the empire and the feudal lords, Florence practically proclaimed her independence. The grandi, having the same interests with the working classes, identified themselves with these; became their leaders, their consuls in fact if not yet in name. Thus was the consular commune born, or, rather, thus did it recognize itself on reaching manhood; for born, in reality, it had already been for some time, only so quietly and unconsciously that nobody had marked its origin or, until now, its growth. The first direct consequence of this self-recognition was that the rulers were chosen out of a larger number of families. As long as Matilda had chosen the officers to whom the government of the town was entrusted, the Uberti and a few others who formed their clan, their kinsmen, and their connections had been selected, to the exclusion of the mass of the citizens. Now more people were admitted to a share in the administration: the offices were of shorter duration, and out of those selected to govern each family had its turn. But those who had formerly been privileged—the Uberti and others of the same tendencies and influence—were necessarily discontented with this state of things, and there are indications in Villani of burnings and of tumults such as later, when the era of faction fights had fairly begun, so often desolated the streets of Florence."—B. Duffy, *Tuscan republics*, ch. 6.—See also ITALY: 1056-1152.

1215-1250.—Beginning, causes and meaning of the strife of the Guelfs and Ghibellines.—Almost from the beginning of the 13th century, all Italy, and Florence more than other Italian communities, became distracted and convulsed by a contest of raging factions. "The main distinction was that between Ghibellines and Guelfs—two names in their origin far removed from Italy. They were first heard in Germany in 1140, when at Winsberg in Suabia a battle was fought between two contending claimants of the Empire; the one, Conrad of Hohenstauffen, Duke of Franconia, chose for his battle-cry 'Waiblingen,' the name of his patrimonial castle in Württemberg; the other, Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, chose his own family name of 'Welf,' or 'Wölf.' Conrad proved victorious, and his kindred to the fourth ensuing generation occupied the imperial throne; yet both war-cries survived the contest which gave them birth, lingering on in Germany as equivalents of Imperialist and anti-Imperialist. By a process perfectly clear to philologists, they were modified in Italy into the forms Ghibellino and Guelfo; and the Popes being there the great opponents of the Emperors, an Italian Guelf was a Papalist. The cities were mainly Guelf; the nobles most frequently Ghibelline. A private feud had been the means of involving Florence in the contest."—M. F. Rossetti, *Shadow of Dante*, ch. 3.—"The Florentines kept themselves united till the year 1215, rendering obedience to the ruling power, and anxious only to preserve their

own safety. But, as the diseases which attack our bodies are more dangerous and mortal in proportion as they are delayed, so Florence, though late to take part in the sects of Italy, was afterwards the more afflicted by them. The cause of her first division is well known, having been recorded by Dante and many other writers; I shall, however, briefly notice it. Amongst the most powerful families of Florence were the Buondelmonti and the Uberti; next to these were the Amidei and the Donati. Of the Donati family there was a rich widow who had a daughter of exquisite beauty, for whom, in her own mind, she had fixed upon Buondelmonti, a young gentleman, the head of the Buondelmonti family, as her husband; but either from negligence, or because she thought it might be accomplished at any time, she had not made known her intention, when it happened that the cavalier betrothed himself to a maiden of the Amidei family. This grieved the Donati widow exceedingly; but she hoped, with her daughter's beauty, to disturb the arrangement before the celebration of the marriage; and from an upper apartment, seeing Buondelmonti approach her house alone, she descended, and as he was passing she said to him, 'I am glad to learn you have chosen a wife, although I had reserved my daughter for you'; and, pushing the door open, presented her to his view. The cavalier, seeing the beauty of the girl, . . . became inflamed with such an ardent desire to possess her, that, not thinking of the promise given, or the injury he committed in breaking it, or of the evils which his breach of faith might bring upon himself, said, 'Since you have reserved her for me, I should be very ungrateful indeed to refuse her, being yet at liberty to choose'; and without any delay married her. As soon as the fact became known, the Amidei and the Uberti, whose families were allied, were filled with rage, and some of them, lying in wait for him, assassinated him as he was riding through the streets. "This murder divided the whole city; one party espousing the cause of the Buondelmonti, the other that of the Uberti; and . . . they contended with each other for many years, without one being able to destroy the other. Florence continued in these troubles till the time of Frederick II., who, being king of Naples, endeavoured to strengthen himself against the church; and, to give greater stability to his power in Tuscany, favoured the Uberti and their followers, who, with his assistance, expelled the Buondelmonti; thus our city, as all the rest of Italy had long time been, became divided into Guelphs and Ghibellines."—N. Machiavelli, *History of Florence*, bk. 2, ch. 1.—"Speaking generally, the Ghibellines were the party of the emperor, and the Guelphs the party of the Pope; the Ghibellines were on the side of authority, or sometimes of oppression, the Guelphs were on the side of liberty and self-government. Again, the Ghibellines were the supporters of an universal empire of which Italy was to be the head, the Guelphs were on the side of national life and national individuality. . . . If these definitions could be considered as exhaustive, there would be little doubt as to the side to which our sympathies should be given. . . . We should . . . expect all patriots to be Guelphs, and the Ghibelline party to be composed of men who were too spiritless to resist despotic power, or too selfish to surrender it. But, on the other hand, we must never forget that Dante was a Ghibelline."—O. Browning, *Guelphs and Ghibellines*, ch. 2.—See also ITALY: 1215.

1248-1278.—Wars of a generation of the Guelphs and Ghibellines.—In 1248, the Ghibellines, at the instigation of Frederick II, and with help from his German soldiery, expelled the Guelphs from the city, after desperate fighting for several days, and de-

stroyed the mansions of their chiefs, to the number of 38. In 1250 there was a rising of the people—of the under-stratum which the cleavage of parties hardly penetrated—and a popular constitution of government was brought into force. At the same time, the high towers, which were the strongholds of the contending nobles, were thrown down. An attempt was then made by the leaders of the people to restore peace between the Ghibellines and the Guelphs, but the effort was vain; whereupon the Guelphs (in January, 1251) came back to the city, and the Ghibellines were either driven away or were shut up in their city castles, to which they had retired when the people rose. In 1258 the restless Ghibellines plotted with Manfred, King of the Two Sicilies, to regain possession of Florence. The plot was discovered, and the enraged people drove the last lingerers of the faction from their midst and pulled down their palaces. The great palace of the Uberti family, most obnoxious of all, was not only razed, but a decree was made that no building should ever stand again on its accursed site. The exiled Ghibellines took refuge at Siena, and there plotted again with King Manfred, who sent troops to aid them. The Florentines did not wait to be attacked, but marched out to meet them on Siense territory, and suffered a terrible defeat at Montaperti (September 4, 1260), in the battle that Dante refers to, "which coloured the river Arbia red." "On that day," says Villani, . . . 'was broken and destroyed the old popular government of Florence, which had existed for ten years with so great power and dignity, and had won so many victories.' Few events have ever left a more endurable impression on the memory of a people than this great battle between two cities and parties animated both of them by the most unquenchable hatred. The memory of that day has lasted through 600 years, more freshly perhaps in Siena than in Florence." As a natural consequence of their defeat at Montaperti, the Guelphs were again forced to fly into exile from Florence, and this expatriation included a large number of even the commoner people. "So thorough had been the defeat, so complete the Ghibelline ascendancy resulting from it, that in every city the same scene on a lesser scale was taking place. Many of the smaller towns, which had always been Guelph in their sympathies, were now subjected to Ghibelline despotism. One refuge alone remained in Tuscany—Lucca. . . . And thither the whole body of the expatriated Guelphs betook themselves. . . . The Ghibellines entered Florence in triumph on the 16th of September, three days after their enemies had left it. . . . The city seemed like a desert. The gates were standing open and unguarded; the streets were empty; the comparatively few inhabitants who remained, almost entirely of the lowest class of the populace, were shut up in their obscure dwellings, or were on their knees in the churches. And what was worse, the conquerors did not come back alone. They had invited a foreign despot to restore order"; and so King Manfred's general, Giordano da Anghona, established Count Guido Novello in Florence as Manfred's vicar. "All the constitutional authorities established by the people, and the whole framework of the former government, were destroyed, and the city was ruled entirely by direction transmitted from the King's Sicilian court." There were serious proposals, even, that Florence itself should be destroyed, and the saving of the noble city from that untimely fate is credited to one patriotic noble, of the Uberti family, who withstood the proposition, alone. "The Ghibelline army marched on Lucca, and had not much more difficulty in reducing that city. The government was put into Ghibelline hands, and Lucca became a Ghibelline city like all

the rest of Tuscany. The Lucchese were not required by the victors to turn their own Guelphs out of the city. But it was imperatively insisted on that every Guelph not a native citizen should be thrust forth from the gates." The unfortunate Florentines, thus made homeless again, now found shelter at Bologna, and presently helped their friends at Modena and Reggio to overcome the Ghibellines in those cities and recover control. But for five years their condition was one of wretchedness. Then Charles of Anjou was brought into Italy (1265) by the Pope, to snatch the crown of the Two Sicilies from King Manfred, and succeeded in his undertaking.—See ITALY: 1250-1268.—The prop of the Ghibellines was broken. Guido Novello and his troopers rode away from Florence; 800 French horsemen, sent by the new Angevin king, under Guy de Montfort, took their places; the Guelphs swarmed in again—the Ghibellines swarmed out; the popular constitution was restored, with new features more popular than before. In 1273 there was a great attempt made by Pope Gregory X in person, to reconcile the factions in Florence; but it had so little success that the Holy Father left the city in disgust and pronounced it under interdict for three years. In 1278 the attempt was renewed with somewhat better success. " 'And now,' says Villani, 'the Ghibellines were at liberty to return to Florence, they and their families. . . . And the said Ghibellines had back again their goods and possessions; except that certain of the leading families were ordered, for the safety of the city, to remain for a certain time beyond the boundaries of the Florentine territory.' In fact, little more is heard henceforward of the Ghibellines as a faction within the walls of Florence. The old name, as a rallying cry for the Tory or Imperialist party, was still raised here and there in Tuscany; and Pisa still called herself Ghibelline. But the stream of progress had run past them and left them stranded."—T. A. Trollope, *History of the commonwealth of Florence*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 4-5; bk. 2, ch. 1.

ALSO IN: N. Machiavelli, *Florentine histories*, bk. 1.—J. C. L. de Sismondi, *History of the Italian republics*, ch. 4.

1250-1293.—Development of the popular constitution of the commonwealth.—"When it became clear that the republic was to rule itself henceforth untrammelled by imperial interference, the people [in 1250] divided themselves into six districts, and chose for each district two Ancients, who administered the government in concert with the Potestà and the Captain of the People. The Ancients were a relic of the old Roman municipal organization. . . . The body of the citizens, or the popolo, were ultimately sovereigns in the State. Assembled under the banners of their several companies, they formed a parlamento for delegating their own power to each successive government. Their representatives, again, arranged in two councils, called the Council of the People and the Council of the Commune, under the presidency of the Captain of the People and the Potestà, ratified the measures which had previously been proposed and carried by the executive authority or signoria. Under this simple State system the Florentines placed themselves at the head of the Tuscan League, fought the battles of the Church, asserted their sovereignty by issuing the golden florin of the republic, and flourished until 1266. In that year an important change was effected in the Constitution. The whole population of Florence consisted, on the one hand, of nobles or Grandi, as they were called in Tuscany, and on the other hand of working people. The latter, divided into traders and handicraftsmen, were distributed in guilds called Arti; and at that time there were

seven Greater and five Lesser Arti, the most influential of all being the Guild of the Wool Merchants. These guilds had their halls for meeting, their colleges of chief officers, their beads, called Consoli or Priors, and their flags. In 1266 it was decided that the administration of the commonwealth should be placed simply and wholly in the hands of the Arti, and the Priors of these industrial companies became the lords of Signory of Florence. No inhabitant of the city who had not enrolled himself as a craftsman in one of the guilds could exercise any function of burghership. To be scioperato, or without industry, was to be without power, without rank or place of honour in the State. The revolution which placed the Arti at the head of the republic had the practical effect of excluding the Grandi altogether from the government. . . . In 1293, after the Ghibellines had been defeated in the great battle of Campaldino, a series of severe enactments, called the Ordinances of Justice, were decreed against the unruly Grandi. All civic rights were taken from them; the severest penalties were attached to their slightest infringement of municipal law; their titles to land were limited; the privilege of living within the city walls was allowed them only under galling restrictions; and last, not least, a supreme magistrate, named the Gonfalonier of Justice, was created for the special purpose of watching them and carrying out the penal code against them. Henceforward Florence was governed exclusively by merchants and artisans. The Grandi hastened to enroll themselves in the guilds, exchanging their former titles and dignities for the solid privilege of burghership. The exact parallel to this industrial constitution for a commonwealth, carrying on wars with emperors and princes, holding haughty captains in its pay, and dictating laws to subject cities cannot, I think, be elsewhere found in history [but comparison with Soviet Russia may be of interest]. It is as unique as the Florence of Dante and Giotto is unique."—J. A. Symonds, *Florence and the Medici (Sketches and studies in Italy, ch. 5)*.—See also SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: 1000-1300; LOT, USE OF: Florence.

ALSO IN: C. Balbo, *Life and times of Dante*, v. 1, *Introduction*.—A. von Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, bk. 1, ch. 1.

1284-1293.—War with Pisa. See PISA: 1063-1293.

1289.—Victory of Campaldino, and the jealousy among its heroes.—In 1289 the Ghibellines of Arezzo having expelled the Guelphs from that city, the Florentines made war in the cause of the latter and won a great victory at Campaldino. This "raised the renown and the military spirit of the Guelph party, for the fame of the battle was very great; the hosts contained the choicest chivalry of either side, armed and appointed with emulous splendour. The fighting was hard, there was brilliant and conspicuous gallantry, and the victory was complete. It sealed Guelph ascendancy. The Ghibelline warrior-bishop of Arezzo fell, with three of the Uberti, and other Ghibelline chiefs. . . . In this battle the Guelph leaders had won great glory. The hero of the day was the proudest, handsomest, craftiest, most winning, most ambitious, most unscrupulous Guelph noble in Florence—one of a family who inherited the spirit and recklessness of the proscribed Uberti, and did not refuse the popular epithet of 'Malefami'—Corso Donati. He did not come back from the field of Campaldino, where he had won the battle by disobeying orders, with any increased disposition to yield to rivals, or court the populace, or respect other men's rights. Those rivals, too—and they also had fought gallantly in the post of honour at Campaldino—were such as

he hated from his soul—rivals whom he despised, and who yet were too strong for him [the family of the Cerchi]. His blood was ancient, they were upstarts; he was a soldier, they were traders; he was poor, they the richest men in Florence. . . . They had crossed him in marriages, bargains, inheritances. . . . The glories of Campaldino were not as oil on these troubled waters. The conquerors flouted each other all the more fiercely in the streets on their return, and ill-treated the lower people with less scruple."—R. W. Church, *Dante and other essays*, pp. 27-31.

Also in: C. Balbo, *Life and times of Dante*, v. 1, pt. 1, ch. 6.

1295-1300.—New factions in the city, and Dante's relations to them.—Bianchi and Neri (Whites and Blacks).—Among the Nobles "who resisted the oppression of the people, Corso Donati must have been the chief, but he did not at first come forward; with one of his usual stratagems, however, he was the cause of a new revolution [January, 1295], which drove Giano della Bella, the leader of the people, from the city. . . . Notwithstanding the fall of Giano, the Nobles did not return into power. He was succeeded as a popular leader by one much his inferior, one Pecora, surnamed, from his trade, the Butcher. New disputes arose between the nobles and the people, and between the upper and lower ranks of the people itself. Villani tells us that, in the year 1295, 'many families, who were neither tyrannical nor powerful, withdrew from the order of the nobles, and enrolled themselves among the people, diminishing the power of the nobles and increasing that of the people.' Dante must have been precisely one of those nobles 'who were neither tyrannical nor powerful'; and . . . it is certain that he was among those who passed over from their own order to that of the Popolani, by being matriculated in one of the Arts. In a register from 1297 to 1300, of the Art of the physicians and druggists, the fifth of the seven major Arts, he is found matriculated in these words: 'Dante d'Aldighiero degli Aldighieri poeta fiorentino.' . . . Dante, by this means, obtained office under the popular government. . . . The new factions that arose in Florence, in almost all Tuscany, and in some of the cities in other parts of Italy, were merely subdivisions of the Gueft party; merely what, in time, happens to every faction after a period of prosperity, a division of the ultras and of the moderates, or of those who hold more or less extravagant views. . . . All this happened to the Gueft party in a very few years, and the Neri and Bianchi, the names of the two divisions of that party, which had arisen in 1300, were no longer mentioned ten years afterwards, but were again lost in the primitive appellations of Guefts and Ghibellines. Thus this episode would possess little interest, and would be scarcely mentioned in the history of Italy, or even of Florence, had not the name of our sublime Poet been involved in it; and, after his love, it is the most important circumstance of his life, and the one to which he most frequently alludes in his *Commedia*. It thus becomes a subject worthy of history. . . . Florentine historians attribute Corso Donati's hatred towards Vieri de Cerchi to envy. . . . This envy arose to such a height between Dante's neighbours in Florence that he has rendered it immortal. 'Through envy,' says Villani, 'the citizens began to divide into factions, and one of the principal feuds began in the Sesto dello Scandalo, near the gate of St. Pietro, between the families of the Cerchi and the Donati [from which latter family came Dante's wife]. . . . Messer Vieri was the head of the House of the Cerchi, and he and his house were powerful in affairs, possessing

a numerous kindred; they were very rich merchants, for their company was one of the greatest in the world.'" The state of animosity between these two families "was existing in Florence in the beginning of 1300, when it was increased by another rather similar family quarrel that had arisen in Pistoia. . . . 'There was in Pistoia a family which amounted to more than 100 men capable of bearing arms; it was not of great antiquity, but was powerful, wealthy, and numerous; it was descended from one Cancellieri Notaio, and from him they had preserved Cancellieri as their family name. From the children of the two wives of this man were descended the 107 men of arms that have been enumerated; one of the wives having been named Madonna Bianca, her descendants were called Cancellieri Bianchi (White Cancellieri); and the descendants of the other wife, in opposition, were called Cancellieri Neri (Black Cancellieri).'" Between these two branches of the family of the Cancellieri there arose, some time near the end of the thirteenth century, an implacable feud. "Florence . . . exercised a supremacy over Pistoia . . . and fearing that these internal dissensions might do injury to the Gueft party, she took upon herself the lordship or supremacy of that city. The principal Cancellieri, both Bianchi and Neri, were banished to Florence itself; 'the Neri took up their abode in the house of the Frescobaldi, beyond the Arno; the Bianchi at the house of the Cerchi, in the Garbo, from being connected with them by kindred. But as one sick sheep infects another, and is injurious to the flock, so this cursed seed of discord, that had departed from Pistoia and had now entered Florence, corrupted all the Florentines, and divided them into two parties.' . . . The Cerchi, formerly called the Forest party (*parte selvaggia*), now assumed the name of Bianchi; and those who followed the Donati were now called Neri. . . . 'There sided with [the Bianchi, says Villani] the families of the Popolani and petty artisans, and all the Ghibellines, whether Nobles or Popolani.' . . . Thus the usual position in which the two parties stood was altered; for hitherto the Nobles had almost always been Ghibellines, and the Popolani Guefts; but now, if the Popolani were not Ghibellines, they were at least not such strong Guefts as the nobles. Sometimes these parties are referred to as White Guefts and Black Guefts."—C. Balbo, *Life and times of Dante*, ch. 10.

Also in: H. E. Napier, *Florentine history*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 14.—N. Machiavelli, *Florentine histories*, bk. 2.

14th century.—Industrial prosperity of the city.—"John Villani has given us an ample and precise account of the state of Florence in the earlier part of the 14th century. The revenue of the Republic amounted to 300,000 florins, a sum which, allowing for the depreciation of the precious metals, was at least equivalent to 600,000 pounds sterling; a larger sum than England and Ireland, two centuries ago, yielded annually to Elizabeth—a larger sum than, according to any computation which we have seen, the Grand Duke of Tuscany now derives from a territory of much greater extent. The manufacture of wool alone employed 200 factories and 30,000 workmen. The cloth annually produced sold, at an average, for 1,200,000 florins; a sum fairly equal, in exchangeable value, to two millions and a half of our money. Four hundred thousand florins were annually coined. Eighty banks conducted the commercial operations, not of Florence only, but of all Europe. The transactions of these establishments were sometimes of a magnitude which may surprise even the contemporaries of the Barings and the Rothschilds. Two houses advanced

to Edward the Third of England upwards of 300,000 marks, at a time when the mark contained more silver than 50 shillings of the present day, and when the value of silver was more than quadruple of what it now is. The city and its environs contained 170,000 inhabitants. In the various schools about 10,000 children were taught to read; 1,200 studied arithmetic; 600 received a learned education. The progress of elegant literature and of the fine arts was proportioned to that of the public prosperity. . . . Early in the 14th century came forth the Divine Comedy, beyond comparison the greatest work of imagination which had appeared since the poems of Homer. The following generation produced indeed no second Dante: but it was eminently distinguished by general intellectual activity. The study of the Latin writers had never been wholly neglected in Italy. But Petrarch introduced a more profound, liberal, and elegant scholarship; and communicated to his countrymen that enthusiasm for the literature, the history, and the antiquities of Rome, which divided his own heart with a frigid mistress and a more frigid Muse. Boccaccio turned their attention to the more sublime and graceful models of Greece."—T. B. Macaulay, *Machiavelli* (*Essays*, v. 1).

1301-1313.—Triumph of the Neri.—Banishment of Dante and his party.—Downfall and death of Corso Donati.—"In the year 1301, a serious affray took place between the two parties [the Bianchi and the Neri]; the whole city was in arms; the law, and the authority of the Signoria, among whom was the poet Dante Alighieri, was set at naught by the great men of each side, while the best citizens looked on with fear and trembling. The Donati, fearing that unaided they would not be a match for their adversaries, proposed that they should put themselves under a ruler of the family of the king of France. Such a direct attack on the independence of the state was not to be borne by the Signoria, among whom the poet had great influence. At his instigation they armed the populace, and with their assistance compelled the heads of the contending parties to lay down their arms, and sent into exile Messer Donati and others who had proposed the calling in of foreigners. A sentence of banishment was also pronounced against the most violent men of the party of the Bianchi, most of whom, however, were allowed, under various pretences, to return to their country. The party of the Donati in their exile carried on those intrigues which they had commenced while at home. They derived considerable assistance from the king of France's brother, Charles of Valois, whom Pope Boniface had brought into Italy. That prince managed, by means of promises, which he subsequently violated, to get admission for himself, together with several of the Neri, and the legate of the pope, into Florence. He then produced letters, generally suspected to be forgeries, charging the leaders of the Bianchi with conspiracy. The popularity of the accused party had already been on the wane, and after a violent tumult, the chief men among them, including Dante, were obliged to leave the city; their goods were confiscated, and their houses destroyed. . . . From this time Corso Donati, the head of the faction of the Neri, became the chief man at Florence. The accounts of its state at this period, taken from the most credible historians, warrant us in thinking that the severe invectives of Dante are not to be ascribed merely to indignation or resentment at the harsh treatment he had received. . . . The city was rent by more violent dissensions than ever. There were now three distinct sources of contention—the jealousy between the people and the nobles, the disputes between the

Bianchi and the Neri, and those between the Ghibellines and the Guelfs. It was in vain that the legate of Pope Benedict, a man of great piety, went thither for the sake of trying to restore order. The inhabitants showed how little they respected him by exhibiting a scandalous representation of hell on the river Arno; and, after renewing his efforts without success, he cursed the city and departed [1302]. The reign of Corso Donati ended like that of most of those who have succeeded to power by popular violence. Six years after the banishment of his adversaries he was suspected, not without reason, of endeavouring to make himself independent of constitutional restraints. The Signori declared him guilty of rebellion. After a protracted resistance he made his escape from the city, but was pursued and taken at Rovesca [1308]. When he was led captive by those among whom his authority had lately been paramount, he threw himself under his horse, and, after having been dragged some distance, he was dispatched by one of the captors. . . . The party that had been raised by Corso Donati continued to hold the chief power at Florence even after the death of their chief. The exiled faction, in the words of one of their leaders, . . . had not learned the art of returning to their country as well as their adversaries. Four years after the events alluded to, the Emperor, Henry VII, made some negotiations in their favour, which but imperfectly succeeded. The Florentines, however, were awed when he approached their city at the head of his army; and in the extremity of their danger they implored the assistance of King Robert of Naples, and made him Lord of their city for the space of five years. The Emperor's mysterious death [August 24, 1313] at Buonconvento freed them from their alarm."—W. P. Urquhart, *Life and times of Francesco Sforza*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 3.

ALSO IN: M. O. Oliphant, *Makers of Florence*, ch. 2.—B. Duffy, *Tuscan republics*, ch. 12.

1310-1313.—Resistance to the emperor, Henry VII.—Siege by the imperial army. See ITALY: 1310-1313: Visitation of the emperor.

1313-1328.—Wars with Pisa and with Castruccio Castracani, of Lucca.—Disastrous battles of Montecatini and Altopascio. See ITALY: 1313-1330.

1321.—Founding of University of Florence. See UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES: 890-1345: Other universities.

1336-1338.—Alliance with Venice against Mastino della Scala. See VERONA: 1260-1338.

1341-1343.—Defeat by the Pisans before Lucca.—Brief tyranny of the Duke of Athens.—In 1341, Mastino della Scala, of Verona, who had become master of Lucca in 1335 by treachery, offered to sell that town to the Florentines. The bargain was concluded; "but it appeared to the Pisans the signal of their own servitude, for it cut off all communication between them and the Ghibellines of Lombardy. They immediately advanced their militia into the Lucchese states to prevent the Florentines from taking possession of the town; vanquished them in battle, on the 2d of October, 1341, under the walls of Lucca; and, on the 6th of July following, took possession of that city for themselves. The people of Florence attributed this train of disasters to the incapacity of their magistrates. . . . At this period, Gauttier [Walter] de Brienne, duke of Athens, a French noble, but born in Greece, passed through Florence on his way from Naples to France. The duchy of Athens had remained in his family from the conquest of Constantinople till it was taken from his father in 1312. . . . It was for this man the Florentines, after their defeat at Lucca, took a sudden fancy. . . .

On the 1st of August, 1342, they obliged the signoria to confer on him the title of captain of justice, and to give him the command of their militia." A month later, the duke, by his arts, had worked such a ferment among the lower classes of the population that they "proclaimed him sovereign lord of Florence for his life, forced the public palace, drove from it the gonfalonier and the priori, and installed him there in their place. . . . Happily, Florence was not ripe for slavery: ten months sufficed for the duke of Athens to draw from it 400,000 golden florins, which he sent either to France or Naples; but ten months sufficed also to undeceive all parties who had placed any confidence in him," and by a universal rising, in July, 1343, he was driven from the city.—J. C. L. de Sismondi, *History of the Italian republics*, ch. 6.

ALSO IN: T. A. Trollope, *History of the commonwealth of Florence*, v. 2, bk. 3, ch. 4.

1348.—Plague.—"In the year then of our Lord 1348, there happened at Florence, the finest city in all Italy, a most terrible plague; which, whether owing to the influence of the planets, or that it was sent from God as a just punishment for our sins, had broken out some years before in the Levant, and after passing from place to place, and making incredible havoc all the way, had now reached the west. There, spite of all the means that art and human foresight could suggest, such as keeping the city clear from filth, the exclusion of all suspected persons, and the publication of copious instructions for the preservation of health; and notwithstanding manifold humble supplications offered to God in processions and otherwise; it began to show itself in the spring of the aforesaid year, in a sad and wonderful manner. Unlike what had been seen in the east, where bleeding from the nose is the fatal prognostic, here there appeared certain tumours in the groin or under the armpits, some as big as a small apple, others as an egg; and afterwards purple spots in most parts of the body; in some cases large and but few in number, in others smaller and more numerous—both sorts the usual messengers of death. To the cure of this malady, neither medical knowledge nor the power of drugs was of any effect. . . . Nearly all died the third day from the first appearance of the symptoms, some sooner, some later, without any fever or other accessory symptoms. What gave the more virulence to this plague, was that, by being communicated from the sick to the hale, it spread daily, like fire when it comes in contact with large masses of combustibles. Nor was it caught only by conversing with, or coming near the sick, but even by touching their clothes, or anything that they had before touched. . . . These facts, and others of the like sort, occasioned various fears and devices amongst those who survived, all tending to the same uncharitable and cruel end; which was, to avoid the sick, and everything that had been near them, expecting by that means to save themselves. And some holding it best to live temperately, and to avoid excesses of all kinds, made parties, and shut themselves up from the rest of the world. . . . Others maintained free living to be a better preservative, and would baulk no passion or appetite they wished to gratify, drinking and revelling incessantly from tavern to tavern, or in private houses (which were frequently found deserted by the owners, and therefore common to every one), yet strenuously avoiding, with all this brutal indulgence, to come near the infected. And such, at that time, was the public distrest, that the laws, human and divine, were no more regarded; for the officers to put them in force being either dead, sick, or in want of persons to assist them, every one did just as he pleased. . . . I pass over

the little regard that citizens and relations showed to each other; for their terror was such that a brother even fled from a brother, a wife from her husband, and, what is more uncommon, a parent from his own child. . . . Such was the cruelty of Heaven, and perhaps of men, that between March and July following, according to authentic reckonings, upwards of 100,000 souls perished in the city only; whereas, before that calamity, it was not supposed to have contained so many inhabitants. What magnificent dwellings, what noble palaces, were then depopulated to the last inhabitant!"—G. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, introduction.—See also BLACK DEATH.

1358.—Captains of the Guelf party and the "Ammoniti."—"The magistracy called the 'Capitani di Parte Guelfa,'—the Captains of the Guelf party,—was instituted in the year 1267; and it was remarked, when the institution of it was recorded, that the conception of a magistracy avowedly formed to govern a community, not only by the authority of, but in the interest of one section only of its members, was an extraordinary proof of the unfit-ness of the Florentines for self-government, and a forewarning of the infallible certainty that the attempt to rule the Commonwealth on such principles would come to a bad ending. In the year 1358, a little less than a century after the first establishment of this strange magistracy, it began to develop the mischievous capabilities inherent in the nature of it, in a very alarming manner. . . . In 1358 this magistracy consisted of four members. . . . These men, 'born,' says Ammirato, 'for the public ruin, under pretext of zeal for the Guelf cause' . . . caused a law to be passed, according to which any citizen or Florentine subject who had ever held, or should thereafter hold, any office in the Commonwealth, might be either openly or secretly accused before the tribunal of the Captains of the Guelf Party of being Ghibelline, or not genuine Guelf. If the accusation was supported by six witnesses worthy of belief, the accused might be condemned to death or to fine at the discretion of the Captains. . . . It will be readily conceived that the passing of such a law, in a city bristling with party hatreds and feuds, was the signal for the commencement of a reign of terror." The citizens proscribed were "said to be 'admonished'; and the condemnations were called 'admonizioni'; and henceforward for many years the 'ammonizioni' [or 'ammoniti'] play a large part in the domestic history and political struggles of Florence."—T. A. Trollope, *History of the commonwealth of Florence*, v. 2, bk. 3, ch. 7.

ALSO IN: H. E. Napier, *Florentine history*, v. 2, ch. 23.

1359-1391.—Free Company of Sir John Hawkwood and the wars with Pisa, with Milan, and with the pope. See ITALY: 1343-1303.

1375-1378.—War with the pope in support of the oppressed States of the Church.—Eight Saints of War.—Terrible excommunication.—In 1375, the Florentines became engaged in war with Pope Gregory XI, supporting a revolt of the States of the Church, which were heavily oppressed by the representatives of their papal sovereign (see PAPACY: 1352-1378). "Nevertheless, so profoundly revered was the church that even the sound of war against a pope appeared to many little less than blasphemy: numbers opposed on this pretence, but really from party motives alone." But "a general council assembled and declared the cause of liberty paramount to every other consideration; the war was affirmed to be rather against the injustice and tyranny of foreign governors than the church itself. . . . All the ecclesiastical cities then

groaning under French oppression were to be invited to revolt and boldly achieve their independence. These spirited resolutions were instantly executed, and on the 8th of August, 1375, Alessandro de' Bardi [and seven other citizens] . . . were formed into a supreme council of war called 'Gli Otto della Guerra'; and afterwards, from their able conduct, 'Gli Otto Santi della Guerra' [The Eight Saints of War]; armed with the concentrated power of the whole Florentine nation in what regarded war." A terrible sentence of excommunication was launched against the Florentines by the Pope. "Their souls were solemnly condemned to the pains of hell; fire and water were interdicted; their persons and property outlawed in every Christian land, and they were finally declared lawful prey for all who chose to sell, plunder, or kill them as though they were mere slaves or infidels."—H. E. Napier, *Florentine history*, v. 2, bk. 1, ch. 26.

1378-1427.—Completer democratizing of the commonwealth.—Tumult of the Ciompi.—Rise of commercial aristocracy.—First appearance of the Medici in Florentine history.—Though the reign of the Duke of Athens lasted rather less than a year, "it bore important fruits; for the tyrant, seeking to support himself upon the favour of the common people, gave political power to the Lesser Arts at the expense of the Greater, and confused the old State-system by enlarging the democracy. The net result of these events for Florence was, first, that the city became habituated to rancorous party-strife, involving exiles and proscriptions, and, secondly, that it lost its primitive social hierarchy of classes. . . . Civil strife now declared itself as a conflict between labour and capital. The members of the Lesser Arts, craftsmen who plied trades subordinate to those of the Greater Arts, rose up against their social and political superiors, demanding a larger share in the government, a more equal distribution of profits, higher wages, and privileges that should place them on an absolute equality with the wealthy merchants. It was in the year 1378 that the proletariat broke out into rebellion. Previous events had prepared the way for, this revolt. First of all, the republic had been democratized through the destruction of the Grandi and through the popular policy pursued to gain his own ends by the Duke of Athens. Secondly, society had been shaken to its very foundation by the great plague of 1348 . . . nor had 30 years sufficed to restore their relative position to grades and ranks confounded by an overwhelming calamity. . . . Rising in a mass to claim their privileges, the artisans ejected the Signory from the Public Palace, and for awhile Florence was at the mercy of the mob. It is worthy of notice that the Medici, whose name is scarcely known before this epoch, now come for one moment to the front. Salvestro de' Medici was Gonfalonier of Justice at the time when the tumult first broke out. He followed the faction of the handicraftsmen, and became the hero of the day. I cannot discover that he did more than extend a sort of passive protection to their cause. Yet there is no doubt that the attachment of the working classes to the house of Medici dates from this period. The rebellion of 1378 is known in Florentine history as the Tumult of the Ciompi. The name Ciompi strictly means the Wool-Carders. One set of operatives in the city, and that the largest, gave its title to the whole body of the labourers. For some months these craftsmen governed the republic, appointing their own Signory and passing laws in their own interest; but, as is usual, the proletariat found itself incapable of

sustained government. The ambition and discontent of the Ciompi foamed themselves away, and industrious workingmen began to see that trade was languishing and credit on the wane. By their own act at last they restored the government to the Priors of the Greater Arti. Still the movement had not been without grave consequences. It completed the levelling of classes, which had been steadily advancing from the first in Florence. After the Ciompi riot there was no longer not only any distinction between noble and burgher, but the distinction between greater and lesser guilds was practically swept away. . . . The proper political conditions had been formed for unscrupulous adventurers. Florence had become a democracy without social organisation. . . . The time was come for the Albizzi to attempt an oligarchy, and for the Medici to begin the enslavement of the State. The Constitution of Florence offered many points of weakness to the attacks of such intriguers. In the first place it was in its origin not a political but an industrial organisation—a simple group of guilds invested with the sovereign authority. . . . It had no permanent head, like the Doge of Venice, no fixed senate like the Venetian Grand Council; its chief magistrates, the Signory, were elected for short periods of two months, and their mode of election was open to the gravest criticism. Supposed to be chosen by lot, they were really selected from lists drawn up by the factions in power from time to time. These factions contrived to exclude the names of all but their adherents from the bags, or 'borse,' in which the burghers eligible for election had to be inscribed. Furthermore, it was not possible for this shifting Signory to conduct affairs requiring sustained effort and secret deliberation; therefore recourse was being continually had to dictatorial Commissions. The people, summoned in parliament upon the Great Square, were asked to confer plenipotentiary authority upon a committee called Balia [see BALIA OF FLORENCE], who proceeded to do what they chose in the State; and who retained power after the emergency for which they were created passed away. . . . It was through these [and other specified] defects that the democracy merged gradually into a despotism. The art of the Medici consisted in a scientific comprehension of these very imperfections, a methodic use of them for their own purposes, and a steady opposition to any attempts made to substitute a stricter system. . . . Florence, in the middle of the 14th century, was a vast beehive of industry. Distinctions of rank among burghers, qualified to vote and hold office, were theoretically unknown. Highly educated men, of more than princely wealth, spent their time in shops and counting-houses, and trained their sons to follow trades. Military service at this period was abandoned by the citizens; they preferred to pay mercenary troops for the conduct of their wars. Nor was there, as in Venice, any outlet for their energies upon the seas. Florence had no navy, no great port—she only kept a small fleet for the protection of her commerce. Thus the vigour of the commonwealth was concentrated on itself; while the influence of citizens, through their affiliated trading-houses, correspondents, and agents, extended like a network over Europe. . . . Accordingly we find that out of the very bosom of the people a new plutocratic aristocracy begins to rise. . . . These nobles of the purse obtained the name of 'Popolani Nobili'; and it was they who now began to play at high stakes for the supreme power. . . . The opening of the second half of the 14th century had been signalled by the feuds of two great houses, both risen from the people. These were the Albizzi and the Ricci."

THE FAMILY OF THE MEDICI, IN FLORENCE.

1ST GENERATION.	3D.	4TH.	5TH.	6TH.	7TH.	8TH.	9TH.	10TH.	11TH.
	<p>Cosimo, (Patrician), died 1464, married Lucrezia Tornabuoni.</p>	<p>Lorenzo, (The Magnificent), died 1492, married Clarice Orsini.</p>	<p>Piero, died 1503.</p>	<p>Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, died 1519, married Madeleine, de la Tour d'Auvergne.</p>	<p>Catherine, married Henry II, King of France. (See Lineage of Sovereigns of France under FRANCE: 1533-1598).</p>				
	<p>Piero, died 1499, married Lucrezia Tornabuoni.</p>	<p>Giovanni, Pope Leo X., 1513-1521.</p>	<p>Giovanni, Duke of Nemours, died 1516.</p>	<p>Clarice, married Filippo Strozzi.</p>	<p>Alessandro, (natural son of Lorenzo, or of Giulio— Pope Clement VII.); Florence, 1531-1537, married Margaret, (natural daughter of Emperor Charles V.).</p>				
	<p>Lorenzo, died 1440.</p>	<p>Giuliano, died 1478.</p>	<p>Maddalena, married Franceschetto Cibo.</p>	<p>Ippolite, (natural son), Cardinal, died 1535.</p>					
<p>Giovanni, died 1428.</p>	<p>Piero Francesco, died 1474.</p>	<p>Giuliano, died 1495.</p>	<p>Giulio, Pope Clement VII., 1523-1534.</p>	<p>Cosimo I., Grand-Duke of Tuscany, 1574-1574.</p>	<p>Francesco, 1574-1587, married Joanna, (daughter of Emperor Ferdinand I.).</p>	<p>Mary, married Henry IV., King of France. (See Lineage of the Sovereigns of France).</p>	<p>Ferdinand II., 1621-1670.</p>	<p>Cosimo III., 1670-1723.</p>	<p>John Gaston, 1723-1757.</p>
					<p>Ferdinand I., 1547-1609, married Christian of Lorraine.</p>	<p>Cosimo II., 1609-1621, married Nancy, Duchess, (sister of Ferdinand Charles, Emperor Ferdinand II., Claudia, married Leopold, Count of Tyrol.</p>	<p>Anna, married Ferdinand Charles. (See below).</p>		
							<p>Ferdinand Charles, married Anna.</p>		

The Albizzi triumphed, in the conflict of the two houses, and became all-powerful for a time in Florence; but the wars with the Visconti, of Milan, in which they engaged the city, made necessary a heavy burden of taxation, which they rendered more grievous by distributing it unfairly. "This imprudent financial policy began the ruin of the Albizzi. It caused a clamour in the city for a new system of more just taxation, which was too powerful to be resisted. The voice of the people made itself loudly heard; and with the people on this occasion sided Giovanni de' Medici. This was in 1427. It is here that the Medici appear upon that memorable scene where in the future they are to play the first part. Giovanni de' Medici did not belong to the same branch of his family as the Salvestro who favoured the people at the time of the Ciompi Tumult. But he adopted the same popular policy. To his sons Cosimo and Lorenzo he bequeathed on his death-bed the rule that they should invariably adhere to the cause of the multitude, found their influence on that, and avoid the arts of factious and ambitious leaders."—J. A. Symonds, *Florence and the Medici (Sketches and studies in Italy, ch. 5)*.

ALSO IN: A. von Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 2*.—T. A. Trollope, *History of the commonwealth of Florence, v. 2, bk. 4-5*.

1390-1402.—War with Gian Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan.—"Already in 1386, the growing power of Giangaleazzo Visconti, the tenth duke of Milan of that family, began to give umbrage, not only to all the sovereign princes, his neighbours, but also to Florence [see MILAN: 1277-1447]. . . . Florence . . . had cause enough to feel uneasy at the progress of such a man in his career of successful invasion and usurpation;—Florence, no more specially than other of the free towns around her, save that Florence seems always to have thought that she had more to lose from the loss of her liberty than any of the other cities . . . and felt always called upon to take upon herself the duty of standing forward as the champion and supporter of the principles of republicanism and free government. . . . The Pope, Urban VI., added another element of disturbance to the condition of Italy. For in his anxiety to recover sundry cities mainly in Umbria and Romagna . . . he was exceedingly unscrupulous of means, and might at any moment be found allying himself with the enemies of free government and of the old Guelph cause in Italy. Venice, also, having most improvidently and unwisely allied herself with Visconti, constituted another element of danger, and an additional cause of uneasiness and watchfulness to the Florentine government. In the spring of 1388, therefore, a board of ten, 'Dieci di Balìa,' was elected for the general management of 'all those measures concerning war and peace which should be adopted by the entire Florentine people.'" The first war with Visconti was declared by the republic in May, 1390, and was so successfully conducted for the Florentines by Sir John Hawkwood that it terminated in a treaty signed January 26, 1392, which bound the Duke of Milan not to meddle in any way with the affairs of Tuscany. For ten years this agreement seems to have been tolerably well adhered to; but in 1402 the rapacious Duke entered upon new encroachments, which forced the Florentines to take up arms again. Their only allies were Bologna and Padua (or Francesco Carrara of Padua), and the armies of the three states were defeated in a terribly bloody battle fought near Bologna on the 26th of June. "Bologna fell into the hands of Visconti. Great was the dismay and terror in Florence when the

news . . . reached the city. It was neither more nor less than the fall, as the historian says, of the fortress which was the bulwark of Florence. Now she lay absolutely open to the invader." But the invader did not come. He was stricken with the plague and died, in September, and Florence and Italy were saved from the tyranny which he had seemed able to extend over the whole.—T. A. Trollope, *History of the commonwealth of Florence, v. 2, bk. 4, ch. 4-5*.

14th-15th centuries.—Commercial enterprise, industrial energy, wealth and culture of the city.—"During the 14th and 15th centuries Florentine wealth increased in an extraordinary degree. Earlier generations had compelled the powerful barons of the district to live in the city; and even yet the exercise of the rights of citizenship was dependent on having a residence there. The influx of outsiders was, however, much more owing to the attractions offered by the city, whether in business, profession, or pleasure, than to compulsion. . . . The situation of the city is not favorable to the natural growth of commerce, especially under the conditions which preceded the building of railroads. At a considerable distance from the sea, on a river navigable only for very small craft, and surrounded by hills which rendered difficult the construction of good roads,—the fact that the city did prosper so marvellously is in itself proof of the remarkable energy and ability of its people. They needed above all things a sea-port, and to obtain a good one they waged some of their most exhausting wars. Their principal wealth, however, came through their financial operations, which extended throughout Europe, and penetrated even to Morocco and the Orient. Their manufactures also, especially of wool and silk, brought in enormous returns, and made not only the fortunes but also, in one famous case at least, the name of the families engaged in them. Their superiority over the rest of Christendom in these pursuits was but one side of that remarkable, universal talent which is the most astonishing feature of the Florentine life of that age. With the hardihood of youth, they were not only ready but eager to engage in new enterprises, whether at home or abroad. . . . As a result of their energy and ability, riches poured into their coffers,—a mighty stream of gold, in the use of which they showed so much judgment, that the after world has feasted to our day, and for centuries to come, will probably continue to feast without satiety on the good things which they caused to be made, and left behind them. Of all the legacies for which we have to thank Florence, none are so well known and so universally recognized as the treasures of art created by her sons, many of which yet remain within her walls, the marvel and delight of all who behold them. As the Florentines were ready to try experiments in politics, manufactures, and commerce, so also in all branches of the fine arts they tried experiments, left the old, beaten paths of their forefathers, and created something original, useful, and beautiful for themselves. Christian art from the time of the Roman Empire to Cimabue had made comparatively little progress; but a son of the Florentine fields was to start a revolution which should lead to the production of some of the most marvellous works which have proceeded from the hand of man. The idea that the fine arts are more successfully cultivated under the patronage of princes than under-republican rule is very widespread, and is occasionally accepted almost as a dogma; but the history of Athens and of Florence teaches us without any doubt that the two most artistic epochs in the history of the world have

had their rise in republics. . . . Some writers, dazzled by the splendors of the Medici, entirely lose sight of the fact that both Dante and Petrarch were dead before the Medici were even heard of, and that the greatest works, at least in architecture, were all begun long before they were leaders in Florentine affairs. That family did much, yes very much, for the advancement of art and letters; but they did not do all or nearly all that was done in Florence. . . . Though civil discord and foreign war were very frequent, Florentine life is nevertheless an illustration rather of what Herbert Spencer calls the commercial stage of civilization, than of the war-like period. Her citizens were above all things merchants, and were generally much more willing to pay to avoid a war than to conduct one. They strove for glory, not in feats of arms, but in literary contests and in peaceful emulation in the encouragement of learning and the fine arts."—W. B. Scaife, *Florentine life*, pp. 16-19.—See also MONEY AND BANKING: Medieval; 12th-14th centuries: Florentine banking.

1405-1406.—Purchase and conquest of Pisa. See ITALY: 1402-1406.

1409-1411.—League against and war with Ladislas, king of Naples. See ITALY (Southern): 1386-1414.

1423-1447.—War with the duke of Milan.—League with Venice, Naples, and other states. See ITALY: 1412-1447.

1433-1464.—Ascendancy of Cosimo de' Medici.—In 1433, Cosmo, or Cosimo de' Medici, the son of Giovanni de' Medici, was the recognized leader of the opposition to the oligarchy controlled by Rinaldo de' Albizzi. Cosmo inherited from his father a large fortune and a business as a merchant and banker which he maintained and increased. "He lived splendidly; he was a great supporter of all literary men, and spent and distributed his great wealth amongst his fellow citizens. He was courteous and liberal, and was looked upon with almost unbounded respect and affection by a large party in the state. Rinaldo was bent upon his ruin, and in 1433, when he had a Signoria devoted to his party, he cited Cosmo before the Council, and shut him up in a tower of the Public Palace. Great excitement was caused by this violent step, and two days after the Signoria held a parliament of the people. The great bell of the city was tolled, and the people gathered round the Palace. Then the gates of the Palace were thrown open, and the Signoria, the Colleges of Arts, and the Gonfaloniere came forth, and asked the people if they would have a Balia. So a Balia was appointed, the names being proposed by the Signoria, to decide on the fate of Cosmo. At first it was proposed to kill him, but he was only banished, much against the will of Rinaldo, who knew that, if he lived, he would some day come back again. The next year the Signoria was favourable to him; another Balia was appointed; the party of the Albizzi was banished, and Cosmo was recalled. He was received with a greeting such as men give to a conqueror, and was hailed as the 'Father of his Country.' This triumphant return gave the Medici a power in the Republic which they never afterwards lost. The banished party fled to the court of the Duke of Milan, and stirred him up to war against the city."—W. Hunt, *History of Italy*, ch. 6, sect. 5.—"Cosimo de' Medici did not content himself with rendering his old opponents harmless; he took care also that none of his adherents should become too powerful and dangerous to him. Therefore, remarks Francesco Guicciardini, he retained the Signoria, as well as the taxes, in his hand, in order to be able to pro-

mote or oppress individuals at will. In other things the citizens enjoyed greater freedom and acted more according to their own pleasure than later, in the days of his grandson, for he let the reins hang loose if he was only sure of his own position. It was just in this that his great art lay, to guide things according to his will, and yet to make his partisans believe that he shared his authority with them. . . . 'It is well known' remarks [Guicciardini] . . . 'how much nobility and wealth were destroyed by Cosimo and his descendants by taxation. The Medici never allowed a fixed method and legal distribution, but always reserved to themselves the power of bearing heavily upon individuals according to their pleasure. . . . He [Cosimo] maintained great reserve in his whole manner of life. For a quarter of a century he was the almost absolute director of the State, but he never assumed the show of his dignity. . . . The ruler of the Florentine State remained citizen, agriculturist, and merchant. In his appearance and bearing there was nothing which distinguished him from others. . . . He ruled the money market, not only in Italy, but throughout Europe. He had banks in all the western countries, and his experience and the excellent memory which never failed him, with his strong love of order, enabled him to guide everything from Florence, which he never quitted after 1438." The death of Cosimo occurred on the 1st day of August, 1464.—A. von Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 6, 8.—"The last troubled days of the Florentine democracy had not proved quite unproductive of art. It was the time of Giotto's undisputed sway. Many works of which the 15th century gets the glory because it finished them were ordered and begun amidst the confusion and terrible agitation of the demagoguery. . . . Under the oligarchy, in the relative calm that came with oppression, a taste for art as well as for letters began to develop in Florence as elsewhere." But "Cosimo de' Medicis had rare good fortune. In his time, and under his rule, capricious chance united at Florence talents as numerous as they were diverse—the universal Brunelleschi, the polished and elegant Ghiberti, the rough and powerful Donatello, the suave Angelico, the masculine Masaccio. . . . Cosimo lived long enough to see the collapse of the admirable talent which flourished upon the banks of the Arno, and soon spread throughout Italy, and to feel the void left by it. It is true his grandson saw a new harvest, but as inferior to that which preceded it, as it was to that which followed it."—F.-T. Perrens, *History of Florence*, 1434-1531, bk. 1, ch. 6.

1450-1454.—Alliance with Francesco Sforza, of Milan, and war with Venice, Naples, Savoy, and other states. See MILAN: 1447-1454.

1458-1469.—Lucas Pitti, and the building of the Pitti palace.—Piero de' Medici and the five agents of his tyranny.—Until 1455, Cosmo de' Medici shared the government of Florence in some degree with Neri Capponi, an able statesman, who had taken an eminent part in public affairs for many years—during the domination of the Albizzi, as well as afterwards. "When Neri Capponi died, the council refused to call a new parliament to replace the balia, whose power expired on the 1st of July, 1455. . . . The election of the signoria was again made fairly by lot. . . . the contributions were again equitably apportioned,—the tribunals ceased to listen to the recommendations of those who, till then, had made a traffic of distributive justice." This recovery of freedom in Florence was enjoyed for about three years; but when, in 1458, Lucas Pitti, "rich, powerful, and bold," was named gonfalonier, Cosmo conspired with him to reimpose

the yoke. "Pitti assembled the parliament; but not till he had filled all the avenues of the public square with soldiers or armed peasants. The people, menaced and trembling within this circle, consented to name a new *balia*, more violent and tyrannical than any of the preceding. It was composed of 352 persons, to whom was delegated all the power of the republic. They exiled a great number of the citizens who had shown the most attachment to liberty, and they even put some to death." When, in 1463, Cosmo's second son, Giovanni, on whom his hopes were centered, died, Lucas Pitti "looked on himself henceforth as the only chief of the state. It was about this time that he undertook the building of that magnificent palace which now [1832] forms the residence of the grand-dukes. The republican equality was not only offended by the splendour of this regal dwelling; but the construction of it afforded Pitti an occasion for marking his contempt of liberty and the laws. He made of this building an asylum for all fugitives from justice, whom no public officer dared pursue when once he [they?] took part in the labour. At the same time individuals, as well as communities, who would obtain some favour from the republic, knew that the only means of being heard was to offer Lucas Pitti some precious wood or marble to be employed in the construction of his palace. When Cosmo de' Medici died, at his country-house of Careggi, on the 1st of August, 1464, Lucas Pitti felt himself released from the control imposed by the virtue and moderation of that great citizen. . . . His [Cosmo's] son, Pietro de' Medici, then 48 years of age, supposed that he should succeed to the administration of the republic, as he had succeeded to the wealth of his father, by hereditary right: but the state of his health did not admit of his attending regularly to business, or of his inspiring his rivals with much fear. To diminish the weight of affairs which oppressed him, he resolved on withdrawing a part of his immense fortune from commerce; recalling all his loans made in partnership with other merchants; and laying out this money in land. But this unexpected demand of considerable capital occasioned a fatal shock to the commerce of Florence; at the same time that it alienated all the debtors of the house of Medici, and deprived it of much of its popularity. The death of Sforza, also, which took place on the 8th of March, 1466, deprived the Medicean party of its firmest support abroad. . . . The friends of liberty at Florence soon perceived that Lucas Pitti and Pietro de' Medici no longer agreed together; and they recovered courage when the latter proposed to the council the calling of a parliament, in order to renew the *balia*, the power of which expired on the 1st of September, 1465; his proposition was rejected. The magistracy began again to be drawn by lot from among the members of the party victorious in 1434. This return of liberty, however, was but of short duration. Pitti and Medici were reconciled: they agreed to call a parliament, and to direct it in concert; to intimidate it, they surrounded it with foreign troops. But Medici, on the nomination of the *balia*, on the 2d of September, 1466, found means of admitting his own partisans only, and excluding all those of Lucas Pitti. The citizens who had shown any zeal for liberty were all exiled. . . . Lucas Pitti ruined himself in building his palace. His talents were judged to bear no proportion to his ambition: the friends of liberty, as well as those of Medici, equally detested him; and he remained deprived of all power in a city which he had so largely contributed to enslave. Italy became filled with Florentine emigrants: every revo-

lution, even every convocation of parliament, was followed by the exile of many citizens. . . . At Florence, the citizens who escaped proscription trembled to see despotism established in their republic; but the lower orders were in general contented, and made no attempt to second Bartolomeo Coleoni, when he entered Tuscany, in 1467, at the head of the Florentine emigrants, who had taken him into their pay. Commerce prospered; manufactures were carried on with great activity; high wages supported in comfort all who lived by their labour; and the Medici entertained them with shows and festivals, keeping them in a sort of perpetual carnival, amidst which the people soon lost all thought of liberty. Pietro de' Medici was always in too bad a state of health to exercise in person the sovereignty he had usurped over his country; he left it to five or six citizens, who reigned in his name. . . . They not only transacted all business, but appropriated to themselves all the profit; they sold their influence and credit; they gratified their cupidity or their vengeance; but they took care not to act in their own names, or to pledge their own responsibility; they left that to the house of Medici. Pietro, during the latter months of his life, perceived the disorder and corruption of his agents. He was afflicted to see his memory thus stained, and he addressed them the severest reprimands; he even entered into correspondence with the emigrants, whom he thought of recalling, when he died, on the 2d of December, 1469. His two sons, Lorenzo and Giuliano, the elder of whom was not 21 years of age, . . . given up to all the pleasures of their age, had yet no ambition. The power of the state remained in the hands of the five citizens who had exercised it under Pietro."—J. C. L. de Sismondi, *History of the Italian republics*, ch. 11.

1469-1492.—Conspiracy of the Pazzi.—Government of Lorenzo the Magnificent.—Death of liberty.—Golden age of letters and art.—Lorenzo inherited his grandfather's political sagacity and far surpassed him in talent and literary culture. In many respects too he was a very different man. Cosimo never left his business office; Lorenzo neglected it, and had so little commercial aptitude that he was obliged to retire from business, in order not to lose his abundant patrimony. Cosimo was frugal in his personal expenses and lent freely to others; Lorenzo loved splendid living, and thus gained the title of the Magnificent; he spent immoderately for the advancement of literary men; he gave himself up to dissipation which ruined his health and shortened his days. His manner of living reduced him to such straits, that he had to sell some of his possessions and obtain money from his friends. Nor did this suffice; for he even meddled with the public money, a thing that had never happened in Cosimo's time. Very often, in his greed of unlawful gain, he had the Florentine armies paid by his own bank; he also appropriated the sums collected in the Monte Comune or treasury of the public debt, and those in the Monte delle Fanciulle where were marriage portions accumulated by private savings—money hitherto held sacred by all. Stimulated by the same greed, he, in the year 1472 joined the Florentine contractors for the wealthy alum mines of Volterra, at the moment in which that city was on the verge of rebellion in order to free itself from a contract which it deemed unjust. And Lorenzo, with the weight of his authority, pushed matters to such a point that war broke out, soon to be followed by a most cruel sack of the unhappy city, a very unusual event in Tuscany. For all this he was universally blamed. But he was excessively haughty

and cared for no man; he would tolerate no equals, would be first in everything—even in games. He interfered in all matters, even in private concerns and in marriages: nothing could take place without his consent. In overthrowing the powerful and exalting men of low condition, he showed none of the care and precaution so uniformly observed by Cosimo. It is not then surprising if his enemies increased so fast that the formidable conspiracy of the Pazzi broke out on the 26th April, 1478. In this plot, hatched in the Vatican itself where Sixtus IV was Lorenzo's determined enemy, many of the mightiest Florentine families took part. In the cathedral, at the moment of the elevation of the Host, the conspirators' daggers were unsheathed. Giuliano dei Medici was stabbed to death, but Lorenzo defended himself with his sword and saved his own life. The tumult was so great that it seemed as though the walls of the church were shaken. The populace rose to the cry of 'Palle! Palle!' the Medici watchword, and the enemies of the Medici were slaughtered in the streets or hung from the windows of the Palazzo Vecchio. There, among others, were seen the dangling corpses of Archbishop Salviati and of Francesco Pazzi, who in their last struggles had gripped each other with their teeth and remained thus for some time. More than seventy persons perished on that day, and Lorenzo, taking advantage of the opportunity, pushed matters to extremity by his confiscations, banishments, and sentences of death. Thereby his power would have been infinitely increased if Pope Sixtus IV, blinded by rage, had not been induced to excommunicate Florence, and make war against it, in conjunction with Ferdinand of Aragon. On this Lorenzo, without losing a moment, went straight to Naples, and made the king understand how much better it served his interests that Florence should have but one ruler instead of a republican government, always liable to change and certainly never friendly to Naples. So he returned with peace re-established and boundless authority and popularity. Now indeed he might have called himself lord of the city, and it must have seemed easy to him to destroy the republican government altogether. With his pride and ambition it is certain that he had an intense desire to stand on the same level with the other princes and tyrants of Italy, the more so as at that moment success seemed entirely within his grasp. But Lorenzo showed that his political shrewdness was not to be blinded by prosperity, and knowing Florence well, he remained firm to the traditional policy of his house, that of dominating the Republic, while apparently respecting it. He was well determined to render his power solid and durable; but to that end he had recourse to a most ingenious reform, by means of which, without abandoning the old road, he thoroughly succeeded in his object. In place of the usual five-yearly Balia, he instituted, in 1480, the Council of Seventy, which renewed itself and was like a permanent Balia with still wider power. This, composed of men entirely devoted to his cause, secured the government to him forever. By this Council, say the chroniclers of the time, liberty was wholly buried and undone, but certainly the most important affairs of the State were carried on in it by intelligent and cultivated men, who largely promoted its material prosperity. Florence still called itself a republic, nominally the old institutions were still in existence, but all this seemed and was nothing but an empty mockery. Lorenzo, absolute lord of all, might certainly be called a tyrant, surrounded by lackeys and courtiers. . . . Yet he dazzled all men by the splendour of his rule, so that [Guicciardini] observes,

that though Lorenzo was a tyrant, 'it would be impossible to imagine a better and more pleasing tyrant.' Industry, commerce, public works had all received a mighty impulse. In no city in the world had the civil equality of modern States reached the degree to which it had attained not merely in Florence itself, but in its whole territory and throughout all Tuscany. Administration and secular justice proceeded regularly enough in ordinary cases, crime was diminished, and, above all, literary culture had become a substantial element of the new State. Learned men were employed in public offices, and from Florence spread a light that illuminated the world. . . . But Lorenzo's policy could found nothing that was permanent. Unrivalled as a model of sagacity and prudence, it promoted in Florence the development of all the new elements of which modern society was to be the outcome, without succeeding in fusing them together; for his was a policy of equivocation and deceit, directed by a man of much genius, who had no higher aim than his own interest and that of his family, to which he never hesitated to sacrifice the interests of his people."—P. Villari, *Machiavelli and his times*, v. 1, ch. 2, sect. 2.—"The state of Florence at this period was very remarkable. The most independent and tumultuous of towns was spellbound under the sway of Lorenzo de' Medici, the grandson of Cosimo who built San Marco; and scarcely seemed even to recollect its freedom, so absorbed was it in the present advantages conferred by 'a strong government,' and solaced by shows, entertainments, festivals, pomp, and display of all kinds. It was the very height of that classic revival so famous in the later history of the world, and the higher classes of society, having shaken themselves apart with graceful contempt from the lower, had begun to frame their lives according to a pagan model, leaving the other and much bigger half of the world to pursue its superstitions undisturbed. Florence was as near a pagan city as it was possible for its rulers to make it. Its intellectual existence was entirely given up to the past; its days were spent in that worship of antiquity which has no power of discrimination, and deifies not only the wisdom but the trivialities of its golden epoch. Lorenzo reigned in the midst of a lettered crowd of classic parasites and flatterers, writing poems which his courtiers found better than Alighieri's, and surrounding himself with those eloquent slaves who make a prince's name more famous than arms or victories, and who have still left a prejudice in the minds of all literature-loving people in favour of their patron. A man of superb health and physical power, who can give himself up to debauch all night without interfering with his power of working all day, and whose mind is so versatile that he can sack a town one morning and discourse upon the beauties of Plato the next, and weave joyous ballads through both occupations—gives his flatterers reason when they applaud him. The few righteous men in the city, the citizens who still thought of Florence above all, kept apart, overwhelmed by the tide which ran in favour of that leading citizen of Florence who had gained the control of the once high-spirited and freedom-loving people. Society had never been more dissolute, more selfish, or more utterly deprived of any higher aim. Barren scholarship, busy over grammatical questions, and elegant philosophy, snipping and piecing its logical systems, formed the top dressing to that half-brutal, half-superstitious ignorance which in such communities is the general portion of the poor. The dilettante world dreamed hazily of a restoration of the worship of the pagan gods; Cardinal

Bembo bade his friend beware of reading St. Paul's epistles, lest their barbarous style should corrupt his taste; and even such a man as Pico della Mirandola declared the 'Divina Commedia' to be inferior to the 'Canti Carnascialeschi' of Lorenzo de' Medici. . . . Thus limited intellectually, the age of Lorenzo was still more hopeless morally, full of debauchery, cruelty, and corruption, violating oaths, betraying trusts, believing in nothing but Greek manuscripts, coins, and statues, caring for nothing but pleasure. This was the world in which Savonarola found himself."—M. O. Oliphant, *Makers of Florence*, ch. 9.—"Terrible municipal enmities had produced so much evil as to relax ancient republican energy. After so much destruction repose was necessary. To antique sobriety and gravity succeed love of pleasure and the quest of luxury. The belligerent class of great nobles were expelled and the energetic class of artisans crushed. Bourgeois rulers were to rule, and to rule tranquilly. Like the Medicis, their chiefs, they manufacture, trade, bank and make fortunes in order to expend them in intellectual fashion. War no longer fastens its cares upon them, as formerly, with a bitter and tragic grasp; they manage it through the paid bands of condottieri, and these as cunning traffickers, reduce it to cavalcades; when they slaughter each other it is by mistake; historians cite battles in which three, and sometimes only one soldier remains on the field. Diplomacy takes the place of force, and the mind expands as character weakens. Through this mitigation of war and through the establishment of principalities or of local tyrannies, it seems that Italy, like the great European monarchies, had just attained to its equilibrium. Peace is partially established and the useful arts germinate in all directions upon an improved social soil like a good harvest on a cleared and well-ploughed field. The peasant is no longer a serf of the glebe, but a metayer; he nominates his own municipal magistrates, possesses arms and a communal treasury; he lives in enclosed bourgs, the houses of which, built of stone and cement, are large, convenient, and often elegant. Near Florence he erects walls, and near Lucca he constructs turf terraces in order to favor cultivation. Lombardy has its irrigations and rotation of crops; entire districts, now so many deserts around Lombardy and Rome, are still inhabited and richly productive. In the upper class the bourgeois and the noble labor since the chiefs of Florence are hereditary bankers and commercial interests are not endangered. Marble quarries are worked at Carrara, and foundry fires are lighted in the Maremma. We find in the cities manufactories of silk, glass, paper, books, flax, wool and hemp; Italy alone produces as much as all Europe and furnishes to it all its luxuries. Thus diffused commerce and industry are not servile occupations tending to narrow or debase the mind. A great merchant is a pacific general, whose mind expands in contact with men and things. Like a military chieftain he organizes expeditions and enterprises and makes discoveries. . . . The Medicis possess sixteen banking-houses in Europe; they bind together through their business Russia and Spain, Scotland and Syria; they possess mines of alum throughout Italy, paying to the Pope for one of them a hundred thousand florins per annum; they entertain at their court representatives of all the powers of Europe and become the councillors and moderators of all Italy. In a small state like Florence, and in a country without a national army like Italy, such an influence becomes ascendant in and through itself; a control over private fortunes leads to a management of the public funds,

and without striking a blow or using violence, a private individual finds himself director of the state. . . . These banking magistrates are liberal as well as capable. In thirty-seven years the ancestors of Lorenzo expend six hundred and sixty thousand florins in works of charity and of public utility. Lorenzo himself is a citizen of the antique stamp, almost a Pericles, capable of rushing into the arms of his enemy, the king of Naples, in order to avert, through personal seductions and eloquence, a war which menaces the safety of his country. His private fortune is a sort of public treasury, and his palace a second hotel-de-ville. He entertains the learned, aids them with his purse, makes friends of them, corresponds with them, defrays the expenses of editions of their works, purchases manuscripts, statues and medals, patronizes promising young artists, opens to them his gardens, his collections, his house and his table, and with that cordial familiarity and that openness, sincerity and simplicity of heart which place the protected on a footing of equality with the protector as man to man and not as an inferior in relation to a superior. This is the representative man whom his contemporaries all accept as the accomplished man of the century, no longer a Farinata or an Alghieri of ancient Florence, a spirit rigid, exalted and militant to its utmost capacity, but a balanced, moderate and cultivated genius, one who, through the genial sway of his serene and beneficent intellect, binds up into one sheaf all talents and all beauties. It is a pleasure to see them expanding around him. On the one hand writers are restoring and, on the other, constructing. From the time of Petrarch Greek and Latin manuscripts are sought for, and now they are to be exhumed in the convents of Italy, Switzerland, Germany and France. They are deciphered and restored with the aid of the savants of Constantinople. A decade of Livy or a treatise by Cicero, is a precious gift solicited by princes; some learned man passes ten years of travel in ransacking distant libraries in order to find a lost book of Tacitus, while the sixteen authors rescued from oblivion by the Poggios are counted as so many titles to immortal fame. . . . Style again becomes noble and at the same time clear, and the health, joy and serenity diffused through antique life re-enters the human mind with the harmonious proportions of language and the measured graces of diction. From refined language they pass to vulgar language, and the Italian is born by the side of the Latin. . . . Here in the restored paganism, shines out epicurean gaiety, a determination to enjoy at any and all hours, and that instinct for pleasure which a grave philosophy and political sobriety had thus far tempered and restrained. With Pulci, Berni, Bibiena, Ariosto, Bandelli, Aretino, and so many others, we soon see the advent of voluptuous debauchery and open skepticism, and later a cynical unbounded licentiousness. These joyous and refined civilizations based on a worship of pleasure and intellectuality—Greece of the fourth century, Provence of the twelfth, and Italy of the sixteenth—were not enduring. Man in these lacks some checks. After sudden outbursts of genius and creativeness he wanders away in the direction of license and egotism; the degenerate artist and thinker makes room for the sophist and the dilettant. But in this transient brilliancy his beauty was charming. . . . It is in this world, again become pagan, that painting revives, and the new tastes she is to gratify show beforehand the road she is to follow; henceforth she is to decorate the houses of rich merchants who love antiquity and who desire to live daintily."—H. A. Taine, *Italy*,

Florence and Venice, bk. 3, ch. 2.—See also ARCHITECTURE: Renaissance: Italy; PAINTING: Italian: Early Renaissance; ITALIAN LITERATURE: 1450-1505.

ALSO IN: A. von Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici*.—W. Roscoe, *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*.—F. T. Perrins, *History of Florence, 1434-1531*, bk. 2, ch. 2-6.

1490-1498.—Preaching of Savonarola.—Coming of Charles VIII of France, and expulsion of the Medici.—Great religious revival and Christianization of the commonwealth.—Conflict with the Church and fall of Savonarola.—Girolamo, or Jerome Savonarola, a Dominican monk, born at Ferrara in 1452, educated to be a physician, but led by early disgust with the world to renounce his intended profession and give himself to the religious life, was sent to the convent of St. Mark, in Florence, in 1490, when he had reached the age of 37. "He began his career as a reader and lecturer, and his lectures, though only intended for novices, drew a large audience. He then lectured in the garden of the cloister, under a large rosebush, where many intellectual men came from the city to hear him. At length he began to preach in the Church of St. Mark's, and his subject was the Apocalypse, out of which he predicted the restoration of the Church in Italy, which he declared God would bring about by a severe visitation. Its influence upon his hearers was overpowering; there was no room in the church for the brethren; his fame spread abroad and he was next appointed to preach the sermons in the cathedral. . . . Amid the luxurious, æsthetic, semi-pagan life of Florence, in the ears of the rich citizens, the licentious youth, the learned Platonists, he denounced the revival of paganism, the corruptions of the Church, the ignorance and consequent slavery of the people, and declared that God would visit Italy with some terrible punishment, and that it would soon come. He spoke severe words about the priests, declared to the people that the Scriptures were the only guides to salvation; that salvation did not come from external works, as the Church taught, but from faith in Christ, from giving up the heart to Him, and if He forgave sin, there was no need for any other absolution. Scarcely had he been a year in Florence when he was made prior of the monastery. There was a custom in vogue, a relic of the old times, for every new prior to go to the king or ruler and ask his favour. This homage was then due to Lorenzo di Medici, but Savonarola declared he would never submit to it, saying—'From whom have I received my office, from God or Lorenzo? Let us pray for grace to the Highest.' Lorenzo passed over this slight, being anxious to acquire the friendship of one whom he clearly saw would exert great influence over the Florentines. Burlamachi, his contemporary biographer, tells us that Lorenzo tried all kinds of plans to win the friendship of Savonarola: he attended the church of St. Mark; listened to his sermons; gave large sums of money to him for the poor; loitered in the garden to attract his attention—but with little success. Savonarola treated him with respect, gave his money away to the poor, but avoided him and denounced him. Another plan was tried; five distinguished men waited on Savonarola, and begged him to spare such elevated persons in his sermons, to treat more of generalities, and not to foretell the future. They received a prophetic answer: 'Go tell your master, Lorenzo, to repent of his sins, or God will punish him and his. Does he threaten me with banishment? Well, I am but a stranger, and he is the first citizen in Florence, but let him know that I shall remain and he must soon depart!' What

happened shortly after caused the people to begin to regard Savonarola as a prophet, and won him that terrible fame which caused his downfall. . . . Lorenzo died on the 8th April, 1492, and from that time Savonarola becomes more prominent. He directed his exertions to the accomplishment of three objects—the reformation of his monastery, the reformation of the Florentine State, and the reformation of the Church. He changed the whole character of his monastery. . . . Then he proceeded to State matters, and in this step we come to the problem of his life—was he a prophet or a fanatic? Let the facts speak for themselves. Lorenzo was succeeded by his son Pietro, who was vastly inferior to his father in learning and statesmanship. His only idea appears to have been a desire to unite Florence and Naples into one principality; this created for him many enemies, and men began to fancy that the great house of Medici would terminate with him. So, it appears, thought Savonarola, and announced the fact at first privately



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amongst his friends; in a short time, however, he began to prophecy their downfall publicly. During the years 1492 and 1494, he was actively engaged in preaching. In Advent of the former year, he began his thirteen sermons upon Noah's Ark. In 1493 he preached the Lent sermons at Bologna, and upon his return he began preaching in the cathedral. In these sermons he predicted the approaching fall of the State to the astonishment of all his hearers, who had not the slightest apprehension of danger: 'The Lord has declared that His sword shall come upon the land swiftly and soon.' This was the burden of a sermon preached on Advent Sunday, 1492. At the close of 1493, and as the new year approached, he spoke out more plainly and definitely. He declared that one should come over the Alps who was called, like Cyrus, of whom Jeremiah wrote; and he should, sword in hand, wreak vengeance upon the tyrants of Italy. . . . His preaching had always exerted a marvellous influence upon people, as we shall hereafter note, but they could not understand the cause of these predictions. The city was at peace; gay and joyous as usual, and no fear was entertained; but towards the end of the year came the fulfilment.

Charles VIII., King of France, called into Italy by Duke Ludovico of Milan, came over the Alps with an immense army, took Naples, and advanced on Florence. The expulsion of the Medici from Florence soon followed. Pietro, being captured, signed an agreement to deliver up all his strongholds to Charles VIII., and to pay him 200,000 ducats (see ITALY: 1494-1496). The utmost indignation seized the Florentines when they heard of this treaty. The Signori sent heralds to Charles to negotiate for milder terms, and their chief was Savonarola, who addressed the King like a prophet, begged him to take pity on Italy, and save her. His words had the desired effect. Charles made more easy terms, and left it to the Florentine people to settle their own State. In the meantime Pietro returned, but he found Florence in the greatest excitement—the royal palace was closed; stones were thrown at him; he summoned his guards, but the people took to arms, and he was compelled to fly to his brothers Giovanni and Giuliano. The Signori declared them to be traitors, and set a price upon their heads. Their palace and its treasures fell into the hands of the people. The friends of the Medici, however, were not all extinct; and as a discussion arose which was likely to lead to a struggle, Savonarola summoned the people to meet under the dome of St. Mark. . . . In fact, the formation of the new State fell upon Savonarola, for the people looked up to him as an inspired prophet. He proposed that 3,200 citizens should form themselves into a general council. Then they drew lots for a third part, who for six months were to act together as an executive body and represent the general council, another one-third for the next three months, and so on; so that every citizen had his turn in the council every eighteen months. They ultimately found it convenient to reduce the number to 80—in fact, Savonarola's Democracy was rapidly becoming oligarchic. Each of these 80 representatives was to be 40 years of age; they voted with black and white beans, six being a legal majority. But the Chief of the State was to be Christ; He was to be the new monarch. His next step was to induce them to proclaim a general amnesty, in which he succeeded only through vigorously preaching to them that forgiveness was sweeter than vengeance—that freedom and peace were more loving than strife and hatred. . . . He was now at the height of his power; his voice ruled the State; he is the only instance in Europe of a monk openly leading a republic. The people regarded him as something more than human: they knew of his nights spent in prayer; of his long fasts; of his unbounded charity. . . . Few preachers ever exerted such influence upon the minds of crowds, such a vitalizing influence; he changed the whole character of Florentine society. Libertines abandoned their vices; the theatres and taverns were empty; there was no card playing, nor dice throwing; the love of fasting grew so general, that meat could not be sold; the city of Florence was God's city, and its government a Theocracy. There was a custom in Florence, during Carnival time, for the children to go from house to house and bid people give up their cherished pleasures; and so great was the enthusiasm at this period that people gave up their cards, their dice and backgammon boards, the ladies their perfumed waters, veils, paint-pots, false hair, musical instruments, harps, lutes, licentious tales, especially those of Boccaccio, dream books, romances, and popular songs. All this booty was gathered together in a heap in the market place, the people assembled, the Signori took their places, and children clothed in white, with olive branches on their heads, re-

ceived from them the burning torches, and set fire to the pile amid the blast of trumpets and chant of psalms, which were continued till the whole was consumed. . . . His fame had now reached other countries; foreigners visited Florence solely for the purpose of seeing and hearing him. The Sultan of Turkey allowed his sermons to be translated and circulated in his dominions. But in the midst of his prosperity his enemies were not idle: as he progressed their jealousy increased: his preaching displeased them, terrified them, and amongst these the most bitter and virulent were the young sons of the upper classes: they called his followers 'howlers' (Piagnoni), and so raged against him that they gained the name, now immortalised in history, of the Arrabbiati (the furies): this party was increased by the old friends of the Medici, who called him a rebel and leader of the lower classes. Dolfo Spini, a young man of position and wealth, commanded this party, and used every effort to destroy the reputation of Savonarola, to incite the people against him, and to ruin him. They bore the name of 'Compagnacci'; they wrote satires about the Piagnoni; they circulated slanders about the monk who was making Florence the laughing stock of Europe; but Savonarola went on his way indifferent to the signs already manifesting themselves amongst his countrymen, ever most sensitive to ridicule. He also strove to reform the Church: he delineated the Apostolic Church as a model upon which he would build up that of Florence. . . . By this time, the intelligence of his doings, and the gist of his preaching and writing, which had been carefully transmitted to Rome by his enemies, began to attract the attention of the Pope, Alexander VI., who tried what had frequently proved an infallible remedy, and offered Savonarola a Cardinal's hat, which he at once refused. He was then invited to Rome, but thought it prudent to excuse himself. When the controversy between him and the Pope appeared to approach a crisis, Savonarola took a step which somewhat hurried the catastrophe. He wrote to the Kings of France and Spain, and the Emperor of Germany, to call a General Council to take into consideration the Reform of the Church. One of these letters reached the Pope, through a spy of Duke Ludovico Moro, of Milan, whom Savonarola had denounced. The result was the issue of a Breve (October, 1496), which forbade him to preach. The Pope then ordered the Congregation of St. Mark to be broken up and amalgamated with another. For a time Savonarola, at the advice of his friends, remained quiet; but at this last step, to break up the institution he had established, he was aroused to action. He denounced Rome as the source of all the poison which was undermining the constitution of the Church; declared that its evil fame stunk in men's nostrils. The Pope then applied to the Signori to deliver up this enemy of the Church, but to no purpose. The Franciscans were ordered to preach against him, but they made no impression. Then came the last thunderbolt: a Bann was issued (12th May, 1497), which was announced by the Franciscans. During the time of his suspension and his excommunication, many things happened which tended to his downfall, although his friends gathered round him: the rapid change of ministry brought in turn friends of the Medici to the helm; they introduced the young Compagnacci into the Council, and gradually his enemies were increasing in the Government to a strong party." The fickle Florentine mob now took sides with them against the monk whom it had recently adored, and on the 7th of April, 1498, in the midst of a raging

tumult, Savonarola was taken into custody by the Signori of the city. With the assent of the Pope, he was subjected seven times to torture upon the rack, to force from him a recantation of all that he had taught and preached, and on the 23d of May he was hanged and burned, in company with two of his disciples.—O. T. Hill, *Introduction to Savonarola's "Triumph of the Cross."*

Also in: P. Villari, *History of Savonarola and his times*.—M. O. Oliphant, *Makers of Florence*.—H. H. Milman, *Savonarola, Erasmus, and other essays*.—George Eliot, *Romola*.—H. Grimm, *Life of Michael Angelo*, v. 1, ch. 3-4.

1494-1509.—French deliverance of Pisa and the long war of reconquest. See PISA: 1404-1509.

1498-1500.—Threatened by the Medici, on one side, and Cæsar Borgia on the other.—New division of parties.—“After the death of Savonarola things changed with such a degree of rapidity that the Arrabbiati had not time to consider in what manner they could restrict the government; but they soon became convinced that the only salvation for the Republic was to adopt the course which had been recommended by the Friar. Piero and Giuliano dei Medici were in fact already in the neighbourhood of Florence, supported by a powerful Venetian army. It became, therefore, absolutely necessary for the Arrabbiati to unite with the Piagnoni, in order to defend themselves against so many dangers and so many enemies. By great good fortune, the Duke of Milan, from jealousy of the Venetians, came to their assistance to ward off the danger; but who could trust to his friendship—who could place any reliance on his fidelity? As to Alexander Borgia, he who had held out such great hopes, and had made so many promises, in order to get Savonarola put to death, no sooner was his object attained than he gave full sway to his unbridled passions. It seemed as if the death of the poor Friar had released both the Pope and his son, Duke Valentino, from all restraints upon their lusts and ambition. The Pope formed intimate alliances with Turks and Jews, a thing hitherto unheard of. He, in one year, set up twelve cardinals' hats for sale. The history of the incests and murders of the family of Borgia is too well known to render it necessary for us to enter into any detailed account of them here. The great object of the Pope was to form a State for his son in the Romagna; and so great was the ambition of Duke Valentino, that he contemplated extending his power over the whole of Italy, Tuscany being the first part he meant to seize upon. With that view he was always endeavouring to create new dangers to the Republic; at one time he caused Arezzo to rise against it; at another time he threatened to bring back Piero de' Medici; and he was continually ravaging their territory. The consequence was, that the Florentines were obliged to grant him an annual subsidy of 36,000 ducats, under the name of condotta (military pay); but even that did not restrain him from every now and then, under various pretexts, overrunning and laying waste their territory. Thus did Alexander Borgia fulfil those promises to the Republic by which they had been induced to murder Savonarola. The Arrabbiati were at length convinced that to defend themselves against the Medici and Borgia, their only course was to cultivate the alliance with France, and unite in good faith with the Piagnoni. Thus they completely adopted the line of policy which Savonarola had advised; and the consequence was, that their affairs got order and their exertions were attended with a success far beyond what could have been anticipated.”—P. Villari, *History of Savonarola and of his times*, v.

2, *conclusion*.—“A new division of parties may be said to have taken place under the three denominations of ‘Palleschi’ [a name derived from the watchword of the Mediceans, ‘palle, palle,’ which alluded to the well-known balls in the coat of arms of the Medici family], ‘Ottimati,’ and ‘Popolani.’ The first . . . were for the Medici and themselves. . . . The ‘Ottimati’ were in eager search for a sort of visionary government where a few of the noblest blood, the most illustrious connexions and the greatest riches, were to rule Florence without any regard to the Medici. . . . The Popolani, who formed the great majority, loved civic liberty, therefore were constantly watching the Medici and other potent and ambitious men.”—H. E. Napier, *Florentine history*, v. 4, bk. 2, ch. 8.

1502-1569.—Ten years under Piero Soderini.—Restoration of the Medici and their second expulsion.—Siege of the city by the imperial army.—Final surrender to Medicean tyranny.—Creation of the grand duchy of Tuscany.—“In 1502, it was decreed that the Gonfalonier should hold office for life—should be in fact a Doge. To this important post of permanent president Piero Soderini was appointed; and in his hands were placed the chief affairs of the republic. . . . During the ten years which elapsed between 1502 and 1512, Piero Soderini administered Florence with an outward show of great prosperity. He regained Pisa and maintained an honourable foreign policy in the midst of the wars stirred up by the League of Cambray. Meanwhile the young princes of the house of Medici had grown to manhood in exile. The Cardinal Giovanni was 37 in 1512. His brother Giuliano was 33. Both of these men were better fitted than their brother Piero to fight the battles of the family. Giovanni, in particular, had inherited no small portion of the Medicean craft. During the troubled reign of Julius II, he kept very quiet, cementing his connection with powerful men in Rome, but making no effort to regain his hold on Florence. Now the moment for striking a decisive blow had come. After the battle of Ravenna in 1512, the French were driven out of Italy, and the Sforzas returned to Milan; the Spanish troops, under the Viceroy Cardona, remained masters of the country. Following the camp of these Spaniards, Giovanni de' Medici entered Tuscany in August, and caused the restoration of the Medici to be announced in Florence. The people, assembled by Soderini, resolved to resist to the uttermost. . . . Yet their courage failed on August 20th, when news reached them of the capture and the sack of Prato. Prato is a sunny little city a few miles distant from the walls of Florence, famous for the beauty of its women, the richness of its gardens, and the grace of its buildings. Into this gem of cities the savage soldiery of Spain marched in the bright autumnal weather, and turned the paradise into a hell. It is even now impossible to read of what they did in Prato without shuddering. Cruelty and lust, sordid greed for gold, and cold delight in bloodshed, could go no further. Giovanni de' Medici, by nature mild and voluptuous, averse to violence of all kinds, had to smile approval, while the Spanish Viceroy knocked thus with mailed hand for him at the door of Florence. The Florentines were paralysed with terror. They deposed Soderini and received the Medici. Giovanni and Giuliano entered their devastated palace in the Via Larga, abolished the Grand Council, and dealt with the republic as they listed. . . . It is not likely that they would have succeeded in maintaining their authority—for they were poor and ill-supported by friends outside the city—except for one

most lucky circumstance: that was the election of Giovanni de' Medici to the Papacy in 1513. The creation of Leo X. spread satisfaction throughout Italy. . . . Florence shared in the general rejoicing. . . . It seemed as though the Republic, swayed by him, might make herself the first city in Italy, and restore the glories of her Guelph ascendancy upon the platform of Renaissance statecraft. There was now no overt opposition to the Medici in Florence. How to govern the city from Rome, and how to advance the fortunes of his brother Giuliano and his nephew Lorenzo (Piero's son, a young man of 21), occupied the Pope's most serious attention. For Lorenzo, Leo obtained the Duchy of Urbino and the hand of a French princess. Giuliano was named Gonfalonier of the Church. He also received the French title of Duke of Nemours and the hand of Filiberta, Princess of Savoy. . . . Giulio, the Pope's bastard cousin, was made cardinal. . . . To Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, the titular head of the family, was committed the government of Florence. . . . Florence now for the first time saw a regular court established in her midst, with a prince, who, though he bore a foreign title, was in fact her master. The joyous days of Lorenzo the Magnificent returned. . . . But this prosperity was no less brief than it was brilliant. A few years sufficed to sweep off all the chiefs of the great house. Giuliano died in 1516, leaving only a bastard son, Ippolito. Lorenzo died in 1519, leaving a bastard son, Alessandro, and a daughter, six days old, who lived to be the Queen of France. Leo died in 1521. There remained now no legitimate male descendants from the stock of Cosimo. The honours and pretensions of the Medici devolved upon three bastards,—on the Cardinal Giulio, and the two boys, Alessandro and Ippolito. Of these, Alessandro was a mulatto, his mother having been a Moorish slave in the Palace of Urbino; and whether his father was Giulio, or Giuliano, or a base groom, was not known for certain. To such extremities were the Medici reduced. . . . Giulio de' Medici was left in 1521 to administer the State of Florence single-handed. He was archbishop, and he resided in the city, holding it with the grasp of an absolute ruler. . . . In 1523, the Pope, Adrian VI., expired after a short papacy, from which he gained no honour and Italy no profit. Giulio hurried to Rome, and, by the clever use of his large influence, caused himself to be elected with the title of Clement VII." Then followed the strife of France and Spain—of Francis I. and Charles V.—for the possession of Italy, and the barbarous sack of Rome in 1527 (see ITALY: 1523-1527; 1527; 1527-1529). "When the Florentines knew what was happening in Rome, they rose and forced the Cardinal Passerini [whom the pope had appointed to act as his vicegerent in the government of Florence] to depart with the Medicean bastards from the city. . . . The whole male population was enrolled in a militia. The Grand Council was reformed, and the republic was restored upon the basis of 1405. Niccolo Capponi was elected Gonfalonier. The name of Christ was again registered as chief of the commonwealth—to such an extent did the memory of Savonarola still sway the popular imagination. The new State hastened to form an alliance with France, and Malatesta Baglioni was chosen as military Commander-in-Chief. Meanwhile the city armed itself for siege—Michel Angelo Buonarroti and Francesco da San Gallo undertaking the construction of new forts and ramparts. These measures were adopted with sudden decision, because it was soon known that Clement had made peace with the Emperor, and that the army which had sacked Rome

was going to be marched on Florence. . . . On September 4 [1529], the Prince of Orange appeared before the walls, and opened the memorable siege. It lasted eight months, at the end of which time, betrayed by their generals, divided among themselves, and worn out with delays, the Florentines capitulated. . . . The long yoke of the Medici had undermined the character of the Florentines. This, their last glorious struggle for liberty, was but a flash in the pan—a final flare up of the dying lamp. . . . What remains of Florentine history may be briefly told. Clement, now the undisputed arbiter of power and honour in the city, chose Alessandro de' Medici to be prince. Alessandro was created Duke of Cività di Penna, and married to a natural daughter of Charles V. Ippolito was made a cardinal." Ippolito was subsequently poisoned by Alessandro, and Alessandro was murdered by another kinsman, who suffered assassination in his turn. "When Alessandro was killed in 1539, Clement had himself been dead five years. Thus the whole posterity of Cosimo de' Medici, with the exception of Catherine, Queen of France [daughter of Lorenzo, duke of Urbino, the son of Piero de' Medici], was utterly extinguished. But the Medici had struck root so firmly in the State, and had so remodelled it upon the type of tyranny, that the Florentines were no longer able to do without them. The chiefs of the Ottimati selected Cosimo, a descendant from Lorenzo, brother of the Cosimo who founded the power of the House. "He it was who obtained [1569] the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany from the Pope—a title confirmed by the Emperor, fortified by Austrian alliances, and transmitted through his heirs to the present [nineteenth] century."—J. A. Symonds, *Sketches and studies in Italy (Florence and the Medici, ch. 5)*.—The history of Florence since the sixteenth century is largely absorbed in the history of Italy.

ALSO IN: H. Grimm, *Life of Michael Angelo, v. 1-2, ch. 8-15*.—H. E. Napier, *Florentine history, v. 4-5*.—W. Roscoe, *Life and pontificate of Leo X, v. 1-2, ch. 9-23*.

1506.—New army organization instituted by Machiavelli. See MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 34.

1530-1600.—Condition of the country under Spanish rule. See ITALY: 1530-1600.

1556.—Extent of territory. See EUROPE: Map of central Europe: 1556.

1575-1676.—Florentine school of music.—Development of the opera. See MUSIC: Modern: 1575-1676.

1865.—Made temporarily the capital of the kingdom of Italy. See ITALY: 1862-1866.

1871.—Capital of province of Florence.—When in 1871 the capital of the kingdom of Italy was transferred from Florence to Rome, the former city became the capital of the province of Florence in the new kingdom.

ALSO IN: E. G. Gardner, *Story of Florence*.—F. Hyett, *Florence*.—S. A. Ryan, *Florence in poetry, history and art*.—A. Trollope, *History of the commonwealth of Florence*.

FLORENCE, Treaty of (1801). See FRANCE: 1800-1801 (June-February).

FLORENCE, University of. See UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES: 800-1345; Other universities.

FLORENCE PROTOCOL (1913). See GREECE: 1913-1914.

FLORENT DE VARENNES, French admiral, figured in the siege of Tunis, 1270. See CRUSADES: 1270-1271.

FLORENTINE, Italian gold coin. See FLORIN.

FLORES, Juan José (1800-1864), Spanish-American general. First president of Ecuador,

1830-1835; re-elected in 1839 and 1843; resigned in 1845 and went to Europe. He was recalled in 1863 to defend Ecuador against General Franco. See **ECUADOR**: 1822-1888.

FLORES, Venancio (1809-1868), Spanish-American soldier. Leader of the revolt in Uruguay, 1853; provisional president of Uruguay, 1865; president, 1866. He allied himself with Brazil and Argentina in the war against Paraguay. See **URUGUAY**: 1821-1905.

FLORES, island in the Dutch East Indies, east of Java, about 224 miles long and 37 miles across. It is the seat of several active volcanoes, and the interior is covered with dense forests which have not yet been explored. It is divided into two administrative districts, one of which is attached to the government of Celebes and the other to the residency of Timor. The natives are of Papuan stock, but there are many Malays along the coast. Until 1850 the Portuguese claimed portions of the island.

FLORES, island in the Azores group celebrated for the naval battle fought in 1591 between Richard Grenville, in command of the *Revenge*, and a Spanish fleet. See **AZORES**.

FLORIDA: Geographical description.—Area and population.—“The peculiar shape of Florida almost forbids description. It is an irregularly formed peninsula whose Atlantic coast line trends almost southeast. The state has an arm extending westward from its central line a distance almost as great as its north and south extension. Its length by a north and south air line, from the St. Mary’s river to Key West, the southernmost point of United States’ continental possessions, is approximately four hundred and twenty-five miles. The extreme width across the northern part of the state, from the ocean to the Perdido river, which marks the Alabama boundary, is three hundred and seventy miles. The lower peninsula in its greatest width, about the line of Tampa, measures one hundred and fifty miles. In area Florida is the second state east of the Mississippi river, Georgia alone being larger. It contains a surface area of 58,666 square miles, of which 3,805, or a little more than 6 per cent, are fresh water surface. The coast line of the state measures approximately thirteen hundred miles, which by the indentations of bays and sounds are increased to almost sixteen hundred miles.”—G. M. Chapin, *Florida, historical*, v. 1, pp. 84, 87.—In 1922 the population was estimated at 966,206.

Resources.—The conditions governing the geological formation of Florida led to the creation of immense deposits of phosphates, peat and valuable clays, including fullers’ earth and kaolin; but generally speaking Florida is an agricultural state with a total acreage of 4,878,344, of which 1,886,277 acres are improved; and the chief products are oranges, pineapples, cotton, and tobacco. Forests of valuable timber cover about 308,268 acres.

Aboriginal inhabitants. See **INDIANS, AMERICAN**: Cultural areas in North America; Southeastern area; **APALACHEE INDIANS**; **MUSKHOGEAN FAMILY**; **SEMINOLES**; **TIMUQUANAN FAMILY**.

1512.—**Discovery and naming by Ponce de Leon**. See **AMERICA**: 1512.

1528-1542.—**Expeditions of Narvaez and Hernando de Soto**.—Wide Spanish application of the name Florida.—“The voyages of Garay [1510-1523] and Vasquez de Ayllon [1520-1526] threw new light on the discoveries of Ponce, and the general outline of the coasts of Florida became known to the Spaniards. Meanwhile, Cortés had conquered Mexico, and the fame of that iniquitous but magnificent exploit rang through all Spain.

Many an impatient cavalier burned to achieve a kindred fortune. To the excited fancy of the Spaniards the unknown land of Florida seemed the seat of surpassing wealth, and Pamphilo de Narvaez essayed to possess himself of its fancied treasures. Landing on its shores [1528], and proclaiming destruction to the Indians unless they acknowledged the sovereignty of the Pope and the Emperor, he advanced into the forests with 300 men. Nothing could exceed their sufferings. Nowhere could they find the gold they came to seek. The village of Appalache, where they hoped to gain a rich booty, offered nothing but a few mean wigwams. The horses gave out and the famished soldiers fed upon their flesh. The men sickened, and the Indians unceasingly harassed their march. At length, after 280 leagues of wandering, they found themselves on the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, and desperately put to sea in such crazy boats as their skill and means could construct. Cold, disease, famine, thirst, and the fury of the waves, melted them away. Narvaez himself perished, and of his wretched followers no more than four escaped, reaching by land, after years of vicissitude, the Christian settlements of New Spain. . . . Cabeça de Vaca was one of the four who escaped, and, after living for years among the tribes of Mississippi, crossed the River Mississippi near Memphis, journeyed westward by the waters of the Arkansas and Red River to New Mexico and Chihuahua, thence to Cinaloa on the Gulf of California, and thence to Mexico. The narrative is one of the most remarkable of the early relations. . . . The interior of the vast country then comprehended under the name of Florida still remained unexplored. . . . Hernando de Soto . . . companion of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru . . . asked and obtained permission [1537] to conquer Florida. While this design was in agitation, Cabeça de Vaca, one of those who had survived the expedition of Narvaez, appeared in Spain, and for purposes of his own spread abroad the mischievous falsehood that Florida was the richest country yet discovered. De Soto’s plans were embraced with enthusiasm. Nobles and gentlemen contended for the privilege of joining his standard; and, setting sail with an ample armament, he landed [May, 1539] at the Bay of Espiritu Santo, now Tampa Bay, in Florida, with 620 chosen men, a band as gallant and well appointed, as eager in purpose and audacious in hope, as ever trod the shores of the New World. . . . The adventurers began their march. Their story has been often told. For month after month and year after year, the procession of priests and cavaliers, cross-bowman, arquebusiers, and Indian captives laden with the baggage, still wandered on through wild and boundless wastes, lured hither and thither by the ignis-fatuuus of their hopes. They traversed great portions of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, everywhere inflicting and enduring misery, but never approaching their phantom El Dorado. At length, in the third year of their journeying, they reached the banks of the Mississippi, 132 years before its second [or third?] discovery by Marquette. . . . The Spaniards crossed over at a point above the mouth of the Arkansas. They advanced westward, but found no treasures,—nothing indeed but hardships, and an Indian enemy, furious, writes one of their officers, ‘as mad dogs.’ They heard of a country towards the north where maize could not be cultivated because the vast herds of wild cattle devoured it. They penetrated so far that they entered the range of the roving prairie-tribes. . . . Finding neither gold nor the South Sea, for both of which they had hoped, they returned to the banks of the Mississippi. De Soto

... fell into deep dejection, followed by an attack of fever, and soon after died miserably [May 21, 1542]. To preserve his body from the Indians his followers sank it at midnight in the river, and the sullen waters of the Mississippi buried his ambition and his hopes. The adventurers were now, with few exceptions, disgusted with the enterprise, and longed only to escape from the scene of their miseries. After a vain attempt to reach Mexico by land, they again turned back to the Mississippi, and labored, with all the resources which their desperate necessity could suggest, to construct vessels in which they might make their way to some Christian settlement. . . . Seven brigantines were finished and launched; and, trusting their lives on board these frail vessels, they descended the Mississippi, running the gauntlet between hostile tribes who fiercely attacked them. Reaching the Gulf, though not without the loss of eleven of their number, they made sail for the Spanish settlement on the River Panuco, where they arrived safely, and where the inhabitants met them with a cordial welcome. Three hundred and eleven men thus escaped with life, leaving behind them the bones of their comrades, strewn broadcast through the wilderness. De Soto's fate proved an insufficient warning, for those were still found who begged a fresh commission for the conquest of Florida; but the Emperor would not hear them. A more pacific enterprise was undertaken by Cancellor [or Cancer], a Dominican monk, who with several brother-ecclesiastics undertook to convert the natives to the true faith, but was murdered in the attempt. . . . Not a Spaniard had yet gained foothold in Florida. That name, as the Spaniards of that day understood it, comprehended the whole country extending from the Atlantic on the east to the longitude of New Mexico on the west, and from the Gulf of Mexico and the River of Palms indefinitely northward towards the polar Sea. This vast territory was claimed by Spain in right of the discoveries of Columbus, the grant of the Pope, and the various expeditions mentioned above. England claimed it in right of the discoveries of Cabot, while France could advance no better title than might be derived from the voyage of Verrazano and vague traditions of earlier visits of Breton adventurers."—F. Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, ch. 1.

ALSO IN: G. M. Chapin, *Florida*, v. 1.—T. Irving, *Conquest of Florida by De Soto*.—*Discovery and conquest of Terra Florida*; written by a Gentleman of Elvas (*Hakluyt Society*).—J. W. Monette, *Discovery and settlement of the Mississippi valley*, ch. 1-4.—J. G. Shea, *Ancient Florida (Narrative and critical history of America)*, v. 2, ch. 4).

1549-1559.—Expeditions for conquest.—De Luna's effort to colonize Florida.—"Other expeditions for conquest or for the conversion of the native Florida tribes to Spanish Catholicism followed. Four Franciscan brothers came from Havana in 1549. They landed in Espiritu Santo Bay to labor for the spiritual welfare of the Indians. Three of them were murdered almost as they touched the shore, thus early in the history of the country staining its soil with the blood of religious martyrdom. The last of these expeditions of conquest was that commanded by Tristan de Luna, which was equipped by the Spanish viceroy of Mexico, and sailed from Vera Cruz in August, 1550. It landed at the present site of Pensacola, about one thousand soldiers, sailors, priests and friars. A reconnoitering party explored the country as far north as Tennessee, finding many traces of De Soto's travels. Their reports encouraged De Luna to undertake to col-

onize the lands they had explored, but his men demanded that they return home and many of them deserted on the supply ships that had come to their relief. De Luna was soon recalled and this project for colonizing Florida was abandoned. The historical significance of De Luna's expedition lies in the fact that it was the first settlement or temporary occupation by Europeans of the present site of Pensacola, and it was the first exploration of the Alabama and Tennessee territory. This practically was the last of the Spanish expeditions, which from the time of De Soto, almost fifty years before, had devastated the territory known as Florida. . . . The net result of the half century of aggressive oppression was the dim knowledge of a land of unknown limits, which the invaders pronounced 'the richest country in the world.' Not a single settlement of white men had been planted permanently in all the vast region and nothing had been accomplished toward introducing European civilization into the country."—G. M. Chapin, *Florida, historical*, v. 1, pp. 16-17.

1562-1563.—First colonizing attempt of the French Huguenots.—About the middle of the sixteenth century, certain of the Protestants of France began to turn their thoughts to the new world as a possible place of refuge from the persecutions they were suffering at home. "Some of the French sea-ports became strong-holds of the Huguenots. Their most prominent supporter, Coligny, was high admiral of France. These Huguenots looked toward the new countries as the proper field in which to secure a retreat from persecution, and to found a new religious commonwealth. Probably many of the French 'corsarios' following the track of the Portuguese and Spaniards to the West Indies and the coasts of Brazil, were Huguenots. . . . The first scheme for a Protestant colony in the new world was suggested by Admiral Coligny in 1554, and intended for the coast of Brazil, to which an expedition, under Durand de Villegagnon, was sent with ships and colonists. This expedition arrived at the Bay of Rio de Janeiro in 1555, and founded there the first European settlement. It was followed the next year by another expedition. But the whole enterprise came to an end by divisions among the colonists, occasioned by the treacherous, despotic, and cruel proceedings of its commander, a reputed Catholic. The colony was finally subverted by the Portuguese, who, in 1560, sent out an armament against it, and took possession of the Bay of Rio de Janeiro. . . . After the unfortunate end of the French enterprise to South America, Admiral Coligny, who may be styled the Raleigh of France, turned his attention to the eastern shores of North America; the whole of which had become known in France from the voyage of Verrazano, and the French expeditions to Canada and the Banks of Newfoundland." In February, 1562, an expedition, fitted out by Coligny, sailed from Havre de Grace, under Jean Ribault, with René de Laudonnière forming one of the company. Ribault arrived on the Florida coast in the neighborhood of the present harbor of St. Augustine, and thence sailed north. "At last, in about 32° 30' N. he found an excellent broad and deep harbor, which he named Port Royal, which probably is the present Broad River, or Port Royal entrance. . . . He found this port and the surrounding country so advantageous and of such 'singular beauty,' that he resolved to leave here a part of his men in a small fort. . . . A pillar with the arms of France was therefore erected, and a fort constructed, fur-

nished with cannon, ammunition, and provisions, and named 'Charlesfort.' Thirty volunteers were placed in it, and it became the second European settlement ever attempted upon the east coast of the United States. Its position was probably not far from the site of the present town of Beaufort, on Port Royal River. Having accomplished this, and made a certain captain, Albert de la Pieria, 'a soldier of great experience,' commander of Charlesfort, he took leave of his countrymen, and left Port Royal on the 11th day of June," arriving in France on July 20. "On his arrival in France, Ribault found the country in a state of great commotion. The civil war between the Huguenots and the Catholics was raging, and neither the king nor the admiral had time to listen to Ribault's solicitations, to send relief to the settlers left in 'French Florida.' Those colonists remained, therefore, during the remainder of 1562, and the following winter, without assistance from France; and after many trials and sufferings, they were at last forced, in 1563, to abandon their settlement and the new country." Having constructed a ship, with great difficulty, they put to sea; but suffered horribly on the tedious voyage, from want of food and water, until they were rescued by an English vessel and taken to England.—J. G. Kohl, *History of the discovery of Maine (Maine Historical Society Collections, 2nd series, v. 1, ch. 11)*.

ALSO IN: F. Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World, ch. 3*.—Father Charlevoix, *History of New France* (tr. by J. G. Shea), v. 1, bk. 3.—T. E. V. Smith, *Villegaignon (American Society of Church History, v. 3)*.

1564-1565.—Second Huguenot colony, and the cry in Spain against it.—"After the treacherous peace between Charles IX. and the Huguenots, Coligny renewed his solicitations for the colonization of Florida. The king gave consent; in 1564 three ships were conceded for the service; and Laudonnière, who, in the former voyage, had been upon the American coast, a man of great intelligence, though a seaman rather than a soldier, was appointed to lead forth the colony. . . . A voyage of 60 days brought the fleet, by the way of the Canaries and the Antilles, to the shores of Florida in June. The harbor of Port Royal, rendered gloomy by recollections of misery, was avoided; and, after searching the coast, and discovering places which were so full of amenity that melancholy itself could not but change its humor as it gazed, the followers of Calvin planted themselves on the banks of the river May [now called the St. John's], near St. John's bluff. They sung a psalm of thanksgiving, and gathered courage from acts of devotion. The fort now erected was called Carolina. . . . The French were hospitably welcomed by the natives; a monument, bearing the arms of France, was crowned with laurels, and its base encircled with baskets of corn. What need is there of minutely relating the simple manners of the red men, the dissensions of rival tribes, the largesses offered to the strangers to secure their protection or their alliance, the improvident prodigality with which careless soldiers wasted the supplies of food; the certain approach of scarcity; the gifts and the tribute levied from the Indians by entreaty, menace or force? By degrees the confidence of the red men was exhausted; they had welcomed powerful guests, who promised to become their benefactors, and who now robbed their humble granaries. But the worst evil in the new settlement was the character of the emigrants. Though patriotism and religious enthusiasm had prompted

the expedition, the inferior class of the colonists was a motley group of dissolute men. Mutinies were frequent. The men were mad with the passion for sudden wealth; and in December a party, under the pretence of desiring to escape from famine, compelled Laudonnière to sign an order permitting their embarkation for New Spain. No sooner were they possessed of this apparent sanction of the chief than they began a career of piracy against the Spaniards. The act of crime and temerity was soon avenged. The pirate vessel was taken, and most of the men disposed of as prisoners or slaves. The few that escaped in a boat sought shelter at Fort Carolina, where Laudonnière sentenced the ringleaders to death. During these events the scarcity became extreme; and the friendship of the natives was forfeited by unprofitable severity. March of 1565 was gone, and there were no supplies from France; April passed away, and the expected recruits had not arrived; May brought nothing to sustain the hopes of the exiles, and they resolved to attempt a return to Europe. In August, Sir John Hawkins, the slave merchant, arrived from the West Indies. He came fresh from the sale of a cargo of Africans, whom he had kidnapped with signal ruthlessness; and he now displayed the most generous sympathy, not only furnishing a liberal supply of provisions, but relinquishing a vessel from his own fleet. The colony was on the point of embarking when sails were descried. Ribault had arrived to assume the command, bringing with him supplies of every kind, emigrants with their families, garden-seeds, implements of husbandry, and the various kinds of domestic animals. The French, now wild with joy, seemed about to acquire a home, and Calvinism to become fixed in the inviting regions of Florida. But Spain had never abandoned her claim to that territory, where, if she had not planted colonies, she had buried many hundreds of her bravest sons. . . . There had appeared at the Spanish court a commander well fitted for reckless acts. Pedro Melendez [or Menendez] de Aviles . . . had acquired wealth in Spanish America, which was no school of benevolence, and his conduct there had provoked an inquiry, which, after a long arrest, ended in his conviction. . . . Philip II. suggested the conquest and colonization of Florida; and in May, 1565, a compact was framed and confirmed by which Melendez, who desired an opportunity to retrieve his honor, was constituted the hereditary governor of a territory of almost unlimited extent. On his part he stipulated, at his own cost, in the following May, to invade Florida with 500 men; to complete its conquest within three years; to explore its currents and channels, the dangers of its coasts, and the depth of its havens; to establish a colony of at least 500 persons, of whom 100 should be married men; with 12 ecclesiastics, besides four Jesuits. . . . Meantime, news arrived, as the French writers assert through the treachery of the court of France, that the Huguenots had made a plantation in Florida, and that Ribault was preparing to set sail with re-enforcements. The cry was raised that the heretics must be extirpated; and Melendez readily obtained the forces which he required."—G. Bancroft, *History of the United States (author's last revision), pt. 1, ch. 4*.

ALSO IN: G. R. Fairbanks, *History of Florida, ch. 7-8*.—W. G. Simms, *History of South Carolina, bk. 1*.

1565.—Spanish capture of Fort Caroline and massacre of the Huguenots.—Founding of St.

Augustine.—"The expedition under Menendez consisted of an army of 2,600 soldiers and officers. He sailed straight for Florida, intending to attack Fort Caroline with no delay. In fact he sighted the mouth of the port [Sept. 4, 1565] two months after starting; but, considering the position occupied by the French ships, he judged it prudent to defer the attack, and make it, if possible, from the land. A council of war was held in Fort Caroline, presided over by Ribaut. Laudonnière proposed that, while Ribaut held the fort with the ships, he, with his old soldiers, who knew the country well, aided by the Floridians as auxiliaries, should engage the Spaniards in the woods, and harass them by perpetual combats in labyrinths to which they were wholly unaccustomed. The advice was good, but it was not followed. Ribaut proposed to follow the Spanish fleet with his own—lighter and more easily handled—fall on the enemy when the soldiers were all disembarked, and, after taking and burning the ships, to attack the army. In the face of remonstrances from all the officers, he persisted in this project. Disaster followed the attempt. A violent gale arose. The French ships were wrecked upon the Floridan coast; the men lost their arms, their powder, and their clothes; they escaped with their bare lives. There was no longer the question of conquering the Spaniards, but of saving themselves. The garrison of Caroline consisted of 150 soldiers, of whom 40 were sick. The rest of the colony was composed of sick and wounded Protestant ministers, workmen, 'royal commissioners,' and so forth. Laudonnière was in command. They awaited the attack for several days, yet the Spaniards came not. They were wading miserably through the marshes in the forests, under tropical rains, discouraged, and out of heart." But when, at length, the exhausted and despairing Spaniards, toiling through the marshes, from St. Augustine, where they had landed and established their settlement, reached the French fort (Sept. 20), "there was actually no watch on the ramparts. Three companies of Spaniards simultaneously rushed from the forest, and attacked the fortress on the south, the west and the south-west. There was but little resistance from the surprised garrison. There was hardly time to grasp a sword. About 20 escaped by flight, including the Captain, Laudonnière; the rest were every one massacred. None were spared except women and children under fifteen; and, in the first rage of the onslaught, even these were murdered with the rest. There still lay in the port three ships, commanded by Jacques Ribaut, brother [son] of the unfortunate Governor. One of these was quickly sent to the bottom by the cannon of the fort; the other two cut their cables, and slipped out of reach into the roadstead, where they lay, waiting for a favourable wind, for three days. They picked up the fugitives who had been wandering half-starved in the woods, and then set sail from this unlucky land. . . . There remained, however, the little army, under Ribaut, which had lost most of its arms in the wreck, and was now wandering along the Floridan shore." When Ribaut and his men reached Fort Caroline and saw the Spanish flag flying, they turned and retreated southward. Not many days later, they were intercepted by Menendez, near St. Augustine, to which post he had returned. The first party of the French who came up, 200 in number, and who were in a starving state, surrendered to the Spaniard, and laid down their arms. "They were brought across the river in small companies, and their hands tied

behind their backs. On landing, they were asked if they were Catholics. Eight out of the 200 professed allegiance to that religion; the rest were all Protestants. Menendez traced out a line on the ground with his cane. The prisoners were marched up one by one to the line; on reaching it, they were stabbed. Next day, Ribaut arrived with the rest of the army. The same pourparlers began. But this time a blacker treachery was adopted." An officer, sent by Menendez, pledged his honor to the French that the lives of all should be spared if they laid down their arms. "It is not clear how many of the French accepted the conditions. A certain number refused them, and escaped into the woods. What is certain is, that Ribaut, with nearly all his men, were tied back to back, four together. Those who said they were Catholics, were set on one side; the rest were all massacred as they stood. . . . Outside the circle of the slaughtered and the slaughterers stood the priest, Mendoza, encouraging, approving, exhorting the butchers."—W. Besant, *Gaspard de Coligny, ch. 7.*—The long dispatch in which Menendez reported his fiendish work to the Spanish king has been brought to light in the archives at Seville, and there is this endorsement on it, in the hand-writing of Philip II: "Say to him that, as to those he has killed, he has done well; and as to those he has saved, they shall be sent to the galleys."—F. Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World, ch. 7-8.*

ALSO IN: C. W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot emigration to America, v. 1, introduction.*

1567-1568.—Vengeance of Dominic de Gourgues.—"As might have been expected, all attempts to rouse the French court into demanding redress were vain. Spain, above all other nations, knew the arts by which a corrupt court might be swayed, and the same intrigues which, fifty years later, sent Raleigh to the block and well-nigh ended the young colony of Virginia, now kept France quiet. But though the court refused to move, an avenger was not wanting. Dominic de Gourgues had already known as a prisoner of war the horrors of the Spanish galleys. Whether he was a Huguenot is uncertain. Happily in France, as the history of that and all later ages proved, the religion of the Catholic did not necessarily deaden the feelings of the patriot. Seldom has there been a deed of more reckless daring than that which Dominic de Gourgues now undertook. With the proceeds of his patrimony he bought three small ships, manned by eighty sailors and a hundred men-at-arms. He then obtained a commission as a slaver on the coast of Guinea, and in the summer of 1567 set sail. With these paltry resources he aimed at overthrowing a settlement which had already destroyed a force of twenty times his number, and which might have been strengthened in the interval. . . . To the mass of his followers he did not reveal the true secret of his voyage till he had reached the West Indies. Then he disclosed his real purpose. His men were of the same spirit as their leader. Desperate though the enterprise seemed, De Gourgues' only difficulty was to restrain his followers from undue haste. Happily for their attempt, they had allies on whom they had not reckoned. The fickle savages had at first welcomed the Spaniards, but the tyranny of the new comers soon wrought a change, and the Spaniards in Florida, like the Spaniards in every part of the New World, were looked on as hateful tyrants. So when De Gourgues landed he at once found a ready body of allies. . . . Three days were spent in making ready, and then De Gourgues, with a hundred and sixty

of his own men and his Indian allies, marched against the enemy. In spite of the hostility of the Indians, the Spaniards seem to have taken no precaution against a sudden attack. Menendez himself had left the colony. The Spanish force was divided between three forts, and no proper precautions were taken for keeping up the communications between them. Each was successively seized, the garrison slain or made prisoners, and, as each fort fell, those in the next could only make vague guesses as to the extent of the danger. Even when divided into three the Spanish force outnumbered that of De Gourgues, and savages with bows and arrows would have counted for little against men with fire arms and behind walls. But after the downfall of the first fort a panic seemed to seize the Spaniards, and the French achieved an almost bloodless victory. After the death of Ribault and his followers nothing could be looked for but merciless retaliation, and De Gourgues copied the severity, though not the perfidy of his enemies. The very details of Menendez' act were imitated, and the trees on which the prisoners were hung bore the inscription: 'Not as Spaniards, but as traitors, robbers, and murderers.' Five weeks later De Gourgues anchored under the walls of Rochelle. . . . His attack did not wholly extirpate the Spanish power in Florida. Menendez received the blessing of the Pope as a chosen instrument for the conversion of the Indians, returned to America and restored his settlement. As before, he soon made the Indians his deadly enemies. The Spanish settlement held on, but it was not till two centuries later that its existence made itself remembered by one brief but glorious episode in the history of the English colonies.—J. A. Doyle, *The English in America: Virginia, &c., ch. 5.*

ALSO IN: W. W. Dewhurst, *History of St. Augustine, Florida, ch. 9.*

1580-1665.—Sir Francis Drake raids St. Augustine.—Series of attacks by privateers and Indians.—“Sir Francis Drake, in 1580, attacked the garrison at St. Augustine. He destroyed the fort and sacked the treasure chest that he found. The little settlement was rebuilt, and in 1593, twelve Franciscan brothers made it their headquarters for extending the Catholic missions and religion throughout the peninsula. Five years later began a series of attacks and massacres upon the Spanish missions by the Indians, but not discouraged by these disasters the missionaries became even more aggressive, and increasing success seemed to crown their efforts. . . . The raid of Sir Francis Drake upon St. Augustine was that of a privateer, and the city was again made the victim of a similar attack in 1665. The Spaniards made frequent complaints to the English authorities of this lawlessness. The Carolinians, in turn, declared that the Spaniards were constantly inciting the Indians to attack the English settlements. It is entirely probable that both charges were quite within the bounds of truth.”—G. M. Chapin, *Florida, historical, v. 1, pp. 27, 34.*

1628.—Claimed by France, and placed, with New France, under the control of the Company of the Hundred Associates. See CANADA: 1616-1628.

1629.—Claimed in part by England and embraced in the Carolina grant to Sir Robert Heath. See AMERICA: 1620.

1702.—Adjustment of western boundary with the French of Louisiana. See LOUISIANA: 1698-1712.

1740.—Unsuccessful attack on St. Augustine by the English of Georgia and Carolina. See GEORGIA: 1738-1743.

1763 (February).—Ceded to Great Britain by Spain in the Treaty of Paris. See SEVEN YEARS' WAR: Treaties which ended the war; LOUISIANA: 1762-1766.

1763 (July).—Possession by the English.—“When, in July [1763], possession was taken of Florida, its inhabitants, of every age and sex, men, women, children, and servants, numbered but 3,000; and, of these, the men were nearly all in the pay of the Catholic king. The possession of it had cost him nearly \$230,000 annually; and now it was accepted by England as a compensation for Havana. Most of the people, receiving from the Spanish treasury indemnity for their losses, had migrated to Cuba, taking with them the bones of their saints and the ashes of their distinguished dead. The western province of Florida extended to the Mississippi on the line of latitude of 31°. On the 20th of October, the French surrendered the post of Mobile, with its brick fort, which was fast crumbling to ruins. A month later, the slight stockade at Tombigbee, in the west of the Chocta country, was delivered up. In a congress of the Catawbas, Cherokees, Creeks, Chicasas, and Choctas, held on the 10th of November, at Augusta, the governors of Virginia and the colonies south of it were present, and the peace with the Indians of the South and South-west was ratified.”—G. Bancroft, *History of the United States (author's last revision), v. 3, p. 64.*

1763 (October).—English provinces, east and west, constituted by the king's proclamation. See NORTHWEST TERRITORY OF UNITED STATES.

1767-1774.—First colonization of great importance.—Dr. Andrew Turnbull, leader.—Location of colony.—Revolt of laborers.—Failure of the project.—“Among the early colonization propositions, the first of large importance of which record has been kept, was that backed by English capitalists, under the leadership of Dr. Andrew Turnbull, a Scotchman of some wealth. At an expense of one hundred and sixty thousand dollars, he and his associates recruited from Smyrna, the islands of the Mediterranean, Italy, and the Island of Minorca, fifteen hundred people and settled them on a tract of several thousand acres near Mosquito Inlet, on the eastern side of the state. To the settlement they gave the name New Smyrna, and this attaches to the locality today. The colonists were under indentures by which in consideration of the sums paid for their passage and support, they were to labor for their employers without wages for a specified number of years, after which they were to receive allotments of land in proportion to the size of their respective families. The location was well chosen, among natural conditions closely resembling those from which the settlers had come. Much labor was expended in building roads, opening canals for drainage and transportation, and for other improvements which remain and are in use today. Special attention was given to the cultivation of indigo and sugar cane, but various other crops were raised successfully. The colony was prosperous, but within a few years complaints were made of the injustice and hardships inflicted by the managers, who appear to have reduced the tenants to a pitiable condition. A revolt of the laborers brought more severe restrictions and the execution of the leaders. These complaints were brought to the ears of the attorney general and the governor of St. Augustine. Proceedings were begun in the English courts there to cancel the indentures and the colonists were released from their contract obligations. The original colony had been reduced by death and suffering to about six hundred persons, men, women, and children, and the

survivors were brought to St. Augustine where they were given allotments for homes in that section of the city north of the fort, where their descendants remain to the present time. These immigrants were known as Minorcans and the name still belongs to the remnant of the race. The Turnbull colony was established in Florida in 1767 and it was dissolved nine years later. It appears financially to have been a total loss, for it was abandoned before it could have become largely profitable. The cause of its failure can only be conjectured, but the uncertain and conflicting reports of history appear to relieve Dr. Turnbull of much of the direct blame, for it is handed down that the cruelties which resulted in the disbandment of the colony were inflicted by his overseers without his knowledge and during his absences from the place. Governor Grant resigned his position in 1771 and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor Moultrie, and he by Patrick Tonnyn in 1774.—G. M. Chapin, *Florida, historical*, v. 1, pp. 44-45.

1779-1781.—Reconquest of West Florida by the Spanish commander at New Orleans.—“In the summer of 1779 Spain had declared war against Great Britain. Galvez [the Spanish commander at New Orleans] discovered that the British were planning the surprise of New Orleans, and, under cover of preparations for defense, made haste to take the offensive. Four days before the time he had appointed to move, a hurricane destroyed a large number of houses in the town, and spread ruin to crops and dwellings up and down the ‘coast,’ and sunk his gun flotilla. . . . Repairing his disasters as best he could, and hastening his ostensibly defensive preparations, he marched, on the 22d of August, 1779, against the British forts on the Mississippi. His . . . little army of 1,434 men was without tents, other military furniture, or a single engineer. The gun fleet followed in the river abreast of their line of march along its shores, carrying one 24-, five 18-, and four 4-pounders. With this force, in the space of about three weeks, Fort Bute on bayou Manchac, Baton Rouge and Fort Panmure, 8 vessels, 556 regulars, and a number of sailors, militiamen, and free blacks, fell into the hands of the Spaniards. The next year, 1780, re-enforced from Havana, Galvez again left New Orleans by way of the Balize with 2,000 men, regulars, militia, and free blacks, and on the 15th of March took Fort Charlotte on Mobile river. Galvez next conceived the much larger project of taking Pensacola. Failing to secure re-enforcements from Havana by writing for them, he sailed to that place in October, to make his application in person, intending to move with them directly on the enemy. After many delays and disappointments he succeeded, and early in March, 1781, appeared before Pensacola with a ship of the line, two frigates, and transports containing 1,400 soldiers well furnished with artillery and ammunition. Here he was joined by such troops as could be spared from Mobile, and by Don Estevan Miró from New Orleans, at the head of the Louisiana forces, and on the afternoon of the 16th of March, though practically unsupported by the naval fleet, until dishonor was staring its jealous commanders in the face, moved under hot fire, through a passage of great peril, and took up a besieging position. . . . It is only necessary to state that, on the 9th of May, 1781, Pensacola, with a garrison of 800 men, and the whole of West Florida, were surrendered to Galvez. Louisiana had heretofore been included under one domination with Cuba, but now one of the several rewards bestowed upon her governor was the captain-generalship of Louisiana and West Florida.”—G. E. Waring, Jr., and G. W.

Cable, *History and present condition of New Orleans (United States tenth census, v. 19)*.—See also SPAIN: 1779-1783.

ALSO IN: C. Gayarré, *History of Louisiana: Spanish domination*, ch. 3.—W. H. Siebert, *Loyalists in West Florida and the Natchez district*.

1783-1787.—Question of boundaries between Spain and the United States, and the question of the navigation of the Mississippi.—“By the treaty of 1783 between Great Britain on the one part and the United States and her allies, France and Spain, on the other, Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the colonies, and recognized as a part of their southern boundary a line drawn due east from a point in the Mississippi River, in latitude 31° north, to the middle of the Appalachicola; and at the same time she ceded to Spain by a separate agreement the two Floridas, but without defining their northern boundaries. This omission gave rise to a dispute between Spain and the United States as to their respective limits. On the part of Spain it was contended that by the act of Great Britain, of 1764, the northern boundary of West Florida had been fixed at the line running due east from the mouth of the Yazoo to the Chattahoochee, and that all south of that line had been ceded to her; whilst on the other hand, the United States as strenuously maintained that the act fixing and enlarging the limits of West Florida was superseded by the recent treaty, which extended their southern boundary to the 31st degree of north latitude, a hundred and ten miles further south than the one claimed by Spain. Spain, however, had possession of the disputed territory by right of conquest, and evidently had no intention of giving it up. She strengthened her garrisons at Baton Rouge and Natchez, and built a fort at Vicksburg, and subsequently one at New Madrid, on the Missouri side of the Mississippi, just below the mouth of the Ohio; and of the latter she made a port of entry where vessels from the Ohio were obliged to land and declare their cargoes. She even denied the right of the United States to the region between the Mississippi and the Alleghany Mountains, which had been ceded to them by Great Britain, on the ground that the conquests made by Governor Galvez, of West Florida, and by Don Eugenio Pierre, of Fort St. Joseph, ‘near the sources of the Illinois,’ had vested the title to all this country in her; and she insisted that what she did not own was possessed by the Indians, and could not therefore belong to the United States. Even as late as 1795, she claimed to have bought from the Chickasaws the bluffs which bear their name, and which are situated on the east bank of the Mississippi some distance north of the most northerly boundary ever assigned by Great Britain to West Florida. Here, then, was cause for ‘a very pretty quarrel,’ and to add to the ill feeling which grew out of it, Spain denied the right of the people of the United States to the ‘free navigation of the Mississippi,’—a right which had been conceded to them by Great Britain with all the formalities with which she had received it from France. . . . What was needed to make the right of any value to the people of the Ohio valley was the additional right to take their produce into a Spanish port, New Orleans, and either sell it then and there, or else store it, subject to certain conditions, until such time as it suited them to transfer it to sea-going vessels. This right Spain would not concede; and as the people of the Ohio valley were determined to have it, cost what it might, it brought on a series of intrigues between the Spanish governors of Louisiana and certain influential citizens west of the Alleghanies which threatened

the stability of the American Union almost before it was formed."—L. Carr, *Missouri*, ch. 4.

ALSO IN: E. Schuyler, *American diplomacy*, ch. 6.

1798-1810.—Causes leading to the intervention of the United States in West Florida.—Capture of the Baton Rouge fort, and seizure of the Spanish governor.—Independence of West Florida declared.—Confusion and anarchy.—The intervention by the United States in West Florida was due to two distinct causes—a spirit of territorial acquisition, expressing itself in popular clamor, fruitless diplomacy, and a series of frontier disturbances; and domestic revolt within the territory itself. The increase of American population in the southwest, particularly in the Natchez and Tombigbee districts of Mississippi Territory before and immediately after 1798, created a popular demand for an uninterrupted outlet to the Gulf of Mexico. This was only partially appeased by the uncertain privilege of deposit at New Orleans or the later purchase of Louisiana. . . . To those citizens of the United States who lived just above the thirty-first parallel the exactions levied by the Spaniards on their commerce at Mobile and the temptation afforded by the presence at Baton Rouge of a Bourbon regiment lacking all prestige, were continual incentives to border forays or to personal controversies and animosities that almost exhausted the patience of both governments and led both to appeal and to the sinister arbitration of Napoleon. For nearly two decades our State Department attempted to deal with the problems presented by the spirit of expansion and ensuing frontier disturbances, either by directly purchasing the whole of the Floridas from Spain or by securing the strategic portion through untenable claims strengthened by subservency to France or England. When diplomatic bargain or chicane failed to gain the coveted region, the inhabitants of West Florida took advantage of Spain's necessity to revolt and thus force the American authorities to intervene, for the double purpose of preserving order in their own contiguous territories and of realizing their territorial ambition. It was this intervention that brought the revolted region into the Union and ultimately led to the acquisition of the rest of the Floridas. Jefferson had perceived the possibility of such a result while yet a member of Washington's Cabinet. Hearing that Governor Quesada of East Florida was inviting foreigners to settle in his territory, he thus expressed himself to his superior: "I wish a hundred thousand of our inhabitants would accept the invitation. It may be the means of delivering to us peaceably what may otherwise cost a war. In the meantime we may complain of this seduction of our inhabitants just enough to make them believe we think it very wise policy for them and confirm them in it." Meanwhile Jefferson and his successors, largely influenced by his direct suggestion and advice, skilfully utilized every diplomatic opportunity from the Nootka Sound episode to the overthrow of the Bourbon rulers of Spain to secure the Floridas. . . . The cession of Louisiana by France to the United States placed a new importance upon Spain's retention of the Floridas. [See also U. S. A.: 1803.] . . . If the Louisiana Purchase emphasized the importance of the Floridas to Spain, it also brought into prominence the fact that most of the inhabitants of the Floridas expected and desired annexation to the United States. When, to their disappointment, the American commissioners accepted Louisiana without demanding West Florida, the inhabitants of the Bayou Sara region, who were mostly of Anglo-American origin,

began a series of border outrages in which the Kempers gained an unpleasant notoriety. At the same time renewed Spanish exactions at Mobile aroused the resentment of the settlers of the Tombigbee region, largely peopled by recent American immigrants from Georgia, the Carolinas, and Tennessee. . . . For many years Governor Claiborne's letters emphasize the unsatisfactory conditions existing on the West Florida border, and his active knowledge of the situation enabled him, at the critical juncture, to advise the American government as to its proper course. . . . In 1807 General James Wilkinson brought to the attention of the administration a 'letter from a Gentleman in New Orleans' (probably Claiborne) of which he gave the following significant extracts:

"Since your departure from this place, discontent begins to assume a very formidable aspect amongst the people of West Florida. They are ripe for violent measures. Two of their head men are now in this place, who tell me "that if the United States will not protect them they will solicit the assistance of England." The taking of Baton Rouge and Pensacola they speak of as matters of trifling achievement. They have about 400 men who will follow their standard to any length they please.' Jefferson's pulse was then experiencing an unexpected flutter on account of the unwarranted attack upon the Chesapeake; and from this fact the menace of British intervention in West Florida, so strongly emphasized in Claiborne's letter, acquired an additional significance. . . . The concluding period of Jefferson's administration and the first few months of the next were marked by a policy of chafing delay and indecision in regard to Florida affairs."—I. J. Cox, *American intervention in West Florida* (*American Historical Review*, v. 17, no. 2, Jan., 1912, pp. 200-205).—In April, 1810, the adventurer, Samuel Fulton, now a Spanish subject residing at Baton Rouge, tendered his services to Madison, in case Spain succumbed to Bonaparte and Congress and the President desired to take possession of the contiguous territory. . . . More effective than this offer, which may be regarded as typical of the attitude of many leading citizens in West Florida, were the reports of Governor Holmes of Mississippi, supplemented by the personal representations of Governor W. C. C. Claiborne. . . . On June 14, 1810, Claiborne was empowered to write to William Wykoff, jr., a member of the Executive Council of Orleans Territory, advising him that in view of the prospect of South American independence West Florida might likewise seize the opportunity to become free. . . . On the 20th of June, 1810, Governor Holmes of Mississippi wrote to Robert Smith, secretary of state, that anarchy ruled throughout the neighboring province, where the regular authorities had ceased altogether to exercise their functions and voluntary police associations were absolutely ineffective. With regard to its future status the mixed population was divided into different national factions, of which the most important, the American, desired ultimate annexation to the United States. . . . On the 1st of July the people of the Feliciana District, the most populous of West Florida, held a meeting for the purpose of proposing a general committee to exercise the powers of government in the province, with the co-operation of the existing Spanish officials. . . . While the majority desired annexation to the United States, they hesitated to ask openly for assistance, lest they should be overwhelmed by forces from Havana before the United States could act upon their application. . . . To add to the confusion of the members of the Florida convention, there were rumors that a filibuster-

ing force was being organized in the Mississippi Territory to assist them in winning their freedom. This, with premature newspaper reports of their independence, prevented cordial relations with Governor De Lassus. . . . The harmony between De Lassus and the convention leaders was broken on Saturday, September 22, when the latter, fearing treachery on the part of the Spanish governor, instructed their military representative, Philemon Thomas, to capture the fort at Baton Rouge. Thomas accomplished this early on the morning of the twenty-third, at the same time seizing the governor, and three days later the convention formally declared the independence of West Florida. On Monday, September 24, Holmes learned of the determination of the Florida convention to attack Baton Rouge, and this report was supplemented on the following day by a letter from Pinkneyville telling of its capture. This letter was accompanied by a petition asking for a mobilization of both regular troops and territorial militia to protect the border from possible disturbance arising from anticipated disorder in West Florida. . . . The Mississippi executive immediately requested Colonel Cushing to prepare two companies of regulars for patrolling the frontier at Pinkneyville, in order to guard against fugitive slaves from below the line and possible filibustering parties above. Later he changed this detail to one company for patrol duty and one company to be held in readiness at Fort Adams, and emphasized the danger from possible insurrection amongst the slaves. During the next few days he also issued orders to mobilize the whole territorial militia, and by so doing indicated a desire not only to protect his own jurisdiction but suggested the possibility of moral support to the Florida 'Conventionalists.' . . . In the course of the next eight days Madison received another communication from Holmes, dated October 3. This enclosed a copy of the West Florida Declaration of Independence, passed on September 26, a personal address of the West Florida convention to Holmes, and an explanatory letter addressed by its president, John Rhea, to the Secretary of State. It is interesting to note that in the folio edition of the *American State Papers* these documents are published as enclosures in Governor Holmes's despatch of October 17. Madison certainly had them before him when he issued his proclamation of October 27 and directed his Secretary of State how to instruct Claiborne to take possession of West Florida. . . . A month later, on the distant West Florida border Claiborne and Holmes were jointly planning how to carry out the President's instruction in the most effectual manner, and with the least possible disturbance. . . . On the evening of December 9, Holmes and his company were suffered to enter the town without opposition, and Skipwith in an interview reported that he personally had abandoned any thought of resisting the American agents, but he stated that he could not answer for the troops within the fort. On the following morning Holmes had an interview with their commander, John Ballinger, and assured him that for the present those who were deserters would not be molested, and ultimately he believed the President would pardon them. Ballinger then stated that he had concluded to surrender the fort to the United States troops. By this time Claiborne with the regulars under Covington had already effected a landing some two miles above the town. Shortly thereafter Holmes reported to him the pleasing information that 'the armed citizens called here the convention troops are ready to retire from the fort and acknowledge the authority of the United States,' without insisting upon any terms.—I. J.

Cox, *American Historical Review*, v. 17, no. 2, Jan., 1912, pp. 297-305, 309.

1811-1813.—Secret statutes of the United States relative to Florida.—Possession taken by the Americans from the Mississippi to the Perdido.—In January, Congress passed an act in secret session authorizing the president to take possession of East as well as of West Florida. "In 1811, at the third session of the Eleventh Congress, two statutes and a joint resolution in regard to Florida were passed at secret sessions of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, and these enactments were approved by President James Madison. On January 3, 1811, President Madison sent a 'confidential' message to Congress transmitting certain papers therein mentioned and containing the following:

"Taking into view the tenor of these several communications, the posture of things with which they are connected, the intimate relation of the country adjoining the United States, eastward of the river Perdido, to their security and tranquillity, and the peculiar interest they otherwise have in its destiny, I recommend to the consideration of Congress, the seasonableness of a declaration that the United States could not see, without serious inquietude, any part of a neighboring territory, in which they have, in different respects, so deep and so just a concern, pass from the hands of Spain into those of any other foreign Power. I recommend to their consideration, also, the expediency of authorizing the Executive to take temporary possession of any part or parts of the said territory, in pursuance of arrangements which may be desired by the Spanish authorities; and for making provision for the government of the same, during such possession. The wisdom of Congress will, at the same time, determine how far it may be expedient to provide for the event of a subversion of the Spanish authorities within the territory in question, and an apprehended occupancy thereof by any other foreign Power.' Without quoting at length from the accounts of the subsequent proceedings in Congress, it may be said that not only were the debates and votes secret in both Houses of Congress, but also that the necessary messages exchanged between the two Houses and the notifications from President Madison of his approval of the resolution and statutes were received as confidential and behind closed doors, and that the House of Representatives by a vote of 51 to 40 refused to remove 'the injunction of secrecy.' These two statutes and resolution are found in volume 3, *United States Statutes at Large*, pages 471, 472. . . . The texts of the statutes and resolution are as follows:

"Taking into view the peculiar situation of Spain, and of her American provinces; and considering the influence which the destiny of the territory adjoining the southern border of the United States may have upon their security, tranquillity, and commerce; Therefore,

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the United States, under the peculiar circumstances of the existing crisis, cannot, without serious inquietude, see any part of the said territory pass into the hands of any foreign power; and that a due regard to their own safety compels them to provide, under certain contingencies, for the temporary occupation of the said territory; they, at the same time, declare that the said territory shall, in their hands, remain subject to future negotiation.

"Approved, January 15, 1811."

"An act to enable the President of the United States, under certain contingencies, to take possession of the country lying east of the river Perdido, and south of the state of Georgia and the Mississippi territory, and for other purposes.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to take possession of, and occupy, all or any part of the territory lying east of the river Perdido, and south of the state of Georgia and the Mississippi territory, in case an arrangement has been, or shall be made with the local authority of the said territory, for delivering up the possession of the same, or any part thereof, by any foreign government; and he may, for the purpose of taking possession, and occupying the territory aforesaid, and in order to maintain therein the authority of the United States, employ any part of the army and navy of the United States which he may deem necessary.

"Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That one hundred thousand dollars be appropriated for defraying such expenses as the President may deem necessary for obtaining possession as aforesaid, and the security of the said territory, to be applied under the direction of the President, out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

"Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That in case possession of the territory aforesaid shall be obtained by the United States, as aforesaid, that until other provision be made by Congress, the President be, and he is hereby authorized to establish, within the territory aforesaid, a temporary government, and the military, civil, and judicial powers thereof shall be vested in such person and persons, and be exercised in such manner as he may direct, for the protection and maintenance of the inhabitants of the said territory in the full enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion.

"Approved, January 15, 1811."

"An act concerning an act to enable the President of the United States, under certain contingencies, to take possession of the country lying east of the river Perdido, and south of the state of Georgia and the Mississippi territory, and for other purposes, and the declaration accompanying the same.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That this act, and the act passed during the present session of Congress, entitled "An act to enable the President of the United States, under certain contingencies, to take possession of the country lying east of the river Perdido, and south of the state of Georgia and the Mississippi territory, and for other purposes," and the declaration accompanying the same, be not printed or published, until the end of the next session of Congress, unless directed by the President of the United States, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Approved March 3, 1811."

"From the foregoing it appears that these enactments were not published or promulgated in due course; they are found in volume 3 of the Statutes at Large immediately after the various acts of April 20, 1818, one of which (Chapter 80) was entitled 'An Act to provide for the publication of the laws of the United States, and for other purposes.'—D. H. Miller, *Secret statutes of the United States, a memorandum*, pp. 4-6.—By an act of Congress passed in April, 1812, "that part of

Florida recently taken possession of, as far east as Pearl River, was annexed to the new state [of Louisiana]. The remaining territory, as far as the Perdido, though Mobile still remained in the hands of the Spaniards, was annexed, by another act, to the Mississippi Territory." A year later, in April, 1813, General Wilkinson was instructed to take possession of Mobile, and to occupy all the territory claimed, to the Perdido, which he accordingly did, without bloodshed.—R. Hildreth, *History of the United States, 2d series*, v. 3, ch. 23, 24, 26.—See also LOUISIANA: 1813-1815.

1812-1819.—War of 1812.—British fleet in Pensacola harbor.—Fugitive negroes and the first Seminole War.—Jackson's campaign.—"The War of 1812, between the United States and England, involved Florida once more. A British fleet entered the harbor of Pensacola and with the consent of the Spanish governor landed troops. The British flag was raised over the forts and the Indians of that region were incited to carry on hostilities against the settlers in Georgia. They were armed with British guns and ammunition and were promised liberal bounties for their attacks. General Andrew Jackson was sent by the United States Government in 1814, to put an end to these depredations upon Americans. With a body of regulars he marched against Pensacola and stormed the town. He drove the British forces from Forts St. Michel and Barancas, and occupied the city. He then marched with his forces to New Orleans."—G. M. Chapin, *Florida, historical*, v. 1, p. 48.—"The tranquillity of Monroe's administration was soon seriously threatened by the renewal of trouble with the Southern Indians [the Seminoles, and the refugee Creeks]. . . . The origin of the difficulty was twofold: first, the injustice which has always marked the treatment of Indian tribes whose lands were coveted by the white; and secondly, the revival of the old grievance, that Florida was a refuge for the fugitive slaves of Georgia and South Carolina. . . . The Seminoles had never withheld a welcome to the Georgia negro who preferred their wild freedom to the lash of an overseer on a cotton or rice plantation. The Georgians could never forget that the grandchildren of their grandfathers' fugitive slaves were roaming about the Everglades of Florida. . . . So long as there were Seminoles in Florida, and so long as Florida belonged to Spain, just so long would the negroes of Georgia find an asylum in Florida with the Seminoles. . . . A war with the Indians of Florida, therefore, was always literally and emphatically a slave-hunt. A reclamation for fugitives was always repulsed by the Seminoles and the Spaniards, and, as they could be redeemed in no other way, Georgia was always urging the Federal Government to war."—W. C. Bryant and S. H. Gay, *Popular history of the United States*, v. 4, ch. 10.—During the War of 1812-1814, the English, who were permitted by Spain to make use of Florida with considerable freedom, and who received no little assistance from the refugee negroes and Creek Indians, "had built a fort on the Appalachian River, about 15 miles from its mouth, and had collected there an immense amount of arms and ammunition. . . . When the war ended, the English left the arms and ammunition in the fort. The negroes seized the fort, and it became known as the 'Negro Fort.' The authorities of the United States sent General Gaines to the Florida frontier with troops, to establish peace on the border. The Negro Fort was a source of anxiety both to the military authorities and to the slave-owners of Georgia," and a pretext was soon found—whether valid or not seems uncertain—for

attacking it. "A hot shot penetrated one of the magazines, and the whole fort was blown to pieces, July 27, 1816. There were 300 negro men, women and children, and 20 Choctaws in the fort; 270 were killed. Only three came out unhurt, and these were killed by the allied Indians. . . . During 1817 there were frequent collisions on the frontiers between Whites and Indians. . . . On the 20th of November, General Gaines sent a force of 250 men to Fowlstown, the headquarters of the chief of the 'Redsticks,' or hostile Creeks. They approached the town in the early morning, and were fired on. An engagement followed. The town was taken and burned. . . . The Indians of that section, after this, began general hostilities, attacked the boats which were ascending the Appalachicola, and massacred the persons in them. . . . In December, on receipt of intelligence of the battle at Fowlstown and the attack on the boats, Jackson was ordered to take command in Georgia. He wrote to President Monroe: 'Let it be signified to me through any channel (say Mr. J. Rhea) that the possession of the Floridas would be desirable to the United States, and in sixty days it will be accomplished.' Much was afterwards made to depend on this letter. Monroe was ill when it reached Washington, and he did not see or read it until a year afterwards, when some reference was made to it. Jackson construed the orders which he received from Calhoun with reference to this letter. . . . He certainly supposed, however, that he had the secret concurrence of the administration in conquering Florida. . . . He advanced through Georgia with great haste and was on the Florida frontier in March, 1818. He . . . immediately advanced to St. Mark's, which place he captured."—W. G. Sumner, *Andrew Jackson as a public man*, ch. 3.—"On his way down the Appalachicola he found the Indians and negroes at work in the fields, and unconscious of any impending attack. Some of them fled to St. Mark's. His theory, in which he supposed that he was supported by the administration, was that he was to pursue the Indians until he caught them, wherever they might go; that he was to respect Spanish rights as far as he could consistently with that purpose; and that the excuse for his proceedings was that Spain could not police her own territory, or restrain the Indians. Jackson's proceedings were based on two positive but arbitrary assumptions: (1) That the Indians got aid and encouragement from St. Mark's and Pensacola. (This the Spaniards always denied, but perhaps a third assumption of Jackson might be mentioned: that the word of a Spanish official was of no value.) (2) That Great Britain kept paid emissaries employed in Florida to stir up trouble for the United States. This latter assumption was a matter of profound belief generally in the United States." Acting upon it with no hesitation, Jackson caused a Scotch trader named Arbuthnot, whom he found at St. Mark's, and an English lieutenant of marines, Ambrister by name, who was taken prisoner among the Seminoles, to be condemned by court martial and executed, although no substantial evidence of their being in any way answerable for Indian hostilities was adduced. "Learning that the Spanish authorities at Pensacola were furnishing the Indians with arms, General Jackson marched against that place for the second time. It was quickly capitulated, the governor and many of his troops having fled to Fort Barancas. General Jackson established a provisional government over West Florida, with Colonel King as civil and military governor. This government was continued fourteen months, when Pensacola was restored to Spanish authority in

September, 1819."—G. M. Chapin, *Florida, historical*, v. 1, pp. 48-49.

ALSO IN: J. R. Giddings, *Exiles of Florida*.—J. Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*.

1819-1821.—Cession by Spain to the United States.—"Jackson's vigorous proceedings in Florida would seem not to have been without effect. Pending the discussion in Congress on his conduct, the Spanish minister, under new instructions from home, signed a treaty for the cession of Florida, in extinction of the various American claims, for the satisfaction of which the United States agreed to pay to the claimants \$5,000,000. The Louisiana boundary, as fixed by this treaty, was a compromise between the respective offers heretofore made, though leaning a good deal to the American side: the Sabine to the 32d degree of north latitude; thence a north meridian line to the Red River; the course of that river to the 100th degree of longitude east [? west] from Greenwich; thence north by that meridian to the Arkansas; up that river to its head, and to the 42d degree of north latitude; and along that degree to the Pacific."—R. Hildreth, *History of the United States*, 2d series, v. 3, ch. 31-32.—"On the fifth of October Forsyth's [the American minister to Spain] efforts were rewarded by the Spanish cortes which, after annulling the three land grants, advised the king to ratify the treaty, which he did October 24, 1819. At the same time the cortes declared that they 'had observed with great mortification and pain that besides the alienation of valuable provinces of the Spanish monarchy . . . the Spanish negotiator of the treaty had left altogether unprovided for and had renounced all the just claims of Spanish subjects upon the United States for which indemnity had been stipulated by the convention of 1802.' [It was not until February, 1821, that the ratification of the Spanish Government was received.] The treaty was ratified [in 1819 by the United States] despite the opposition of Clay who had declared that Florida must come to us sooner or later; 'that ripened fruit will not more surely fall. Florida is enclosed between Georgia and Alabama and cannot escape. Texas may.' Only four votes were cast against it: Brown of Louisiana, a brother-in-law of Clay; Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky from mere political subserviency to Clay; Williams of Tennessee from a violent hatred of General Jackson; and Trimble of Ohio from 'some maggot of the brain.'

"Mr. Benton was bitter in his regrets that the western boundary had not been extended much further westward into Texas. Besides cutting off Texas, the treaty, he declared, dismembered the Mississippi, mutilated two of its noblest rivers, and brought a non-slave-holding foreign dominion to the neighborhood of New Orleans. He declared that 'the Spanish government had offered us more than we had accepted' and that our policy and not hers had deprived us of Texas and the vast territory between the Red River and Upper Arkansas. Political considerations had entered into the question, for the repugnance in the northeast was not merely to territorial aggrandizement in the southwest but to the subsequent extension of slavery in that quarter. To prevent the slavery extension question from becoming a test in the presidential election was, he declared, the true reason for thus giving away Texas. But the treaty met with popular approval and Mr. Benton was forced to admit that he stood 'solitary and alone' in the matter, not a paper in the United States supporting his opposition. Jefferson remained inflexibly opposed to its ratification. East Florida was delivered by Governor Coppinger to Lieutenant Robert Butler of the

United States army, July 10, 1821, and on that day the Spanish flag was finally lowered from the walls of St. Augustine, where it had so long and so proudly waved. The stars and stripes announced the second acquisition to the young nation of the New World. Before the end of the cession during which the Florida treaty was ratified, Congress did not have time to legislate for the new territory. An act was passed, however, extending to it the revenue law and the laws against slave trade which had already existed in the United States. In April, General Jackson was appointed governor of Florida, possessing all the powers of the captain generals of Cuba and the Spanish governors of Florida, except those of granting lands and laying taxes. An American governor under Spanish law, of American territory not under the constitution—an anomalous position pregnant with possibilities for complications of serious import. With what was attributed to the traditional Spanish policy, the actual cession of Florida was not accomplished until July 17. In the meantime Jackson fumed, and his fury and his hatred for Spain and things and people Spanish increased in geometric proportion."—H. B. Fuller, *Purchase of Florida*, pp. 321-323.

ALSO IN: J. T. Morse, *John Quincy Adams*, pp. 109-125.—*Treaties and conventions between the United States and other countries* (ed. of 1889), pp. 1016-1022.

1819-1829.—Judicial decisions growing out of acquisition of West Florida.—“In the two years’ struggle over the ratification of the treaty West Florida was not specifically involved. Late in 1819, by the act for the admission of Alabama, the remaining portion to the Perdido became an integral part of the American Union. For a time it seemed that Great Britain might attempt to seize Cuba as a counterpoise to the rest of the Floridas and thus separate the twin objects of Jefferson’s diplomacy. The American government avoided this danger by refraining from seizing the peninsula by force. Finally Spain, deserted by the other powers and torn by revolution, resumed for a time a constitutional form of government. In October, 1820, the short-lived Cortes consented to ratify the treaty, and on the twenty-second of the following February, the American Senate again accepted it with only four dissenting votes. The long drawn dispute was diplomatically settled. This settlement, however, in no wise determined the rightfulness of the American contention. Late in the following decade a case involving a land grant in Feliciana gave Chief-Justice Marshall a chance to express his opinion upon this point, had he chosen to avail himself of it. Something of the animosity displayed toward Jefferson in *Marbury v. Madison* or at the Burr trial might have led him to undo the argument upon which the third president and his advisers had based their specious claims. But a decision of this sort would have run counter to the national policy of a quarter century. In the region involved it would favor the land speculator at the expense of the actual settler. Marshall, therefore, rendered a decision in keeping with national interpretation, but he threw upon the earlier Republican administrations the responsibility for a condition that left the court no other alternative. According to Marshall’s *dictum* in *Foster v. Neilson*, France made no declaration on the limits of Louisiana until after she had sold it to the United States. Vital political considerations then prevented the latter from accepting her declaration. We have already noted at length what these ‘vital considerations’ were. In a controversy over boundaries, the chief-justice continued, the courts of

each country must be guided by the measures of their own government. The judiciary cannot decide international questions; its function is to decide individual rights. If the course of the United States was a plain one, the court would hesitate to pronounce it erroneous. Whatever the opinion of the individual judge may be, it is his duty to conform his decision to the will of the legislature clearly expressed. A treaty in the United States is equivalent to an act of legislation, and is thus part of the law of the land. The Louisiana court had dismissed the case on the ground that Spain had no right to grant land in West Florida, on January 2, 1804. Marshall ruled that in so doing the court had committed no error. In the case of *Newcombe v. Skipwith* the superior court of the Territory of Orleans under Judge Martin had already decided that West Florida formed part of the Louisiana Purchase. Evidently the courts, both local and national, were unwilling to override the action of executive and Congress. That body was less careful to remain consistent. In the Nineteenth Congress the House of Representatives favored a claim of De Lassus for the money that the convention seized, but the Senate refused to concur. In 1849 the government finally paid the heirs of a certain De la Francia for the arms that he had furnished Kemper, but only because Jackson had later used them in the defense of New Orleans. With these partial exceptions the government consistently maintained its attitude upon this mooted question. More than thirty years after the above incident, certain citizens of Louisiana resident in the Florida parishes, now by subdivision numbering eight, attempted a more extensive raid on the federal treasury. Under the plea that these parishes constituted the heirs of the defunct State of West Florida, they claimed the domain which their reputed ancestor, in 1810, conquered from the king of Spain. The American occupation of that year was due, they said, to the invitation extended by that State, and not to the reasons urged in the president’s proclamation. The American government had virtually abandoned its contention that West Florida was part of Louisiana in 1805, at the close of Monroe’s mission. Strategic reasons urged it to take the country before Great Britain should do so and cut off New Orleans. Unless the American government wished to follow precedents established in India rather than in America, it could justify the occupation only by the invitation of its inhabitants.”—I. J. Cox, *West Florida controversy*, pp. 655-650.—On the whole subject of the United States as the natural heir to Spain on the North American continent, and the discussions of our right and duty to absorb the Spanish provinces as fast as possible, there is an interesting letter from William Wirt to John Coalter, which gives an echo of contemporary arguments and prophecies.

“To Mr. John Coalter of
Richmond, Va.

“Washington, Oct. 25, 1810.

“Upon my word this is a bright as well as a bold thought—and were it not for the very near approach of Congress, to whom the question of peace or war properly belongs, I believe it would be quite as well to right ourselves, by the short cut you propose. I believe that Virgil’s coal turned loose, at the close of a long winter, into a rich meadow, would not enjoy the luxuriant frolic more than Jackson would, to be turned loose into the Spanish Provinces, Cuba included. What antics, what tantarums, what didos would be cut—stand clear all ye Arbuthnots and Ambristers, and all ye Seminolean and Spanish chiefs—for the devil is to

play among the tailors. Suppose you drop this hint to congress, either through the members whom you know, or through the papers. I think it would be well worth their while to enquire whether the temporary occupation of the Texas, as far as the Colorado, would not be expedient, considering the inability of Spain to hold it, even against intruders, for the purpose of meeting the final decree of the court—and then when we have it (and Florida, for the same reason, viz. its protection for the right owner) we may, after the example of Spain, go on to negociate at our ease. But I am against the example of the French republic—no fraternal hugs by force—it does not suit the genius of our government. Justice, forbearance, generosity, moderation and magnanimity are the characteristics with which we ought to seek to clothe our nation—all these, however, are perfectly compatible with the cool and firm assertion of our rights—and although Spain, from her imbecility, would be an object of pity, if her ludicrous arrogance did not make her one of contempt, yet I think we have humored her childish and wayward caprices long enough—and I would take her playthings from her, 'till she came to her sober senses and to a sense of justice toward us. The truth of the matter is that all these provinces must fall off from Spain, in a very few years, whether we take them or not. The parent trunk is rotten, and can no longer sustain such extensive and ponderous branches. 'The date of knock[?] is out' and 'off must drop the sympathetic snout' not that the analogy is precise in this case—for it is not by sympathetic decay that the provinces will fall—but by the weight of their luxuriance and by the disposition of Spain to repress and circumscribe their growth and to trim them into a senile subjection to her whims. I believe that every man who observes what is going on, is satisfied that all that tissue of provinces down to the isthmus will be independent in a few years. Now tell me what will be the consequence of their separate independence, each for itself or their forming themselves into one or several confederations. Would it be better for us, for our peace, that they should hold this separate existence, or that they should be incorporated with us. If in the infant state the stronger powers of Europe shd. make a run at them, supposing them to continue separate, what should be our course? Should we aid them? If we should what would be the consequences Russia being, as she certainly would, among the ambitious invaders, for she has indicated already a strong hankering after our coast on the Pacific—only observe with what great events this movement of the Spanish colonies is pregnant—pray how far can you see into the womb of time? I think (as at present advised) that it wd. have a good effect on the powers of Europe, to make these provinces a part of ourselves as fast as it can be constitutionally done—for I don't think that either of them (the powers of Europe) would be very forward, to seek a quarrel with us, wantonly. I think that less than half a century will find the U. S. at the Stony Mountains and powerful enough to cope, in a defensive war, with the combined world. How hard is it upon us, that we cannot live to see these things—but we can look from Mount Pisgah, with Moses, upon this promised land."—W. Wirt, *Letter of William Wirt (American Historical Review, v. 25, no. 4)*.

ALSO IN: J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs, v. 5, pp. 288ff.* (ed. by C. F. Adams).

1835-1843.—Second Seminole War.—Dade's massacre.—"The conflict with the Seminoles was one of the legacies left by Jackson to Van Buren;

it lasted as long as the Revolutionary War, cost thirty millions of dollars, and baffled the efforts of several generals and numerous troops, who had previously shown themselves equal to any in the world. . . . As is usually the case in Indian wars there had been wrong done by each side; but in this instance we were the more to blame, although the Indians themselves were far from being merely harmless and suffering innocents. The Seminoles were being deprived of their lands in pursuance of the general policy of removing all the Indians west of the Mississippi. They had agreed to go, under pressure, and influenced, probably, by fraudulent representations; but they declined to fulfill their agreement. If they had been treated wisely and firmly they might probably have been allowed to remain without serious injury to the surrounding whites. But no such treatment was attempted, and as a result we were plunged in one of the most harassing Indian wars we ever waged. In their gloomy, tangled swamps, and among the unknown and untrodden recesses of the everglades, the Indians found a secure asylum; and they issued from their haunts to burn and ravage almost all the settled parts of Florida, fairly depopulating five counties. . . . The great Seminole leader, Osceola, was captured only by deliberate treachery and breach of faith on our part, and the Indians were worn out rather than conquered. This was partly owing to their remarkable capacities as bush-fighters, but infinitely more to the nature of their territory. Our troops generally fought with great bravery; but there is very little else in the struggle, either as regards its origin or the manner in which it was carried on, to which an American can look back with any satisfaction."—T. Roosevelt, *Life of Thomas H. Benton, ch. 10*.—"At the beginning of [the] . . . troubles with the native tribes, the number of Indians in Florida was estimated at two thousand, including warriors, women, and children besides the negroes who had escaped from the plantations and had made their abode with the natives. That this was a serious underestimate became apparent later and led to entirely inadequate preparations for the subjugation. Almost countless raids were made by the unruly red men; women and children were ruthlessly slaughtered, plantations laid waste, crops destroyed and buildings burned, until the industrial development of the state, from the Everglades to the northern and western boundaries was stopped. In many encounters the regular troops, unfamiliar with savage methods of warfare, were defeated. By ambush the Indians massacred detached commands and committed horrible indignities upon the bodies of their dead foes. The most notable of these treacherous slaughters was Dade's Massacre, which occurred near the present town of Bushnell in Sumter county, December 28, 1835. It aroused a feeling of horror in every part of the country and forced upon the Federal Government a realization of the serious task it had in dealing with the Florida Indians. It was brought about when Major Francis L. Dade, Fourth Infantry, U. S. A., was ordered with his command from his station at Key West to reinforce the post at Fort King. Marching from Tampa, where he had come by boat, he had one company of infantry and two companies of artillery, the force under his command numbering eight officers and one hundred privates. Crossing the Hillsborough and Withlacoochee rivers, the little force proceeded in open formation through several miles of prairie country, the road being bordered by low growing palmetto scrub. Behind these lurked one hundred and eighty Indians under Chief Mican-

opy. At a signal from the red warriors poured forth a volley of rifle fire, each selecting his particular victim. Half of Major Dade's command fell at the first round of fire and the slaughter was continued by the merciless savages until the last soldier had fallen, wounded or dead. So sudden had been the onslaught that effective resistance was impossible. The horrible work of the Indians was completed by a band of renegade negroes, who came upon the scene and beat to death every soldier who showed signs of life. From this bloody field one private escaped to Tampa and told the story. General Duncan L. Clinch was in command of the United States troops in Florida until 1836, when General Winfield Scott assumed command in person. During this period the depredations of the Indians were frequent and bold all over the state, but especially in the section west and southwest from the present location of Jacksonville, and in western Florida along the banks of the Apalachicola river. General Scott's campaign was practically fruitless and upon General R. K. Call of Florida, devolved the command of the regular and volunteer forces in the field. In November of the same year, 1836, General Thomas Jesup relieved him in command. He had eight thousand troops at his disposal. He organized a campaign and pushed operations against the Indians southward toward the Everglades, then the stronghold of the native tribes. He accomplished more by his aggressive and relentless methods than had been done by any or all of the preceding commanders."

—G. M. Chapin, *Florida, historical*, v. 1, pp. 53-54.
ALSO IN: G. M. Brown, *Ponce de Leon land and the Florida war record*.—J. R. Giddings, *Exiles of Florida*, ch. 7-21.—J. T. Sprague, *Florida war*.

1838-1845.—Effort to secure admission to the Union.—Land grant.—First governor.—First legislature.—“A movement to secure the admission of Florida to the Union as a state was begun in 1838, and a constitutional convention was assembled late in that year. The continuance of the Indian wars at that time, however, postponed further action until 1845. The policy of the Federal Congress had been to maintain the equilibrium of political power in the United States Senate by admitting new states, northern and southern, together, and accordingly Florida and Iowa were admitted by concurrent acts of Congress on March 3, 1845. [See also U. S. A.: 1845: Preserving the equilibrium, etc.; Iowa: 1830-1844.] A supplemental act of the same date gave to Florida a grant of eight entire sections of land whereon to establish a seat of government; also the sixteenth section in every township, or its equivalent, for the support of public schools, and two townships for establishing two seminaries of learning, one to be located east and the other west of the Suwanee river; also five hundred thousand acres for internal improvements, besides five per cent of the net proceeds from the sale of public lands, the same to be applied for the purposes of education. William D. Mosely was the first governor of Florida, chosen under the new constitution. Tallahassee, which had been the territorial capital, was continued as the seat of the state government, and the first Legislature was convened there in June, 1845.”—G. M. Chapin, *Florida, historical*, v. 1, p. 56.

1861 (January).—Secession from the union.—“The Florida Legislature in regular session, in November, 1860, provided for a convention of the people of the state, which met at Tallahassee in January of the following year, and on the

tenth day of that month, an ordinance of secession was adopted by a vote of sixty-two to seven. It declared the State of Florida to be a sovereign and independent nation, and it rescinded all ordinances that recognized the union with the United States. Florida's representatives in both branches of Congress withdrew from that body. Federal judges and other United States officials in the state resigned, excepting those at Key West.”—G. M. Chapin, *Florida, historical*, v. 1, p. 59.—See also U. S. A.: 1861 (January-February).

1862 (February-April).—Temporary union conquests and occupation.—Discouragement of Unionists. See U. S. A.: 1862 (February-April: Georgia-Florida).

1864.—Unsuccessful federal attempt to occupy the state.—Battle of Olustee. See U. S. A.: 1864 (January-February: Florida).

1865-1868.—Reconstruction under President Johnson's plan.—Legislature's refusal to ratify the Fourteenth amendment to the federal government.—Final admission.—“The Confederate forces in Florida made formal surrender to General McCook May 20, 1865. President Johnson appointed Judge William Marvin the provisional governor of the state in July, and in August he issued a call for an election of delegates to a constitutional convention, to be held in October. An amnesty oath was required as a qualification to vote at this election, and this oath was taken by seven thousand and forty-two persons in the entire state. Fifty-six delegates were chosen: the convention repealed the Ordinance of Secession and adopted a new constitution. This instrument provided for the election in November of a Governor, cabinet officers, a legislature, county officers and Congressional representatives. The entire vote cast at the election was less than four thousand. Davis S. Walker was elected Governor and took his office on December 20th. The functions of the state government were resumed during the following year, and citizens returned to their ordinary occupations. The Legislature met in December, 1866, and refused to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, on the ground that it virtually disfranchised the most intelligent classes in the south. The Reconstruction Law of 1867, passed over the President's veto, placed the southern states under the supreme military control of the United States. It practically disfranchised all who had served with the Confederate armies or who had given aid to the enemies of the United States.”—G. M. Chapin, *Florida, historical*, v. 1, pp. 64-65.—In June, 1868, after a constitution had been finally drafted on the Congressional Act of 1867, Florida was readmitted into the Union.—See also U. S. A.: 1865 (May-July), and after to 1868-1870: Reconstruction complete.

1872-1874.—Ossian B. Hart as governor.—“Ossian B. Hart was elected Governor in 1872 and the increasing population of the state by this time entitled it to two representatives in Congress. Governor Hart died in 1874 and was succeeded by Lieut.-Gov. Marcus L. Stearns.”—G. M. Chapin, *Florida, historical*, v. 1, p. 66.

1876-1884.—Electoral contest in Hayes-Tilden election.—Election of governors, 1876 and 1880.—Railroad construction.—“The election of 1870 in Florida being the logical product of Reconstruction politics was very ugly. It was, in fact, the bitter developed fruit of eight gnarled and twisted years. Every important incident and issue and condition in the campaign and the aftermath was foreshadowed in the experiences of these eight years. It would have been very

strange if politics in Florida in 1876 had been clean and straight. . . . Florida's electorate was well trained by sad experience for this disgraceful finale of Reconstruction and Radical rule. . . . As the fateful November 7th drew near, wilder and uglier rumors spread abroad. The contest was a real one. In some localities it was a rough one. Republican campaign managers sought to make it seem a desperate one for the physical safety of Radicals in Florida. 'The coming election is the crisis of free government in Florida,' declared the Republican state campaign committee, on October 23rd, in an address sent broadcast over the state. . . . Popular excitement increased as the days passed. Radical leaders helped it on for a purpose. Negroes were restless and mass meetings were frequent. 'In view of the excited condition of the public mind,' announced Governor Stearns on October 31st, 'and the in some degree well founded apprehension of coming trouble growing out of the bitter political canvass now in progress in this State . . . I earnestly call upon all citizens to temper zeal with discretion and to deprecate fraud, violence, and disorder.' The distribution of Federal troops over the state was desired by Radicals, and the troops were readily obtained. Several weeks before election day the war department began to distribute squads of regulars over the state. The presence of a few United States soldiers went a long way toward protecting black Radicals from possible onslaughts by exasperated and excited whites. On the 8th of October a battery of the Fifth United States Artillery was ordered to move from Tampa to Gainesville (in the midst of the Black Belt)—'to arrive between the 1st and 7th (of November), to go into encampment, and to remain until the 14th.' Squads of ten soldiers each were ordered from St. Augustine to Lake City and Quincy, and twenty soldiers were sent to Madison. A battery of the Fifth Artillery was sent from Barrancas to Marianna and another battery to Pensacola. . . . The presence of soldiers was useful in restraining Democrats who were, as a rule, seeking to carry the elections at almost any cost. They were not over-scrupulous about means. They sought results primarily. The key-note of their campaign method was not persuasion. That had failed. The key-note was threatened violence and economic coercion. That was positive, and that had already partially succeeded. The Democrats stood for a white man's government. They promised honest and inexpensive reform. 'Such reform was needed, God knows,' said one man. It is true that Florida had been undergoing reform since 1867, but the result had not been satisfactory to the whites. The State was very poor, taxes were very high, and society was in a bitter turmoil. The election methods of Conservative reformers in 1876, when judged apart from environment and in the light of exalted ethics, were rather bad. Democrats did not forge election returns, because being out of office that privilege accrued to Republicans; but they bulldozed opponents at the end of a halter or the point of a gun into voting with them or not voting at all. They did not manufacture spurious poll lists because that too was a Republican privilege, but they distributed spurious ballots to illiterate blacks and some did not hesitate to vote twice or three times on election day."—W. W. Davis, *Civil War and reconstruction in Florida*, pp. 687, 701-703.—See also U. S. A.: 1876-1877.—"George F. Drew was elected Governor [1876] by a democratic vote. He was chosen at the same general election which was so close through the United States that Flor-

ida's four electoral votes were necessary to decide between Samuel J. Tilden and Rutherford B. Hayes for the presidency, which was awarded to the republican candidate by the Electoral Commission. Governor Drew's election was welcomed by the people of Florida as a return to home rule. The state's finances which had fallen to a low ebb, revived and its bonds rose in the markets from the quotation of sixty-five cents on the dollar to par; taxes were reduced and a new era of prosperity was begun, wherein the industrial and agricultural growth of the state started in earnest. . . . William D. Bloxham was elected Governor in 1880 and his administration was marked by the inception of many railroad and other industrial enterprises. A number of charters was granted by the Legislature for railroad construction, accompanied by grants of lands. By the close of the year 1884, one thousand and forty-five miles of rail lines had been built in the state. The sections through which they were run were settled rapidly and the orange industry began to be important."—G. M. Chapin, *Florida, historical*, v. 1, pp. 66-67.

1884-1892.—Governors of this period.—"Edward A. Perry was elected Governor in 1884 and, according to custom, assumed his office at the beginning of the following year. Francis P. Fleming was elected his successor in 1888, the vote of the state at this election being 66,641. Henry L. Mitchell was his successor in 1892, and William D. Bloxham was called for the second time to the executive chair in 1896."—G. M. Chapin, *Florida, historical*, v. 1, p. 70.

1885-1887.—Constitutional convention.—Office of lieutenant-governor abolished.—Legislative sessions made biennial.—"A constitutional convention was called in 1885, and the instrument then adopted became effective January 1, 1887. This constitution showed an increasing socialistic tendency among the people, in that it provided, with subsequent amendments, for the election of practically all state, county, and judicial officers by popular vote, the judges of the Circuit Courts being still excepted, and these are appointed by the Governor. It was, in the opinion of a considerable number of the legal authorities of the state, not so effective an instrument as the constitution of 1868, which had been adopted under the stress of Federal military power, and which placed in the hands of the Governor the appointment of a large majority of all officers in the executive and judicial branches of the state administration. In connection with the state primary election law, it practically gives to the qualified electors of the state the naming of all their officers, state and national, with the exceptions named. The large majorities in Florida being democratic, all the administrations since 1876 have been directed by that political party. By the constitution of 1885, the office of lieutenant-governor was abolished, the duties of that position devolving upon the president of the State Senate. The regular sessions of the State Legislature were made biennial, beginning in April of the odd numbered years and the sessions were limited to sixty days."—G. M. Chapin, *Florida, historical*, v. 1, p. 69.

1885-1915.—Development of the East Coast transportation facilities.—"In 1885 the East Coast of Florida was little better than a wilderness. . . . There were no transportation facilities, and to many people it seemed certain that in the entire region there never would be railroads of consequence. . . . But in 1885 Henry M. Flagler . . . deliberately set himself the task of develop-

ing the resources of the entire East Coast. . . . He built a hotel in St. Augustine. . . . While the hotel was building he bought the little narrow-gauge railroad that ran from Jacksonville to . . . St. Augustine. . . . In 1896 trains were running to Miami. . . . [He] learned of the fertile lands to the south of Miami, and pushed the road twenty-eight miles to Homestead. . . . Then came the climax of the Flagler dream: Key West. . . . This was the gateway to Havana; this was the nearest point in the United States to the Panama Canal; this was the key to the trade of South America. . . . [Flagler] dared to undertake the problem. . . . 'Flagler's Folly' was the name popularly given to the projected route over the one hundred and twenty-eight miles from Homestead to Key West."—J. T. Paris, *Florida's sea board magnificent* (Travel, Jan., 1922, pp. 30-31). About \$15,000,000 was expended on this enterprise; and in the early part of 1915 through train service from New York to Havana was established.—See also RAILROADS: 1912-1915.

1888-1905.—Yellow fever.—Creation of state board of health.—Dr. Joseph Y. Porter's control of the yellow fever pestilence.—"No story of health conditions in Florida, indeed, no history of the state itself, would be complete without a recognition of the work that has been accomplished by the State Board of Health. Jacksonville was visited in 1888 by the scourge of yellow fever. One person in every four of the entire population was a victim of the disease. Two of the remaining three fled the city to escape the plague. One person of every ten who had the infection died from it. The first official act of Gov. Francis P. Fleming, who came to the executive chair of Florida in January, 1889, was to call a special session of the Legislature to provide for the creation and maintenance of a state board or commission to have charge of health affairs. That board was duly organized and as its executive head, the health officer of Florida, Dr. Joseph Y. Porter was elected. . . . For one hundred and forty years before the discovery, in 1900, by Dr. Walter Reed that the infection of yellow fever is mosquito-borne, Cuba and its capital city had stood as a constant peril to Florida and to the United States. For fifty years the average of deaths in Havana alone from the loathsome disease, had been two each day. [See MEDICAL SCIENCE: Modern; 19th century; Discovery of the secret of malaria.] Florida extends five hundred miles nearer to that city than any other part of the United States. It has constant and intimate relations with it, and it was due to this circumstance that Florida had become the natural entryway for the disease into this country, certainly an important one. Five years after Doctor Reed's discovery, the Florida State Board of Health had the opportunity to try out the management of yellow fever according to the new declarations of science and to give the final test to the theories that had led to the world's emancipation from the disease. When the time came, Doctor Porter and his board demonstrated for the first time on American soil that the pestilence could be controlled and stamped out by the careful and scientific isolation of infected cases. The spread of the disease was prevented in three threatened epidemics at later periods, and instead of continuing as a menace to the rest of the nation, Florida was made a bulwark of protection against the infection from the West Indies and the South and Central American countries."—G. M. Chapin, *Florida, historical*, v. 1, pp. 135-136.

1889.—Discovery of rich deposits of phosphates.—"In 1881 Mr. J. F. LeBarron, C. E. found phosphate pebble in Pease Creek, but it attracted no attention at the time, and it was not until 1889 that, in sinking a well at Dunellon, in Marion County, rock which proved to be phosphate of a high grade was found, and the value of the deposits appreciated. Discoveries soon began to be made in other localities, and the whole country was being searched for phosphate deposits. Companies were formed, lands purchased and machinery obtained to put the phosphate deposits in a condition to be shipped to the manufacturers of fertilizer. The phosphate belt extends for about two hundred miles along the western portion of the peninsula, through the counties of Jefferson, Madison, Taylor, Marion, Citrus, Hernando, Sumter, and Pasco, and in the beds of several rivers."—G. R. Fairbanks, *Florida, its history and romance*, pp. 232-233.

1894-1901.—"Great Freeze."—Amount of damage.—Jacksonville fire.—"The 'Great Freeze' came on the night of December 29, 1894. The temperature went to fourteen degrees above zero at Jacksonville and lower in some of the northern sections of the peninsula. Two million boxes of ungathered oranges on the trees were frozen solid. Young trees were killed and the older and hardier trees were seriously damaged. Not quite five weeks later, on the night of February 7, another destructive cold came, killing practically all the citrus trees that had survived the previous disaster in the northern and middle portions of the state. The losses from these two storms, directly and indirectly, amounted to no less than fifty millions of dollars. The result was an entire revolution in the orange growing industry, the groves being renewed further south in the state. The industry has reached proportions as great as those which were destroyed, and it is increasing in importance and value each year. The fire which swept Jacksonville, May 3, 1901, was one of the great conflagrations of history. The financial loss was above fifteen million dollars, but Jacksonville's recovery from that disaster has far surpassed all losses and has excited the admiration of the world."—G. M. Chapin, *Florida, historical*, v. 1, p. 73.

1898.—Part played in Spanish-American War.—"The proximity of Florida to Cuba caused much interest and substantial sympathy to be shown to the insurgents in Cuba, who in 1895 began the determined effort to free the island from Spanish rule. Large numbers of Cubans had come into Florida, and formed a considerable portion of the population of Key West and Tampa, and had settled in considerable numbers in other portions of the State. As the contest went on and the insurgents gained strength, expeditions were secretly formed from time to time in Florida ports, and cargoes of arms and ammunition were successfully landed on the coast of Cuba. The efforts of the government officials to prevent these infractions of the laws of neutrality were generally ineffectual. Small and swift steamers darted out at night from unexpected and unguarded localities, and were soon beyond the range of detection. One of these, called the *Three Friends*, achieved considerable fame. The sympathies of the people of the State, as well as of other parts of the country, sided with the insurgents. The harsh methods adopted by the Spanish governors as the war went on, still more effected a strong anti-Spanish public sentiment, and the relations between the two countries became strained. Senators and representatives who had visited

Cuba made vivid statements before Congress of the harrowing scenes they had witnessed there, and when the popular mind was greatly excited on behalf of the suffering Cubans, the treacherous destruction of the battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor by a submarine mine added fuel to the flame and easily led on to hostilities. Florida naturally became the gathering point for the troops called out by the President, and Tampa and its vicinity were occupied by large bodies of regulars and volunteers. The Santiago expedition sailed from Tampa, while Key West became the rendezvous of the naval forces. Later on extensive camps were established at Jacksonville, Miami, and Fernandina. Fort Clinch, at Fernandina, was garrisoned and mines planted in the harbor. The First Florida Volunteers went early in the service, under Colonel Lovell. Major-Gen. Fitzhugh Lee was encamped with the Seventh Corps, awaiting orders to proceed to Cuba or Puerto Rico, when the destruction of Cervera's fleet and the surrender of Santiago expedited the negotiations for peace which resulted in the signing of the protocol and suspension of hostilities on the 13th day of August, 1898.—G. R. Fairbanks, *Florida, its history and romance*, pp. 236-237.—See also U. S. A.: 1898 (March-April, to July-December).

1909-1910.—Attempts to amend the constitution.—In 1909 the legislature passed a bill providing for the submission at the general election, November, 1910, of an amendment to the constitution providing for state-wide prohibition, which failed of ratification by the electors. The Beard Disenfranchisement Resolution, designed to eliminate the negro vote, was also defeated.

1912.—Opening of the Key West extension to Florida of the East Coast Railway. See RAILROADS: 1912-1915.

1913.—Florida child labor campaign.—“The meeting of the National Child Labor Committee in Jacksonville [in] March [1913] has borne fruit in the passage of a child labor law in Florida by the Legislature which adjourned June 6 [of that year]. . . . The bill was drafted on the basis of the Uniform Child Labor Law, with some modifications to suit Florida conditions. . . . The only open opposition came from the Jacksonville *Times-Union*, a paper unusually timid concerning anything that might affect corporation interests, and from the Western Union Telegraph Company. . . . So vigorous was this opposition that it seemed to the writer too great to be overcome without risk of the whole bill, and a substitute measure was prepared on the basis of a bill which passed the Florida house four years [before]. This substitute fixes a ten-year age limit for boys and a sixteen-year age limit for girls in the newsboy service, with a twelve-year age limit for work in stores and the street trades generally, these two sections applying only to cities of 6,000 population or more. The third section prohibits the employment of children in factories, workshops, theaters, etc., under fourteen years of age anywhere in the state. Sixteen years is made the limit for dangerous occupations and processes, eighteen years for the night messenger service and twenty-one years for employment in places where intoxicating liquors are sold. Night work is prohibited and the hours for children under sixteen years of age are nine a day, fifty-four a week. The general provisions of the Uniform Child Labor Law slightly modified prescribe the procedure for securing certificates of employment under the direction of the school authorities. The beginning of legislation in the state for industrial

safety and health is made by provisions for safety appliances, sanitation, and seats for girls in establishments employing children under sixteen years of age. The bill provides for a state labor inspector, man or woman, whose sole duty is the enforcement of the child labor act.”—A. J. McKelway, *Florida child labor campaign* (Survey, July 12, 1913).

1913.—Lands for Japanese.—Primary election law.—After the alien law passed by California, citizens and business men of Florida offered tracts of land in Clay and Duval counties near Jacksonville to Japanese settlers. So much opposition arose that a special session of the legislature was urged. Finally the offer of land was withdrawn. The same year a general primary election law was passed.

1916.—Grandfather clause to constitution defeated.—A proposed “grandfather clause” to the constitution was defeated by a vote of 19,688 to 10,518.

1916-1917.—Migration of negroes. See RACE PROBLEMS: 1905-1921.

1917.—Law relative to convict labor on highway work.—Seminole Indians assigned to a reservation.—“Under a law enacted in 1917, the State Road Department of Florida was authorized to use convict labor upon the roads within its jurisdiction.”—W. F. Cocke, *Increasing use of convicts on highway work in Florida* (American City, July, 1919).—In 1917 arrangements were concluded between the federal government and the state of Florida whereby the Seminole Indians acquired a reservation. The reservation includes 100,000 acres of land near Ten Thousand Islands. The federal government is to act in capacity of helper in encouraging the Indians to cultivate the soil and raise stock.

1918.—Ratification of the eighteenth amendment.—Part played in the World War.—The eighteenth amendment was ratified by Florida on December 14, 1918. By the close of the war Florida had furnished the federal government with 33,331 soldiers, or .89 per cent. of the whole force.

1920 (November).—Elections.—In November Cary M. Hardee was elected governor.

1921.—Drainage of swamps around Lake Okeechobee. See CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES: United States: 1890-1921.

ALSO IN: D. G. Brinton, *Notes on the Floridian peninsula*.—W. W. Davis, *Civil war and reconstruction in Florida*.—J. A. Dimock, *Florida enchantments*.—G. R. Fairbanks, *History of Florida*.—H. B. Fuller, *Purchase of Florida*.—J. C. Gifford, *Everglades and other essays*.—W. Packard, *Florida trails*.—H. G. Rhodes and M. W. Dumont, *Guide to Florida*.—W. F. Yocum, *Civil government of Florida*.

FLORIDA-BLANCA, José Moñino y Redondo, Count of (1728-1808), Spanish statesman. Framed the decree expelling the Jesuits from Spain, 1767; minister of foreign affairs, 1777-1792; made president of the Central Junta of the government, 1808. See SPAIN: 1759-1788; PERU: 1550-1816.

FLORIN.—“The Republic of Florence, in the year 1252, coined its golden florin, of 24 carats fine, and of the weight of one drachm. It placed the value under the guarantee of publicity, and of commercial good faith; and that coin remained unaltered, as the standard for all other values, as long as the republic itself endured.”—J. C. L. de Sismondi, *History of the Italian republics*, ch. 4.—In England, the two-shilling piece is called a florin.—See also MONEY AND BANKING: Medieval: Coinage and banking.

FLORINA, town in European Turkey, about 15 miles southeast of Monastir. See **WORLD WAR**: 1916: V. Balkan theater: b, 2, ii.

FLORUS (fl. 2nd century), Roman historian. The name on manuscript varies, at times appearing as Julius Florus, Lucius Anneus Florus or Anæus Florus. See **HISTORY**: 17.

FLOYD, John Buchanan (1807-1863), United States secretary of war, 1857-1860. Served in the Confederate army as brigadier-general and later as commander at Fort Donelson, but was relieved of his command for misconduct in leaving the fort before its surrender to General Grant. See **U.S.A.**: 1860 (December): Major Anderson at Fort Sumter.

FLOYD, William (1734-1821), American patriot. Member of Continental Congress, 1775-1777, 1778-1783; state senator, 1777-1778; member of first Congress under the Federal constitution, 1789-1791. See **U.S.A.**: 1776 (July): Text of Declaration of Independence.

FLUSHING, seaport in the Netherlands situated on the southern coast of the island of Walcheren, at the mouth of the West Schelde. It was ceded to France in 1807 and taken and abandoned by the British in 1809. See **ENGLAND**: 1809 (July-December).

FLYING BOAT. See **AVIATION**: Development of airplanes, etc.: 1910-1920.

FOCH, Ferdinand (1851-), French marshal. Entered the army, 1870; on general staff, 1887-1901; professor of military history and strategy at the Ecole de Guerre (Staff College), 1808-1905; commandant of the college, 1905-1911; general of division, 1911; commander of frontier corps at Nancy, 1913; commanded the 9th Army at the first battle of the Marne, where, under General Joffre, he rendered distinguished service in checking the German invasion; made generalissimo of Allied forces, April 14, 1918. His decisive strategy of "continuous hammer-blows" forced the German surrender. He was created Marshal of France in 1918 and elected to the French Academy in 1920. His famous "Principes de guerre" and "La Direction de la guerre" are regarded as military classics. —See also **WORLD WAR**: 1914: I. Western front: p, 1; p, 7; 1915: II. Western front: a, 6; c, 4; 1918: II. Western front: a, 1; b; c, 25; e, 4; g, 1; g, 7; g 12; m; XI. End of the war; a, 6; a, 8; **BELGIUM**: 1920 (June-July).

FOCSANI. See **FOCSHANI**.

FOCSHANI, or **Focsani**, Rumanian city about one hundred miles northeast of Bucharest on the fortified Sereth Line. In 1780 the Turks were defeated near here by the Austrians and Russians. (See **TURKEY**: 1776-1702.) In 1916 the German general, Mackensen, captured the city.

FODHLA. See **IRELAND**: Geographical description.

FŒDERATI.—The bodies of barbarians taken into the military service of the Roman empire, during the period of its decline, serving under their hereditary chiefs, were designated by the name of *fœderati* (confederates or allies).—T. Hodgkin, *Dynasty of Theodosius*, ch. 4.

FOGAZZARO, Antonio (1842-1911), Italian poet and novelist. See **ITALIAN LITERATURE**: 1830-1912; 1860-1914.

FOGS: In London. See **LONDON**: Fog problem.

FOIX: Rise of the Counts of. See **BURGUNDY**: 1032.

13th century.—Union with Toulouse and Aragon against Languedoc. See **ARAGON**.

House in Navarre. See **NAVARRÉ**: 1442-1521.

FOLCLAND, or **Folkland**.—Public land, among the early English. "It comprised the whole area that was not at the original allotment assigned

to individuals or communities, and that was not subsequently divided into estates of bookland [bookland]. The folkland was the standing treasury of the country; no alienation of any part of it could be made without the consent of the national council; but it might be allowed to individuals to hold portions of it subject to rents and other services to the state."—W. Stubbs, *Constitutional history of England*, ch. 5, sect. 36.—The theory here stated is questioned by Prof. Vinogradoff, who says: "I venture to suggest that folkland need not mean the land owned by the people. Bookland is land that is held by bookright; folkland is land that is held by folkright. The folkland is what our scholars have called ethel, and alod, and familyland, and yrfecland; it is land held under the old restrictive common-law, the law which keeps land in families, as contrasted with land which is held under a book, under a 'privilegium,' modelled on Roman precedents, expressed in Latin words, armed with ecclesiastical sanctions, and making for free alienation and individualism."—P. Vinogradoff, *Folkland (English Historical Review, Jan., 1893)*. —See also **ALOD**.

ALSO IN: J. M. Kemble, *Saxons in England*, bk. 1, ch. 11.

FOLK, Joseph Wingate (1869-), American lawyer and public official. Governor of Missouri, 1905-1909; solicitor for department of state, 1913-1914; chief counsel for interstate commerce commission, 1914.

FOLK MUSIC: See **MUSIC**: Folk music and nationalism; also **Medieval**: 12th century.

FOLK SCHOOLS, Finland. See **EDUCATION**: Modern developments: 20th century: General education: Finland.

FOLKLAND. See **FOLCLAND**.

FOLKLORE, "literally, 'the learning of the people'—was coined in 1846 by the late Mr. W. J. Thoms to replace the earlier expression 'popular antiquities.' It has established itself as the generic term under which the traditional Beliefs, Customs, Stories, Songs, and Sayings current among backward peoples, or retained by the uncultured classes of more advanced peoples, are comprehended and included. It comprises early and barbaric beliefs about the world of Nature, animate and inanimate; about human nature and things made by man; about a spirit world and man's relations with it; about witchcraft, spells, charms, amulets, luck, omens, disease, and death. It further includes customs and rites as to marriage and inheritance, childhood and adult life, and as to festivals, warfare, hunting, fishing, cattle-keeping, etc.; also myths, legends, folk-tales, ballads, songs, proverbs, riddles, and nursery rhymes. In short, it covers everything which makes part of the mental equipment of the folk as distinguished from their technical skill. . . . Folklore, in fact, is the expression of the psychology of early man, whether in the fields of philosophy, religion, science, and medicine, in social organization and ceremonial, or in the more strictly intellectual regions of history, poetry, and other literature. . . . The scientific study of folklore consists in bringing modern scientific methods of accurate observation and inductive reasoning to bear upon these varied forms of Tradition, just as they have been brought to bear upon other phenomena. The study of this traditional lore began with the observation that among the less cultured inhabitants of all the countries of modern Europe there exists a vast body of curious beliefs, customs, and stories, orally handed down from generation to generation, and essentially the property of the unlearned and backward portion of the community."—C. S. Burne, *Handbook of*

folklore, pp. 1-2.—While collections of folklore go back to ancient times the scientific study of the subject is of comparatively recent date. Among the first to provoke an interest in folklore and to place it on a scientific basis were Herder and the brothers Grimm in Germany. Since their time the study of folklore has widened in scope and the interest in it has spread to practically every civilized country with the result that numerous folklore societies have been founded and systematic research is being done in it.—See also MYTHOLOGY; SAGAS; SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE: 9th-14th centuries.

FOLKMOTE, or Folkmoot, popular assembly in old English history. See SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: British Empire: 500-1295; SHIRE; WITENAGEMOT; TOWNSHIP AND TOWN-MEETING.

FOLKTHING, lower house of the "Rigsdag" (Diet) of Denmark. See DENMARK: 1920: Dismissal of Zahle ministry.

FOLKUNGAS, Swedish royal family. See SCANDINAVIAN STATES: 1018-1397.

FOMORIANS, or Formorians, people referred to in Irish legends as sea-rovers. See IRELAND: Primitive inhabitants; NEMEDIANS.

FONSECA, Hermes da, president of Brazil, 1910-1914. See BRAZIL, 1909-1910: Death of President Penna.

FONSECA, Manoel Deodoro da (1827-1892), Brazilian statesman. Appointed governor of frontier province, 1887; took an active part in the overthrow of the monarchist government, 1889; became chief of provisional government and later first president of the republic. See BRAZIL: 1889-1891.

FONTAINE FRANÇAISE, Battle of (1595). See FRANCE: 1593-1598.

FONTAINEBLEAU, School of. See PAINTING: French; EDUCATION, ART: French leadership in the 16th century.

FONTAINEBLEAU, Treaties of: 1807. See FRANCE: 1807-1808 (August-November); PORTUGAL: 1807.

1814. See FRANCE: 1814 (March-April).

FONTAINEBLEAU DECREE. See FRANCE: 1806-1810.

FONTAINE-NOTRE DAME, village in France, two miles west of Cambrai. See WORLD WAR: 1917: Western front: g, 6.

FONTARABIA, or Fuenterrabia, Siege and Battle of (1638). See SPAIN: 1637-1640.

FONTENAILLES, or Fontenay, Battle of (841).—In the civil war between the three grandsons of Charlemagne, which resulted in the partition of his empire and the definite separation of Germany and France, the decisive battle was fought, June 25, 841, at Fontenailles, or Fontenay (Fontanetum), near Auxerre.—See also GERMANY: 814-843.

FONTENELLE, Bernard Le Bouvier de (1657-1757), French miscellaneous writer. See FRENCH LITERATURE: 1700-1800.

FONTENOY, Battle of (1745). See BELGIUM: 1745.

FONTOY, village in Germany west of Diedenhofen. See WORLD WAR: 1918: XI. End of the war: c.

FONTS, Baptismal. See BAPTISTERY.

FONZASO, region in northern Italy, twenty-two miles west southwest of Belluno. See WORLD WAR: 1918: IV. Austro-Italian theater: c, 9; c, 12.

FOOD ADMINISTRATION. See FOOD REGULATION.

FOOD ADMINISTRATION GRAIN CORPORATION: In United States. See PRICE CONTROL: 1917-1919: United States.

FOOD AND FUEL CONTROL ACT,

United States. See U. S. A.: 1917 (June): Food and Fuel Control Act; FOOD REGULATION: 1918.

FOOD REGULATION.—Food regulation or control by governments is so new a principle, at least on a large scale, that history contains few examples of it. At any time when the food supply of a country is threatened, some attempt to regulate its production and distribution is made; but these attempts have necessarily been sporadic and short lived. Means of transportation between places, as well as provisions for storage, and political control as applied to economic problems, have been so inadequate in most countries in the past that such an experiment could scarcely succeed. On the other hand in modern times, the facilities of transport, and the ease with which the products of the vast regions of new and fertile lands could be rushed from place to place, precluded all idea of making such an attempt, until the unprecedented conditions of the World War made it necessary on a scale of magnitude hitherto unthought of. The earliest record of food regulation is given in the Book of Genesis, which tells of the storage of grain in the land of Egypt by Joseph against the lean years to come. And Joseph said to Pharaoh, "look out a man discreet and wise, and set him over the land of Egypt . . . and let him appoint officers over the land, and take up the fifth part of the land of Egypt in the seven plenteous years. And let them . . . lay up corn under the hand of Pharaoh, and let them keep food in the cities. And that food shall be for store to the land against the seven years of famine, which shall be in the land of Egypt; that the land perish not through the famine. . . . And Pharaoh said unto Joseph . . . Thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my people be ruled. . . . See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt. . . . And Joseph went out from the presence of Pharaoh, and went throughout all the land of Egypt. . . . And he gathered up all the food . . . and laid up the food in the cities. . . . And the seven years of dearth began to come: . . . and the dearth was in all the lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread. And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph, what he saith unto you, do. . . . And Joseph opened all the storehouses, and sold unto the Egyptians; and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt. And all the countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn; because that the famine was so sore in all lands."—*Genesis*, 41: 33-57.

13th-14th centuries.—Early attempts to regulate prices of wheat and bread in England. See PRICE CONTROL: Ancient and medieval.

1462.—Food regulation in Scotland.—"Constant wars was waged, by the councils as well as by Parliament, against the forestaller who bought up merchandize before it came to the market, the regrater who bought in the goods to resell to his neighbours at a profit, and the disloyal brother who gave his name to transactions in which an unfreeman had the real interest. . . . An Edinburgh statute of 1462 gives a good idea of prevailing views: 'It is statute that the victuals that comes in and the timber at the port of Leith by strangers shall be bought in the tolbooth as manner is of before, for a certain price, and if it beis not bought, that no neighbour take in hand to buy the said victuals or timber to retail again upon the neighbours, and gif any does, the said victual and timber shall be taken by the officers and distribute among the neighbours at the price that is bidden before in the tolbooth; that gif any man of other

boroughs would buy the said victuals to have furth of the town, the neighbours to buy it at that price that they give therefor, to be distribute amongst the neighbours. Item, that no neighbour or other take upon hand to warn any strangers of the price of the victuals in the country, nor that nae neighbours shape them to buy any victuals or to bid any price therefore before their entry, and who so does in the country or breaks this statute shall pay to the kirk work of St. Giles ilk person singularly by himself one chaldor of wheat without remission."—J. M. Thomson, *Public records of Scotland*, pp. 151, 152.

1793-1794.—French law of maximum prices during the Revolution. See PRICE CONTROL: 1793-1798.

1885-1914.—Development of world's food supplies before the World War.—Increase in wheat acreage.—Apparent adequacy of supply.—It was only with the development of the vast machinery of modern international trade—as a result of modern means for swift distribution and large-scale production—that the possibility of any extensive regulation of food became possible. In the years preceding the World War, the food-problem became, for the first time, a world problem; and the necessity for regulation of the whole machinery of production and distribution, in a crisis, became obvious. "For two or three decades before the war the predominant economic fact was the cheapness of the main necessaries of life, and the steadiness of prices in the world's markets year by year, of the chief articles of food. . . . [But—and it is easy to overlook the significance of this fact] the main food crops take a year, or, under favorable conditions, six months, to grow; cattle and sheep take two or three years to mature; the producer, when he decides to risk his capital and labour, must consciously or unconsciously calculate a long way ahead the probable state of the world's markets, which depend largely on the effect of similar calculations made by competing producers in other parts of the globe. And when he has calculated and toiled, Nature intervenes, doubles or halves his expected crops, or decimates his herds and flocks. It may therefore be said that the maintenance of so even a balance between the world's supplies and the world's demands is remarkable. In this connection, it may be noted that as in any single country all the food crops of the year may fail—as they practically did in [England] . . . no longer ago than 1879, and in many previous 'famine' years which English history records—so there is ever the possibility that all the crops in the world may fail in the same year. That event is improbable, but it cannot be said that the risk is negligible. The world's supplies of food, therefore, depend partly on the efforts of man, and partly on the kindness of Nature; their distribution depends entirely on the enterprise of man. The organisation which brought, with unflinching regularity, from diverse and remote corners of the globe, the daily meal of the humblest consumer, was a triumph of human endeavour. The intricacy of the machinery which worked with such smoothness was apparent when the operations of war interfered with it. Apart from direct enemy action, a dislocation of the machine was caused immediately ships had to be withdrawn from the regular trade routes, and the delicacy of the adjustment of the several parts was demonstrated when the heavy hand of the State had to be introduced, in substitution for the lighter and more flexible fingers of those who were previously responsible."—S. Litman, *Prices and price control in Great Britain and United States*, pp. 7, 9-11.—"The wheat area

in a number of countries in 1911 and in 1901, when compared with the census returns of the two dates, gives some indication of the extent to which production kept pace with population during the decade. . . . These figures show that during the first decade of the century wheat-growing was extended by about 46,000,000 acres, while the population of the same countries increased by 93,000,000, and the number of acres of wheat per 1,000 persons increased from 280 to 310. The quantity of wheat represented by an acre varies widely, and is, generally speaking, in inverse ratio to the area under cultivation in each country. Thus in Belgium, with some 400,000 acres, the average yield per acre was about 37 bushels, and in the United Kingdom, with less than 2,000,000 acres, 33 bushels; while in European Russia, with 60,000,000 acres, it was 9½; and in India, with 28,000,000 acres, 11½ bushels. [See also AGRICULTURE: Modern: General survey.] An attempt to make a similar comparison of the position of the world's resources of meat, gave conflicting and less satisfactory results. Within the British Empire the numbers of cattle, sheep and pigs showed no general increase in relation to population, except in South Africa, where cattle and sheep markedly increased. In Europe, Denmark increased her stock of cattle, but in most countries neither the herds nor the flocks had increased with the growth of population, the tendency being in the opposite direction. In most other countries the figures for this period were too untrustworthy to afford any guide. Without relying overmuch on the dubious evidence of international statistics, from which safe inferences can be drawn only when the many traps for the unwary which they contain are fully appreciated, it may be said that up to the outbreak of war there was no cause for anxiety as to the adequacy of the world's supply of food to meet the demand for any period which seriously concerned the present generation. The exploitation of new lands, brought within reach by the development of transport, was rapidly proceeding, and vast areas of immense potentiality were being harnessed to the service of mankind. With all the resources of civilisation man must, in a sense, ever live from hand to mouth, trusting from year to year that the ancient promise will not fail. But apart from this, his subsistence was assured, and the spectre of famine was only to be feared if it were invoked by the deliberate action of his fellow-creatures."—R. H. Rew, *Food supplies in peace and war*, pp. 16, 18-19.

1901-1918.—Australian food regulation laws. See CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 1001-1018.

1914-1915.—General dislocation of international food supply at the outbreak of the World War.—Disorganization of shipping.—Loss of German sugar supplies.—Harvests.—Increase in wheat acreage.—Stimulus to meat production.—"The first blow fell upon shipping. The mercantile marine of Germany representing about 11 per cent. of the world's tonnage, disappeared, and heavy drafts were made on allied shipping for the transport of troops and stores; ships and even fishing fleets were destroyed. Trade routes were denuded; ocean services . . . were interrupted. . . . In the belligerent countries land transport was similarly reduced and crippled. . . . Before long the ever-increasing demands of the fighting forces, and the development of the submarine attack, so reduced the world's tonnage available for commercial use, as practically to stop all international trade, except in food and material for carrying on the war. . . . International trade in foodstuffs was, in the first instance, mainly affected by the loss of the sugar supplies of Germany and Austria, and

in a lesser degree by the interference with supplies of butter and eggs from Russia. A still heavier blow was struck when Turkey entered the war, and the closing of the Dardanelles blockaded the Russian and Balkan grain supplies. On the other hand, the demand on the world's food supplies was reduced by the elimination of Central Europe from the oversea markets, in which Germany had been a heavy buyer. . . . The wheat crop in the United States in 1914 was fortunately good, and although in Canada it was short, the total supply from North America was well above the average. Everything depended, however, on the crops of Argentina and India. In India a notable effort was made to increase the wheat acreage, and no less than 4,000,000 acres were added. In the following spring India produced one of the largest wheat crops she had ever grown, although the actual shipment of the surplus presented special difficulties. In Argentina, although the acreage was not increased, the crop was exceptionally large, but Australia had one of the smallest crops on record, and was, in fact, an importing country for that season. The war lasted for just over four 'cereal' or harvest years, as they are commonly reckoned, and the first—September-August, 1914-15—was the most critical as regards the world's wheat supplies. Only the bumper crops in India and Argentina, which were not available until the spring, saved the situation after the Russian supplies were cut off in February, 1915. Owing to the unusual lateness of the harvest of 1915 in North America, the supplies had to suffice for thirteen months, but even then there was a substantial quantity available for export but not shipped before August, 1915, which counted as a 'carry over' for the following year. Thereafter there was no deficiency of supplies in sight, although, owing to increasing difficulty of finding the necessary tonnage, large quantities could not be brought to market. The fact was, that wheat-growers responded alertly to the demand. India, being the first country after the outbreak of war to have a sowing time, at once, as has been noted, increased her acreage, and both the United States and Canada did the same, although their crops could not be available until the next 'cereal' year. In North America about 12,000,000 acres more wheat were sown at the first seed-time after war was declared. Australia, which was the most unfavourably situated, as regards both time and distance, increased her wheat area in 1915 by 3,000,000 acres, or about 30 per cent. Altogether, therefore, it may be said that during the first year of the war, the area of wheat in the world was extended by over 18,000,000 acres. The exceptional crops of 1915-16 brought a natural reaction, and the breadth of wheat sown somewhat decreased in later years, owing to the menace to the wheat-grower of the accumulated surplus, especially in Australia. Some stimulus was given to meat production, particularly in Brazil and South Africa, but as the export of meat from countries south of the equator is dependent entirely on the number of vessels with refrigerating fittings, as the available supply of such vessels was known to be limited, and its increase practically impossible, the risks of marketing additional numbers of cattle and sheep when they had been bred and reared were obviously deterrent. . . . After America had come into the war, an energetic attempt was made in the United States to supply the deficiency of the Allies in bacon and pig-products, which for a time disturbed the great swine-feeding and packing industry of that country."—*Ibid.*, pp. 31, 33, 35-38.—See also PRICE CONTROL: 1914-1916.

1914-1918.—Legislative enactments in Great

Britain for the control of the food supply.—Control of sugar.—Attempt to regulate meat supply.—Extension of government control to petrol and wheat.—Attempts to increase home production of grains.—Woman's Land Army.—Establishment of Food Production Committee.—Voluntary rationing.—Compulsory rationing.—Restrictions on alcoholic liquors.—Problems of distribution.—"At the end of 1914 a Cabinet committee, with Mr. Asquith as Chairman, had undertaken an enquiry into food prices . . . in Great Britain. On February 11, [1915] which had been set apart for a debate on the subject, Mr. Asquith stated that he anticipated that large wheat supplies would be available in June. . . . When the discussion was resumed on Feb. 17th, Mr. Tootill, on behalf of the Labour Party, moved an amendment urging the Government 'to prevent a continuance of these indefensible increases [in profits] by employing the shipping and railway facilities necessary to put the required supplies on the market, by fixing maximum prices, and by acquiring control of commodities that are or may be subject to artificial rises.' . . . One effect of the agitation . . . was the appointment of two Departmental Committees, one, presided over by Lord Milner, on the production of food in England and Wales, the other, with Mr. T. W. Russel as chairman, to consider the same question for Ireland. The reports were issued on August 31st. Both reported that to increase the area in the United Kingdom under tillage, and so increase the home supply of grain, it would be necessary to guarantee a minimum price to farmers, but this proposal the Government were unable to accept. Board of Trade reports showed a continuous rise in food prices, which were estimated to have advanced 40 per cent. as the result of the first year of war. . . . The great rise in meat prices, attributed in part to the enormous increase in freights, affecting the South American supplies particularly, and in part to the heavy purchases on account of the British and also the French War Office, brought an announcement from Mr. Runciman on May 4th that the Government had requisitioned the entire meat supply from Australia and New Zealand, but would put upon the market any surplus not required for the troops. Following on a Slaughter of Animals Order by the Board of Agriculture, a Maintenance of Live Stock Bill was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Acland to restrict the slaughter of immature animals. It passed a second reading on June 22nd, and, after completing its stages, was passed also through the Lords on July 15th."—T. A. Ingram, *Hazell Annual and Almanack*, 1916, pp. 510-511.—"The imposition of a system of compulsory rationing was under active discussion during this period, and while the appeal for voluntary rationing was being made, a department of the Food Ministry was set up to prepare a scheme of general compulsory rationing for use, if and when required. The German and other systems were carefully examined, and two alternative schemes—one of which was with some modification eventually adopted—were elaborated in detail, and considered by a special Committee, in readiness for the decision of the Government."—R. H. Rew, *Food supplies in peace and war*, p. 82.—"Food supply exercised the attention of Parliament and the Government throughout the year [1916]. On Feb. 23 the House was specially adjourned to hear a statement by Mr. Lloyd George as to the necessity of a drastic reduction in imports in order to meet the increasing calls on tonnage. The Prime Minister pointed out that 70 to 80% of wheat used in Great Britain had hitherto been imported, but now every effort

must be made to increase this year's and next year's harvest, and he outlined plans which would bring 3,000,000 additional acres under the plough in return for a guaranteed minimum price to farmers. . . . At the same time agricultural labourers were to be guaranteed a minimum wage of 25s. a week. The proposals in respect of wheat and agricultural wages were embodied in the Corn Production Bill, of which the second reading was moved by Mr. Prothero, President of the Board of Agriculture, on April 24. The suggested guarantee of price brought opposition from the Free Trade members under the leadership of Mr. Runniman, who maintained that national security would be better safe-guarded by storing sufficient wheat. The second reading was carried without a division, but the discussions in Committee were prolonged. . . . The Bill was applied to Ireland, but under the direct control of the Irish Department. . . . [It passed on August 20 and] received the Royal Assent on Aug. 21.

"Measures to preserve the supplies of flour already in or subsequently to be imported into the country were begun even before the setting-up of the Ministry of Food. A new grade of flour was decreed as from Nov. 27, 1916, and on Jan. 1 a 'standard' loaf made with this flour became compulsory. The use of wheat for brewing purposes was prohibited, and severe restrictions were also placed on the use of other grains in distilleries. On the appointment of Lord Devonport to be Food Controller, . . . an appeal was made for the ploughing-up of pasturage and the encouragement of allotments. Portions of many public parks were ploughed in this way. Simultaneously, the National Service Ministry began to raise a Women's Land Army to undertake farm labour. The War Office released a number of German prisoners for service under guard, and an arrangement was made between the Board of Agriculture and the War Office by which recruiting for the Army from the land was restricted and soldiers in training were temporarily employed in ploughing and seeding. A Food Production Committee, with Col. Sir Arthur Lee, M.P., as Director-General, was set up to carry out an order under the Defence of the Realm Act, authorising the public entry on unoccupied land. The Committee were also charged with the purchase and operation of tractors on a large scale. On Feb. 4 [1917] Lord Devonport issued an appeal for voluntary rationing in the matter of bread, meat and sugar. The Order in regard to the quality and consumption of flour was varied from time to time during the summer. On March 11 an Order required that bread should not be sold if less than twelve hours' old, and abolished fancy loaves by requiring all loaves to be of certain specified shapes and weights. On March 26 Mr. Kennedy Jones, M.P., was given the direction of a vigorous food economy campaign. Complete control of all bread-stuffs was assumed by the Ministry on April 4. On May 3 a Royal Proclamation calling on the people to abstain from unnecessary consumption of grain was ordered to be read in churches on four consecutive Sundays. Next day the State took over control of a first instalment of 261 mills. Lord Devonport resigned office on June 1, and was succeeded by Lord Rhondda on June 15. . . .

"Sugar, the imports and distribution of which had been controlled from early in the war, was the first food commodity it was found necessary to ration otherwise than voluntarily. The issue of application forms for sugar-cards began on Sept. 15, sale was permitted by registered retailers only after Oct. 1, the cards were issued to the public by Oct. 26, and the distribution was to be fully con-

trolled as from Jan. 1, 1918. . . . One meatless day per week was made compulsory on April 17, but this Order was withdrawn, as was another limiting the number of 'courses' to be served in restaurants. Instead, the cost of meals in certain popular restaurants was restricted to 1s. 3d. exclusive of liquor. On Feb. 28 the House of Commons resolved to place itself in line with the rest of the country and observe in its own bars the close restriction on the sale of liquors imposed on the country generally. Hours of sale were already reduced within fine limits throughout the country. . . . The exportation of beer, except under licence, was prohibited in April; but on July 5 the Government announced that the output of beer allowed for home consumption would be increased during the ensuing quarter by one-third. . . . As a complement to this concession the Government agreed in October to permit a corresponding increase in the wines and spirits to be released from bond."—T. A. Ingram, *Hazell Annual and Almanack*, 1918, pp. 883-884.—"Whether the adoption of the ticket system of compulsory rationing was decided upon by the Government at the right time, or in the best form, is another of those debatable questions about which those interested may dispute indefinitely. From the point of view of the conservation of food supplies, it is not certain that it was in all cases the only means, or even the best means, of securing that object, and, indeed, it was not primarily from that point of view that it was eventually put into force. After the resignation of Lord Devonport, and the appointment of the late Lord Rhondda as Food Controller in June, 1917, a considerable period elapsed during which the new Minister was taking stock of the position and deciding on his course of action. During this time the unequal distribution of supplies, which had previously aroused dissatisfaction in some localities, led to serious and general protests, and it may be said that 'queues' were the immediate cause of the introduction of the 'coupon.' The chief recommendation of the ticket system, which outweighed all objections, is that it is the best means by which equality as between individuals can be secured. . . . On the whole, the system, irksome, as it was, worked successfully. The evident reluctance of the Government to adopt it, and the very unsatisfactory situation which had arisen before they did so, helped to secure its acceptance by the nation. The people felt convinced that it was necessary. . . . When all criticism has been made, and all defects noted, it may fairly be said that the compulsory rationing in food in [Great Britain] . . . was accomplished without serious difficulty owing largely to the good sense and public spirit displayed by the people generally. The foods rationed were meat, sugar, butter, margarine and lard, and the fact that the most vital of all—bread—was not rationed, is sufficient evidence that wheat supplies were never in serious danger. When the war ended in November, 1918, the stocks of wheat and flour in the country were practically as large as at any time during the war and, of course, very much larger than in time of peace. Nearly every article of food was subject to maximum prices; the supply and distribution of all the primary articles were either completely taken over or subject to strict official supervision. Supplies were on the whole well maintained up to the requirements of the nation, though meat, bacon and butter were at times scarce. Much the most difficult of the problems of the Food Ministry was the control of distribution. The arrangement had necessarily to be different for each of the main articles, and in the end very complicated administrative machinery was

constructed throughout the country. Schemes for the distribution of various commodities began to be devised early in 1917, when the plans for rationing were laid down in readiness for the decision of the Government. The control of certain imports of butter and cheese had been exercised by the Board of Trade at a still earlier date, and the Sugar Commission had, from the beginning of the war, adopted a comparatively simple and effective method. Broadly, the principle of these early schemes was the tying of retailer to wholesaler and wholesaler to importer, on the basis of the amount of business done by each at a previous period known as the datum period. This plan had the merit of preserving and utilising the normal trade channels of distribution, was simple and inexpensive to work, and avoided the need for the employment of a large staff of officials. One defect of the datum period system was, that it did not allow for changes in population and other alterations, but this was remedied by adopting the plan of basing the distribution on the actual requirements of the retailer for the supply of his registered customers. Much more complicated arrangements were subsequently made in connection with the distribution of potatoes, milk, meat and some other articles. The scheme of meat distribution was the most elaborate as it involved the collection and distribution of home live-stock as well as of imported meat. The system consisted of two main parts: (a) a territorial organisation for the control of live-stock, and (b) an organisation of the meat trade for the regulation of distribution. The initial stages of the process were marked by the registration of auctioneers, cattle-dealers, butchers and slaughter-house keepers, and by fixing maximum prices first for meat, and later, under a grading system, for fat cattle and sheep. The grading system did not work very satisfactorily, and sale by dead weight at Government slaughter-houses was substituted in many districts. The unit was an area consisting of one or more counties, under a Live-Stock Commissioner, and the pivot of the scheme was the Area Meat Agent, working with the Commissioner, who were notified of the requirements of the district and arranged for its supply, either in cattle or dead meat. The retailer was allowed to buy only upon a permit, but in a number of cases a Butchers' Committee was formed for the Food Control Committee's district which bought for the district on a single permit."—R. H. Rew, *Food supplies in peace and war*, pp. 83-85, 80-95.—See also LIQUOR PROBLEM: England: 1914-1918.—"Grain stocks in this country were diminishing in 1915, partly because of purchase for foreign account in the name of the Allied Powers. This was why the British Government first interfered in that year. Even then its action was meant to be exceptional. It ordered a large tonnage to America, where a surplus of grain waited shipment. As an apt consequence, there was a rapid fall in Atlantic freights. Heavy cargoes of grain were brought over. There was immediate relief of the home situation. Prices were brought down. But severe loss was caused to private traders who had laid in stocks. . . . The stocks built up for a time by the first effort of Government action soon declined again, and to a lower level than ever. The position was dangerous. Once more the British Government acted. It restored temporary safety by importing a reserve of wheat. Again this reduced buying by private firms. What was done on one hand for increasing the national store was undone on the other. Merchants were naturally still more unwilling than before to hold stocks and buy ahead. A parallel action of

public and private supply could not exist. The public power, once used in the national interest, must squeeze out private effort. In the autumn of 1916 the decisive choice was made at last. It was two years after the institution of a public monopoly of sugar when there was established something bigger than any vision of corn imagined by Joseph in Egypt—a Government monopoly of the whole British import of wheat. The Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies was created to furnish the country and keep full stocks. Appointed on October 11, 1916, it extended until it became responsible for the purchase outside the United Kingdom not only of all cereals, but of the whole Biblical category—grain, beans, peas, and pulse. . . . We must understand clearly how practical a body this was. . . . Including members of the grain trade, with others to give all the experience and knowledge required for the task in hand, the Wheat Commission met daily. It was in touch from the first with the grain market in all such parts of the world as were accessible under the conditions of war-time. At the outset, for instance, it made large purchases direct from the Australian Government; but soon there was no tonnage available to carry over what had been bought, and nothing further was done in that quarter. . . . It is worth while to note the method—how the export surpluses of the world's wheat were bought up by whole crops and harvests. In the United States the wide buying necessary was done through a single agency called the Wheat Export Company of America. It was linked up with the directing body in Britain by including members of the grain trade who were also members of the . . . Commission. It need hardly be said that firms worked for the Commission as controlled agents, guaranteed by the Treasury a rate of profit fixed in a certain relation to pre-war business."—J. L. Garvin, *Economic foundations of peace*, pp. 44-46.—See also PRICE CONTROL: 1914-1918: World War: Great Britain; 1917-1919.

1914-1918.—German food policy.—During the continuance of the war it was stated that "it was perfectly well known in official circles, . . . [before the end of October, 1914] that the harvest of 1914 showed a great falling-off—probably 15 per cent. below that of the preceding year. . . . [But] the measures adopted by the Government for the storage of food led to the actual loss of a considerable quantity of it. For instance, 14 per cent. of the potatoes stored by one large urban municipality went bad, and this was only typical of what happened elsewhere; and the smell of rotting potatoes under the arches of one of the big Berlin railway stations compelled the residents in the neighbourhood to appeal to the sanitary authorities. . . . The farmer is permitted to keep back from his crops an allowance for his own consumption and that of his labourers, and on all the rest he benefits by prices which, even when fixed by Government, are much above those obtained before the war. . . . Having a shrewd suspicion of what was going to happen, the Government, when on July 23 [1915] it revised the maximum prices of corn for the coming year, was obliged to leave them at the old level, reducing them just a trifle in industrial regions and putting them up a trifle in the eastern provinces where the agrarians are strong. Rye prices were left 35 per cent. above their level in 1913; and rye bread which fell somewhat, was still, at the . . . beginning of August, 40 per cent. above the pre-war year. But, relying on having the machinery of control already in working order, the Government . . . increased by one-eighth the allotment of flour to local authorities, so as to allow of supplementary bread-tickets

being sold to labourers certified as engaged in heavy work. . . . The establishment of the new Imperial Fodder Office to take control of fodder supplies . . . made things no better. . . . The measures of the Government . . . [were] constantly met by evasion and subterfuge of every description. Against its will it . . . [was] driven, time after time, from a policy of maximum prices to a policy of state monopoly, merely because the peasants would not bring their stuff to market. The quite unnecessary scare about potatoes in the early spring, with its unfortunate consequences, was brought about simply by the cunning of the peasants in concealing their stocks. Even the regulations about bread . . . [were] far from meeting with ungrudging obedience. So numerous . . . were the cases of infringement of regulations by the bakers, that in a great city like Frankfort the municipal court had to give up the whole of every Wednesday to such cases, until the Government conferred summary jurisdiction on the Public Prosecutors."—W. J. Ashley, *Germany's food supply*, pp. 10, 16, 17, 24-26, 29, 30.—"The food policy of the German Government for the coming economic year could be best illustrated by giving here a summary of recently issued food regulations. It is to be regretted that this can not be done, because for some time the Bureau of Labor Statistics has been unable to obtain German official publications. . . . [However,] Dr. Schlittenbauer, director of the Agricultural Central Coöperative Society of Ratisbon and a well-known leader of the Bavarian agrarians, on the imperial economic plan for 1917-18 [has written an article on the subject]. This article furnishes in a summary form a very useful conspectus of the various food orders for the current harvest year and, in addition, contains some severe criticisms of the regulations discussed. According to Dr. Schlittenbauer, the special features of the new economic plan for the 1917 harvest are: (1) The altered policy as to price; (2) the new imperial grain regulation."—United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Food situation in central Europe, 1917, Apr., 1918*, pp. 10-11.—See also GERMANY: 1916-1918.

ALSO IN: R. H. Retinger, *La Pologne et l'équilibre européen*.

1914-1918.—Rationing in Germany.—Breach of regulations.—Illicit trading.—"The German Authorities felt themselves obliged to attempt to ration strictly the whole food of the population. No such system as this, involving all the main articles of food, can succeed unless it is combined with mass feeding. Although we may speak of an average man and assign to him a certain ration, the amount of food required by an individual depends on his stature, age, sex, occupation and environment. No two individuals are alike. A ration sufficient for one individual will be too much for another, and too little for a third. This fact was recognised in England by confining the rationing to certain articles, such as meat, fats and sugar, leaving the chief food of the poor, bread, unrationed, so that each individual could obtain of this as much as he required in order to make up his total food to his bodily requirements. In the case of the German ration, very few articles were available for supplementing it according to the needs of the individuals. Owing to the lack of grain for poultry eggs almost disappeared. Fish was only obtainable in small quantities and at high prices, so that for the poorer class of the population, the only supplementary food obtainable consisted of vegetables (turnips, carrots, cabbages, &c.). . . . The heavy and heaviest workers obtained increased rations, and these were still

further added to by the action of the big firms in buying up, with the cognizance of the Government, food obtained directly from the farms, and distributing these foods to their workmen at a price below the cost. . . . In the case of the chemical factories of Leverhusen at Cologne and of Scherings in Berlin, I estimated that the workmen's rations amounted to about 2,500 to 2,600 calories per day, an amount quite insufficient on which to do an ordinary day's work. At the iron-works and mines round Kattowitz the caloric value of the total ration obtained by the workers was considerably higher, and amounted indeed to what might be considered an adequate figure, viz., 3,500 calories per working man. These workmen were receiving 1,800 calories per day on ordinary ration cards, and 1,760 calories per day more from food which had been brought by the company in illicit trading, and was distributed to the workers at reduced prices. . . . It should be noted, however, that the dependents of these workmen were only receiving under 1,600 calories per head per day, and that the extra rations granted to the workers, nearly 18,000 in number, would also have to serve the needs of their dependents, about 80,000 in number. But even allowing that the workmen received 3,000 calories the quality of the food was very defective, especially as regards fat. The great complaint of the workmen was not so much the deficient quantity of food as its monotonous quality, its indigestibility, and the absence of fat for spreading on the bread or for cooking the food. Kattowitz, from its proximity to the Polish frontier, is especially favourably situated for the purchase in illicit trading of smuggled food. [The] . . . action of the large firms in buying food outside the ration for the sake of their employees, though approved by the authorities, was entirely outside the law. Firms bid against one another in order to obtain a sufficient amount of the ever diminishing quantities of foods. Then Municipalities, who could not obtain from the supplying districts assigned to them amounts adequate to fulfil the obligation on their ration cards, also came into the market and bid against one another for food for distribution to their population, the difference between the price paid for the food, and the price charged to the consumer falling on the rates. Such authority for the breaking of the law could only have the effect of weakening the combined forces of all the food regulations. Private persons came into the market, and an active illicit trade grew up in food produced on the farms. . . . [It was estimated by the Germans at the time that] from twenty-five to thirty-three per cent. of food released by self-suppliers . . . [was subject to this illicit trade, at large profits. The well-to-do, if they chose, could live as before, while the poorer classes could now and then exchange their work for butter or eggs. But, after all is said, from] the summer of 1916 the German population has had to live on a ration *per head* of about 1,500 calories with about 200 calories more available in the form of vegetables. A heavy worker is receiving another 300 calories in additional bread and meat. When the man is a member of a family he will receive more than his ration at the expense of the wife and children, and the man's ration may thus be increased to 2,250 or to 2,550 calories in the case of heavy workers."—E. H. Starling, *Report on food conditions in Germany*, pp. 5-7.—See also GERMANY: 1914-1915; 1916: Ministry of food supplies.

1916-1917.—Food crisis in Russia. See RUSSIA: 1916: Food shortage; 1917 (Mar. 8-15).

1916-1918.—Mass feeding in Germany.—Food-card system.—"At least for the period of the war

'mass feeding' seems to be thoroughly established in Germany. Of the 563 communes, each with 10,000 or more inhabitants, and with a total population of 26,700,000, there were only 56, with 857,000 inhabitants, without mass-feeding arrangements; 472 communes, with 24,354,000 inhabitants, reported the existence of 2,207 such establishments, of which 1,076 are general war kitchens, 116 middle-class kitchens, 528 factory kitchens, and 487 kitchens of various kinds. Although most towns provided only midday dinners, most kitchens are arranged for at least two shifts of cooks. The average output of the 2,207 establishments amounted in February, 1917, to a daily production of 2,528,401 liters [quarts] of food, which allowed 10.4 liters daily per 100 inhabitants of the 24,354,000 total inhabitants in question, as against 8.8 liters in January. The highest possible daily output would promise a total of 4,208,741 liters, or 17.8 liters per 100 inhabitants. The comparative popularity of mass feeding is a good index to the actual condition of the food supply. War kitchens are being increasingly patronized by members of the middle class. The number of middle-class and officials' kitchens and of soup kitchens in Berlin has now almost reached a hundred; 35,000 portions of food and 14,000 portions of soup are served daily, and 8,000 portions of bone soup are distributed to heavy workers and children. The portions are generous and a second helping can be obtained at low prices. Food tickets are issued in general by three methods. In Berlin and some other towns the porters of the large blocks of flats in which almost everybody lives obtain the tickets from the authorities and distribute them to the individual families. In Munich and a decreasing number of towns, school children and other voluntary helpers take the tickets round. The method becoming most general is, however, to compel each family to fetch its tickets for itself from a local office on one or more fixed dates, arranged so as to prevent an undue rush of applicants. The advantage of this method over the others is that complaints are investigated and settled on the spot. The last occasion on which Leipzig distributed tickets by volunteer messengers to its 155,000 families produced nearly 100,000 complaints. The person who fetches the tickets for a family has to produce their individual police registration cards and sometimes special food-ticket registration documents, and is often requested to bring their birth certificates. The issuing office keeps a card register showing changes in the membership of each family, all such changes having to be reported immediately. Under the first two methods of issuing tickets a receipt has to be given by the recipient. Tickets are taken out at intervals ranging from every three months down to every month or less. The more frequent the issue, the less is the danger of forgery, as the appearance of each successive series of tickets can be varied. Hoarding and anticipation of supplies are prevented by making each ticket valid only for a single week, or fortnight. The original and simplest form of German food ticket is a card with detachable coupons, printed so as to be difficult of imitation. It now must generally be signed by the holder; it is never transferable. Other varieties used locally for general or special purposes are books containing a page with separable coupons for every article. Such a book occasionally represents the rations for a whole family. On the whole, the use of one card for every article and for every person is found most satisfactory, while general tickets or books are issued with blank coupons to be used in buying any exceptional

supplies which the local authority may be able from time to time to provide; e.g., dried vegetables and farinaceous foods are not regularly on sale, but can be bought at irregular intervals on specified coupons of the general food ticket. The comparatively simple ticket system described above worked well in Germany for bread and flour down to the end of 1915; but it required for its successful operation the existence of a considerable margin of stocks in the retail shops, so that the ticket holder may be certain of being served in some shop near his home. The extreme scarcity of all foods, which began to prevail in 1916 and still continues, has necessitated the introduction of important complications; and, speaking generally, bread, flour (usually), and sugar are now the only foods to which the simple system still applies. For meat, milk, fats, potatoes, and other foods, especially those which are only distributed occasionally, the purchaser must become the registered customer of a particular shop, and very frequently he must place his order a week or more in advance. The shop is supplied in exact proportion to the number of its registered customers or of the advance orders received. To prevent the formation of food queues (waiting lines), a number is assigned to every customer, and the tradesman announces in his window what numbers will be served at particular hours. One hour in the day is reserved for persons who prove by a certificate from their employers or otherwise that they could not attend when their numbers were up. These refinements prevent the necessity for a margin; but they involve the issue of special registration tickets, complicate enormously the problem of removals, and subject the public to a very great inconvenience. In conclusion, one observation may be made by way of caution. The ticket system is the effect, not the cause, of the German food crisis. If it has to some extent lessened the supply of food by discouraging production and dislocating trade, it has undoubtedly saved the nation from early defeat in the war by reducing consumption to a minimum far below any that voluntary effort could have secured."—J. Maurice and others, ed., *Economics of war*, pp. 307-309.—See also WORLD WAR: 1916: XII. Political conditions, etc.: b; 1917: XII. Political conditions, etc.: e.

1917-1918.—Food control in the United States during the World War.—Opposition to compulsory rationing and price-fixing.—Encouragement of agriculture.—Lever Act.—United States Food and Fuel Administration.—Appointment of Herbert Hoover as food administrator.—Encouragement of production and elimination of waste.—Regulation of sugar manufacture and distribution.—"Analysis of the food situation as it confronted the United States on our entrance into the war showed that if it was to be met, action had to be taken in respect to almost every element of the food trade from production to consumption. . . . In declaring against anything like a compulsory rationing of the population or even the fixing of prices generally, it was nevertheless recognized that legislation was desirable . . . to confer upon the Government enlarged powers to carry out its determinations in respect to food control and coerce the minority who might be unwilling loyally to comply with the Government's plan. Such legislation was secured by the passage of two Acts, both approved on August 10, 1917, and entitled respectively, 'An Act To provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products,'

and 'An Act To provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel.' The first of these Acts had for its special purpose the enlargement of the powers of the Department of Agriculture and the grant to it of increased appropriations with which to carry on its work. It thus authorized the Secretary of Agriculture 'to investigate and ascertain the demand for, the supply, consumption, costs, and prices of, and the basic facts relating to the ownership, production, transportation, manufacture, storage and distribution of foods, food materials, feeds, seeds, fertilizers, agricultural implements, and machinery and any article required in connection with the production, distribution, or utilization of food,' and made it obligatory upon all persons . . . to answer all inquiries regarding such matters addressed to them. . . . If necessary, the Secretary of Agriculture was authorized to grow seeds and furnish them to farmers at cost. Finally, the President was authorized to direct any agency or organization of the Government to cooperate with the Secretary of Agriculture in carrying out the purposes of the Act and to coordinate their activities so as to avoid any preventable loss or duplication of work. This Act, it was provided, should continue in force not later than the beginning of the next fiscal year after the close of the war. . . . The Food and Fuel Control Act, or the Lever Act, from the name of its author, was a much more important and radical measure. It had for its purpose to provide for the establishment of a system of rigid governmental control over almost all the processes involved in the production, distribution, and consumption of a large number of . . . necessities, the most important of which were foodstuffs, feeds, fertilizers, farm machinery, coal and other fuels, and all industries . . . serving these economic interests, and to authorize the President to create such agencies and issue such orders and regulations as he deemed desirable for carrying into effect the purposes of the Act. This law is thus the organic act of both the Food and Fuel Administrations. . . . [See U. S. A.: 1917 (June): Food and fuel control act.] On the same day that this Act became law, August 10, 1917, the President issued an executive order creating an independent service for the administration of those features of the law having to do with food products and related industries under the name of the United States Food Administration and designated Herbert C. Hoover as its head, with the title of United States Food Administrator. . . . [Hoover had already been appointed (May 19, 1917) by the President to act as far as possible under the laws which were then in existence. The keynote of his administration] was that of making an appeal to the patriotism of the farmers and the consuming public voluntarily to do each his part in carrying out a food production and conservation programme as worked out by the Food Administration, and of bringing into play the compulsory features of the law only after all other efforts had failed. This programme of the Food Administration involved a number of activities which, for purposes of consideration at least, can be fairly well distinguished. . . . [Food production was stimulated, the cultivation of all available land, including small gardens, and the selection of crops were encouraged; an active propaganda for the promotion of economy and conservation was carried on.] The Food Administration did not content itself with a general appeal but distributed broadcast a vast amount

of literature, carefully prepared by . . . experts, . . . giving specific instructions in respect to what constituted a well balanced diet; what articles of relative abundance could be . . . [substituted for those of which there was a world scarcity or world need; avoidance of waste; the best manner of drying, canning, or otherwise preparing fruits and vegetables so as to fully utilize perishable products; and scores of analogous features]."—W. F. Willoughby, *Government organization in war-time and after*, pp. 261-272.—"The distribution of beet sugar was entrusted to a Sugar Distributing Committee appointed by Mr. Hoover; this committee was composed of representatives of beet sugar producers and brokers of the beet sugar territory of the United States. Local representatives of this central organization were established at many points throughout the country; they allocated the sugar to dealers and saw to it that government regulations were complied with. Sugar was shipped to dealers from the nearest factory. All those engaged in the business of importing sugar, of manufacturing sugar from sugar cane or beets or of refining sugar were required to secure on or before October 1, 1917, a license. (*Industrial News Survey*, July 1-8, 1918, p. 5.) Shortly after an agreement was reached [in the United States] with beet sugar factories, steps were taken to bring under control all other sugar interests. On September 21, 1917, the International Sugar Committee was created, which included the representatives of England, France, Italy and Canada, as well as of the United States. An international agreement was necessary in order to deal with the Cuban situation. The committee took charge of the buying and transportation of Cuban sugar to the Allies, the neutrals and the American cane sugar refiners. The sugar set aside for the United States was allotted to the refiners by the American Refiners' Committee, composed of refiners and their sales agents. The subsequent distribution of cane sugar was left in the hands of the Food Administration. At the time of the appointment of the International Committee, the amount of unsold Cuban sugar was very small, not over 50,000 tons. In an effort to keep down the price for the 1917-18 crop, concerning which the Food Administration was then negotiating with Cuban producers, the committee requested the American refiners to keep out of the Cuban market. . . . While negotiations were pending, some of the eastern refiners in Atlantic coast towns had to close down for lack of raw sugar. There was also a lack of refined sugar and in many places people were obliged to pay 12 to 15 cents a pound or more. (*Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, March 2, 1918, p. 876.) As a result, an investigation into the shortage of sugar was instituted by the Senate. During the hearings before the Investigating Committee in December, 1917, accusations were made by Mr. Claus A. Spreckels that the shortage of sugar was due to Mr. Hoover forbidding the purchase of raw material at a price higher than the one fixed by the Sugar Committee; it was also charged that by announcing a prospective sugar shortage Mr. Hoover had caused a panic among consumers, with a subsequent hoarding of the staple, and that therefore he himself was partially responsible for the shortage. . . . In his reply to the critics, Mr. Hoover attributed the shortage in the United States to the heavy movement of sugar from the western hemisphere to Europe. . . . The rationing of manufacturers using sugar began in October, 1917, when those producing nonessentials were limited to 50 per cent of their normal requirements. A subsequent ruling

directed that manufacturers of nonessentials starting after April 1, 1918, should be allotted no sugar whatever. There was no definite rationing of consumers until the middle of 1918. Previous to this date, requests had been made that the consumers curtail their consumption of sugar voluntarily. . . . In view of the shortage, the Food Administration suggested at first that the consumption of sugar be cut to 67 pounds per person, but it soon realized that such a consumption could not be maintained. . . . According to regulations, which became effective on July 1, the householders were limited to 3 pounds of sugar per month per person, with a special allowance of 25 pounds of sugar for home canning purposes. This meant a reduction of some 25 per cent from normal consumption, but, as the Food Administration remarked, it was still nearly double the ration in the Allied countries and was ample for every economical use. In order to secure justice in distribution and to make the restrictive plans as effective as possible, no manufacturer or wholesaler of sugar was allowed after July 1 to sell any sugar except to buyers who secured a certificate from the local food administrators indicating the quantity they were allowed to buy. The users of sugar were divided into five classes: A. Candy makers, soft drink, chocolate and cocoa manufacturers, tobacco manufacturers, makers of flavoring extracts, syrups, sweet pickles, etc. B. Commercial canners . . . makers of drugs, explosives, etc. C. Public eating places. . . . D. Manufacturers of all bakery products. E. Retailers and others selling for direct consumption. (*U. S. Department of Labor, Monthly Labor Review, pp. 139-140.*) Each class was entitled to a certain allotment of sugar for the months of July, August and September, 1918, the allotment varying from 50 per cent of the amount of sugar they used in the corresponding months of 1917 (Class A) to all the sugar that the manufacturers required (Class B). No sugar was allowed to leather tanners and to manufacturers of non-edibles. On July 13, 1918, at the direction of the President, the United States Sugar Equalization Board was formed for the purpose of better controlling distribution and prices of sugar. The board was empowered to purchase, manufacture, sell, store and handle raw and refined cane and beet sugar, syrups and molasses. (*U. S. Food Administration, Proclamations and Executive Orders by the President, p. 30.*) In view of a continued shortage of sugar the per capita consumption of sugar was cut from 3 pounds to 2 pounds per month, the reduction to remain in force from August 1 to January 1. Other changes in the sugar regulations were the increase of the wholesalers' margin from 25 cents to 35 cents per 100 pounds, and the raise in the New York price of Cuban raws by 5 cents per 100 pounds; the latter was done to cover extra war risks, after the appearance of a few German submarines in American waters. The handling of the sugar situation on the whole seems to have been conducive to a more equal distribution of sugar among the different sections of the country, as well as among the various classes of the population."—S. Litman, *Prices and price control in Great Britain and the United States during the World War, pp. 240-241, 243, 245-247.*—See also EMBARGO: During the World War; LIQUOR PROBLEM: United States: 1913-1910; PRICE CONTROL: 1917-1910: United States; U. S. A.: 1917-1910: Effect of the war.

1917-1918.—Allied food control.—"The Food Control [which had its beginning in September, 1917] took its final international shape in 1918, when the Council of Four was set up. This body

included the four Food Controllers of principal importance, namely, those of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy. In 1917 a scientific commission had already been organized to find, if possible, methods of solving the food problems of the Allies, and during the same year another body took over the control of meats and fats. The business of this organization was to administer the buying and distribution of meats, butter, cheese, oils and fats of all kinds, and canned goods. A wheat executive worked in America through two agencies. The vexing problem of transport was handled by the Inter-Allied Maritime Transport Council, which was formed after the Paris Conference in 1917. In the very beginning, the French wished to make of this a paramount economic body. Through the nature of its work, it came in the end to make its influence felt through the whole organization of the Allies and to become almost supreme. In charge of each of the twenty-one chief raw materials was a Program Committee, by which the varying claims of the Allies were adjudged and a division made of the common stock, so far as it would go. The list of [food] commodities thus administered included [cereals, oils and seeds, sugar, meats and fats]."—J. Bakeless, *Economic causes of modern war, pp. 223, 224.*

1918.—Abolition of food regulations in United States.—Appeal for continued economy.—"WASHINGTON, Dec. 22 [1918].—Announcement was made by the Federal Food Administration tonight of the issuance of orders dropping all food restrictions beginning tomorrow morning. From time to time various regulations have been abandoned, and since Oct. 21 last the principal specific food regulations in force were those known as the 'twelve general orders for public eating places.' These latter are to be dropped, effective tomorrow morning. In rescinding the 'twelve general orders' the Food Administration emphasizes the need for continued care in food in order that the United States may meet its pledge to relieve conditions abroad. The twelve general orders for public eating places, which were designed as a war measure to restrict food at the time the devices of meatless and wheatless days and the substitution of one food for another were abandoned, went into effect on Oct. 21. It is estimated that 9,000,000 persons take their meals in public eating places—hotels, restaurants, cafés, clubs, and dining cars—and the food saving through this system of conservation is declared by Federal food officials to have been very great, despite the fact that compilation of the total savings has not been possible to date.

"In notifying the Hotel Chairmen on the staffs of the Federal Administration of the decision to rescind the present food regulations the Hotel Division of the Food Administration asked that they hold themselves in readiness to assist in putting into effect any specific measure which public eating places, through developments in world relief, may in the future be called upon to carry out. The twelve general orders provided that no public eating place should serve bread or toast as a garniture or under meat, allow any bread to be brought to the table until after the first course, or serve to one patron at any one meal more than one kind of meat. Bacon was barred as garniture. A half ounce of butter was regarded as a portion, and cheese was limited to a half ounce for a meal. Nos. 8 and 9 referred to the sugar restriction. The others referred to waste and the use of cream and butter fats.

"Notwithstanding the lifting of food restrictions

the Food Administration will not cease its activities entirely until a Presidential proclamation releases the public from the Food Control act. . . . The New York Federal Food Board issued a statement yesterday urging the proprietors of eating places to continue conservation of all foodstuffs. "There should be no waste or extravagance in the use of any foods," said the statement. "All food should be prepared and served with the idea constantly in mind that America must send 20,000,000 tons of food to hungry Europe during the next twelve months and that the greater part of this food can be secured only by saving."—*New York Times*, Dec. 23, 1918.

1918-1920.—Famine in Finland.—Work of American Relief Administration. See FINLAND: 1918-1920.

1918-1920.—Food regulation at close of war, and after.—"Everywhere [in Europe], states (and even provinces or districts within each state) endeavored to keep their food and other vital productions as much as possible for themselves, and therefore restricted exports. Everywhere, the tendency was also to restrict imports of luxuries and other 'unnecessary' things in order to protect the rate of exchange; and, lastly, everywhere, traffic and travelling generally were subjected to many regulations and restrictions, either in order to secure the working of the internal distribution, the control of food, coal and raw materials introduced during the war or to conform to the Peace Treaty. . . . Austria had during a long time to buy grain, flour and meat in America, Manchuria, etc., and even sugar in Java, instead of getting them from her neighbors who had an abundance of these foodstuffs. Generally in all states, including Austria, exports were restricted not only where there was a scarcity, but also when a great surplus was available for export, as in the case of sugar and coal in Czecho-Slovakia. . . . Every state tried to control the export of its chief products in order to exact greater advantages from neighbors dependent on these supplies."—F. Hertz, *Present day social and industrial conditions in Austria* (*Supplement to the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Nov., 1921).

Reports issued by the International Institute of Agriculture in 1920 stated that a "Belgian decree of 17th December, 1918, regulates the sale of butter fixing the quantity which producers must sell to the Government and that which they may themselves hold. Another Belgian decree of 27th December, 1918, regulates the trade in meats, requiring all dealers in frozen beef, veal, etc., to modify the quantities to the Ministry of Industry. A Belgian law of 14th July, 1919, authorises the government to allow the importation of foreign cattle. . . . A Belgian law of the 30th July, 1919, confers on a special body, organized as a commercial society, the obligation to undertake all the commercial operations necessary to secure the requisite supply of cereals for the Belgian people. A Belgian decree of the 10th August, 1919, enacts that all the cereals, of whatever sort, which are not strictly necessary to the farmers for the needs of their respective business, must be handed over to the commission for acquiring grain for the supply of the Belgian people. . . . A Danish law, No. 501, of the 19th September, 1919, requires all farmers to consign to the State granaries all the harvested cereals, except the quantity needed for sowing in the Autumn of 1919. The Government will remit to the farmers the price fixed by law, and can also allow them maize and concentrated cattle feed corresponding to their respective needs.

Another Danish law of the 31st October, 1919, No. 596, contains measures for assuring food supplies for the population and authorises the government and the communes to take steps to fight the high prices of food-stuffs. . . . A French law of 6th January, 1919, aims at promoting the intensification of agricultural production during and after the war. It establishes regional and departmental agricultural offices to promote improved methods of farming, more especially by organising experimental stations, by spreading information and by the development of agricultural associations. The organisation and mode of procedure of these offices is regulated by a decree of 25th April, 1919, which provides in each department for the opening of a departmental agricultural office managed by a Board of 5 members designated by the general council, two to be selected from among its members and the others to represent the leading agricultural groups. A regional agricultural office is established for each region consisting of the general inspector of agriculture for the region, and of two delegates of the departmental offices of the region. . . . An Italian decree of 2nd September, 1919, No. 1633, empowers the prefects to authorise the temporary occupation of lands by legally constituted agricultural associations who undertake to grow cereal and vegetable crops on same. The period of occupation may not exceed four years and the owner will receive a fair compensation to be determined, in case of failure to come to an agreement, by a board of arbitration. Before the period of occupation terminates the occupying association may ask that it be made permanent in the case of lands susceptible of important cultural transformations or which come under the provisions of the law on land reclamation and drainage. . . . A Japanese decree of 17th April, 1919, No. 13, deals with provisioning the country in cereals and rice and authorises the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to grant, through the prefectures, rewards to those farmers who increase their yields. . . . A Norwegian law of 22nd March, 1918, enacts measures to promote agricultural production. It deals first of all with agricultural mobilisation and requires that all persons domiciled in the Kingdom and fit to work assist in farm work. In the second place it provides for the expropriation of lands which are badly cultivated and empowers the municipalities to take over estates inadequately farmed with their respective equipment in return for the payment of a fair compensation. Lands thus ceded may be farmed by the municipalities wholly or partially, or may be rented to persons whose farms are of inadequate size for their needs. A Norwegian law of 17th July, 1918, regulates the price of food-stuffs, and empowers the government to fix maxima prices, to forbid the hoarding of commodities and to regulate the production and sale of food-stuffs. . . . A Spanish decree of 7th March, 1919, contains measures to control the hoarding of food-stuffs providing penalties for offenders. The holders of food-stuffs, fuel, cattle feeds and chemical fertilisers are required to notify same to the proper authorities. Persons who fail to do so are held to be hoarders and as such are liable to the penalties enacted. . . . A Spanish decree of the 21st November, 1919, establishes a special department in the Ministry of Supplies under the title of government tribunal. It will consider and decide appeals relating to food control fines which exceed 500 pesetas, it will also consider appeals against decisions pronounced by the administrative commissions on the same subjects. . . . A Swiss decree

of 15th February, 1919, aims at increasing the production of food-stuffs. It requires owners or renters of lands to cultivate an area equal at least to that under cultivation during the previous season. The Cantonal authorities are empowered to compel the owners of lands susceptible of improvements to carry them out forthwith, or to expropriate the lands and make the improvements themselves with the assistance of the Federal government. The cantonal authorities may, in return for adequate guarantees, cede this right to the communal authorities in the case of lands placed under their jurisdiction. . . . A Swiss decree of 27th May, 1919, limits the consumption of meat restricting the sale to certain days in the week. It also limits the slaughtering of large cattle and provides restrictions for the trade in cattle. . . . A federal law of the *United States* of 4th March, 1919, aims at promoting the production of cereals and empowers the President to make regulations, promulgate decrees, conclude agreements, and collaborate with any organisation or person to attain this end. The President is also empowered to guarantee a minimum price to producers and to grant indemnities for the conservation, carriage, and storage of wheat in elevators."—*International Yearbook of Agricultural Legislation*, v. 9, 1919, pp. xix-xxi, xxiii, xxvii-xxviii, xxxvi.

In 1920 the Institute reported that "The question of providing food stuffs for the populations, though much less acute than in past years, has given rise to various provisions. . . . A considerable number of laws and decrees refer to the delicate and difficult problem of increase in production in the transition period, . . . [thus] a *Belgian* decree of 19th May, 1920, contains regulations for the declaration of cultivated areas. Every cultivator of a homestead consisting of more than a hectare has to declare to the municipal authorities of his district the exact areas under cultivation of various kinds, adding details as to the labour employed on his farm, and the beasts which he owns. The data thus collected is sent to the Ministry of Industry, Work and Supplies for elaboration. . . . [Another decree] regulates the trade and distribution of cereals and flour. Mills authorised to grind cereals provided by the Government can only sell the flour produced thus to factories and traders designated by the Ministry, which is also authorised to issue special regulations as to the conditions to be observed in making such purchases, and the maximum quantity to be furnished. A law of 1st July, 1920, of the *Dominion of Canada* contains rules regulating trade in food stuffs for animals and poultry with the exception of corn, hay, straw, bran, etc. . . . A *Danish* law of 10th September, 1920, contains provisions to regulate the trade in the yield of the 1920-1921 crops. . . . All agriculturists shall deposit in the State deposits the whole wheat and rye crop, with the exception of the quantity necessary for seed to be sown on their property. The law also decides the price to be paid for wheat and rye, allowing for increase or decrease in this price for grain either above or below the average. When the provisioning of the country with bread grain is secured, the Ministry for Agriculture is authorised to export any surplus which may exist. The export of oats and barley is forbidden in the law, but the Minister for Agriculture is allowed to grant special concessions for export on condition that the exporter pays a suitable tax. A *Danish* Law of 28th July, 1920, regulates the provision of sugar for the population for the years 1920-1921. To this end the Ministry for Agriculture has powers to make arrangements with all the beet sugar factories in the country by

which all cultivators of beet-roots for sugar refining receive a minimum price per hectoliter of beets consigned from the 1920 crop. . . . A *French* law of 9th August, 1920, deals with the supply of food stuffs for the country. The law provides that the population shall be assured of bread supplies by means of purchases by private treaty of wheat and flour at prices to be arranged by suitable decrees. If the amount thus purchased is not sufficient for the needs of the country, the magistrates can resort to requisition. . . . [A] decree of 25th August, 1920, fixes the rules for the distribution of cereals, flour and bread. . . . The law also provides a premium of 200 francs per hectare cultivated under wheat and 80 francs per hectare under rye for the cultivators of devastated lands. . . . A *French* decree of 18th October, 1920, regulated trade in cattle for slaughtering and meat placed on sale for food purposes. . . . A *Swiss* decree of 31st January, 1920, makes it obligatory on whoever possesses land in any manner whatsoever, to cultivate it reasonably, so that all the productive ability of the land shall be used, so as to increase the output of food stuffs and forage. Gardens, ground dedicated to sport, private and public parks must be given over to agriculture and reasonably cultivated. In order to increase the agricultural production of the country, the Cantonal governments are given power to requisition all uncultivated lands and to cultivate them either directly or by means of associations or private individuals."—*International Yearbook of Agricultural Legislation*, v. 10, 1920, pp. xii-xvi, xxiii.

1918-1922.—Work of the American Relief Administration under Hoover. See INTERNATIONAL RELIEF: American Relief Administration.

1920.—Necessity for regulation of food productions in the *United States*.—Herbert Hoover, speaking in 1920, said: "Expansion of the possible wheat area in the *United States* is now comparatively limited unless we retrench on other essential production. In fact, there is even, indeed, serious shrinkage of wheat area in prospect, due to the unconquered invasion of rust in our spring wheat areas of the Northwest. This threatened deficiency must be maintained by an inducement to expand wheat production in the Southwest. Furthermore, our average yield of wheat per acre must have a steady increase if we are to meet the necessities of an advancing population. An increase from our average of less than sixteen bushels toward the average of western European production of over twenty-five bushels per acre is in the main the possible source of supply in the long run. This can only be obtained by more intensive cultivation and the larger use of fertilizers, and those extra costs do not show a profitable return ratio in prices. The American farmer naturally can only engage in extra expense for extra return. It is sometimes said that our breadstuff needs will outgrow our capacity for the production of wheat. This is not necessarily the case within our century, for it is always possible to contemplate an increase per acre that would keep pace with our increase in population, but this cannot be accomplished on the basis of the pre-war ratio prices of wheat to other commodities."

1921-1922.—Regulation of meat packing industry in the *United States*.—"The meat-packing industry of the *United States* has passed under the supervision of the Government, also the buying and selling of live stock in commerce. Together these twin industries represent an invested capital of about \$20,000,000,000; with the possible exception of the railroads, they may be called the largest business venture in the *United States*. The

Packers and Stockyards act, passed on Jan. 24, 1921, placed both of them under the control of the Department of Agriculture and created an entirely new administrative unit to perform the new function thus imposed upon the Secretary of Agriculture. . . . The organization of the Packers and Stockyards Administration, the bureau which will henceforth execute the Government's functions in this untrodden field. . . . [The law is] among the first fruits of the activities of the 'farmer bloc' in Congress.

"The production of live stock for food purposes is carried on in every State. The live stock is usually purchased from the small producers by dealers, who forward it to the stockyards in various cities. In the stockyards it is received by other dealers or commission men, who in turn sell it to the meat packers. Certain large producers ship their own stock direct to the yards without the intervention of the local dealers. These stockyards are scattered all over the country, from Arabi, La., and El Paso, Texas, to New York, St. Paul and Spokane. The act places all these stockyard services—buying and selling, marketing, feeding, watering, holding, delivery, shipment, weighing and handling of live stock—under Government control, provided that the animals are bought and sold in interstate commerce, and most of them are so bought and sold.

"From the stockyards the Government follows the live stock to the meat packers, who transform it into food products—fresh meats, smoked meats, canned meats, lard and every other edible meat food. There are also by-products, such as fertilizer. All these products are then shipped to the four corners of the country, and the Government control follows them wherever they go. The same is true of dairy products, poultry and eggs, when handled by the meat packers. Beginning with the stockyards, the Government supervision follows the buying and selling of all these food products and by-products through every channel of interstate commerce until the shipments reach the wholesale local dealers.

"'Packer control' legislation is an old question. It has been hanging fire for a quarter of a century. For many years the stock raisers . . . have been firmly convinced that the large meat packers were in a permanent conspiracy to destroy competition in the buying of live stock, and thus depress prices to the detriment of producers. There was also a conviction that the stockyards were controlled by the same interests—and always against the farmers. Among the consumers of meat products, on the other hand, there was a . . . feeling that the packers were arbitrarily 'boosting' the prices of meat products. The general idea was that the packers defrauded the farmers by buying their live stock for less than its real value, and then defrauded the consumers by profiteering in the manufactured meat products. . . . The immediate parent of the present Packers and Stockyards act is a Federal investigation conducted only three years ago. . . . In 1916 the charge was persistently made both in the press and in Congress that the constantly rising prices of food products were caused by artificial and illegal combinations in restraint of trade. On Feb. 7, 1917, President Wilson took official cognizance of this charge in a communication to the Federal Trade Commission. . . . 'Pursuant to the authority conferred upon me by the act creating the Federal Trade Commission, I direct the commission, within the scope of its powers, to investigate and report the facts relating to the production, ownership, manufacture, storage and distribution of

foodstuffs and the products or by-products arising from or in connection with their preparation and manufacture; to ascertain the facts bearing on alleged violations of the anti-trust acts, and particularly upon the question whether there are manipulations, combinations, conspiracies or restraints of trade out of harmony with the law or the public interest.' [In pursuance of this order] the Federal Trade Commission engaged Francis J. Heney to make the investigation. Mr. Heney conducted a spectacular and thorough investigation, and the Packers and Stockyards act is the reply of Congress and the President to the findings of the Federal Trade Commission based upon Mr. Heney's researches into the packing industry.

"The Federal Trade Commission made its report to President Wilson on July 3, 1918 . . . [in which it stated], 'It appears that five great packing concerns of the country . . . have attained such a dominant position that they control at will the market in which they buy their supplies, the market in which they sell their products, and hold the fortunes of their competitors in their hands. Not only is the business of gathering, preparing and selling meat products in their control, but an almost countless number of by-product industries are similarly dominated; and, not content with reaching out for mastery of commodities which are used as substitutes for meat and its by-products, they have invaded allied industries and even unrelated ones. The producer of live stock is at the mercy of these five companies, because they control of the market places, storage facilities and the to some extent the rolling stock which transports the product to market. The competitors of these five concerns are at their mercy because of the control of the market places, storage facilities and the refrigerator cars for distribution. The consumer of meat products is at the mercy of these five because both producer and competitor are helpless to bring relief. . . . The power [it reported] has been and is being unfairly and illegally used to manipulate live-stock markets, restrict interstate and international supplies of food, control the prices of dressed meats and other foods, defraud both the producers of food and consumers, crush effective competition, secure special privileges from railroads, stockyard companies and municipalities, and profiteer. . . . The purposes of this combination are: to monopolize and divide among the several interests the distribution of the food supply not only of the United States but of all countries which produce a food surplus, and, as a result of this monopolistic position, to extort excessive profits from the people not only of the United States but of a large part of the world. To secure these ends the combination employs practically every method of unfair competition known to the commission . . . among which may be mentioned the following: Bogus independents, local price discriminations, short weighing, acquiring stock in competing companies, shutting competitors out of live-stock markets.'

"Following the report of the Federal Trade Commission the packers opened a nation-wide campaign of denial and defense. A large sum of money was spent in publicity to break down the commission's charges. Congress took up the matter, and week after week, in session after session, the packers and their counsel confronted the commission and its experts before committees of both houses. But, true or false, the commission's report stuck. The farming and stock-raising interests believed the commission's charges were true, and nothing could shake their belief. The Packers and Stockyards act followed.

"This act is designed to prevent the practices described in the Federal Trade Commission's report to President Wilson on the meat-packing industry. Under the act the packers are prohibited: 'From any unfair, unjustly discriminatory, or deceptive practice or device; From giving undue or unreasonable preference or advantage to any person or locality; From apportioning the supply of any article between them, where the tendency or effect of such apportionment would restrain commerce or create monopoly; From dealing with any person for the purpose, or with the effect, of manipulating or controlling prices, or creating a monopoly or restraining commerce; From engaging in any course of business for the purpose, or with the effect, of manipulating or controlling prices, or of creating a monopoly in buying, selling or dealing in any article, or restraining commerce; From conspiring or combining with any other person to apportion territory or purchases or sales, or to manipulate or control prices; From aiding or abetting the doing of any of the foregoing acts.' The Secretary of Agriculture may also require the packers to 'keep such accounts, records and memoranda as will fully and correctly disclose all transactions in their business, including the ownership of such business by stockholding or otherwise.'

"For violation of the terms of the act packers or their agents will be liable to a fine of from \$1,000 to \$10,000 or may be sent to prison for terms ranging from one year to five years, according to the seriousness of the infraction. The privilege is given to the packers, as to the stockyard men, to appeal to the United States courts against such penalties imposed by the Secretary of Agriculture. As for the stockyard men, the law requires all owners, live-stock dealers and commission merchants to register with the Secretary of Agriculture, file their price schedules and change those schedules to conform with the decree of the Secretary in case he finds them unreasonable. The stockyard owners and others are also required to keep their accounts in the manner prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture so as to disclose all their transactions and the ownership of their business."—*New York Times Current History, Mar., 1922.*

FOOT, Roman.—"The unit of lineal measure [with the Romans] was the Pes, which occupied the same place in the Roman system as the Foot does in our own. According to the most accurate researches, the Pes was equal to about 11.64 inches imperial measure, or .97 of an English foot. The Pes being supposed to represent the length of the foot in a well proportioned man, various divisions and multiples of the Pes were named after standards derived from the human frame. Thus: Pes = 16 Digni, i. e. finger-breadths, [or] 4 Palmi, i. e. hand-breadths; Sesquipes = 1 cubitus, i. e. length from elbow to extremity of middle finger. The Pes was also divided into 12 Pollices, i. e. thumb-joint-lengths, otherwise called Unciae (whence our word 'inch')."—W. Ramsay, *Manual of Roman antiquities, ch. 13.*

FOOTE, Andrew Hull (1806-1863), American naval officer, in the gun-boat campaign on the western rivers during the Civil War; captured Fort Henry and Island Number 10, 1862; wounded in the combined attack on Fort Donelson. See U. S. A.: 1862 (January-February: Kentucky-Tennessee); (March-April: On the Mississippi).

FOOTE, Arthur William (1853-), American born and American trained composer; studied with Emery, Paine, and Lang; appointed organist, First Unitarian Church, Boston, 1878. His greatest

works are an orchestral suite, and a symphonic prologue, "Francesca da Rimini."

FOOTE, Samuel Augustus (1780-1846), American legislator. Served in state legislature; member of Congress, 1819-1821, 1823-1825; senator from Connecticut, 1827-1833; governor of Connecticut, 1834-1836; author of the Foote Resolutions.

FOOTE RESOLUTIONS, presented in the United States Senate December 29, 1829, by Senator Foote of Connecticut. They provided for restrictions on land sales and were vigorously opposed by western senators, notably Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri. The southern states rights advocates sought to draw the western men to their side and this led to the famous Webster-Hayne debate.

FORAKER, Joseph Benson (1846-1917), American Republican legislator and governor; served in Army of the Cumberland during the Civil War; judge of the Superior Court of Ohio, 1879-1882; governor of Ohio, 1886-1890; United States senator, 1897-1909; introduced the Foraker Act of 1900 for the government of Porto Rico.

FORAKER ACT (1900). See U. S. A.: 1900-1901.

FORBACH, or Spicheren, Battle of. See FRANCE: 1870 (July-August).

FORBES, William Cameron (1870-), governor-general of the Philippines, 1909-1913. See BAGUIO.

FORCADOS, port of southern Nigeria. See CAMEROONS: Occupation by Germany.

FORCE, Peter (1790-1868), American historian; founder of the American Historical Society, 1835. See AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

FORCE BILL: 1833.—Act designed to prevent nullification and secession. See U. S. A.: 1828-1833.

1871.—Act to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment. See U. S. A.: 1871 (April).

FORCHEIN, city in Bavaria, at the junction of the Wiesent and the Regnitz. It is famous as the seat of Diets. See PAPACY: 1056-1122.

FORD, Henry (1863-), American automobile manufacturer. See AUTOMOBILES: 1889-1905; 1892-1916.

FORD, John (1586-c. 1640), English dramatist. See DRAMA: 1592-1648.

FORD LEGAL AID BUREAU. See LEGAL AID: United States: Important factors in administration of legal aid.

FORDE, Francis (d. 1770), British colonel in India. See INDIA: 1758-1761.

FORDNEY TARIFF BILL. See TARIFF: 1921 (May); U. S. A.: 1921.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE. See MONEY AND BANKING: Modern period: 1912-1913: Federal reserve system; 1913-1920.

FOREIGN LEGION, body of French troops composed of adventurous spirits from all parts of the world. They have served with Maximilian in Mexico, in Algeria and Morocco and in the World War, and enjoy a high reputation for valor. They are subject to the strictest discipline of any military body in the world.

FOREST CANTONS, Swiss. See SWITZERLAND: Three forest cantons.

FOREST PATROL, Aerial. See AVIATION: Development of airplanes, etc.: 1918-1921: Air service after World War.

FORESTRY CORPS, World War. See WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: VI. Military and naval equipment: d.

FORESTS: Conservation.—Administration.—Danger of destruction.—Reserves. See CONSER-

VAATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES; ALASKA: 1884-1912; AGRICULTURE, DEPARTMENT OF; WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: XI. Devastation: b, 4.

FORLANINI, Enrico, Italian inventor. See AVIATION: Development of balloons and dirigibles: 1806-1914.

FORLI, capital of the province of the same name, in Italy, situated on the old Æmilian way. See ITALY: 1412-1447; VENICE: 1494-1503.

FORMALDEHYDE: Production. See CHEMISTRY: Practical application: Drugs.

FORMIDABLE, British cruiser, torpedoed and sunk by the Germans, January, 1915, in the English Channel on her way to the Dardanelles.

FORMIGAS, small island of the Azores group.

FORMORIANS. See FOMORIANS.

FORMOSA: Geographic description.—“Formosa, or Taiwan, as it is called by the Chinese, is about 400 miles south of the mouth of the Yangtse, and 100 from the mainland of China. [See also CHINA: Map.] It lies between 25° 20' and 21° 50' north latitude, is nearly 240 miles long, by an average of 75 miles wide, and has an area of about 12,000 square miles [with a population of 3,654,398]. It is remarkable for its beauty and fertility, and also for the variety of its products. It was formerly attached to the province of Fohkien, and governed by a resident commissioner; but since the Franco-Chinese War, during which the French, under Admiral Courbet [1884-1885], were foiled in their efforts to take possession of it, it has been erected into an independent province by imperial decree.”—J. H. Wilson, *China*, ch. 18.—In 1895 the island was ceded to Japan. “Ranges of slaty and schistose mountains, mainly of the Tertiary age, run through its length, some of their peaks towering as high as 13,000 feet. The eastern coast is rocky and steep, affording very few landing places; but the western coast consists of flat, fertile, alluvial plains, where are raised rice, sugar cane, tea, ramie, bananas, oranges, and sweet potatoes. Among the mountains grow gigantic trees of various kinds, the most important being camphor and hinoki (*Thuya obtusa*). The island is as beautiful as it is fertile. The Portuguese navigators, as they sailed along the eastern coast, were so charmed by its precipitous but wooded mountains, its fantastic rocks and the foaming billows which dash against them, that they put down in their log-book their favorite name of ‘Ihla Formosa.’ From the other side, the Chinese, who can quite easily reach the western coast in their junks—the distance from Foochow to a Formosan port is only a little over a hundred miles—were struck with its beauty, as from their anchorage they saw hillsides inhabited and cultivated, and they called it Taiwan, the ‘Terraced Bay,’ which is still the official designation of the island. The Japanese, too, had long known of it, and in times past venturesome spirits used to frequent it, but in later days only the poetical name ‘Takasago’ (The High Sandy Tract) remained, suggesting in popular fancy a land of lotus-eaters.”—I. Nitobe, *Japanese nation*, p. 233.—See also JAPAN: Name.

1874-1910.—Conquest by Japan.—Opium problem.—Public health.—Head-hunters.—General development.—“In 1874, in order to obtain redress for a murder of Japanese sailors by savages on the eastern coast of Formosa, the Japanese government undertook to take possession of the southern part of Formosa, asserting that it did not belong to China because she either would not or could not govern its savage inhabitants. By the intervention of the British minister, Sir T. F. Wade,

war was prevented, the Japanese withdrawing and the Chinese remaining in control; but the former still coveted the island, and finally secured it, as one of the results of their war with China, in 1894-5.”—S. W. Williams, *Middle kingdom*, ch. 26, v. 2.—See also JAPAN: 1868-1894; SHIMONOSEKI, TREATY OF (1895).

“When the war between China and Japan came to an end [1895], Formosa was most unexpectedly brought into prominence. When Japan proposed that China should cede the island, we were not at all sure that the suggestion would be regarded with favor. But the Chinese plenipotentiary, Li Hung-Chang, took up the proposition, as though it were wise on the part of his country to be freed from an encumbrance, and he even commiserated Japan for acquiring it. He pointed out that the island was not amenable to good government: (1) that brigandage could never be exterminated; (2) that the practice of smoking opium was too deep-rooted and wide-spread among the people, to eradicate; (3) that the climate was not salubrious; and (4) that the presence of head-hunting was a constant menace to economic development. The island, somewhat like Sicily, had, in the course of its history, been subject to the flags of various nations. Holland, Spain, and China ruled it at different times; a Hungarian nobleman once dominated it; and at one time Japanese pirates had practically usurped supreme power over it. In 1884, the French under the celebrated Admiral Courbet planted the tricolor on its shores, where it waved for eight months. . . . In accordance with the stipulation of the treaty of Shimonoseki, one of our [Japanese] generals, Count Kabayama, was dispatched as Governor-General of Formosa. In that capacity, he was about to land on the island with a large army, when he was met by the Chinese plenipotentiary at the port of Kelung, and in an interview which took place on board the steamer *Yokohama Maru*, the 17th of April, 1895, it was arranged that a landing should be effected without opposition. This marked the first occupation of the island by our troops. [See also CHINA: 1894-1895.] There were at that time some Imperial Chinese soldiers still remaining in the island, and they were ordered to disarm and leave the country. Many did so, but a few remained to oppose our advance; there were also a few patriots who did not feel ready to accept our terms—not prepared to accept alien rule,—and these either went from the island or took up arms against us. The so-called patriots proclaimed a republic, one of the very few republics ever started in Asia. Though the island was pacified, no one knew what would happen next. We did not understand the character of the people. Very few Japanese could speak Formosan, and fewer Formosans could speak Japanese. There was naturally mutual distrust and suspicion. The bandits abounded everywhere. Under these conditions military rule was the only form of government that could be adopted until better assurance could be obtained of the disposition of the people. The first Governor-General was Count Kabayama [1895], known as a hero of the Chino-Japanese War; the second was no less a man than Prince Katsura [1896], of international fame as our Prime-Minister during the war with Russia; and the third was General Nogi [1896], of Port Arthur renown. Finding that the country could ill afford such a luxury as a colony, the Parliament of Japan cut down its appropriation of six or seven million yen payable from the national treasury by about one-third, thus reducing the subsidy to only four millions. Viscount Kodama, who, as a member of the General Staff,

had made a study of the Formosan problem, was ready to accept the governorship and the task of putting to rights the bankrupt housekeeping of the colony. In the choice of his assistant, the civil governor, he made the discovery, as he called it, of a man who proved himself a true right hand, and who in efficiency actually exceeded his most sanguine expectations. I refer to Baron Goto. . . . Until he was made civil governor of Formosa under Kodama, he had been known as an expert on hygiene, having been a physician. The advent of these two men in Formosa marked a new era in our colonial administration. Upon entering their new duties early in 1898, the first thing they did was to bring about a practical suspension of military rule; at least, it was made subservient to civil administration. Military rule is apt to become harsh, and to the Chinese especially, who are not accustomed to respect the army, it is doubly harsh. When General Kodama went to Formosa, he found brigandage still rampant, and with military rule in abeyance there was some likelihood of its becoming worse. To offset this, the constabulary department was organised and made efficient by proper care in choosing men for the police and by educating them in the rudiments of law and industries, to prepare them for their difficult and delicate tasks. Exceedingly arduous are their callings, for these policemen are required not only to represent law and order but are expected to be teachers as well. They keep account, for instance, of every resident of the island, and they watch over every man and woman who smokes opium; they must become acquainted with children of school-age and know which children go to school and which do not. Our Formosan police are expected to instruct the people how to take care of themselves, especially in regard to pests, and about disinfection. They perform many duties that would scarcely be required even of the Trooper Police of Australia. They often live in villages where there are no Japanese other than the members of their own families. Of course, they must know the Formosan language and speak it. Now, under civil administration, armies were not mobilised against brigands, and if there was any trouble, it was the policemen who had to cope with the situation. The brigands were first invited to subject themselves to law, and if they surrendered their arms, they were assured not only of protection but of means of subsistence. Not a few leaders took the hint and were given special privileges. Those who resisted to the end were necessarily treated as disturbers and as criminals. Twelve years ago the brigands were so powerful that the capital of Formosa, Taihoku (Taipeh), was assaulted by them; but in the last ten years [written in 1912] we have scarcely heard of them. . . .

"[A] great evil in the island . . . was the smoking of opium. When the island was taken over, this subject was much discussed by our people. Some said opium-smoking must be summarily and unconditionally abolished by law. . . . What took Baron Goto for the first time to Formosa was the mission of studying this question from a medical standpoint, and the plan he drew up was for the gradual suppression of the evil. The *modus operandi* was the control of the production by the Government; because, if the Government monopolises the production and manufacture of opium, it can restrict the quantity as well as improve the quality so as to make it less harmful. Smuggling was watched and punished. . . . In 1900 those addicted to the habit numbered in round figures 170,000, or 6.3 per cent. of the population. . . . In

five years the number decreased to 130,000 or 3.5 per cent of the population. . . . Thus, the second evil . . . in Formosa has been greatly weakened and seems destined to disappear. [See also OPIUM PROBLEM: 1905; 1918.]

"Chiefly owing, directly or indirectly, to malaria, the population of Formosa has never been very great. . . . The fact that new-comers from Japan are so easily attacked is the greatest drawback to colonising the island. Sugar-mills, for want of sufficient labour, have imported Japanese; but usually one-third of them cannot be depended upon—that is to say, the efficiency of labour may be said to be diminished by one-third on account of malaria. Even under present conditions every effort is made to drive out malaria. . . . In the barracks outside of Taihoku, there is little malaria. In the town itself, the improved drainage . . . has evidently contributed toward the same end. So, also, has the good water supply, which has taken the place of wells and cisterns. Then, too, new building regulations enforce better ventilation and access to sunlight. In the principal cities, large portions of the town have been entirely rebuilt. . . . Other cities, notably Tainan in the south, are making sanitary improvements, so that they will probably show a similar immunity within a few years. As for the island at large, owing to the fact that irrigation is the very life of rice-culture, there are necessarily unlimited breeding-places for mosquitoes. . . . Smallpox and cholera have been practically eliminated from the list of prevalent diseases. With the bubonic plague, the Government has had a pretty hard fight. Dr. Takaki, who has been chief of sanitation for some years, has devoted his energy and scientific knowledge to the eradication of it by every possible means, so that there has been a steady and regular decrease of pest since 1906. Thus the third great impediment . . . in Taiwan is being steadily overcome, and now I reach the fourth and last obstruction,—namely, the presence of head-hunting tribes, allied to the head-hunters of Borneo made familiar by the pen of Professor Haddon. These Malay people are the oldest known inhabitants of the island. That they are not autochthonous is evident from the tradition, current among many tribes, that their ancestors arrived in a boat from some distant quarter. At present they number about one hundred and fifteen thousand. They are in a very primitive state of social life. The only art with which they are acquainted is agriculture, and that of a very rude sort. They have scarcely any clothing; a few tribes wear none. Their houses are usually built of wood and bamboo and are roofed with slate or straw. Scrupulously clean in their personal habits, bathing frequently, they keep their huts very neat. In character, they are brave and fierce when roused to ire; otherwise, friendly and childlike. They must have occupied the alluvial plains of the coast in years gone by, but were driven upward by the Chinese immigrants, Hakkas and Haklos, until they now dwell among almost inaccessible heights. What concerns us most nearly in their manner of life is their much venerated custom of consecrating any auspicious occasion by obtaining a human head. . . . The district where they roam is marked off by outposts, which I shall soon describe. Like the 'Forbidden Territory' or *boma* in British East Africa, no one is allowed to enter the 'Savage Boundary' without permit from the authorities. The importance of this decree will be obvious if I state that its area covers more than half of the island, and when the savages want a head, they steal down, hide themselves among the underbrush or among the

branches of trees, and shoot the first unlucky man who passes by. . . . During Chinese ascendancy the Government built a line of military posts, somewhat like the *trocha*, of which one still sees remains in Cuba. But after we had tried different methods, we came at last to the use of electrically charged wire fences. . . . These Malay tribes resemble the Japanese more than they do the Chinese, and they themselves say of the Japanese that we are their kin and that the Chinese are their enemies. And now every year, . . . we are getting better control over them by constantly advancing the fence, and owing to the fact that they are in want of salt, cut off as they are from the sea. Then we say, 'We will give you salt if you will come down and give up your weapons.' Thus tribe after tribe has recognised our power through the instrumentality of salt, and has submitted itself to Japanese rule. Here I may say, to the credit of these primitive men, that when once their promise of good behaviour is made, it is kept. When they submit themselves, we build them houses, give them agricultural tools and implements, give them land, and let them continue their means of livelihood in peace. . . .

"With the money that we could raise in the island, every year we had to get some subsidy from the national treasury. It was thought that such a subsidy would be necessary until 1910. But by the development of Formosan industries—the better cultivation of rice, the improved production of Oolong tea, for which you are the best customer, the control of the camphor industry (for nearly all the camphor that you use, if not artificial, is produced in Formosa), the successful encouragement of cane culture, which has increased the output of sugar sixfold in the last ten years—by developing these industries, we can get money enough in the island to do all the work that is needed to be done there. An accurate cadastral survey made landed property secure, enhanced its value, and added indirectly to its tax-paying capacity. The consumption tax placed on sugar alone brings in more than one-third of the public revenue. The growth of Formosa's foreign trade has been such that the customs now return no mean sum. The administration of the Island has been so successful that it attained financial independence two years before [1908] the expiration of the term fixed for it. There still remains much to be done. Irrigation work, for instance, is being carried out on a large scale. Then, there is the improvement of the harbours. Both in the north, at Kelung, and in the south, at Takao, commodious and deep harbours are now being constructed or improved. We have built a railroad from one end of the island to the other, but there is demand for further extension. Schools and hospitals are to be met with in every village and town, but more are needed. In all these things we think that we have succeeded quite well, especially when we compare our colony of Formosa with the experiments that other nations are making."—I. Nitobe, *Japanese nation*, pp. 237-252.

1906.—**Earthquake.**—Over 6,000 persons were reported killed or injured in an earthquake that occurred in the island of Formosa in March, 1906.

1906-1919.—**Development of the camphor and sugar industries.**—Consul Samuel C. Reat, of Tamsui, has prepared the following review of the camphor industry of the island of Formosa: "Camphor trees are found only in the mountainous districts, in the heart of the island, that have been and are in the possession of the head-hunting tribes of Formosa. By an apparent perversity of nature the camphor trees seem to flourish best in

the regions inhabited by the fiercest tribes. It is into the mountain fastnesses, to the very habitations of the hostile aborigines, that the camphor workers must penetrate. Truces with the savages, effected by gifts, have at times brought temporary tranquillity, but these periods have been short and of uncertain duration. Since the Japanese occupation fatalities in this work have decreased. This, in part due to a conciliatory policy adopted by the Japanese officials, is the result of civilizing influences, difficult to define, yet unmistakably at work. In spite of the improved conditions 451 people connected with the camphor industry were slain by savages during the last three years, the number in 1909 being 96. The camphor monopoly, directed by the Formosan Government, has been operating ten fiscal years. The first eight years were remarkably successful, and in 1906-7, a phenomenal year, the profits of the Formosan Government are said, upon the most trustworthy authority, to have reached \$1,500,000 gold. This may be partially verified by comparing the price that camphor brought that year (as high as \$80 per picul of 133 pounds) with the estimated price paid by the Government to the camphor producer, which is said to have been about \$15 per picul. These high prices could not be maintained. A reaction followed in 1907, caused in part by the appearance in the market of German synthetic camphor, and in part by business conditions depressing the world's markets generally. At the close of the fiscal year in 1908 there developed no indication of a satisfactory profit for the camphor monopoly. . . . [In 1910 the export of camphor amounted to 3,073,735 yen.] Under the Formosan Government monopoly regulations all camphor and camphor oil that have been produced in Formosa must be sold to the Monopoly Bureau. Under this system the amount of camphor to be placed on the market, the price to be paid to the producer, and the price to be paid to the vendee are fixed by the Government. The privilege of engaging in the camphor industry is granted by the Government to individuals and companies upon application. The applicant is required to furnish some evidence of his financial standing. A certain territory is allotted to each operator, and he must confine his operations within the particular district designated in his license."

"The sugar industry has experienced its greatest development since the outbreak of the European war. In 1915 the output of sugar in Japan proper was 140,000,000 *kin* and in Formosa about 420,000,000 *kin*, a total of 560,000,000 *kin*. At the same time exports of sugar from Japan have naturally increased and imports correspondingly decreased. Comparing the first nine months of 1916 with the same period in 1917 we have the following figures:

	Exports	Imports
January to September, 1916	¥6,701,157	¥7,211,401
January to September, 1917	10,101,341	4,835,331

Thus there was an increase of well over nine million *yen* in exports of sugar in the first nine months of the year as compared with the previous year, and a decrease of over two million *yen* in imports. . . . In Formosa sugar has been cultivated since the 16th century, being introduced by the Chinese. When Formosa was occupied by the Dutch in 1624 sugar was already a staple product of the island. For the next forty years the Dutch did all they could to develop the industry. When Teiseiko of China drove out the Dutch in 1666 he devoted much attention to the cultivation of sugar

cane, importing new plants from Fukien, after which rapid progress was made. After the island passed under the full control of China some 20 years later, no remarkable progress was seen in sugar cultivation. However, the industry was steadily carried on and the output was exported to Japan, China, England, North America and Australia. In 1895 when Japan came into possession of Formosa she was too much occupied with the subjugation of the savages to give proper attention to the sugar industry, and it declined until 1898, when the Government resolved to protect and encourage it. In 1902 the industry came under official protection, and with increase of capital, knowledge and modern methods both cane cultivation and sugar refining underwent radical improvement. To-day Formosa is one of the great sugar producing centers of the world. . . . The area under cultivation has also extended to an acreage much greater than formerly, about four times that under cultivation at the time of Japan's occupation in 1895. During the past ten years or so [written in 1918] the output of sugar from Formosa has increased more than sevenfold in value. [In 1910 the export of sugar amounted to 7,542,252 yen.] . . . The development of the sugar industry in Formosa owes not a little to the energy and direction of the large sugar companies that have been established there, bringing in adequate capital and forming an association for the protection of the industry."—Teizo Ito, *Formosan sugar industry* (*Japan Magazine*, Feb., 1918).

1920-1921.—Railways.—Budget.—Roads are in process of construction throughout the island, 378 miles of railway being opened in 1920. The budget for 1920-1921 balanced with an estimated expenditure and revenue of 94,368,309 yen.

FORMULA OF CONCORD, body of Lutheran confessions of faith, published in 1580, forming the basis of agreement between the Lutheran imperial states. See **PAPACY**: 1570-1597.

FORNUOVA, Battle of (1495). See **ITALY**: 1494-1496.

FORREST, John, 1st Baron (1847-1918), Austrian politician and explorer. First premier of Western Australia. See **WESTERN AUSTRALIA**.

FORREST, Nathan Bedford (1821-1877), Confederate general in the Civil War. See **U. S. A.**: 1862-1863 (December-January: Tennessee); 1863 (February-April: Tennessee); 1863-1864 (December-April: Tennessee-Mississippi); 1864 (April: Tennessee); 1864 (September-October: Georgia); 1865 (April-May).

FORSTER, William Edward (1818-1886), British statesman; member of the House of Commons from 1861 until his death; appointed undersecretary of state, 1865; Privy Councilor, 1868. Made chief secretary for Ireland, 1880, but resigned two years later in protest of the release of Parnell and other Irish leaders; championed imperial federation, becoming president of the Imperial Federation League in 1884. See **BRITISH EMPIRE**: Colonial federation; Imperial federation proposals: 19th century; **IRELAND**: 1881-1882.

FORSTNER, Lieutenant von (d. 1915), German officer in the Alsatian town of Zabern. See **ZABERN**: 1913.

FORSYTH, Alexander John (1769-1843), Scottish inventor of the percussion-cap, 1807; first tested in 1834. See **RIFLES AND REVOLVERS**: Origin of small arms.

FORT DODGE CLAIM CLUB. See **IOWA**: 1830-1860.

FORT EDWARD, **FORT ERIE**, **FORT FISHER**, ETC. See **EDWARD, FORT**; **ERIE, FORT**, etc.

FORT MOULTRIE, Treaty of (1819). See **SEMINOLES**.

FORT WASHINGTON, Battle of (1776). See **U. S. A.**: 1776 (September-November).

FORTIFICATION. See **MILITARY ORGANIZATION**: 1; 2; 16; **TRENCH WARFARE**: Beginning; **PANAMA CANAL**: 1910-1914; 1912-1914.

FORTRENN, Men of, Pictish people in early Scottish history.

FORTS, frontier posts. See **FRONTIER POSTS**.

FORTUNATE ISLANDS, identified with the Canary islands. See **CANARY ISLANDS**.

FORTUNY Y CARBO MARIANO, José María (1838-1874), Spanish painter and etcher. See **PAINTING**: Europe (19th century).

FORTY FORT, Battle of. See **U. S. A.**: 1778 (July).

FORTY-EIGHT, Party of, political party of Hungary representing the extreme left. See **HUNGARY**: 1918 (November).

FORTY-FIVE.—The Jacobite rebellion of 1745 is often referred to as "the Forty-five." See **SCOTLAND**: 1745-1746.

FORTY-NINERS, term applied to the vast numbers of fortune-seekers who emigrated to California following the discovery of gold there in 1848 and 1849.

FORTY-TWO ARTICLES, declaration of faith drawn up by the Church of England in 1552. See **CHURCH OF ENGLAND**: 1534-1563.

FORUM GALLORUM, Battle of (B. C. 43). See **ROME**: Republic: B. C. 44-42.

FORUM JULII, Roman colony and naval station (modern Frejus) founded on the Mediterranean coast of Gaul by Augustus.

FORUM TREBONII, Battle of (251). See **GOTHS**: 244-251.

FORUMS OF ROME: Forum Romanum.—"The Topographical Centre of Ancient Rome was the low ground lying between the Palatine, the Velia, the Esquiline, the Viminal, and the Capitoline [five hills]. When the Palatine city had extended its boundaries to the adjacent heights, this became the natural meeting-place for trade and political action. These two functions were carefully separated, the political assemblies being held on the Comitium, a small and definitely marked-out area, which lay at the northwest corner of the much larger and undetermined area where the people met for other purposes. This was called the Forum, or market-place. Although there was no natural line of demarcation between Forum and Comitium, they were kept distinct in use until the middle of the second century B. C. After that date they gradually lost their separate identity, and the phrase *Comitium et Forum* conveyed but one idea. This valley was originally swampy, being the natural basin for the drainage of the surrounding hills. . . . The end of the first period was marked by the beginning of a systematic attempt to drain the swampy ground. This was effected by constructing sewers, and especially the Cloaca Maxima. . . . During the . . . first three centuries of the republic the Forum became an increasingly important part of the city. . . . Two things contributed to change the character and appearance of the Forum at the beginning of the second century, B. C.,—the erection of the Macellum, or market house, north of the Forum, and of the three basilicas, Porcia, Aemilia, and Sempronia, and, fifty years later, of the Opimia. . . . The erection of the basilicas added greatly to the appearance of the Forum; but their main object was to afford convenient and sheltered halls where the Romans could meet to transact the steadily

increasing business of the capital."—S. B. Platner, *Topography and monuments of ancient Rome*, pp. 164-167.

Imperial.—The imperial period "witnessed the complete rebuilding of the Forum, a process which was just begun by Julius Cæsar, and carried out by Augustus and Tiberius. Later emperors did something; but, with the exception of the temples of Vespasian and Faustina, the arch of Septimius Severus, the eight pedestals and columns in front of the basilica Julia, and a few minor changes, the Forum of the empire, which is known to us by its ruins, is the work of Augustus and Tiberius."—*Ibid.*, p. 167.—"The fourth forum [was] built by Vespasian, and the fifth [was] begun by Domitian and completed by

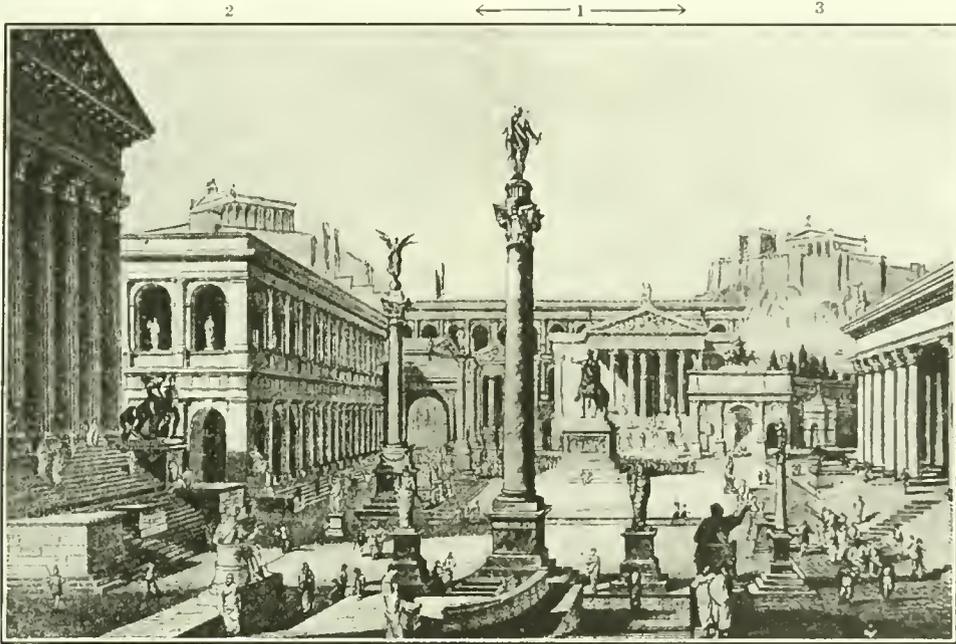
one mile long, and supported by about twelve hundred columns, public libraries and archives, and the finest and richest shops of the metropolis."—R. Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the light of modern discoveries*, pp. 84-89.

ALSO IN: C. Huelsen, *Roman forum*.—E. Burton-Brown, *Roman forum*.—W. S. Baddeley, *Recent discoveries in the forum*, 1898-1904.

FOSCOLO, Ugo (1778-1827), Italian revolutionary poet. See ITALIAN LITERATURE: 1750-1873.

FOSDICK, Harry Emerson (1878-), American divine. Instructor at Union Theological Seminary, 1908-1915; became professor, 1915.

FOSDICK, Raymond Blaine (1883-), American lawyer and public official. Chairman Commission on Training Camp Activities of War



ROMAN FORUM OF IMPERIAL PERIOD, RECONSTRUCTION BY RETHEL.

1. Tabularium. 2. Temple of Jupiter on Capitoline Hill. 3. Temple of Juno. 4. Temple of Castor and Pollux. 5. Basilica Julia. 6, 7. Arch of Tiberius and Temple of Saturn. 8. Temple of Vespasian. 9. Rostrum. 10. Equestrian statue of Domitian. 11. Temple of Concord. 12. Arch of Septimius Severus. 13, 14. Temple of Janus and Mamertine prison. 15. Basilica Emilia.

Nerva. . . The last and most magnificent square belonging to the group [of the imperial forums was] . . . the forum of Trajan, the handsomest and costliest monument of ancient Rome. . . The forum of Trajan comprised seven different sections. . . The ensemble of these various sections was considered not only the masterpiece of Roman architecture of the golden age, but one of the marvels of the world. . . It is enough to say that by the addition of Trajan's forum to the five which already existed, the whole space put at the disposal of the people of Rome, for meeting in public, for promenading, for the transaction of business or the administration of justice, and so forth, was brought to the grand total of twenty-five and one half acres. This space contained thirteen temples, three basilicas, or court-houses, eight triumphal arches, the house of parliament, thousands of life-size statues in bronze and marble, porticoes more than

and Navy Departments, 1917-1918; special student of police systems. See WORLD WAR: 1917: VIII. United States and the war: i, 8; CRIMINAL LAW: 1021.

FOSETISLAND, ancient name for Heligoland.

FOSI, ancient tribe of Hanover. See CHAUCI.

FOSSE, one of the great Roman roads in Britain, which ran from Lincoln southwestwardly into Cornwall. See ROMAN ROADS IN BRITAIN.

FOSSE, town in Belgium southeast of Namur, in 1918 taken by the American troops. See WORLD WAR: 1918: II. Western front: v, 10.

FOSSIL MAN. See ANTHROPOLOGY: Physical; EUROPE: Prehistoric period: Earliest remains, etc.

FOSTAT (*the Encompment*), original name of Cairo, Egypt. See CALIPHATE: 640-646.

FOSTER, Sir George Eulas (1847-), Canadian statesman. Member of Canadian House of Commons, 1882; minister of marine and fisheries, 1885; minister of finance, 1888-1896; dele-

gate to the first Intercolonial conferences, 1802; minister of trade and commerce, 1911; representative at the Peace Conference, 1919. See CANADA: 1917: Coalition government.

FOSTER, John Gray (1823-1874), American major-general and engineer. Served in the Civil War. See U. S. A.: 1860 (December): Major Anderson at Fort Sumter.

FOTHERINGAY CASTLE, near Peterborough, Northamptonshire, England, the scene of Mary Stuart's execution. See SCOTLAND: 1561-1568; ENGLAND: 1585-1587.

FOUCHE, Joseph, Duc d'Otranto (1763-1820), French revolutionist. Deputy to the convention, 1792-1795; a leading Jacobin; minister to the Cisalpine republic, 1798; minister to the Netherlands, 1799; minister of police under Napoleon I, 1799-1802, 1804-1810, 1815; was in charge of the provisional government set up after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo.

FOULLON, Joseph François (1717-1789), French administrator. Intendant general of the army during the Seven Years' War and later became intendant general of finance, 1771; minister of the king's household, 1780. See FRANCE: 1789 (July): Surrender of authority by the king.

FOUNDATIONS, Educational and philanthropic, United States: Carnegie Foundations.—The best known of the foundations made by Andrew Carnegie include the Carnegie Institution of Washington, the Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Carnegie Hero Fund, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Carnegie Corporation of New York. This last is the latest and greatest of his philanthropies. Before his death he endowed it with \$125,000,000. After his death, its share of his residuary estate amounted to about \$11,000,000, and by the terms of the trust, he gave the five trustees in whom these vast sums are vested an absolutely free hand to use them for the promotion of civilization in whatever way they, in their judgment, should decide was best. This enabled them to use very large amounts in aiding the Red Cross (\$1,500,000), the Knights of Columbus (\$250,000), the Y. M. C. A. (\$250,000), and Y. W. C. A. (\$100,000) in war work, in building cantonment libraries (\$320,000), in the study of means of Americanization (\$204,000), for the National Research Council (\$5,420,000), Church pension fund (about \$325,000). The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Learning, however, is from its name the endowment which is categorically known as the Carnegie Foundation. It was at first intended by its founder that the original fund provided should be used for retiring allowances for the teachers of higher educational institutions in the United States, Newfoundland and Canada. It was soon found, however, that the system which was instituted was rather impractical, and the foundation was soon changed and enlarged into a regular scheme of pension insurance. "The Carnegie Foundation was the outcome of Mr. Carnegie's sympathy with the cause of education, and of his desire to be of service to the teachers of America. In a letter of April 16, 1905, announcing a gift for this cause, he wrote: 'I have reached the conclusion that the least rewarded of all the professions is that of the teacher in our higher educational institutions. . . . Able men hesitate to accept teaching as a career, and many old professors whose places should be occupied by younger men can not be retired. . . . I have, therefore, transferred to you and your successors, as Trustees, \$10,000,000 five

per cent first mortgage bonds of the United States Steel Corporation, the revenue from which is to provide retiring pensions for the teachers of universities, colleges and technical schools in our country, Canada and Newfoundland, under such conditions as you may adopt from time to time.' . . . The Executive Committee . . . obtained from the Congress of the United States an act of incorporation. This act enabled the corporation to receive and maintain funds for paying pensions to college teachers in the United States, Canada and Newfoundland, and 'in general to do and perform all things necessary to encourage, uphold and dignify the profession of the teacher and the cause of higher education' in these three countries. . . . The rules adopted [by the board] for conferring retiring allowances were based upon length of service and upon age. Twenty-five years of service as a professor was the minimum basis of the service pension and sixty-five years the minimum limit of age at which retirement could be asked. . . . Mr. Carnegie in March, 1908, offered five millions of dollars additional endowment to enable the Trustees to enlarge the number of institutions 'should the governing boards of any State universities apply for participation in the fund and the legislature and governor of the State approve such application.' He directed that this sum and the original gift of ten millions be considered a single endowment. In accordance with these conditions, application has been made on behalf of all of our State universities for a share in the pensions provided by this endowment, and these applications have been approved by the legislatures and governors of the respective States. Similar action has been taken in the provinces of Canada. . . . When the Carnegie Foundation was incorporated in the spring of 1906, there was no conception of a pension plan in the minds of Mr. Carnegie and of his Trustees, except that of the free payment of pensions to as many teachers as the income of the endowment would provide. In making such payments, the Trustees had clearly recognized that such pensions or allowances must be stipendiary in character, that is to say, they must have some fair relation to the active salary. . . . Within a very short time the defects of this plan began to show themselves. The establishment of a privilege so valuable as a free pension, when restricted to a limited number of institutions, involved discriminations between institutions which as time passed became more and more difficult to justify. . . . The evidence brought together convinced the Trustees that a non-contributory pension, . . . was not in the permanent interest of the college teacher, and that it should be transformed into a system in which the expense could be definitely estimated in advance. . . . The following plan was therefore adopted: For five years no change is made. At the end of that period the minimum age of retirement is raised, year by year, one year at a time, for a second period of five years, by which time it has been brought to seventy years. After the first five years, a teacher retiring before the minimum age will receive an allowance diminished by one-fifteenth for every year by which he anticipates the minimum age. This arrangement will still require a very large expenditure, and one that will absorb practically the whole income of the Foundation for fifty years. In addition there will be expended the entire principal and interest of one million dollars accumulated by the Foundation and a large reserve fund of eleven millions of dollars, contributed by the Carnegie Corpora-

tion for this purpose. The Foundation will expend, during the next fifty years, some sixty millions of dollars in carrying out the expectations of the teachers in the associated institutions."—*Manual of the public benefactions of Andrew Carnegie*, pp. 129-132, 138-139, 141, 146.—"In the charter of the Foundation, provision is made for engaging in any endeavor within the field of education that tends to promote and advance the profession of the teacher. . . . Recognizing in value of such work, Mr. Carnegie . . . offered \$1,250,000 of four per cent bonds as an endowment for a Division of Educational Inquiry. The Trustees accepted this gift as a separate trust, and the fifty thousand dollars of annual income has been devoted to the work of educational inquiry. . . . In the prosecution of educational studies, the Foundation has offered to those who thus cooperated with it the largest measure of freedom, both in their methods and in their utterances."—*Manual of the public benefactions of Andrew Carnegie*, pp. 135, 136.—See also **CARNEGIE HERO FUND**; **CARNEGIE INSTITUTE, PITTSBURGH**; **CARNEGIE INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON**; **PEACE MOVEMENT**: Peace organizations.

Commonwealth. See **COMMONWEALTH FUND**.
General Education Board. See **GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD**.

Jeanes. See **JEANES FOUNDATION**.
Leland Stanford. See **UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES**: 1884.

Peabody. See **PEABODY FUND**.
Rockefeller. See **ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION**.
Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. See **ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE FOR MEDICAL RESEARCH**.

Russell Sage. See **RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION**.
Slater. See **SLATER FUND**.
FOUNTAIN OF ABYDOS. See **ABYDOS, EGYPT**.

FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH: Ponce de Leon's quest of. See **AMERICA**: 1512.

FOUNTAINS ABBEY, Cistercian monastery on the banks of the Skell river, Yorkshire, founded by thirteen Benedictine monks of St. Mary's abbey of York. Building began about 1135 and was continued until the middle of the thirteenth century. The abbey was favored to a great extent by Henry I and his successors, but during Henry VIII's time the monastic establishment was dissolved and the manor and site were sold to Sir Richard Gresham, from whom it has passed through a number of hands. In 1920 it was the property of the marquess of Ripon.

FOUQUET, Nicolas, Vicomte de Melun and de Vaux, Marquis de Belle-Ile (1615-1680), superintendent of finance under Louis XIV. Procureur-général, 1650; 1659, rivalry developed between Fouquet and Mazarin with the result that at the latter's death Colbert was asked to examine the finances, and he prejudiced the king against Fouquet, who was arrested at Nantes in 1661; found guilty after an unfair trial lasting three years; sent to Pignerol in 1665, where he died in 1680.—See also **IRON MASK, MAN IN TIE**.

FOUR ARTICLES, Declaration of, or Declaration of Gallican liberties. See **PAPACY**: 1682-1693.

FOUR COURTS, the four powers, Austria, England, Prussia and Russia. France was admitted in 1815. See **VIENNA, CONGRESS OF**.

FOUR HUNDRED, Athens, council of 400 invested with the powers of government by the Athenians in 411 B.C. See **ATHENS**: B.C. 413-411.

FOUR MASTERS.—Four Irish antiquaries of the seventeenth century, who compiled the mixed collection of legend and history called the "Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland," are commonly known as the Four Masters. They were Michael O'Clery, a lay brother of the order of St. Francis; Conaire O'Clery, brother of Michael; Cucogry or Peregrine O'Clery, head of the Tirconnell sept of the O'Clerys, to which Michael and Conaire belonged; and Ferfeasa O'Mulconry, of whom nothing is known, except that he was a native of the county of Roscommon. The "Annals" of the Four Masters have been translated into English from the Irish tongue by John O'Donovan.—J. O'Donovan, *Introduction to annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*.—See also **ANNALS**: Irish.

FOUR MILE LAW, law regulating the sale of liquor in Tennessee. See **TENNESSEE**: 1887-1908.

"FOUR MINUTE" MEN, volunteer national organization of which the members, in 1917-1918, made four minute patriotic speeches in motion picture theaters all over the United States.—See also **WORLD WAR**: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: III. Press reports, etc.: d, 5.

FOUR POWER TREATY, ratification in Japan. See **JAPAN**: 1921-1922.

FOURDRINIER, Henry (1766-1854), English inventor of paper-making machine. See **INVENTIONS**: 19th century: Industry.

FOURIER, François Charles Marie (1772-1837), French socialist. See **SOCIALISM**: 1832-1847.

FOURIERISM, name applied to Charles Fourier's social theories. See **SOCIALISM**: 1832-1847; 1840-1847.

FOURTEEN DIAMOND RINGS, Case of. See **U. S. A.**: 1900-1901.

FOURTEEN POINTS, statement of war aims made by President Wilson in 1918. See **WORLD WAR**: 1918: X. Statement of war aims: b; c; d; **U. S. A.**: 1918 (January).

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT, an amendment to the Constitution of the United States guaranteeing the civil rights of the negro, and establishing a new basis of representation, finally ratified, July 20, 1868. See **U. S. A.**: 1865-1866 (December-April); 1866 (June); 1866-1867 (October-March); 1871 (April); **SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD**: United States: 1864-1921.

FOURTH OF JULY, anniversary of the adoption of the American Declaration of Independence. See **U. S. A.**: 1776 (July).

FOWEY, small seaport of Cornwall, England, twenty-two miles west of Plymouth. See **ENGLAND**: 1644 (August-September).

FOWLER VS. MILLER, first interstate dispute to come up to the Supreme Court, 1799. See **SUPREME COURT**: 1835-1864.

FOWLTOWN, Battle of (1817). See **FLORIDA**: 1812-1819.

FOX, Charles James (1749-1806), English statesman and orator. Member of Parliament, 1768; junior lord of the admiralty under Lord North, 1770-1772; lord of the treasury, 1772-1774; dismissed because of opposition to the king; foreign secretary in Whig ministry of Rockingham, 1782; secretary of state, with North, 1783; in 1806 until his death, foreign secretary. Fox opposed the war with the American colonies, and the wars with France, urged the abolition of slavery, and secured the passage of the Libel Act. See **ENGLAND**: 1782-1783; 1783-1787; 1806-1812.

FOX, George (1624-1601), English Quaker, founder of the Society of Friends. See **FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF**: Origin and early history.

FOX, Henry. See **HOLLAND, HENRY FOX, 1ST BARON.**

FOX INDIANS, American aboriginal tribe, a branch of the Algonquian family. See **INDIANS, AMERICAN:** Cultural areas in North America; Eastern woodlands area; **ALGONQUIAN FAMILY;** **SACS.**

1712.—Massacre at Detroit. See **WISCONSIN:** 1712-1740.

1812.—Allied with the English in War of 1812. See **MISSOURI:** 1812-1815.

1832.—Black Hawk War. See **ILLINOIS:** 1832.

FOXTON, Justin Fox Greenlaw (1840-1916), Australian statesman; member of Queensland Parliament for Carnarvon, 1883-1904; member of federal council of Australia; member of Parliament for Brisbane, 1906-1910; representative at Imperial Defense Conference, 1909. See **WAR,**

PREPARATION FOR: 1909: British Imperial Defense Conference.

FOYERS DU SOLDAT. See **Y. M. C. A.:** World War activities: 1914-1919: Work in France; **FRANCE:** 1914-1918: French women and their activities, etc.

FRA ANGELICO. See **ANGELICO, FRA.**

FRACTURES. See **MEDICAL SCIENCE: Modern:** 20th century: Advance in surgical methods.

FRAGONARD, Jean Honoré (1732-1806), French painter. See **PAINTING: French.**

FRAM, vessel used by Nansen in his Polar exploration. See **ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION:** 1911-1912; **ARCTIC EXPLORATION:** 1867-1901.

FRAME PILE DWELLINGS. See **LAKE DWELLINGS.**

FRANCE, Anatole (**Anatole Thibaut**) (1844-), French novelist and miscellaneous writer. See **FRENCH LITERATURE:** 1800-1921.

FRANCE

Geographic description.—Climate.—Area and population.—“France is a country of Western Europe, comprised between 51° 5' and 42° 20' of Latitude N. It is thus almost exactly half-way between the North Pole and the Equator. . . . On account of the influence of the Gulf Stream and of the prevailing west winds, the greater part of France is more temperate than its latitude would suggest. France is in the heart of the region best suited to the development of the white race. . . . Texas is considerably larger, and California not much smaller. In comparison with other Western European States, France does not look so insignificant. The British Isles are barely three-fifths the size of France. France is thus too large ever to fear that powerful neighbours will absorb her or turn her into their satellite, as might be the case with Denmark, Holland, or Belgium; but it is not a huge, self-contained continent or subcontinent, capable of evolving an independent culture. It is an organic, essential part of a larger unit, Western Europe. By far the most important point in this connection is that France, and France alone, borders at the same time on the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, and the North Sea. Thus she is both a Northern and a Southern Power, but not in the same degree. Historically, the whole of France belongs to the Mediterranean world, of which Rome was so long the centre. The valley of the Rhone and the isthmus of Gascony afforded easy access to the north and the west, as far as the Seine, the Rhine, and the Atlantic Ocean. Thus Gaul was early conquered by Roman arms, Roman law, and the Latin language. . . . Geographically, France is primarily a Northern country. . . . From Italy it is separated by the highest mountains in Europe, the Alps; from Spain, by the lower but less accessible Pyrenees. It has less than 400 miles of coast on the Mediterranean, against 700 on the North Sea and the Channel, and 865 on the Ocean. The western half of that Mediterranean coast is marshy and feverish; the eastern half is cut off from the rest of the country by abrupt and barren hills, or even by mountains. The highroad from the Mediterranean to the North, the Rhone Valley, is fertile enough, but exceedingly narrow; the river is abundant and picturesque, but impetuous and almost untamable—‘a mad bull rushing southward,’ as Michelet called it. On the contrary, between France, North Germany and Belgium

there are no natural obstacles. The Moselle, the Meuse, the Scheldt have the upper part of their course in France. The north-eastern boundary of France is purely artificial. The heart of French power, Paris, is far to the north.”—A. L. Guérard, *French civilization in the 19th century*, pp. 18-19. —“Of the great surrection of primary rocks which once ran across Europe from Bohemia to Wales, two main fragments remain in France, Armorica and the Central Mountains (Massif Central). The latter, under the formidable pressure of the geologic waves to which the Alps and Pyrenees are due, are dislocated, and lifted in part above their former altitude. The mountains of France, therefore, belong to different systems and ages, and offer very different aspects. Whilst primitive Armorica and Ardennes have been eroded into plateaux of moderate elevation, the comparatively recent Alps and Pyrenees have preserved the sharpness of their outlines. The rest of France consists mainly in three groups of plains: the Parisian basin, which includes the watershed of the river Seine and much of the middle Loire; the Aquitanian basin, watered by the Garonne and the Dordogne; and the narrow valley of the Saône, and Rhône. Now the chief factor in the unity of France is the fact that communications have always been easy from each of these basins into the others. Thus, ascending the Rhône and its tributary the Saône, we come to the rich province of Burgundy, whence we pass easily into the valleys of the Loire, of the Seine and its affluents, and even of the Meuse and the Rhine. The Pass of Naurouze, between the Pyrenean foothills and the last of the Cevennes, gives access from the Mediterranean to the valley of the Garonne. Only 640 feet high, it was used as early as the reign of Louis XIV for a canal, and the transformation of this canal so as to admit sea-going vessels is not beyond the range of possibility. Most important of all is the depression of Poitou, which, between the primitive masses of Armorica and the Central Mountains, connects the great basins of Paris and of Aquitania. There we find one of the important keys to French history: had Poitou been less accessible, Aquitania would be a separate nation to-day.”—A. L. Guérard, *French civilization, from its origins to the close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 31-32.—“France is the result of physical geography, no doubt, but also of an equilibrium

between contending influences of race and cultures, and perhaps still more of a definite long-continued policy. What holds France together is the Capetian tradition first of all, then the principles and souvenirs of the Revolution and a strictly centralized form of government. This centralization system we take to be one of the causes, rather than the result, of national unity. The Convention, which had so deep an instinct of French tradition, fought like grim death for the indivisibility of the Republic, against all federalists. France is the product of the human will—the will of kings at first, then will of the people.

“Varied in its aspects, France is no less varied in its climates. French geographers generally recognize seven. The Parisian or Sequanian region, under the influence of its northern latitude mitigated by its proximity to the Channel, has a cool climate (mean temperature 50°), equable in the main, but offering constant variations; a climate of samples, which fanciful meteorologists liken to the proverbial fickleness of the Parisian mind. Rains are light but frequent; they often make winter slushy rather than severe, and summer as cool and wet as spring. The Breton or Armorican climate, under the influence of the Gulf Stream, is a little warmer (51.8°) and decidedly maritime: cool summers that do not allow the vine to thrive, very mild winters, frequent mists and rains. The Girondin climate reigns over Poitou and the basin of the Garonne. It is also a maritime climate, mild and seldom too dry, but, on account of its more southern position, warmer and sunnier than that of Brittany (53.6°); it is ideally suitable for wine, fruit, and cereals. The Central Mountains vary in climate according to their exposure, altitude, and geological formation; on the whole, the Auvergne climate is cool (51°) but extreme; summers may be locally scorching, winters are almost invariably very hard. Snow, rare and light in the West and South of France, here falls heavily and covers the ground for months. The Vosgian or eastern climate, embracing northern Franche-Comté, eastern Burgundy and Champagne, and the whole of Lorraine, is typically continental, with long sharp winters, brief and hot summers which enable the vine to prosper on favoured hill-sides (average 48.2°). The Rhodian or Lyonnese climate, farther south and on a lower altitude, but uninfluenced by the sea and hemmed in by mountains, is warmer (51.8°), extreme, changeable, with abundant rains. The Mediterranean climate, by far the warmest (57.5°), offers mild winters, long, dry summers, when nature assumes that appearance of deadness so characteristic of Northern Africa or the South-Western United States; a ‘choleric’ climate withal, as Michelet would have it, with sudden downpours and thunderstorms, with winds raging from the Mediterranean or down the air-shaft of the Rhone Valley. Sheltered by the Alps, the Riviera in winter is a paradise.”—A. L. Guérard, *French civilization in the 19th century*, pp. 21-23.—Since the ending of the World War, some important additions have been made to the territory and resources of France. In accordance with the terms of the Peace Treaty with Germany (June 28, 1919) Alsace-Lorraine has been transferred to France, to date from the armistice of November 11, 1918. The districts of Lower Alsace, Upper Alsace and Lorraine become the departments of Bas-Rhin Alsace (1,848 square miles and population 700,038), Haut-Rhin (1,354 square miles, population 517,865), and Moselle (2,403 square miles, population 655,211). The total area thus added to France is 5,605 square

miles and the population thereof, according to the census of 1910, is 1,874,014. The total area of France is (1921) 212,659 square miles and the population is estimated at 39,209,766. By the Treaty of Versailles (article 45), as a compensation for the destruction of coal mines in the north of France, France has obtained from Germany the exclusive rights of exploitation of the coal mines in the Saar Basin. This district is about 220 square miles in area and the population is 640,733. For the next fifteen years the Saar Basin will be governed by a Commission of Five, chosen by the League of Nations. At the end of fifteen years the population will determine by vote which one of the three alternatives they wish to accept:—the continuance of the rule set up by the Treaty, incorporation with France, or union with Germany.

Resources.—“In spite of a widespread and flattering prejudice, France was by no means bountifully endowed by nature. Barren mountains cover nearly one-third of her territory. Except for her narrow golden belt, Brittany is sterile. The Landes are vast tracts of shifting dunes, partly reclaimed under the Second Empire. There are traces in Sologne and the Dombes of the marshes that once covered a large portion of the country. Almost at the gate of Paris, Champagne Pouilleuse (beggarly) is a bare, bleak plain. . . . Much of the present fertility of France is due to unremitting labour: hence the peculiar love of the French peasant for that soil which requires such efforts, but repays them without stint. Neither is France ideally well favoured for commerce. Its position on four seas is advantageous. But, compared with England, Japan, Italy or Greece, its shape is massive, its coastline small in proportion to the total area, and, in consequence, its coast-wise trade comparatively unimportant. [See also **COMMERCE: Commercial Age: 1914-1921.**] The most maritime province, Brittany, is the most un-French. There are few good natural harbours. Brest, the best in spite of a dangerous pass, is far from all centres of production. Le Havre is ever on the defensive: the sea, it was aptly said, is British at heart: it scours the English coast, deepens its harbours, and chokes with silt their French rivals. As a highway of commerce, the longest river, the Loire, is almost useless; the most abundant, the Rhône, is too much of a torrent ever to rival the Rhine or the Elbe; the Garonne is worse than mediocre; the unassuming Seine alone is excellent and capable of almost indefinite improvement. Already as smooth and regular as a canal, 11 feet deep as far as Paris, it could easily be made accessible to large sea-going vessels. France is poor in minerals. Precious metals are almost non-existent; coal, ‘the bread of industry,’ is found only in a few districts, especially in the North, in geological formations more broken and more expensive to work than in England. The total output amounted in 1911 only to 38 million tons, against 455 in America, 268 in England, 234 in Germany. Iron is more abundant, especially since the discovery of the rich basin of Briey in Lorraine. But iron and coal are not found side by side, and there is no cheap way of conveying the one to the other. The proposed North-Eastern Canal, between the metallurgic basin of Lorraine and the coalfields of the North, would be an extremely difficult and costly piece of engineering. On the other hand, France is well-rounded in its economic life, almost self-supporting, at the mercy neither of foreign supplies nor of one exclusive national staple. It offers a sufficiency of all es-

sentials—bread, vegetables, fruit; the French would add wine—all of excellent quality. Beef and mutton can hardly compare with the English products; but poultry is plentiful, and 'la poule au pot' [stewed chicken], which good King Henry wished every one of his subjects to enjoy of a Sunday, is a toothsome dish. Long centuries of civilization have given France industrial treasures as precious as coal and iron; an artistic tradition and generations of skilled craftsmen. Owing to the immense variety of her resources, although each in particular may seem mediocre, France weathers industrial crises better than her more venturesome and reckless rivals."—A. L. Guérard, *French civilization in the 19th century*, pp. 23-25.

Colonial empire.—"France had to provide an outlet for her capital and the produce of her industry: some of her politicians, notably Jules Ferry, saw in colonial expansion the most direct path for France to regain her place among the great European powers. . . . In the vast territories she now possesses outside of France she rules over more than 54,000,000 people: her colonial empire is second largest in the world, coming after that of Great Britain. Since the Franco-Prussian War she has added to her colonies by the conquest of Tunis (1881), Tongking (1885), Madagascar (1895), Dahomey and the Ivory Coast (1887), French Congo (1893). Ferry was her greatest pioneer of colonial expansion; another was M. Doumer, who was made governor-general of Indo-China in 1896; his great administrative powers soon put the French colonies of that continent on a sound footing. In 1890 England and France signed a treaty assigning Madagascar and the 'light soil' of the Sahara to France. The French colonies at the present day [1914] are: In *Africa*: Algeria, which forms a protectorate under a governor-general; Tunis, Morocco, French West Africa including Senegal, French Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, the Algerian Sahara, French Congo, French East Africa including Madagascar and Somaliland, Kerguelen, Réunion, St. Paul, and Amsterdam. [Cameroon and Togoland were acquired in 1919 as a result of the World War, and are held under a mandate of the League of Nations.] In *Asia*: Cochin China, Annam (which was formed into a protectorate in 1885), Tongking, Laos, and Cambodia, also French India (including Pondicherry, Mahé, Karikal, Chandernagore), and Kwang-Chow-Wan. In *Australasia or Oceania*: The Society Islands and Caledonia. In *America*: Martinique, Guadeloupe, and some smaller islands in the West Indies; Cayenne or French Guiana in South America, and some islands off Newfoundland, St. Pierre, Miquelon, etc."—V. Duruy, *Short history of France*, v. 2, pp. 540-541.—The ministry of the colonies, created as a separate department in 1894, has charge of the administration of the French colonial possessions. Algeria, Tunis and Morocco are not under its jurisdiction. Algeria is not regarded as a colony but as part of France, and the administration of Tunis and Morocco is directed by the ministry of foreign affairs. Most of the colonies have a governor and an elective council, and send representatives to the French legislature. Réunion, Martinique and Guadeloupe send each a senator and two deputies; French India is represented by a deputy and a senator; Senegal, Guiana and Cochin-China each have a deputy. Most of the other colonies are represented on the "Conseil Supérieur des Colonies." "Though the acquisition of these colonies has given the Republic the prestige of standing second only to England in the extent of

her territorial possessions, it has not proved financially profitable to France. Her nationals are not colonists by nature, chiefly because there has always been a plot of ground or a position open at home for each son of the small families for which the country is noted. The result in the colonies is that the number of white men is not sufficient to raise productivity to any great extent either by their own toil or as leaders. Almost every white colonial is a government official. Especially in Africa have there been plans for the building of railroads and the development of trade routes, but accomplishment has not been great. Even Algeria, which is nearest to France, has the largest white population, and is the most advanced in every way, is a source of deficit to the French treasury. [In 1921, France spent 28,663,613 francs for the civil administration of the colonies; 212,742,276 francs for military services, and 10,740,714 francs for penitentiary services, making a total of 252,146,603 francs.] What the attitude of the colonials would be toward France during the war was a question about which utter lack of knowledge threw a harrowing uncertainty at the beginning. They proved completely loyal. The Senegalese with their black faces and whirling white draperies and huge knives made a picturesque and terrifying addition to the grim panorama of battle; less warlike peoples were invaluable in the service of support as road menders, and from them were drawn many of the labor battalions which did valuable work in the less spectacular efforts to win the war."—V. Duruy, *Short history of France*, v. 2, pp. 703-704.

People.—"Racial epitome of all Europe."—"Before the Franks, the Romans, the Gauls, there lived in France Iberians [q.v.] and Ligurians [q.v.]. And before them? Unnamed tribes, cave and lake dwellers, the Crô-Magnon, the Neanderthal races. . . . All these elements are now hopelessly mixed: throughout the course of French history there is no sign of a race prejudice checking this process of amalgamation. France has been a melting-pot for over two thousand years of recorded history, and for untold centuries before. . . . These three races are found in France—the Nordic in Flanders and Normandy, the Alpine in Savoy, Auvergne and Brittany, the Mediterranean in the Aquitanian and Provençal south. In no other country are more than two of these races fully represented: France is therefore a racial epitome of all Europe. But this plain statement would not do justice to the complexity of the French population. We should add, first of all, two minor but extremely curious elements: the Basques, broad-shouldered and slim-waisted like the ancient Egyptians, with faces broad at the temples, and tapering into a pointed chin; and a group of peasants in Dordogne, fairly tall, long-headed, with broad faces, men who have been identified with the prehistoric Crô-Magnon race. Then the combination of traits is not always in harmony with the ideal types defined by anthropology. The inhabitants of Burgundy and Alsace, for instance, are darkish and round-headed like the Alpines; but they are also tall, which is the joint result of an admixture of Teutonic blood and of the fertility of their provinces. The Bretons are stocky, round-headed, frequently dark-haired; but their eyes are blue—a Nordic trait. The great majority of the French belong to a strongly Teutonized Alpine stock. This type is undistinguishable from the similar population of Southern and Western Germany."—A. L. Guérard, *French civilization, from its origins to the close*

of the Middle Ages, pp. 55-56.—“The Gauls, whatever they may have been, were neither aborigines nor even, perhaps, the first conquerors of the land. The primitive inhabitants are often referred to—darkly—as Celtiberians, and the Basques are sometimes held to be a remnant of these early occupiers of the soil. After the Gauls came the Romans, who subdued the north of the country from 154 to 121 B. C. (Gallia Braccata or Narbonensis, modern Provence), and the rest, as far as the Rhine, under Julius Cæsar, from 58 to 51 B. C. Four centuries later, after a long period of gradual infiltration, sometimes checked, sometimes encouraged by Rome, Gaul was flooded with migrating Barbarians. The Visigoths, the Burgundians, and the Franks took up their abode in the land. The invasions, properly so-called, ended with the repulse of the Huns and of the Avars. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Northmen harried the coasts, penetrated far inland along the valleys of the Seine and of the Loire, and finally secured the rich province which still bears their name (Normandy). The prehistoric and shadowy Celtiberians, the Gauls, the Romans, the Franks, and the Northmen, such are the main elements of the French people. All other historical influences are so small as to be almost negligible. The Greeks founded several cities on the Mediterranean shore: Nice, Monaco, Antibes, and especially Massilia—Marseilles. The Arabs, defeated by Charles Martel, occupied Aquitania for some time, and to their sojourn some ethnographers ascribe the sporadic existence of Saracenic types among the Southern peasantry. There is practically no trace of the protracted English tenure of Guienne, nor of Spanish rule in Franche-Comté. All invasions of France since the Hundred Years' War were so short and of so purely military a nature that they could not affect the population in any perceptible degree. More important than all spectacular crises are the constant and silent migrations which have never completely ceased in modern times and continue to the present day. Throughout the nineteenth century France has attracted Poles, Russians, and Italians, driven from their countries by the tyranny of the Tsars or of Austria. The number of these refugees was never very large, but they were élite, and Polish names in particular are not infrequent among French writers and scientists. The immigration of common labourers is surprisingly small, in view of the facts that France is both richer and more sparsely populated than her neighbours, and that there is no legal restraint to the inflowing of foreign workmen. Belgians, Italians, and Poles, however, are an ever-increasing factor even in rural districts at harvest-time, and especially in industrial centres.”—A. L. Guérard, *French civilization in the 19th century*, pp. 29-30.—See also EUROPE: Ethnology; Migrations: Map showing Barbaric migrations.

Language.—There is considerable diversity of dialect. There are “the Flemings of the Hazebrouck district, in Northern France, who speak a Dutch dialect; the West Bretons, whose mother tongue is Celtic; the Basques in the Pyrenees, who are using a curious agglutinative language, possibly the most primitive in Europe, whose affinities are still baffling philologists; and a majority of the Alsatiens, whose *patois* is unmistakably Germanic. It should be added that there are now several hundred thousand pure Germans under the French flag. Standard French is spoken by the common people along the middle course of the Seine and of the Loire, in all the larger cities, and by the educated everywhere. This

standard French or Francian was originally a northern dialect; throughout the south it is still a superimposed, official language. In nearly one-third of France even the middle classes use for daily intercourse *patois*, which are forms of the old Langue d'Oc. Mistral and his friends, in the nineteenth century, have revived the great tradition of Provençal literature. Within that southern sphere the dialect of Roussillon is Catalanian rather than Provençal; those of Nice and Corsica are closer to Italian. These linguistic differences, however, do not mar the unity of the French nation. The minor tongues are not officially encouraged; but neither are they persecuted in the way Polish, Danish, and French used to be by Imperial Germany. There is no talk of secession; and there is no thought of annexing Southern Belgium or Western Switzerland because they happen to speak French.”—A. L. Guérard, *French civilization, from its origins to the close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 52-53.—See also FRENCH LITERATURE: 5th-15th centuries; PHILOLOGY: 9; 11.

Gallic and Roman. See GAUL; COMMERCE: Ancient: 200-600; EUROPE: Introduction to historic period: Migrations.

481-843.—Under the Franks.—Division of Charlemagne's empire. See EUROPE: Middle Ages: Rise of Frankish kingdom; FRANKS.

841-911.—Ravages and settlements of the Northmen. See NORMANS: 841 to 876-911; PARIS: 845; 857-861; 885-886.

9th century.—Introduction of the modern name.—At the time of the division of the empire of Charlemagne between his three grandsons, which was made a definite and lasting political separation by the treaty of Verdun, 843, “the people of the West [western Europe] had come to be divided, with more and more distinctness, into two classes, those composed of Franks and Germans, who still adhered to the Teutonic dialects, and those, composed of Franks, Gallo-Romans, and Aquitanians, who used the Romance dialects, or the *patois* which had grown out of a corrupted Latin. The former clung to the name of Germans, while the latter, not to lose all share in the glory of the Frankish name, began to call themselves Franci, and their country Francia Nova, or New France. . . . Francia was the Latin name of Frankenland, and had long before been applied to the dominions of the Franks on both sides of the Rhine. Their country was then divided into East and West Francia; but in the time of Karl the Great [Charlemagne] and Ludwig Pious, we find the monk of St. Gall using the terms Francia Nova, in opposition to the Francia, *quæ dicitur antiqua*.”—P. Godwin, *History of France: Ancient Gaul*, ch. 18, with note.—“As for the mere name of Francia, like other names of the kind, it shifted its geographical use according to the wanderings of the people from whom it was derived. After many such changes of meaning, it gradually settled down as the name for those parts of Germany and Gaul where it still abides. There are the Teutonic or Austrian [or Austrasian] Francia, part of which still keeps the name of Franken or Franconia, and the Romance or Neustrian Francia, which by various annexations has grown into modern France.”—E. A. Freeman, *Historical geography of Europe*, v. 1, p. 121.—“As late as the reign of Frederick Barbarossa, the name of Frank was still used, and used too with an air of triumph, as equivalent to the name of German. The Kings and kingdoms of this age had indeed no fixed titles, because all were still looked on as mere portions of the great Frankish

THE CAROLINGIANS.

1st Generation.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.	7th.	8th.	9th.	10th.
<p>Charles Martel, Duke of Austrasia, Mayor of the Palace, 716-741.</p>	<p>PIPPIN, (The Short), King of the Franks, 752-768.</p> <p>CARLOMAN.</p>	<p>CHARLES, (The Great Charlemagne), 768-814, Emperor, 800.</p> <p>CARLOMAN, 768-771.</p>	<p>CHARLES, King of Franks, died 811.</p> <p>PIPPIN, King of Italy, died 810.</p> <p>LUDWIG, or LOUIS, 814-840, married 1. Harmingarde.</p>	<p>LOTHAIRE, King of Lotharingia, 843-855.</p> <p>PIPPIN, King of Aquitaine, died 838.</p> <p>LOUIS II., King of the East Franks, (Germany), 843-876.</p>	<p>LOUIS II., 845-876.</p> <p>CARLOMAN, King of Bavaria, died 880.</p> <p>CHARLES, (The Fat), 881-887, died 888.</p>	<p>Harmingarde, married Boso I., King of Provence.</p> <p>ARNULF, (natural son), King of Germany, 888-899, Emperor, 894.</p> <p>LOUIS III., 879-882.</p> <p>CARLOMAN, 879-884.</p> <p>CHARLES, (The Simple), 893-929, married Edgifu, (daughter of Edward The Elder).</p>	<p>LOUIS, 887-906, (deposed), Emperor, 901.</p> <p>LOUIS, (The Child), 900-911.</p>	<p>LOTHAIRE, 954-986, married Emma of Italy.</p> <p>LOUIS V., 986-987.</p>	
	<p>Charles Martel, Duke of Austrasia, Mayor of the Palace, 716-741.</p>	<p>PIPPIN, (The Short), King of the Franks, 752-768.</p> <p>CARLOMAN.</p>	<p>CHARLES, (The Bald), King of Neustria (France), 843-877, Emperor, 876.</p> <p>Glæla, married Eberhard, Duke of Friuli, 916.</p>	<p>LOUIS II., (The Stammerer), 877-879.</p> <p>BERENGAR, King of Italy, 888-924, Emperor, 916.</p>	<p>LOUIS IV., (d'Outremer), 936-954, married Gerberga of Germany.</p>				

realm. Another step has now been taken towards the creation of modern France; but the older state of things has not yet wholly passed away. Germany has no definite name; for a long time it is 'Francia Orientalis,' 'Francia Teutonica'; then it becomes 'Regnum Teutonicum,' 'Regnum Teutonicorum.' But it is equally clear that, within the limits of that Western or Latin France, Francia and Francus were fast getting their modern meanings of France and Frenchmen, as distinguished from Frank or German."—E. A. Freeman, *Franks and the Gauls (Historical essays, 1st series, no. 7)*.

843.—Kingdom of Charles the Bald.—The first actual kingdom of France (Francia Nova—Francia Occidentalis) was formed in the partition of the empire of Charlemagne between his three grandsons, by the treaty of Verdun, 843. (See VERDUN, TREATY OF: 843.) It was assigned to Charles, called "the Bald," and comprised the Neustria of the older Frank divisions, together with Aquitaine. It "had for its eastern boundary the Meuse, the Saône and the Rhone; which, nevertheless, can only be understood of the Upper Meuse, since Brabant was certainly not comprised in it"; and it extended southwards beyond the Pyrenees to the Ebro.—H. Hallam, *Middle Ages, ch. 1, pt. 1, foot-note*.—"Charles and his successors have some claim to be accounted French. They rule over a large part of France, and are cut away from their older connexion with Germany. Still, in reality they are Germans and Franks. They speak German, they yearn after the old imperial name, they have no national feeling at all. On the other hand, the great lords of Neustria, as it used to be called, are ready to move in that direction, and to take the first steps towards a new national life. They cease to look back to the Rhine, and occupy themselves in a continual struggle with their kings. Feudal power is founded, and with it the claims of the bishops rise to their highest point. But we have not yet come to a kingdom of France. . . . It was no proper French kingdom; but a dying branch of the Empire of Charles the Great. . . . Charles the Bald, entering on his part of the Caroling Empire, found three large districts which refused to recognise him. These were Aquitaine, whose king was Pippin II; Septimania, in the hands of Bernard; and Brittany under Nominoë. He attempted to reduce them; but Brittany and Septimania defied him, while over Aquitaine he was little more than a nominal suzerain."—G. W. Kitchen, *History of France, v. 1, bk. 2, pt. 2, ch. 5*.—See also FRANKS: 814-962; GERMANY: 843-962.

ALSO IN: E. A. Freeman, *Historical geography of Europe, ch. 6, sect. 1*.

861.—Origin of the duchy and of the house of Capet.—In 861, Charles the Bald, king of that part of the dismembered empire of Charlemagne which grew into the kingdom of France, was struggling with many difficulties: defending himself against the hostile ambition of his brother, Louis the German; striving to establish his authority in Brittany and Aquitaine; harried and harassed by Norse pirates; surrounded by domestic treachery and feudal restiveness. All of his many foes were more or less in league against him, and the soul of their combination appears to have been a certain bold adventurer—a stranger of uncertain origin, a Saxon, as some say—who bore the name of Robert the Strong. In this alien enemy, King Charles, who never lacked shrewdness, discovered a possible friend. He opened negotiations with Robert the Strong, and a bargain was soon made which transferred the sword and

the energy of the potent mercenary to the service of the king. "Soon after, a Placitum or Great Council was held at Compiègne. In this assembly, and by the assent of the Optimates, the Seine and its islands, and that most important island Paris, and all the country between Seine and Loire, were granted to Robert, the Duchy of France, though not yet so called, moreover the Angevine Marches, or County of Outre-Maine, all to be held by Robert-le-Fort as harriers against Northmen and Bretons, and by which cessions the realm was to be defended. Only a portion of this dominion owned the obedience of Charles: the Bretons were in their own country, the Northmen in the country they were making their own; the grant therefore was a license to Robert to win as much as he could, and to keep his acquisitions should he succeed. . . . Robert kept the Northmen in check, yet only by incessant exertion. He inured the future kings of France, his two young sons, Eudes and Robert, to the tug of war, making them his companions in his enterprises. The banks of the Loire were particularly guarded by him, for here the principal attacks were directed." Robert the Strong fought valiantly, as he had contracted to do, for five years, or more, and then, in an unlucky battle with the Danes, one summer day in 866, he fell. "Thus died the first of the Capets." All the honors and possessions which he had received from the king were then transferred, not to his sons, but to one Hugh, count of Burgundy, who became also duke or Marquis of France and count of Anjou. Twenty years later, however, the older son of Robert, Eudes, turns up in history again as count of Paris, and nothing is known of the means by which the family, soon to become royal, has recovered its footing and its importance.—F. Palgrave, *History of Normandy and England, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 3*.

877-987.—End of the Carolingian monarchy and rise of the Capetian.—Charles the Bald died in 877 and was succeeded by his son Louis, called "the Stammerer," who reigned only two years. His two sons, Louis and Carloman, were joint kings for a short space, struggling with the Northmen and losing the provinces out of which Duke Boson of Provence, brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, formed the kingdom of Arles. Louis died in 882 and Carloman two years afterwards; thereupon Charles, surnamed "the Fat," king of Lombardy and Germany, and also emperor (nephew of Charles the Bald), became likewise king of France, and briefly reunited under his feebly handled sceptre the greater part of the old empire of Charlemagne. When he died, in 888, a party of the nobles, tired of his race, met and elected Count Eudes (or Odo), the valiant Count of Paris, who had just defended his city with obstinate courage against the Northmen, to be their king. The sovereignty of Eudes was not acknowledged by the nation at large. His opponents found a Carling to set up against him, in the person of the boy Charles,—youngest son of Louis "the Stammerer," born after his father's death,—who appears in history as Charles "the Simple." Eudes, after some years of war, gave up to Charles a small domain, between the Seine and the Meuse, acknowledged his feudal superiority and agreed that the whole kingdom should be surrendered to him on his (Eudes') death. In accordance with this agreement, Charles the Simple became sole king in 898, when Eudes died, and the country which acknowledged his nominal sovereignty fell into a more distracted state than ever. The Northmen established themselves in permanent oc-

cupation of the country on the lower Seine, and Charles, in 911, made a formal cession of it to their duke, Rollo, thus creating the great duchy of Normandy. (See also NORMANDY: 911-1000.) In 922 the nobles grew once more disgusted with the feebleness of their king and crowned duke Robert, brother of the late king Eudes, driving Charles into his stronghold of Laon. (q.v.) The Normans came to Charles' help and his rival Robert was killed in a battle. But Charles was defeated, was inveigled into the hands of one of the rebel lords—Herbert of Vermandois—and kept a prisoner until he died, in 929. One Rodolf of Burgundy had been chosen king, meantime, and reigned until his death, in 936. Then legitimacy triumphed again, and a young son of Charles the Simple, who had been reared in England, was sent for and crowned. This king—Louis IV—his son, Lothair, and his grandson, Louis V, kept possession of the shaking throne for half-a-century; but their actual kingdom was much of the time reduced to little more than the royal city of Laon and its immediate territories. When Louis died, in 987, leaving no nearer heir than his uncle, Charles, duke of Lorraine, there was no longer any serious attempt to keep up the Carolingian line. Hugh, duke of France—whose grandfather Robert, and whose granduncle Eudes had been crowned kings, before him, and whose father, "Hugh the Great," had been the king-maker of the period since—was now called to the throne and settled himself firmly in the seat which a long line of his descendants would hold. He was known as Hugh Capet to his contemporaries, and it is thought that he got the name from his wearing of the hood, cap, or cape of St. Martin—he being the abbot of St. Martin at Tours, in addition to his other high dignities.—G. W. Kitchin, *History of France*, v. 1, bk. 2, pt. 2, ch. 5, bk. 3, ch. 1.—See also BURGUNDY: 888-1032.

ALSO IN: F. Palgrave, *History of Normandy and England*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 5.—C. F. Keary, *Vikings in western Christendom*, ch. 11, 13-15.

888.—Map showing boundaries of separate kingdoms formed on disintegration of empire. See FRANKS: 814-062.

954.—Ravaged by Magyars. See HUNGARY: 934-055.

980.—Loss of Lorraine. See LORRAINE: 911-080.

987.—Accession of Hugh Capet.—Structure and political relations of the kingdom of the early Capetians.—Rights of the throne.—"On the accession of the third race [the Capetians], France, properly so called, only comprised the territory between the Somme and the Loire; it was bounded by the counties of Flanders and Vermandois on the north; by Normandy and Brittany on the west; by the Champagne on the east; by the duchy of Aquitaine on the south. The territory within these bounds was the duchy of France, the patrimonial possession of the Capets, and constituted the royal domain. The great fiefs of the crown, in addition to the duchy of France, were the duchy of Normandy, the duchy of Burgundy, nearly the whole of Flanders, formed into a county, the county of Champagne, the duchy of Aquitaine, and the county of Toulouse. . . . The sovereigns of these various states were the great vassals of the crown and peers of France; Lorraine and a portion of Flanders were dependent on the Germanic crown, while Brittany was a fief of the duchy of Normandy. . . . The county of Barcelona beyond the Alps was also one of the great fiefs of the crown of France."—E. de

Bonnechose, *History of France: Second epoch*, bk. 1, ch. 2.—"With the exception of the Spanish March and of part of Flanders, all these states have long been fully incorporated with the French monarchy. But we must remember that, under the earlier French Kings, the connexion of most of these provinces with their nominal suzerain was even looser than the connexion of the German princes after the Peace of Westphalia with the Viennese Emperors. A great French Duke was as independent within his own dominions as an Elector of Saxony or Bavaria, and there were no common institutions, no Diet or assembly of any kind, to bring him into contact either with his liege lord or with his fellow-vassals. Aquitaine and Toulouse . . . seem almost to have forgotten that there was any King of the French at all, or at all events that they had anything to do with him. They did not often even pay him the compliment of waging war upon him, a mode of recognition of his existence which was constantly indulged in by their brethren of Normandy and Flanders."—E. A. Freeman, *Franks and the Gauls (Historical essays, 1st series, no. 7)*.—"When France was detached from the Empire in the ninth century, of all three imperial regions she was the one which seemed least likely to form a nation. There was no unity in the country west of the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhone. Various principalities, duchies, or counties were here formed, but each of them was divided into secular fiefs and ecclesiastical territories. Over these fiefs and territories the authority of the duke or the count, which was supposed to represent that of the king, was exercised only in case these seigneurs had sufficient power, derived from their own personal estates. Destitute of domains and almost starving, the king, in official documents, asked what means he might find on which to live with some degree of decency. From time to time, amid this chaos, he discussed the theory of his authority. He was a lean and solemn phantom, straying about among living men who were very rude and energetic. The phantom kept constantly growing leaner, but royalty did not vanish. People were accustomed to its existence, and the men of those days could not conceive of a revolution. By the election of Hugh Capet, in 987, royalty became a reality, because the king, as Duke of Francia, had lands, money, and followers. It would be out of place to seek a plan of conduct and a methodical line of policy in the actions of the Capetians, for they employed simultaneously every sort of expedient. During more than three centuries they had male offspring; thus the chief merit of the dynasty was that it endured. As always happens, out of the practice developed a law; and this happy accident produced a lawful hereditary succession, which was a great element of strength. Moreover the king had a whole arsenal of rights: old rights of Carolingian royalty, preserving the remembrance of imperial power, which the study of the Roman law was soon to resuscitate, transforming these apparitions into formidable realities; old rights conferred by the coronation, which were impossible to define, and hence incontestable; and rights of suzerainty, newer and more real, which were definitely determined and codified as feudalism developed and which, joined to the other rights mentioned above, made the king proprietor of France. These are the elements that Capetian royalty contributed to the play of fortuitous circumstances."—E. Lavisse, *General view of the political history of Europe*, ch. 3.—See also TWELVE PEERS OF FRANCE.

987.—Paris becomes the capital. See PARIS: 987.

987-1327.—Feudal period.—Suspension of the powers of royalty.—“The period in the history of France, of which we are about to write, began with the consecration of Hugues Capet, at Reims, the 3rd of July, 987, but it is a period which would but improperly take its name from the Capetians; for throughout this time royalty was, as it were, annihilated in France; the social bond was broken, and the country which extends from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, and from the English Channel to the Gulf of Lyon, was governed by a confederation of princes rarely under the influence of a common will, and united only by the Feudal System. While France was confederated under feudal administration, the legislative power was suspended. Hugues Capet and his successors, until the accession of St. Louis, had not the right of making laws; the nation had no diet, no regularly constituted assemblies whose authority it acknowledged. The Feudal System, tacitly adopted, and developed by custom, was solely acknowledged by the numerous sovereigns who divided the provinces among themselves. It replaced the social bond, the monarch, and the legislator. . . . The period . . . is therefore like a long interregnum, during which the royal authority was suspended, although the name of king was always preserved. He who bore this title in the midst of a republic of princes was only distinguished from them by some honorary prerogative, and he exercised over them scarcely any authority. Until very near the end of the 11th century, these princes were scarcely less numerous than the castles which covered France. No authority was acknowledged at a distance, and every fortress gave its lord rank among the sovereigns. The conquest of England by the Normans broke the equilibrium between the feudal lords; one of the confederate princes, became a king in 1066, gradually extended, until 1179, his domination over more than half of France; and although it was not he who bore the title of king of the French, it may be imagined that in time the rest of the country would also pass under his yoke. Philip the August and his son, during the forty-six last years of the same period, reconquered almost all the fiefs which the English kings had united, brought the other great vassals back to obedience, and changed the feudal confederation which had ruled France into a monarchy, which incorporated the Feudal System in its constitution.”—J. C. L. de Sismondi, *France under the feudal system* (tr. by W. Bellingham), ch. 1.—“The feudal period, that is, the period when the feudal system was the dominant fact of our country, . . . is comprehended between Hugh Capet and Philippe de Valois, that is, it embraces the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries. . . . At the end of the 10th century, royalty and the commons were not visible, or at all events scarcely visible. At the commencement of the 14th century, royalty was the head of the state, the commons were the body of the nation. The two forces to which the feudal system was to succumb had then attained, not, indeed, their entire development, but a decided preponderance. . . . With the 14th century, the character of war changed. Then began the foreign wars; no longer a vassal against suzerain, or vassal against vassal, but nation against nation, government against government. On the accession of Philippe de Valois, the great wars between the French and the English broke out—the claims of the kings of England, not upon any particularly fief, but

upon the whole land, and upon the throne of France—and they continued up to Louis XI. They were no longer feudal, but national wars; a certain proof that the feudal period stopped at this limit, that another society had already commenced.”—F. P. Guizot, *History of civilization*, 2d course, lect. 1.—See also EUROPE: Middle Ages; Influence of feudalism; FEUDALISM: Organization; Continental growth.

996.—Accession of King Robert II.

1031.—Accession of King Henry I.

1060.—Accession of King Philip I.

1096.—Departure of the first Crusaders. See CRUSADES: 1096-1099.

1100.—Extent of the kingdom.—“When Louis [VI] was adopted by his father in 1100, the crown had as its own domain only the county of Paris, Hurepoix, the Gatinais, the Orléanis, half the county of Sens, the French Vexin, and Bourges, together with some ill-defined rights over the episcopal cities of Rheims, Beauvais, Laon, Noyon, Soissons, Amiens. And even within these narrow limits the royal power was but thinly spread over the surface. The barons in their castles were in fact independent, and oppressed the merchants and poor folk as they would. The king had also acknowledged rights of suzerainty over Champagne, Burgundy, Normandy, Brittany, Flanders, and Boulogne; but, in most cases, the only obedience the feudal lords stooped to was that of duly performing the act of homage to the king on first succession to a fief. He also claimed suzerainty, which was not conceded, over the South of France; over Provence and Lorraine he did not even put forth a claim of lordship.”—G. W. Kitchin, *History of France*, v. 1, bk. 3, ch. 5.

12th-13th centuries.—Rise of the privileged bourgeoisies and the communes.—Double movement of urban emancipation.—“The 12th and 13th centuries saw the production of that marvelous movement of emancipation which gave liberty to serfs, created privileged bourgeoisies and independent communes, caused new cities and fortresses to issue from the earth, freed the corporations of merchants and artisans, in a word placed at the first stroke, beside royalty, feudality and the church, a fourth social force destined to absorb one day the three others. While the cultivator of the soil passed by enfranchisement from the category of things sold or given away into that of the free people (the only ambition permitted to the defenseless unfortunates who inhabited isolated farms or unwalled villages), the population grouped in the urban centers tried to limit or at least to regulate the intolerable exploitation of which it was the object. The bourgeois, that is to say, the inhabitants of walled cities, born under the shelter of a donjon or an abbey, and the citizens of the ancient episcopal cities, rivaled each other in efforts to obtain from the seigneurial power a condition more endurable in point of taxation, and the suppression of the most embarrassing hindrances to their commerce and manufactures. These inhabitants of towns and cities constituted, if only by being grouped together, a force with which feudality was very soon obliged to reckon. Divided, besides, into merchants' societies and companies of workmen, they found within themselves the germ of organization which permitted collective resistance. The seigneur, intimidated, won by an offer of money, or decided by the thought that his domination would be more lucrative if the city became more prosperous, made the concessions which were asked of him. Thanks to a favorable concurrence

of circumstances, charters of franchises were multiplied in all parts of France. At the end of the 12th century, the national territory, in the north as well as the south, was covered with these privileged cities or bourgeoisies, which, while remaining administered, judicially and politically, by seignorial officers, had acquired, in matters financial, commercial and industrial, the liberties necessary to their free development. Feudality very soon found such an advantage in regulating thus the exploitation of the bourgeois, that it took the initiative itself in creating, in the uninhabited parts of its domains, privileged cities, complete in all their parts, designed to become so many centers of attraction for foreigners. It is the innumerable bourgeoisies and 'villes neuves' which represent the normal form of urban emancipation. Certain centers of population obtained at the first stroke the most extensive civil and financial liberties; but, in the majority of cases, the bourgeois could win their franchises only bit by bit, at the price of heavy pecuniary sacrifices, or as the result of an admirable perseverance in watching for opportunities and seizing them. The history of the privileged cities, whose principal virtue was a long patience, offers nothing moving or dramatic. . . . But the spectacle of these laborious masses persisting, in obscurity and silence, in the demand for their right to security and well-being, does not the less merit all our attention. What forces itself upon the meditations of the historian, in the domain of municipal institutions, is just the progress, slow and obscure, but certain, of the dependent bourgeoisie. . . . The development of the seignorial cities offers such a variety of aspects, their progressive and regular conquests were so important in the constitution of our rights public and private, that too much care and effort cannot be devoted to retracing minutely their course. This history is more than any other that of the origin of our third estate. It was in the privileged cities, to which the great majority of the urban population belonged, that it began its political education. The city charters constituted the durable lower stratum of its first liberties. In other words the third estate did not issue suddenly from the more or less revolutionary movement which gave birth to the independent communes: it owes its formation and its progress above all to this double pacific evolution: the possessors of fiefs enfranchising their bourgeoisie and the latter passing little by little entirely from the seignorial government under that of royalty. This was not the opinion which prevailed at the time when the founder of the science of municipal institutions, Augustin Thierry, published in the 'Courrier Français' his admirable 'Lettres' on the revolutions of the communes. The commune, a city dowered with judicial and political privileges, which conferred upon it a certain independence, administered by its elected magistrates, proud of its fortified inclosure, of its belfry, of its militia,—the commune passed at that time as the pre-eminent type of the free city of the middle ages. That great movement of urban and rural emancipation which stirred the France of the 12th century to its very depths was personified in it. So the commune concentrated historical interest upon itself, leaving in the shade all other forms of popular evolution. Guizot, who had the sense of truth rather than that of the picturesque, tried to combat this exclusive tendency. In the brilliant lessons that he gave at the Sorbonne on the history of the origins of the third estate, he showed, with his customary clearness, that the

development of the bourgeois class was not accomplished by any single method; that the progress realized in the cities where the communal régime had never succeeded in establishing itself must also be taken into account. The impression left by the highly colored and dramatic recitals of Augustin Thierry remained for a long time the stronger. . . . Contemporary science has not only assigned to itself the mission of completing the work of the historians of the Restoration: it has desired also to improve it by rectifying, upon many points, the exaggerated opinions and false judgments of which the history of our urban institutions was at first the victim. It has been perceived that the communal movement properly so called did not have, upon the destinies of the popular class, the decisive, preponderant influence which was attributed to it 'a priori.' The commune, a brilliant but ephemeral form of the emancipation of the bourgeoisie, has been set back little by little into its true place. It is now no longer regarded as an essential manifestation of our first democratic aspirations. One might be tempted to see on the contrary, in that collective seigneuery, often hostile to the other social elements, impregnated with the spirit of 'particularisme,' made for war and agitated without cessation by warlike passions, an original but tardy product of the feudal principle. . . . We must be resigned to a fact in regard to which nothing can be done: the absence of documents relative to the municipal constitution of cities and towns during four hundred years, from the 7th century to the 11th. From all appearances, this enormous hiatus will never be overcome. . . . Facts being lacking, scholars have had recourse to conjecture. Some among them have supposed that the principal characteristics of the Gallo-Roman municipalities were perpetuated during this period. At bottom, their hypothesis rests principally upon analogies of names. . . . From the point of view of positive science, the Germanic origin of the communes is not more easy of demonstration. . . . It is even doubtful whether the essential element of the communal institution, the confederation formed by the inhabitants, under the guaranty of the mutual oath, belongs exclusively to the customs of the Germans. The theory of Augustin Thierry, which made of the commune a special application of the Scandinavian gilde, has been judged too narrow by contemporary scholars. They have reproached him with reason for having localized an institution which belongs entirely to the Germanic race. But the principle of association, applied in the cities, is not a fact purely German. . . . Association is a fact which is neither Germanic nor Roman; it is universal, and is produced spontaneously among all peoples, in all social classes, when circumstances exact and favor its appearance. The communal revolution then is a national event. The commune was born, like other forms of popular emancipation, from the need which the inhabitants of the cities had of substituting a limited and regulated exploitation for the arbitrary exploitation of which they were the victims. Such is the point of departure of the institution. We must always return to the definition of it given by Guibert de Nogent. It is true as a basis, although it does not embrace all the characteristics of the object defined: 'Commune new name, detestable name! By it the censitaires are freed from all service in consideration of a simple annual tax; by it they are condemned, for the infraction of the law, only to a penalty legally determined; by it, they cease to

be subjected to the other pecuniary charges by which the serfs are overwhelmed.' At certain points, this limitation of the seignorial power was made amicably, by pacific transaction between the seigneur and his bourgeois. Elsewhere, an insurrection, more or less prolonged, was necessary in order to establish it. When this popular movement had as a result, not only the assuring to the people the most necessary liberties which were demanded, but besides that of abating to their advantage the political position of the master, by taking from him a part of his seignorial prerogatives, there arose not only a free city, but a commune, a bourgeois seignury, invested with a certain political and judicial power. This definition of the commune implies that originally it was not possible to establish it otherwise than by a pressure exerted, more or less violently, upon the seignorial authority. We have the direct proof of it for some of our free municipalities; but it is presumable that many other communes whose primitive history we do not know have owed equally to force the winning of their first liberties. . . . We do not mean that, in the first period of the history of urban emancipation, all the communes, without exception, were obliged to pass through the phase of insurrection or of open resistance. There were some which profited (as the cities of the Flemish region in 1127) by a combination of exceptional circumstances to attain political liberty without striking a blow. Among these circumstances must be mentioned in the first rank the prolonged vacancy of an episcopal see and the disappearance of a laic lord, dead without direct heir, leaving a succession disputed by numerous competitors. But ordinarily, the accession of the bourgeoisie to the rank of political power did not take place pacifically. Either the seigneur struggled against his rebellious subjects, or he feared the struggle and bent before the accomplished fact. In all cases it was necessary that the people were conscious of their power and imposed their will. This is proven by the dramatic episodes which the narrations of Augustin Thierry have forever rendered celebrated. . . . Later, in the decline of the 12th century, it must be recognized that the opinion of the dominant class ceased to be as hostile to the communes. When the conviction had been acquired that the popular movement was irresistible, it was tolerated; the best means even were sought to derive advantage from it. The Church always remained upon the defensive; but the king and the great feudal lords perceived that in certain respects the commune might be a useful instrument. They accepted then the communal organization, and they even came to create it where it was not spontaneously established. But it is easy to convince one's self that the communes of this category, those which owe their creation to the connivance or even to the initiative of the seigneur, did not possess the same degree of independence as the communes of the primitive epoch, founded by insurrection. On the whole, the communal revolution was only one of the aspects of the vast movement of political and social reaction which the excesses of the feudal régime engendered everywhere from the 11th to the 14th century. . . . One would like to possess the text of one of those oaths by which the bourgeois of the northern communes bound themselves together, for the first time, with or without the consent of their seigneur, in the most ancient period of the communal evolution. It would be of the highest interest for the historian to know how they set about it,

what words were pronounced to form what the contemporary writers called a 'conjunction,' a 'conspiracy,' a 'confédération.' No document of this nature and of that primitive epoch has come down to us. . . . The sum total of the sworn bourgeois constituted the commune. The commune was most often called 'communia,' but also, with varying termination, 'communa,' 'communio,' 'communitas.' Properly speaking and especially with reference to the origin, the name commune was given not to the city, but to the association of the inhabitants who had taken oath. For this reason also the expression 'commune jurée' was used. Later the acceptance of the word was enlarged; it designated the city itself, considered as a geographical unit. . . . The members of the commune, those who formed part of the sworn association, were properly called 'the sworn of the commune,' 'jurati communie,' or, by abridgment, 'the sworn,' 'jurati.' They were designated also by the expression: 'the men of the commune,' or, 'those who belong to the commune,' 'qui sunt de communia.' They were also entitled 'bourgeois,' 'burgenses,' more rarely, 'bourgeois jurés'; sometimes also 'voisins,' 'vicini,' or even 'friends,' 'amici.' . . . We are far from having complete light on the question as to what conditions were exacted from those who entered the communal association, and to what classes of persons the access to the bourgeoisie was open or interdicted. The variety of local usages, and above all the impossibility of finding texts which apply to the most ancient period of urban emancipation, will always embarrass the historian. To find upon these matters clear documents, developed and precise, we must come down, generally, to the end of the 13th century or even to the century following, that is to say, to the epoch of the decadence of the communal régime. . . . The bourgeois could not be diseased, that is to say, undoubtedly, tainted with an incurable malady, and especially a contagious malady, as leprosy. . . . The communal law excluded also bastards. On this point it was in accord with the customary law of a very great number of French regions. . . . They refused also to receive into their number inhabitants encumbered with debts. The condition of debtor constituted in effect a kind of servitude. He no longer belonged to himself; his goods might become the property of the creditor, and he could be imprisoned. . . . With still more reason does it appear inadmissible that the serf should be called to benefit by the commune. The question of urban serfdom, in its relations with the communal institution, is extremely obscure, delicate and complex. There are however two facts in regard to which affirmation is allowable. It cannot be doubted that at the epoch of the formation of the communes, at the opening of the 12th century, there were no longer any serfs in many of the urban centers. It may be held also as certain that the desire to bring about the disappearance of this serfdom was one of the principal motives which urged the inhabitants to claim their independence. . . . The inhabitant who united all the conditions legally required for admission to the bourgeoisie was besides obliged to pay a town-duc ('droit d'entrée'). . . . If it was not always easy to enter a communal body, neither could one leave it as easily as might have been desired. The 'issue de commune' exacted the performance of a certain number of troublesome formalities. . . . So, it was necessary to pay to become a communist, and to pay yet more in order to cease to be one. The bourgeois was riveted to his

bourgeoisie. . . . Up to this point we have examined only half the problem of the formation of the commune, approaching it on its general side. There remains the question whether all the popular element which existed in the city formed part of the body of bourgeoisie, and whether the privileged class, that of the nobles and clergy, was not excluded from it. . . . We shall have to admit as a general rule, that the nobles and the clergy while taking oath to the commune, did not in reality enter it. What must be rejected, is the sort of absolute, inviolable rule which has been formed on this opinion. In the middle ages especially there was no rule without exception. . . . The commune was an institution rather ephemeral. As a really independent seignury, it scarcely endured more than two centuries. The excesses of the communists, their bad financial administration, their intestine divisions, the hostility of the Church, the onerous patronage of the 'haut suzerain,' and especially of the king: such were the immediate causes of this rapid decadence. The communes perished victims of their own faults, but also of the hate of the numerous enemies interested in their downfall. . . . The principal cause of the premature downfall of the communal régime is without any doubt the considerable development of the monarchical power in France at the end of the 13th century. The same force which annihilated feudalism, to the profit of the national unit, was also that which caused the prompt disappearance of the independence of the bourgeois seigneuries. With its privileges and its autonomy, the commune impeded the action of the Capetians. Those quarrelsome and restless republics had no reason for existence, in the midst of the peaceful and obedient bourgeoisie upon which royalty had laid its hand. The commune then was sacrificed to the monarchical interest. In Italy and in Germany, the free cities enjoyed their independence much longer, by reason of the absence of the central power or of its weakness."—A. Luchaire, *Les communes Françaises à l'époque des Capétiens directs* (tr. from the French), pp. 1-16, 45-56, 65, 288-290.—See also CAPITALISM: 12th-13th centuries; COMMUNE, MEDIEVAL; BOURGEOIS.

12th-15th centuries.—Treatment of the Jews. See JEWS: France: 12th-15th centuries.

1101.—Disastrous Crusade of French princes and knights. See CRUSADES: 1101-1102.

1106-1119.—War with Henry I of England and Normandy. See ENGLAND: 1087-1135.

1108-1180.—Reigns of Louis VI and Louis VII.—Henry II of England inherits one half of France.—Accession of Philip II.—Gain and loss of Aquitaine.—"Louis VI, or 'the Fat' was the first able man whom the line of Hugh Capet had produced since it mounted the throne. He made the first attempt at curbing the nobles, assisted by Suger, the Abbot of St. Denys. The only possibility of doing this was to obtain the aid of one party of nobles against another; and when any unusually flagrant offence had been committed, Louis called together the nobles, bishops, and abbots of his domain, and obtained their consent and assistance in making war on the guilty man, and overthrowing his castle, thus, in some degree, lessening the sense of utter impunity which had caused so many violences and such savage recklessness. He also permitted a few of the cities to purchase the right of self-government. . . . The royal authority had begun to be respected by 1137, when Louis VI. died, having just effected the marriage of his son, Louis VII., with Eleanor, the heiress of the Dukes of Aquitaine—thus hoping to

make the crown really more powerful than the great princes who owed it homage. At this time lived the great St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, who had a wonderful influence over men's minds. . . . Bernard roused the young king Louis VII. to go on the second crusade [see CRUSADES: 1147-1149], which was undertaken by the Emperor and the other princes of Europe to relieve the distress of the kingdom of Palestine. . . . Though Louis did reach Palestine, it was with weakened forces; he could effect nothing by his campaign, and Eleanor, who had accompanied him, seems to have been entirely corrupted by the evil habits of the Franks settled in the East. Soon after his return, Louis dissolved his marriage; and Eleanor became the wife of Henry, Count of Anjou, who soon after inherited the kingdom of England as our Henry II., as well as the duchy of Normandy, and betrothed his third son to the heiress of Brittany [see AQUITAINE: 1137-1152]. Eleanor's marriage seemed to undo all that Louis VI. had done in raising the royal power; for Henry completely overshadowed Louis, whose only resource was in feeble endeavours to take part against him in his many family quarrels. The whole reign of Louis the Young, the title that adhered to him on account of his simple, childish nature, is only a record of weakness and disaster, till he died in 1180. . . . Powerful in fact as Henry II. was, it was his gathering so large a part of France under his rule which was, in the end, to build up the greatness of the French kings. What had held them in check was the existence of the great fiefs or provinces, each with its own line of dukes or counts, and all practically independent of the king. But now nearly all the provinces of southern and western France were gathered into the hand of a single ruler; and though he was a Frenchman in blood, yet, as he was King of England, this ruler seemed to his French subjects no Frenchman, but a foreigner. They began therefore to look to the French king to free them from a foreign ruler; and the son of Louis VII., called Philip Augustus, was ready to take advantage of their disposition."—C. M. Yonge, *History of France (Historical primers, ch. 1, sect. 6-7)*.

1154-1189.—Extent of dominions of Henry II of England in France. See ENGLAND: 1154-1189.

1180-1223.—Economic and social survey of the time of Philip Augustus.—Limitations of trade.—Famines.—Brigandage.—Faith in relics and miracles as protection against evils of the time.—"It takes some effort of imagination to picture the economic condition of medieval France, especially the agricultural conditions, so different from those of today. The extensive forests and moors, the limited arable land, the rudimentary agricultural methods, the incessant compromising and annihilating of the peasants' efforts by war, or by the hard feudal laws of the chase, all explain why land yielded small returns, and why the necessary balance between production and population did not exist, except in years of abundance. The inadequacy of traffic increased that of production. Since each district was isolated, and currency was scarce, nobles and clerics depended very largely upon incomes in kind from their tenants; and these incomes, by way of caution, they stored in their granaries and cellars. The subjects, the agriculturists, lived on what remained after the deduction of the seigniors' portion. In good years the surplus of grain and wine might be sold, but the poor and insecure roads, and the enormous tolls and duties laid on goods by the seigniors, shackled trade. Markets

were poorly provisioned; produce, half of which nowadays enters into trade, was then almost entirely consumed at home, and towns were correspondingly less populous and trade less active. And thus it came about that in normal years the absence of a demand and the infrequency of transactions depreciated prices; whereas, in years of want, the supply found itself suddenly far beneath the demand and prices rose to frightful figures. There was some improvement over the eleventh century, in which forty-eight famine years are recorded; yet, in the reign of Philip Augustus, eleven famines occurred. Men died of hunger, on an average, one year in every four. The famine of 1195, following in the wake of the hurricane which had destroyed the crops of 1194, was heartrending, because it lasted four years. Grain, wine, oil, and salt reached extraordinary prices. People ate grape-skins in place of bread and even dead animals and roots. It is the misfortune of the times that each of these calamities engendered others. Famine produced brigandage. 'To escape death by starvation, many persons became robbers and were hanged,' says the chronicler of Anchin. He misstates the facts: the greater part of the brigands lived on their thefts with impunity. These parasites of the highway were, for the most part, mercenary soldiers, Aragonese, Navarrese, Basques, Brabanters, and Germans—desperadoes come to enter the service of kings and princes. When their pay stopped, they robbed and murdered on their own account. These *rouitiers* [highwaymen] or *cottreaux* [robbers in armor] of Philip Augustus, who reappeared in the 'grand companies' of Charles V, and the *écorceurs* ["fleecers"] of Charles VII, are an open sore of society, a necessary evil, an instrument of war which all the world decries, yet which no one can do without. In vain the church excommunicates these brigands and fulminates against those who employ them. They supply the lack of feudal forces, therefore are they seen in all wars. Their chiefs rendered such important services that kings made them great personages, well paid and provided with titles and fiefs. Those of the bandits thus honored remain celebrated: Mercadier, the friend and general-in-chief of Richard the Lion-Hearted; Cadoc, the ally of Philip Augustus; and Fule de Breaute, the agent of John Lackland. The ravages of these paid or unpaid borders in hostile, and even in friendly, territory, were simply frightful. In northern France the Capetians, the Plantagenets, and certain counts of Flanders and Champagne were able to restrain the scourge and combat it with success,—but what could be done beyond the Loire in Berry, Auvergne, Poitou, Gascony, Languedoc, and Provence, regions more difficult of defense and surveillance? There the highwayman flourished; fires, murders, and rape everywhere marked his passage; especially did he prey on religious houses and churches; he seemed to hate the priest and to feel an obligation to outrage everything which pertained to religion and to worship. This was because the clerics had more that was worth taking, and because by excommunication they aroused the people against him. The brigands of Berry burned churches at pleasure and took captive whole troops of priests and monks. . . . In this atmosphere of misfortune and fright the most characteristic trait of the middle ages appeared: the belief in marvels, portents, and the frequent intervention of supernatural forces. Superstition under a thousand forms is always at the bottom of individual intelligence and is the common mark of all classes of men. In this

respect the middle age directly carried on the ancient world, and the Christian of the time of Philip Augustus resembled the pagan of former times. Impregnated with the supernatural, haunted by childish fancies and by visions well known to weakened constitutions, he was convinced that everything was an omen, a forewarning of punishment from on high, a good or a bad sign of the will of Heaven. To him, natural scourges were only visitations of the power of God or the saints: he must submit or seek to avert these calamities by prayer. There lay the chief utility of the church, and the first cause of her influence. The prayers of clerics and monks were the most important public services and must suffer neither interruption nor respite, for they were the safeguard of the entire people. All the superstitious practices of antiquity were transmitted to the feudal age. Vainly did the church combat this survival of paganism. Superstition, stronger than religion, molded the idea of Christianity to its own uses. The church herself could not prevent it. Monks who wrote history shared in the belief of their contemporaries. The true religion of the middle age, to be frank, is the worship of relics. How could men of that time raise themselves to the metaphysical and moral conceptions of Christian doctrine? To the masses religion was the veneration of the remains of saints or of objects which had been used by Jesus or the Virgin. It was believed that divine intervention in human affairs manifested itself especially through the power of relics. Therefore hardly anything was done, whether in public or private life, without having recourse to the protection or the guarantee of these sacred objects. Relics were brought to councils and assemblies; on them the most solemn oaths were taken, treaties between entire peoples, and conventions between individuals, were sworn. They were the shield and buckler of cities. Was there need of asking God to end a long-enduring rain? A procession was held and the relics were shown. Whoever undertook a distant pilgrimage, a dangerous voyage, or a campaign of war, first went to pray to a saint, to see and touch a relic. The chevalier put some relics in the hilt of his sword; the tradesman, in a little sack suspended from his neck. One of the most frequent penances enjoined by the church, and one of the surest means of safety, the great fountain of spiritual benefits, was a pilgrimage to the tomb of some saint. The more remote and difficult of access the shrine the greater was the merit of the pilgrim. These saints and relics, moreover, were graded like earthly powers. Happy those who could venerate the bones of an apostle, one of those privileged beings who were in touch with Christ; happy, above all others, those who could visit Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher! But it was not necessary to leave one's country; the Christian found right in France well-known sanctuaries to which the believers flocked: Sainte-Genevieve at Paris; Saint-Denis; Saint Martin at Tours; Mont Saint-Michel; Notre-Dame at Chartres; Notre-Dame at Vezeley; Saint-Martial at Limoges; Notre-Dame at Puy; Rocamadour; Saint-Foi at Vonques; Saint-Sernin at Toulouse. Here the sinner put himself at peace with God and gained a quiet conscience: the sick found a cure, for saints heal more surely than medicines. The *physicus*, be he Christian or Jew, was very expensive, and was only an ignorant empiricist. The medical journals of the time were collections of miracles, *libri miraculorum*, written in the centers of pilgrimage."—A.

Lucaire, *Social France at the time of Philip Augustus*, pp. 7-10, 19, 28-29.

1180-1224.—Kingdom extended by Philip Augustus.—Normandy, Maine and Anjou recovered from the English kings.—When the king of England became possessed of more than one-half of France, "one might venture perhaps to conjecture that the sceptre of France would eventually have passed from the Capets to the Plantagenets, if the vexatious quarrel with Becket at one time, and the successive rebellions fomented by Louis at a later period, had not embarrassed the great talents and ambitious spirit of Henry. But the scene quite changed when Philip Augustus, son of Louis VII., came upon the stage [1180]. No prince comparable to him in systematic ambition and military enterprise had reigned in France since Charlemagne. From his reign the French monarchy dates the recovery of its lustre. He wrested from the count of Flanders the Vermandois (that part of Picardy which borders on the Isle of France and Champagne), and subsequently, the County of Artois. But the most important conquests of Philip were obtained against the kings of England. Even Richard I., with all his prowess, lost ground in struggling against an adversary not less active, and more politic, than himself. But when John not only took possession of his brother's dominions, but confirmed his usurpation by the murder, as was very probably surmised, of the heir, Philip, artfully taking advantage of the general indignation, summoned him as his vassal to the court of his peers. John demanded a safe-conduct. Willingly, said Philip; let him come unmolested. And return? inquired the English envoy. If the judgment of his peers permit him, replied the king. By all the saints of France, he exclaimed, when further pressed, he shall not return unless acquitted. . . . John, not appearing at his summons, was declared guilty of felony, and his fiefs confiscated. The execution of this sentence was not intrusted to a dilatory arm. Philip poured his troops into Normandy, and took town after town, while the king of England, infatuated by his own wickedness and cowardice, made hardly an attempt at defence. In two years [1203-1204] Normandy, Maine, and Anjou were irrecoverably lost. Poitou and Guienne resisted longer; but the conquest of the first was completed [1224] by Louis VIII., successor of Philip."—H. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ch. 1, pt. 1.—See also ENGLAND: 1205; ANJOU: 1206-1442.

ALSO IN: K. Norgate, *England under the Angevin kings*, v. 2, ch. 9.

1188-1190.—Crusade of Philip Augustus. See CRUSADES: 1188-1192.

1201-1203.—Fifth Crusade, and its diversion against Constantinople. See CRUSADES: 1201-1203.

1209-1229.—Albigensian wars and their effects. See ALBIGENSES.

1212.—Children's Crusade. See CRUSADES: 1212.

1214.—Effects of battle of Bouvines.—"If the fortune of the day had been different, the consolidation of the French monarchy might have been delayed for centuries. The Plantagenets might have won back their lost Norman and Angevin dominions, the counts of Flanders might have cut themselves free from their suzerain, and the emperor might have excluded the French influence from the Lotharingian border-lands. Never again till the time of Charles V. and Francis I. did France see such a formidable array of enemies gathered against her.

That Philip Augustus was able to beat them off with the forces of his newly-constituted realm is a cause for wonder, and the best testimony of his personal abilities and courage. Without Bouvines he would go down in the records of history as an intriguer of the type of Louis XI. rather than a warrior. Assuredly no one would have guessed from his conduct in the Holy Land, or from the details of his weary war with Richard Cœur de Lion, that he would have the firmness and the nerve to put everything at stake, and deliver and win the greatest pitched battle of his age. Freed from his long quarrel with the Pope by the homage done at Dover on May 15, 1213, John of England had set his considerable diplomatic talents to work, in order to build up a great coalition against the King of France. He was determined to win back the lost lands of his ancestors on the Seine and Loire, and, since his own discontented realm could not furnish him with sufficient forces for carrying out the scheme, it was necessary to seek foreign aid. England was chafing against his misrule so bitterly that he could only aid the confederacy with his purse and his hordes of mercenaries. The most important of John's allies was his nephew, the Emperor Otto IV., who had his own grievance against Philip, because the latter was supporting against him the young Frederic of Swabia, who claimed the Imperial throne. Otto was losing ground in Germany, and hoped to recover his reputation by a successful campaign in the West, where he could count on the aid of the majority of the princes of the Netherlands. Next in importance to the emperor, though not next in rank in the coalition, was Ferdinand, Count of Flanders, who had fallen out with his suzerain owing to Philip's grasping behaviour in taking from him his towns of Aire and St. Omer."—C. Oman, *History of the art of war*, p. 457.—See also BOUVINES, BATTLE OF.

1223.—Accession of King Louis VIII.

1226-1270.—Reign of Louis IX (St. Louis).—Protection and expansion of royal power under Queen Blanche during the minority of Louis.—Undermining of feudalism and extension and consolidation of the royal power by Louis through the administration of justice and informal establishment of law.—"Of the forty-four years of St. Louis' reign, nearly fifteen, with a long interval of separation, pertained to the government of Queen Blanche of Castille, rather than that of the king, her son. Louis, at his accession in 1226, was only eleven; and he remained a minor up to the age of twenty-one, in 1236, for the time of majority in the case of royalty was not yet specially and rigorously fixed. During those ten years Queen Blanche governed France; not at all, as is commonly asserted, with the official title of regent, but simply as guardian of the king, her son. . . . It was not until twenty-two years had passed, in 1248, that Louis, on starting for the crusade, officially delegated to his mother the kingly authority, and that Blanche, during her son's absence, really governed with the title of regent. . . . During the first period of his government, and so long as her son's minority lasted, Queen Blanche had to grapple with intrigues, plots, insurrections, and open war; and, what was still worse for her, with the insults and calumnies of the crown's great vassals, burning to seize once more, under a woman's government, the independence and power which had been effectually disputed with them by Philip Augustus. Blanche resisted their attempts, at one time with open and persevering energy, at another dex-

terously with all the tact, address, and allurements of a woman. Though she was now forty years of age she was beautiful, elegant, attractive, full of resources and of grace. . . . The malcontents spread the most odious scandals about her. . . . Neither in the events nor in the writings of the period is it easy to find anything which can authorize the accusations made by the foes of Queen Blanche. . . . What St. Louis really owed to his mother, and it was a great deal, was the steady triumph which, whether by arms or by negotiation, Blanche gained over the great vassals, and the preponderance which, amidst the struggles of the feudal system, she secured for the kingship of her son in his minority. . . . When Louis reached his majority, his entrance upon personal exercise of the kingly power produced no change in the conduct of public affairs. . . . The kingship of the son was a continuance of the mother's government."—G. Masson, *St. Louis*, pp. 44-56.—"The fundamental institution upon which all the social edifice rested, in the time of Saint Louis, was royalty. But this royalty, from the double point of view of theory and practice, was very different from what it had been originally. In principle it was the divine right, that is, it was an emanation from the Most High, and the king held of no other seigneur. This is what the feudal maxim expressed after its fashion: 'The king holds only of God and his sword.' . . . Royalty was transmitted by heredity, from father to son, and by primogeniture. However, this heredity, which had formerly needed a sort of election to confirm it, or at least popular acclamation, needed now to be hallowed by the unction of the church. Consecration, joined to the privilege of being the eldest of the royal race, made the king. . . . It must not be thought however that the ideas of the time attributed to the hereditary principle a force absolute and superior to all interests. . . . The royal power, besides, had not yet a material force sufficiently great to dominate everywhere as absolute master. Under the two first lines, it was exercised in the same degree over all points of the territory; from the accession of the third, on the contrary, it was only a power of two degrees, having a very unequal action according to the territory and the locality. A part of France composed the royal domain: it was the patrimony of the Capetian house, increased by conquest or successive acquisitions. There, the king exercised an authority almost without limit; he was on his own ground. All the rest formed duchies, counties, or seigneuries of different sorts, possessed hereditarily by great vassals, more or less independent originally. Here the king was only the suzerain; he had scarcely any rights excepting to homage, to military service, to pecuniary assistance in certain stated cases, and to some privileges called royal, as that of coining money. The entire royal policy, from Philip Augustus to Louis XI., consisted in skilfully increasing the first of these parts by absorbing little by little the second. . . . The possessions of the crown . . . formed two or three separate groups, cut up in the most fantastic fashion, and connected only as the result of long effort. All the rest of the kingdom was composed of great fiefs escaping the direct action of royalty, and themselves subdivided into lesser fiefs, which complicated infinitely the hierarchy of persons and lands. The principal were the counties of Flanders, Boulogne, Saint Pol, Ponthieu, Aumale, Eu, Soissons, Dreux, Montford-l'Amaury; the bishoprics of Tournai, Beauvais, Noyon, Laon, Lisieux, Reims, Langres, Châlons, the titularies of which

were at the same time counts or seigneurs; the vast county of Champagne, uniting those of Rethel, Grandpré, Roucy, Brienne, Joigny and the county Porcien; the duchy of Burgundy, so powerful and so extensive; the counties of Nevers, Tonnerre, Auxerre, Beaujeu, Forez, Auvergne; the seignury of Bourbon; the counties of Blois and of Chartres; the county or duchy of Brittany; Guienne, and, before 1271, the county of Toulouse; the bishoprics of Albi, Cahors, Mende, Lodève, Agde, Maguelonne, belonging temporarily as well as spiritually to their respective bishops; finally the seignury of Montpellier, holding of the last of these bishoprics. To which must yet be added the appanages given by Louis VIII. to his younger sons, that is, the counties of Artois, Anjou, Poitiers, with their dependencies. . . . So when the government of the kingdom at this epoch is spoken of, it must be understood to mean that of only the least considerable part of the territory,—that is, of the part which was directly submitted to the authority of the king. In this part the sovereign himself exercised the power, assisted, as ordained by the theories examined above, by auxiliaries taken from the nation. There were neither ministers nor a deliberative corps, properly speaking; however there was very nearly the equivalent. On one side, the great officers of the crown and the royal council, on the other the parliament and the chamber of accounts (exchequer), or at least their primitive nucleus, constituted the principal machinery of the central government, and had, each, its special powers. The great officers, of whom there had at first been five, were only four from the reign of Philip Augustus, who had suppressed the sénéchal owing to the possibility of his becoming dangerous by reason of the progressive extension of his jurisdiction; they were the bouteiller, who had become the administrator of the royal expenditure; the chambrier, elevated to the care of the treasury; the connétable, a kind of military superintendent; and the chancellor, who had the disposition of the royal seal. These four personages represented in a certain degree, secretaries of state. The two latter had a preponderant influence, one in time of peace, the other in time of war. To the chancellor belonged the drawing up and the proper execution (legalization) of the royal diplomas: this power alone made him the arbiter of the interests of all private individuals. As to the constable, he had the chief direction of the army, and all those who composed it, barons, knights, paid troops, owed him obedience. The king, in person, had the supreme command; but he frequently allowed the constable to exercise it, and, in order not to impose too heavy a burden upon him, or rather to prevent his taking a too exclusive authority, he had appointed as coadjutors two 'maréchaux de France' who were second in command. . . . The king's council had not yet a very fixed form. Saint Louis submitted important questions to the persons about him, clerics, knights or men of the people; but he chose these advisers according to the nature of the questions, having temporary counsellors rather than a permanent council. Among these counsellors some were more especially occupied with justice, others with finance, others with political affairs. These three categories are the germ of the parliament, of the exchequer, and of the council of state; but they then formed an indistinct ensemble, called simply the king's court. They were not completely separated so as to form independent institutions until the time of Philippe le Bel. . . . The superior

jurisdiction is represented by the parliament. The organization of this famous body was begun in the lifetime of Philip Augustus. Under the reign of this prince [Saint Louis], and notably as a result of his absence, the 'cour du roi' had begun to render more and more frequent decisions. The section which was occupied with judicial affairs, appears to have taken on, in the time of Saint Louis, an individual and independent existence. Instead of following the sovereign and meeting when he thought it expedient, it became sedentary. . . . The date at which the series of the famous registers of the parliament, known under the name of Olim, begins may be considered that of the definitive creation of this great institution. It will be remarked that it coincides with the general reform of the administration of the kingdom undertaken by the good king on his return from Syria. . . . From its birth the parliament tended to become, in the hands of royalty, a means of domination over the great vassals. Not only were the seigneurs insensibly eliminated from it, to the advantage of the clergy, the lawyers, and the officers of the crown, but by a series of skilful victories, its action was extended little by little over all the fiefs situated outside the royal domain, that is, over all France. It is again Saint Louis who caused this great and decisive advance toward the authority of the suzerain. He brought it about especially by the abolition of the judicial duel and by the multiplication of appeals to the parliament. . . . As for the appeals, the interdiction of 'fausser jugement' (refusal to submit to the sentence pronounced) was not the only cause of their multiplication. Many of the great vassals were led to bring their affairs before the king's court, either on account of the confidence inspired by the well known equity of Saint Louis, or by the skill of the royal agents, who neglected no opportunity to cause the acceptance of the arbitration of the crown; and those who did not resign themselves to it were sometimes compelled to do so. The appeals of their subjects naturally took the same route; however, they continued to employ the medium of the sénéchal's court or that of the bailli, while those of the barons and the princes of the blood went directly to Paris. No general law was promulgated in regard to the matter. Royalty was content to recover little by little, by partial measures, the superior jurisdiction formerly usurped by the feudality. . . . Above and outside of the parliament justice was rendered by the king in person. . . . Saint Louis, always thoughtful of the interests of the lowly, had a liking for this expeditious manner of terminating suits. Nearly every morning, he sent two or three members of his council to inquire, at the palace gate, if there were not some private individuals there wishing to discuss their affairs before him; from this came the name 'plaids de la porte' [hearings at the gate] given to this kind of audience. If his counsellors could not bring the parties to an agreement, he called the latter into his own room, examined their case with his scrupulous impartiality, and rendered the final sentence himself on the spot. Joinville, who took part more than once in these summary judgments, thus describes to us their very simple mechanism. 'The king had his work regulated in such a way, that monseigneur de Nesle and the good count de Soissons, and the rest of us who were about him, who had heard our masses, went to hear the "plaids de la porte," which are now called "requêtes" (petitions). And when he returned from the monastery, he sent for us, seated himself at

the foot of his bed, made us all sit around him, and asked us if there were any cases to despatch which could not be disposed of without him; and we named them to him, and he sent for the parties and asked them: Why do you not take what our people offer you? And they said: Sire, because they offer us little. Then he said to them: You should take what they are willing to give you. And the saintly man labored in this way, with all his might to set them in a just and reasonable path.' Here the great peacemaker is clearly seen; private individuals as well as princes, he desired to reconcile all, make all agree. These patriarchal audiences often had for theater the garden of the palace or the wood of Vincennes."—A. Lecoq de la Marche, *La France sous Saint Louis et sous Philippe le Hardi*, liv. 1, ch. 2, and liv. 2, ch. 1 and 3.—"St. Louis struck at the spirit of the Middle Age, and therein insured the downfall of its forms and whole embodiment. He fought the last battles against feudalism, because, by a surer means than battling, he took, and unconsciously, the life-blood from the opposition to the royal authority. Unconsciously, we say; he did not look on the old order of things as evil, and try to introduce a better; he did not selfishly contend for the extension of his own power; he was neither a great reformer, nor a (so-called) wise king. He undermined feudalism, because he hated injustice; he warred with the Middle Age, because he could not tolerate its disregard of human rights; and he paved the way for Philip-le-bel's struggle with the papacy, because he looked upon religion and the church as instruments for man's salvation, not as tools for worldly aggrandizement. He is, perhaps, the only monarch on record who failed in most of what he undertook of active enterprise, who was under the control of the prejudices of his age, who was a true conservative, who never dreamed of effecting great social changes,—and who yet, by his mere virtues, his sense of duty, his power of conscience, made the mightiest and most vital reforms. One of these reforms was the abolition of the trial by combat. . . . It is not our purpose to follow Louis either in his first or second crusade." (See CRUSADES: 1248-1254; 1270-1271.) On returning, in 1254, from his first crusade, "scarce had he landed, before he began that course of legislation which continued until once more he embarked. . . . In his first legislative action, Louis proposed to himself these objects,—to put an end to judicial partiality, to prevent needless and oppressive imprisonment for debt, to stop unfounded criminal prosecutions, and to mitigate the horrors of legalized torture. In connection with these general topics, he made laws to bear oppressively upon the Jews, to punish prostitution and gambling, and to diminish intemperance. And it is worthy of remark, that this last point was to be attained by forbidding innkeepers to sell to any others than travellers,—a measure now (six hundred years later) under discussion in some parts of our Union, with a view to the same end. But the wish which this rare monarch had to recompense all who had been wronged by himself and forefathers was the uppermost wish of his soul. . . . Commissioners were sent into every province of the kingdom to examine each alleged case of royal injustice, and with power in most instances to make instant restitution. He himself went forth to hear and judge in the neighborhood of his capital, and as far north as Normandy. . . . As he grew yet older, the spirit of generosity grew stronger daily in his bosom. He would have no

hand in the affairs of Europe, save to act, wherever he could, as peacemaker. Many occasions occurred where all urged him to profit by power and a show of right, a naked legal title, to possess himself of valuable fiefs; but Louis shook his

baron-hating legists, he so ordained, in conformity with the Roman law, that, under given circumstances, almost any case might be referred to his tribunal. This, of course, gave to the king's judgment-seat and to him more of influence than any



SAINT LOUIS ADMINISTERING JUSTICE
(From the painting by Ronget, at Versailles Gallery)

head sorrowfully and sternly, and did as his inmost soul told him the law of God directed. . . . There had been for some reigns back a growing disposition to refer certain questions to the king's tribunals, as being regal, not baronial questions. Louis the Ninth gave to this disposition distinct form and value, and, under the influence of the

other step ever taken had done. . . . It . . . threw at once the balance of power into the royal hands. . . . It became necessary to make the occasional sitting of the king's council or parliament, which exercised certain judicial functions, permanent; and to change its composition, by diminishing the feudal and increasing the legal or legist element.

Thus everywhere, in the barons' courts, the king's court, and the central parliament, the Roman, legal, organized element began to predominate over the German, feudal, barbaric tendencies, and the foundation-stones of modern society were laid. But the just soul of Louis and the prejudices of his Romanized counsellors were not arrayed against the old Teutonic barbarism alone, with its endless private wars and judicial duels; they stood equally opposed to the extravagant claims of the Roman hierarchy. . . . The first calm, deliberate, consistent opposition to the centralizing power of the great see was that offered by its truest friend and most honest ally, Louis of France. From 1260 to 1268, step by step was taken by the defender of the liberties of the Gallican church, until, in the year last named, he published his 'Pragmatic Sanction' [see below: 1268].—*Saint Louis of France* (*North American Review*, Apr., 1846).—See also PARLEMENT OF PARIS.

1252.—Crusading movement of the Pastors. See CRUSADES: 1252.

1266.—Acquisition of the kingdom of Naples or the Two Sicilies by Charles of Anjou, the king's brother. See ITALY (Southern): 1250-1268.

1268.—Pragmatic Sanction of Saint Louis.—Assertion of the rights of the Gallican church.—"The continual usurpations of the popes produced the celebrated Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis [about 1268]. This edict, the authority of which, though probably without cause, has been sometimes disputed, contains three important provisions; namely that all prelates and other patrons shall enjoy their full rights as to the collation of benefices, according to the canons; that churches shall possess freely their rights of election; and that no tax or pecuniary exaction shall be levied by the pope, without consent of the king and of the national church. We do not find, however, that the French government acted up to the spirit of this ordinance."—H. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ch. 7, pt. 2.—"This Edict appeared either during the last year of Clement IV., . . . or during the vacancy in the Pontificate. . . . It became the barrier against which the encroachments of the ecclesiastical power were destined to break; nor was it swept away till a stronger barrier had arisen in the unlimited power of the French crown." It "became a great Charter of Independence to the Gallican Church."—H. H. Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, v. 5, bk. 11, ch. 4.

1270-1285.—Vons of Saint Louis.—Origin of the Houses of Valois and Bourbon.—Saint Louis left several sons, the elder of whom succeeded him as Philip III, and his youngest son was Robert, count of Clermont and lord of Bourbon, the ancestor of all the branches of the House of Bourbon. Philip III died in 1285, when he was succeeded by his son, Philip IV. A younger son, Charles, count of Valois, was the ancestor of the Valois branch of the royal family.—See also BOURBON, HOUSE OF; VALOIS, HOUSE OF.

1283.—Massacre of French in Palermo.—End of reign of House of Anjou in Italy. See ITALY (Southern): 1283-1300.

1284.—Union with crown of Navarre by marriage. See NAVARRE: 1284-1328.

1285-1314.—Reign of Philip IV.—His conflict with the pope and establishment of papal residence at Avignon.—Destruction of the Templars.—Philip IV, "le Bel" (the Handsome), came to the throne on the death of his father, Philip "le Hardi," in 1285. He was presently involved in war with Edward I of England, who crossed to Flanders in 1297, intending to invade

France, but was recalled by the revolt in Scotland, under Wallace, and peace was made in 1303. The Flemings, who had provoked Philip by their alliance with the English, were thus left to suffer his resentment. They bore themselves valiantly in a war which lasted several years, and inflicted upon the knights of France a fearful defeat at Courtrai, in 1302. In the end, the French king substantially failed in his designs upon Flanders (see FLANDERS: 1299-1304). "It is probable that this long struggle would have been still protracted, but for a general quarrel which had sprung up some time before its close, between the French king and Pope Boniface VIII., concerning the [taxation of the clergy and the] right of nomination to vacant bishoprics within the dominions of Philippe. The latter, on seeing Bernard Saissetti thrust into the Bishopric of Pamiers by the pontiff's sole authority, caused the Bishop to be arrested by night, and, after subjecting him to various indignities, consigned him to prison on a charge of treason, heresy, and blasphemy. Boniface remonstrated against this outrage and violence in a bull known in history, by its opening words 'Ausculta, fili,' [Listen, my son] in which he asserted his power 'over nations and kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant,' and concluded by informing Philippe that he had summoned all the superior clergy of France to an assembly at Rome on the 1st of the following November, in order to deliberate on the remedies for such abuses as those of which the king had been guilty. Philippe, by no means intimidated by this measure, convoked a full and early assembly of the three estates of his kingdom, to decide upon the conduct of him whom the orthodox, up to that time, had been in the habit of deeming infallible. This (10th April 1302) was the first meeting of a Parliament, properly so called, in France. [See also SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: 1300-1600.] . . . The chambers unanimously approved and applauded the conduct of the king, and resolved to maintain the honour of the crown and the nation from foreign insult or domination; and to mark their decision more conclusively, they concurred with the sovereign in prohibiting the clergy from attending the Pope's summons to Rome. The papal bull was burned as publicly as possible. . . . The Pope, alarmed at these novel and bold proceedings, sought instantly to avert their consequences by soothing explanations; but Philippe would not now be turned aside from his course. He summoned a convocation of the Gallican prelates, in which by the mouth of William de Nogaret, his chancellor, he represented the occupier of St. Peter's chair as the father of lies and an evil-doer; and he demanded the seizure of this pseudo-pope, and his imprisonment until he could be brought before a legitimate tribunal to receive the punishment due to his numerous crimes. Boniface now declared that the French king was excommunicated, and cited him by his confessor to appear in the papal court at Rome within three months, to make submission and atonement for his contumacy. . . . While this unseemly quarrel . . . seemed to be growing interminable in its complexities, the daring of a few men opened a shorter path to its end than could have been anticipated. William of Nogaret associating to him Sciarra Colonna, a noble Roman, who, having been driven from his native city by Boniface and subjected to various hardships, had found refuge in Paris, passed, with a train of three hundred horsemen, and a much larger body of picked in-

fantry, secretly into Italy, with the intention of surprising the Pope at his summer residence in his native town of Anagni. . . . The papal palace was captured after a feeble resistance, and the cardinals and personal attendants of the Pontiff fled for their lives. . . . The Condottieri . . . dragged the Pope from his throne, and conveying him into the street, mounted him upon a lean horse without saddle or bridle, with his head to the animal's tail, and thus conducted him in a sort of pilgrimage through the town. He was then consigned prisoner to one of the chambers of his palace and placed under guard; while the body of his captors dispersed themselves through the splendid apartments in eager pursuit of plunder. Three days were thus occupied; but at the end of that time the . . . people of Anagni . . . took arms in behalf of their fellow-townsmen and spiritual father, and falling upon the French while still indulging in the licence of the sack, drove Nogaret and Colonna from their quarters, and either expelled or massacred the whole of their followers." The Pope returned to Rome in so great a rage that his reason gave way, and soon afterwards he was found dead in his bed. "The scandal of these proceedings throughout Christendom was immense; and Philippe adopted every precaution to avert evil consequences from himself by paying court to Benedict XI, who succeeded to the tiara. This Pope, however, though he for some time temporised, could not be long deaf to the loud voices of the clergy which called for punishment upon the oppressors of the church. Ere he had reigned nine months he found himself compelled to excommunicate the plunderers of Anagni; and a few days afterwards he perished, under circumstances which leave little doubt of his having been poisoned. . . . The king of France profited largely by the crime; since, besides gaining time for the subsidence of excitement, he was subsequently enabled, by his intrigues, to procure the election of a person pledged not only to grant him absolution for all past offences, but to stigmatise the memory of Boniface, to restore the deposed Colonna to his honours and estates, to nominate several French ecclesiastics to the college of cardinals, and to grant to the king the tenths of the Gallican church for a term of five years. The pontiff who thus seems to have been the first of his race to lower the pretensions of his office, was Bertrand de Goth, originally a private gentleman of Bazadors, and subsequently promoted to the Archiepiscopal See of Bordeaux. He assumed the title of Clement V., and after receiving investiture at Lyons, fixed the apostolic residence at Avignon, where it continued, under successive occupants, for a period, the length of which caused it to be denominated by the Italians the Babylonian captivity. This quarrel settled, Philippe engaged in another undertaking, the safe-conduct of which required all his skill and unscrupulousness. This important enterprise was no less than the destruction and plunder of the military order of Knights Templars. . . . Public discontent . . . had, by a variety of circumstances, been excited throughout the realm. Among the number of exactions, the coin had been debased to meet the exigencies of the state, and this obstructing the operations of commerce, and inflicting wrongs to a greater or less extent upon all classes, every one loudly complained of injustice, robbery and oppression, and in the end several tumults occurred, in which the residence of the king himself was attacked, and the whole population were with difficulty restrained from insurrection. In

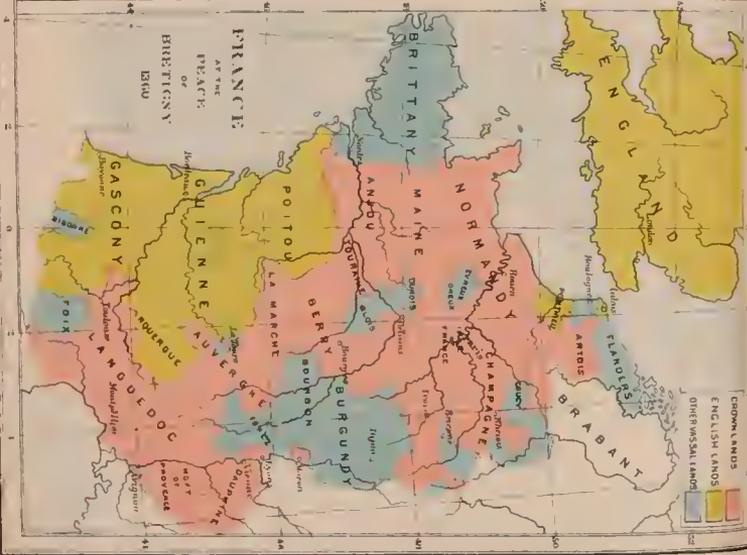
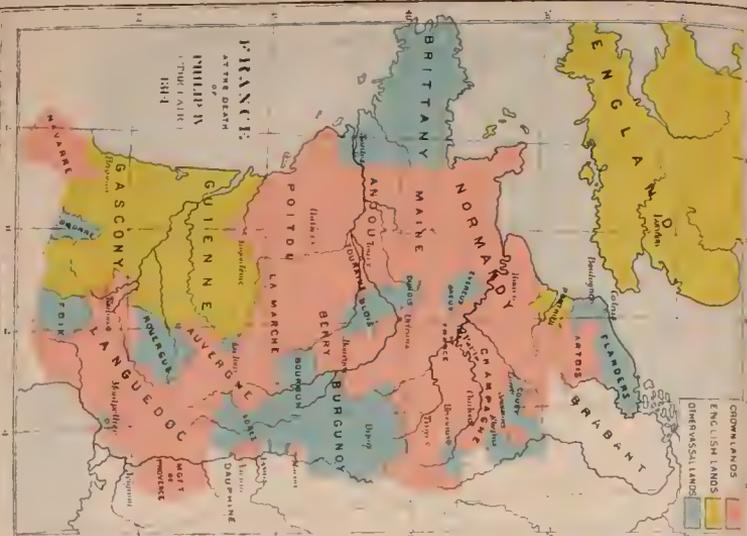
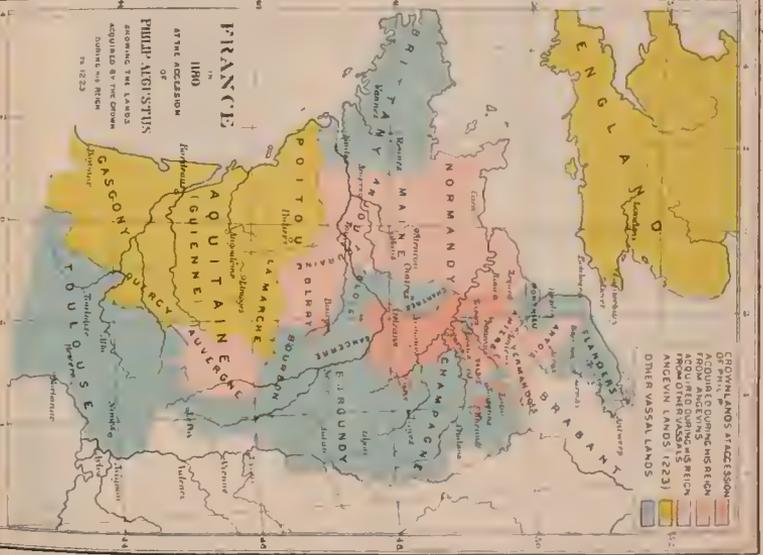
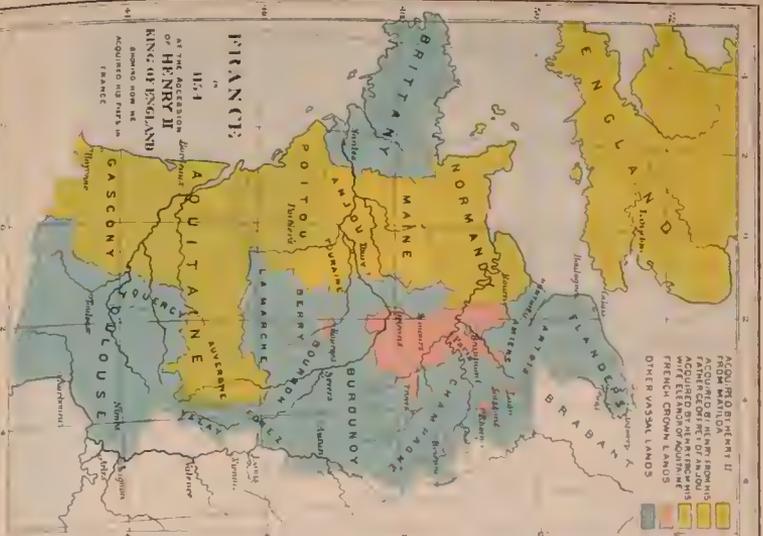
Burgundy, Champagne, Artois and Forez, indeed, the nobles, and burges class having for the first time made common cause of their grievances, spoke openly of revolt against the royal authority, unless the administration should be reformed, and equity be substituted in the king's courts for the frauds, extortions and malversations, which prevailed. The sudden death of Philippe—owing to a fall from his horse while hunting the wild boar in the forest of Fontainebleau—on the 29th of November, 1314, delivered the people from their tyrant, and the crown from the consequences of a general rebellion. Pope Clement, the king's firm friend, had gone to his last account on the 20th of the preceding April. Louis X, le Hutin (the Quarrelsome) ascended the throne at the mature age of twenty-five."—G. M. Bussey and T. Gaspey, *Pictorial history of France*, v. 1, ch. 4.—See also PAPACY: 1294-1348; ITALY: 1310-1313; Visitation of the emperor; TEMPLARS: 1307-1314; FLANDERS: 1314.

14th century.—Financiers in Paris.—Capitalism in the provinces. See CAPITALISM: 14th century.

1314-1328.—Louis X, Philip V, Charles IV.—Feudal reaction.—Philip-le-Bel died in 1314. "With the accession of his son, Louis X., so well surnamed Hutin (disorder, tumult), comes a violent reaction of the feudal, local, provincial spirit, which seeks to dash in pieces the still feeble fabric of unity, demands dismemberment, and claims chaos. The Duke of Brittany arrogates the right of judgment without appeal; so does the exchequer of Rouen. Amiens will not have the king's sergeants subpoena before the barons, or his provosts remove any prisoner from the town's jurisdiction. Burgundy and Nevers require the king to respect the privileges of feudal justice. . . . The common demand of the barons is that the king shall renounce all intermeddling with their men. . . . The young monarch grants and signs all; there are only three points to which he demurs, and which he seeks to defer. The Burgundian barons contest with him the jurisdiction over the rivers, roads, and consecrated places. The nobles of Champagne doubt the king's right to lead them to war out of their own province. Those of Amiens, with true Picard impetuosity, require without any circumlocution, that all gentlemen may war upon each other, and not enter into securities, but ride, go, come, and be armed for war, and pay forfeit to one another. . . . The king's reply to these absurd and insolent demands is merely: 'We will order examination of the registers of my lord St. Louis, and give to the said nobles two trustworthy persons, to be nominated by our council, to verify and inquire diligently into the truth of the said article.' The reply was adroit enough. The general cry was for a return to the good customs of St. Louis: it being forgotten that St. Louis had done his utmost to put a stop to private wars. But by thus invoking the name of St. Louis, they meant to express their wish for the old feudal independence—for the opposite of the quasi-legal, the venal, and pettifogging government of Philippe-le-Bel. The barons set about destroying, bit by bit, all the changes introduced by the late king. But they could not believe him dead so long as there survived his Alter Ego, his mayor of the palace, Enguerrand de Marigny, who, in the latter years of his reign, had been coadjutor and rector of the kingdom, and who had allowed his statue to be raised in the palace by the side of the king's. His real name was Le Portier; but along with the

estates he bought the name of Marigny. . . . It was in the Temple, in the very spot where Marigny had installed his master for the spoliation of the Templars, that the young king Louis repaired to hear the solemn accusation brought against him. His accuser was Philippe-le-Bel's brother, the violent Charles of Valois, a busy man, of mediocre abilities, who put himself at the head of the barons. . . . To effect his destruction, Charles of Valois had recourse to the grand accusation of the day, which none could surmount. It was discovered, or presumed, that Marigny's wife or sister, in order to effect his acquittal, or bewitch the king, had caused one Jacques de Lor to make certain small figures: 'The said Jacques, thrown into prison, hangs himself in despair, and then his wife, and Enguerrand's sisters are thrown into prison, and Enguerrand himself, condemned before the knights . . . is hung at Paris on the thieves' gibbet.' . . . Marigny's best vengeance was that the crown, so strong in his care, sank after him into the most deplorable weakness. Louis-le-Hutin, needing money for the Flemish war, treated as equal with equal, with the city of Paris. The nobles of Champagne and Picardy hastened to take advantage of the right of private war which they had just reacquired, and made war on the countess of Artois, without troubling themselves about the judgment rendered by the king, who had awarded this fief to her. All the barons had resumed the privilege of coining; Charles of Valois, the king's uncle, setting them the example. But instead of coining for their own domains only, conformably to the ordinances of Philippe-le-Hardi and Philippe-le-Bel, they minted coin by wholesale, and gave it currency throughout the kingdom. On this, the king had perforce to arouse himself, and return to the administration of Marigny and of Philippe-le-Bel. He denounced the coinage of the barons (November the 10th, 1315); ordained that it should pass current on their own lands only; and fixed the value of the royal coin relatively to thirteen different coinages, which thirty-one bishops or barons had the right of minting on their own territories. In St. Louis's time, eighty nobles had enjoyed this right. The young feudal king, humanized by the want of money, did not disdain to treat with serfs and with Jews. . . . It is curious to see the son of Philippe-le-Bel admitting serfs to liberty [see SERFDOM: 5th-18th centuries]; but it is trouble lost. The merchant vainly swells his voice and enlarges on the worth of his merchandise; the poor serfs will have none of it. Had they buried in the ground some bad piece of money, they took care not to dig it up to buy a bit of parchment. In vain does the king wax wroth at seeing them dull to the value of the boon offered. At last, he directs the commissioners deputed to superintend the enfranchisement, to value the property of such serfs as preferred 'remaining in the sorriness (chétivité) of slavery,' and to tax them 'as sufficiently and to such extent as the condition and wealth of the individuals may conveniently allow, and as the necessity of our war requires.' But with all this it is a grand spectacle to see proclamation made from the throne itself of the imprescriptible right of every man to liberty. The serfs do not buy this right, but they will remember both the royal lesson, and the dangerous appeal to which it instigates against the barons. The short and obscure reign of Philippe-le-Long [Philip V., 1316-1322] is scarcely less important as regards the public law of France, than even that of Philippe-le-Bel. In

the first place, his accession to the throne decides a great question. As Louis Hutin left his queen pregnant, his brother Philippe is regent and guardian of the future infant. This child dies soon after its birth, and Philippe proclaims himself king to the prejudice of a daughter of his brother's; a step which was the more surprising from the fact that Philippe-le-Bel had maintained the right of female succession in regard to Franche-Comté and Artois. The barons were desirous that daughters should be excluded from inheriting fiefs, but that they should succeed to the throne of France; and their chief, Charles of Valois, favored his grandniece against his nephew Philippe. Philippe assembled the States, and gained his cause, which, at bottom, was good, by absurd reasons. He alleged in his favor the old German law of the Franks, which excluded daughters from the Salic land; and maintained that the crown of France was too noble a fief to fall into hands used to the distaff ('pour tomber en quenouille')—a feudal argument, the effect of which was to ruin feudality. . . . By thus rejecting the right of the daughters at the very moment it was gradually triumphing over the fiefs, the crown acquired its character of receiving always without ever giving; and a bold revocation, at this time, of all donations made since St. Louis's day, seems to contain the principle of the inalienableness of the royal domain. Unfortunately, the feudal spirit which resumed strength under the Valois in favor of private wars, led to fatal creations of appanages, and founded, to the advantage of the different branches of the royal family, a princely feudality as embarrassing to Charles VI. and Louis XI., as the other had been to Philippe-le-Bel. This contested succession and disaffection of the barons force Philippe-le-Long into the paths of Philippe-le-Bel. He flatters the cities, Paris, and, above all, the University,—the grand power of Paris. He causes his barons to take the oath of fidelity to him, in presence of the masters of the university, and with their approval. He wishes his good cities to be provided with armories; their citizens to keep their arms in a sure place; and appoints them a captain in each bailiwick or district (March the 12th, 1316). . . . Praiseworthy beginnings of order and of government brought no relief to the sufferings of the people. During the reign of Louis Hutin, a horrible mortality had swept off, it was said, the third of the population of the North. The Flemish war had exhausted the last resources of the country. . . . Men's imaginations becoming excited, a great movement took place among the people. As in the days of St. Louis, a multitude of poor people, of peasants, of shepherds or pastoureaux, as they were called, flock together and say that they seek to go beyond the sea, that they are destined to recover the Holy Land. . . . They wended their way towards the South, everywhere massacring the Jews; whom the king's officers vainly tried to protect. At last, troops were got together at Toulouse, who fell upon the Pastoureaux, and hanging them up by twenties and thirties the rest dispersed. . . . Philippe-le-Long . . . was seized with fever in the course of the same year, (1321), in the month of August, without his physicians being able to guess its cause. He languished five months, and died. . . . His brother Charles [Charles IV., 1322-1328] succeeded him, without bestowing a thought more on the rights of Philippe's daughter, than Philippe had done to those of Louis's daughter. The period of Charles's reign is as barren of facts with regard to France, as it is rich in



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them respecting Germany, England, and Flanders. The Flemings imprison their count. The Germans are divided between Frederick of Austria and Lewis of Bavaria, who takes his rival prisoner at Muhldorf. In the midst of the universal divisions, France seems strong from the circumstance of its being one. Charles-le-Bel interferes in favor of the count of Flanders. He attempts, with the pope's aid, to make himself emperor; and his sister, Isabella, makes herself actual queen of England by the murder of Edward II. . . . Charles-le-Bel . . . died almost at the same time as Edward, leaving only a daughter; so that he was succeeded by a cousin of his. All that fine family of princes who had sat near their father at the Council of Vienne was extinct. In the popular belief, the curses of Boniface had taken effect. . . . This memorable epoch, which depresses England so low, and in proportion, raises France so high, presents, nevertheless, in the two countries two analogous events. In England, the barons have overthrown Edward II. In France, the feudal party places on the throne the feudal branch of the Valois."—J. Michelet, *History of France*, v. 1, bk. 5-6.—See also VALOIS, HOUSE OF.

1314-1347.—King's control of the papacy in its contest with the emperor. See GERMANY: 1314-1347.

1320.—Invasion of Milan. See ITALY: 1313-1330.

1328.—Accession of Philip VI.—Extent of the royal domain.—Great vassals.—Possessions of foreign princes in France.—Splendors of the monarchy on the eve of the calamitous war.—On the accession of the House of Valois to the French throne, in the person of Philip VI (1328), the royal domain had acquired a great increase of extent. In the two centuries since Philip I it had gained, "by conquest, by confiscation, or by inheritance, Berry, or the Viscounty of Bourges, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Poitou, Valois, Vermandois, the counties of Auvergne, and Boulogne, a part of Champagne and Brie, Lyonnais, Angoumois, Marche, nearly the whole of Languedoc, and, lastly, the kingdom of Navarre, which belonging in her own right to queen Jeanne, mother of the last three Capetians [Jeanne, heiress of the kingdom of Navarre and of the counties of Champagne and Brie, was married to Philip IV., and was the mother of Louis X., Philip V. and Charles IV.], Charles IV. united with the crown. [See also NAVARRE: 1284-1328.] But the custom among the kings of giving apanages or estates to the princes of their house detached afresh from the domain a great part of the reunited territories, and created powerful princely houses, of which the chiefs often made themselves formidable to the monarchs. Among these great houses of the Capetian race, the most formidable were: the house of Burgundy, which traced back to king Robert; the house of Dreux, issue of a son of Louis the Big, and which added by a marriage the duchy of Brittany to the county of that name; the house of Anjou, issue of Charles, brother of Saint Louis, which was united in 1290 with that of Valois; the house of Bourbon, descending from Robert, Count of Clermont, sixth son of Saint Louis; and the house of Alençon, which traced back to Philip III., and possessed the duchy of Alençon and Perche. Besides these great princely houses of Capetian stock, which owed their grandeur and their origin to their apanages, there were many others which held considerable rank in France, and of which the possessions were transmissible to women; while

the apanages were all masculine fiefs. The most powerful of these houses were those of Flanders, Penthièvre, Châtillon, Montmorency, Brienne, Coucy, Vendôme, Auvergne, Foix, and Armagnac. The vast possessions of the two last houses were in the country of the Langue d'Oc. The counts of Foix were also masters of Bearn, and those of Armagnac possessed Fezensac, Rouergue, and other large seigniories. Many foreign princes, besides, had possessions in France at the accession of the Valois. The king of England was lord of Ponthieu, of Aunis, of Saintonge, and of the duchy of Aquitaine; the king of Navarre was count of Evreux, and possessor of many other towns in Normandy; the king of Majorca was proprietor of the seigniorship of Montpellier; the duke of Lorraine, vassal of the German empire, paid homage to the king of France for many fiefs that he held in Champagne; and, lastly, the Pope possessed the county Venaisin, detached from Provence."—E. de Bonnechose, *History of France*, v. 1, p. 224.—"Indisputably, the king of France [Philip VI., or Philip de Valois] was at this moment [1328] a great king. He had just reinstated Flanders in its state of dependence on him. [See FLANDERS: 1328.] The king of England had done him homage for his French provinces. His cousins reigned at Naples and in Hungary. He was protector of the king of Scotland. He was surrounded by a court of kings—by those of Navarre, Majorca, Bohemia; and the Scottish monarch was often one of the circle. The famous John of Bohemia, of the house of Luxembourg, and father to the emperor Charles IV., declared that he could not live out of Paris, 'the most chivalrous residence in the world' He fluttered over all Europe, but ever returned to the court of the great king of France—where was kept up one constant festival, where jousts and tournaments ever went on, and the romances of chivalry, king Arthur and the round table, were realized."—J. Michelet, *History of France*, bk. 6, ch. 1.

1328-1339.—Claim of Edward III of England to the French crown.—"History tells us that Philip, king of France, surnamed the Fair, had three sons, beside his beautiful daughter Isabella, married to the king of England [Edward II.]. These three sons were very handsome. The eldest, Lewis, king of Navarre during the lifetime of his father, was called Lewis Hutin [Louis X.]; the second was named Philip the Great, or the Long [Philip V.]; and the third, Charles [Charles IV.] All these were kings of France, after their father Philip, by legitimate succession, one after the other, without having by marriage any male heirs; yet, on the death of the last king, Charles, the twelve peers and barons of France did not give the kingdom to Isabella, the sister, who was queen of England, because they said and maintained, and still do insist, that the kingdom of France is so noble that it ought not to go to a woman; consequently neither to Isabella, nor to her son, the king of England [Edward III.]; for they hold that the son of a woman cannot claim any right of succession, where that woman has none herself. For these reasons the twelve peers and barons of France unanimously gave the kingdom of France to the lord Philip of Valois, nephew to king Philip, and thus put aside the queen of England, who was sister to Charles, the late king of France, and her son. Thus, as it seemed to many people, the succession went out of the right line; which has been the occasion of the most destructive wars and devastations of countries, as

THE THIRD

1ST GENERATION.

2D.

3D.

4TH.

5TH.

6TH.

CHARLES I.,
Count of Anjou,
King of Naples,
1266-1285,
King of Sicily,
1266-1282,
married
Beatrice,
heiress of
Provence.

CHARLES II.,
King of Naples,
1285-1309,
married
Mary
of Hungary.

Charles Martel,
died 1295,
married
Clementia,
(daughter of
Emperor Rudolf I.).

ROBERT,
King of Naples,
1309-1343,
married
Isolande
of Aragon.

John,
Duke of Durazzo,
married
Agnes
of Talleyrand-
Perigord.

Margaret,
married
Charles
of Valois.

Blanche,
married
James II.,
King of Aragon.

CHARLES ROBERT,
King of Hungary,
married
Elizabeth
of Poland.

Charles,
died 1338,
married
Mary
of Valois.

Charles,
died 1348,
married
Mary,
(granddaughter
of Robert).

Louis,
married
Margaret San
Severino
of Corigliano.

PHILIP VI.,
King of France,
married
Jeanne
of Burgundy.

ALFONSO IV.,
King of Aragon,
married
Theresa d'Enteca.

LOUIS,
(The Great),
King of Hungary,
1342-1382,
King of Poland,
1370-1382.
Andrew,
died 1345,
married
Joanna I.
(See below.)

JOANNA I.,
Queen of Naples,
1343-1381,
died 1382,
married**
four times.

Margaret,
married
Charles III.
(See below.)

CHARLES III.,
King of Naples,
1381-1386,
married
Margaret.
(See above.)

JOHN II.,
King of France,
married
Bona
of Bohemia.

PETER IV.,
King of Aragon,
married
Eleanor
of Sicily.

MARY,
Queen of Hungary,
1382-1392,
married
Sigismund
(afterward Emperor

Adopted
Louis I.,
of Anjou.
(See below.)

LADISLAS,
King of Naples,
1386-1414

JOANNA II.,
Queen of Naples,
married***
twice.

LOUIS I.,
Duke of Anjou,
Count of Provence,
1339-1384,
King of Naples,
1382-1384,
married
Mary
of Brittany.

Eleanor,
married
John I.,
King of Castile.

* See ANJOU: 1206-1442.

** Married (1) Andrew, son of Charles Robert of Hungary; (2) Louis of Tarentum; (3) James, King of Aragon; (4) Otto of Brunswick.

*** Married (1) William of Austria; (2) James, Count of La Marche.

HOUSE OF ANJOU.*

FEB.

APRIL.

JULY.

OCTH.

NOV.

Adopted
1. René
of Anjou.
2. Alfonso V.,
King of Aragon.
(See below,
8th generation.)

LOUIS III.,
Duke of Anjou,
Count of Provence,
titular King of Naples,
1417-1434,
married
Margaret
of Savoy.

RÉNÉ,
Duke of Anjou and Lorraine,
Count of Provence,
1434-1480,
King of Naples,
1435-1442,
married
Isabella
of Lorraine.
(See Genealogy,
under LORRAINE).

Charles I.,
Count of Maine,
married
Isabella
of Luxemburg.

ALFONSO V.,
King of Aragon,
1416-1458,
or **ALFONSO I.,**
King of Sicily,
1416-1458,
King of Naples,
1443-1458

Margaret,
married
Henry VI.,
King of England.

Charles II.,
Count of Maine,
died 1481.
(Bequeathed Anjou,
Maine, Provence,
and his claim to Naples,
to Louis XI., *King of France*).

FERDINAND I.,
(natural son of Alfonso I.),
King of Naples,
1458-1494,
married
Isabella
of Clermont.

ALFONSO II.,
King of Naples,
1494-1495,
married
Ippolita Sforza
of Milan.

FERDINAND II.,
King of Naples,
1495-1496

LOUIS II.,
Duke of Anjou,
Count of Provence,
1384-1417,
titular King of Naples,
1389-1399,
married
Isolande
of Aragon.

FERDINAND I.,
King of Aragon,
married
Eleanor
of Albuquerque.

well in France as elsewhere, as you will learn hereafter; the real object of this history being to relate the great enterprises and deeds of arms achieved in these wars, for from the time of good Charlemagne, king of France, never were such feats performed."—J. Froissart, *Chronicles* (Johnes tr.), *bk. 1, ch. 4*.—"From the moment of Charles IV.'s death [1328], Edward III. of England buoyed himself up with a notion of his title to the crown of France, in right of his mother Isabel, sister to the three last kings. We can have no hesitation in condemning the injustice of this pretension. Whether the Salic law were or were not valid, no advantage could be gained by Edward. Even if he could forget the express or tacit decision of all France, there stood in his way Jane, the daughter of Louis X., three [daughters] of Philip the Long, and one of Charles the Fair. Aware of this, Edward set up a distinction, that, although females were excluded from succession, the same rule did not apply to their male issue; and thus, though his mother Isabel could not herself become queen of France, she might transmit a title to him. But this was contrary to the commonest rules of inheritance; and if it could have been regarded at all, Jane had a son, afterwards the famous king of Navarre [Charles the Bad], who stood one degree nearer to the crown than Edward. It is asserted in some French authorities that Edward preferred a claim to the regency immediately after the decease of Charles the Fair, and that the States-General, or at least the peers of France, adjudged that dignity to Philip de Valois. Whether this be true or not, it is clear that he entertained projects of recovering his right as early, though his youth and the embarrassed circumstances of his government threw insuperable obstacles in the way of their execution. He did liege homage, therefore, to Philip for Guienne, and for several years, while the affairs of Scotland engrossed his attention, gave no signs of meditating a more magnificent enterprise. As he advanced in manhood, and felt the consciousness of his strength, his early designs grew mature, and produced a series of the most important and interesting revolutions in the fortunes of France."—H. Hallam, *Middle Ages, ch. 1, pt. 1*.—See also SALIC LAW: Application to the Regal Succession in France.

1337-1360.—Beginning of the "Hundred Years' War."—Five periods of the war.—English victory at Poitiers.—Peace of Bretigny (1360).—It was not until 1337 that Edward III felt prepared to assert formally his claim to the French crown and to assume the title of king of France. In July of the following year he began undertakings to enforce his pretended right, by crossing with a considerable force to the continent. He wintered at Antwerp, concerting measures with the Flemings, who had espoused his cause, and arranging an alliance with the emperor-king of Germany, whose name bore more weight than his arms. In 1330 a formal declaration of hostilities was made and the long war—the Hundred Years' War, as it has been called—of English kings for the sovereignty of France, began. "This great war may well be divided into five periods. The first ends with the Peace of Bretigny in 1360 (1337-1360), and includes the great days of Crécy [1346] and Poitiers [1356], as well as the taking of Calais [see CALAIS: 1346-1347]; the second runs to the death of Charles the Wise in 1380; these are the days of Du Guesclin and the English reverses: the third begins with the renewal of the war under Henry V. of England, and ends

with the Regency of the Duke of Bedford at Paris, including the field of Azincourt [1415] and the Treaty of Troyes (1415-1422): the fourth is the epoch of Jeanne D'Arc and ends with the second establishment of the English at Paris (1428-1431): and the fifth and last runs on to the final expulsion of the English after the Battle of Castillon in 1453. Thus, though it is not uncommonly called the Hundred Years War, the struggle really extended over a period of a hundred and sixteen years."—G. W. Kitchin, *History of France, bk. 4, ch. 1-7*.—"No war had broken out in Europe, since the fall of the Roman Empire, so memorable as that of Edward III. and his successors against France, whether we consider its duration, its object, or the magnitude and variety of its events. It was a struggle of one hundred and twenty years, interrupted but once by a regular pacification, where the most ancient and extensive dominion in the civilised world was the prize, twice lost and twice recovered in the conflict. . . . There is, indeed, ample room for national exultation at the names of Crécy, Poitiers and Azincourt. So great was the disparity of numbers upon those famous days, that we cannot, with the French historians, attribute the discomfiture of their hosts merely to mistaken tactics and too impetuous valour. . . . These victories, and the qualities that secured them, must chiefly be ascribed to the freedom of our constitution, and to the superior condition of the people. Not the nobility of England, not the feudal tenants, won the battles of Crécy and Poitiers; for these were fully matched in the ranks of France; but the yeomen who drew the bow with strong and steady arms, accustomed to use it in their native fields, and rendered fearless by personal competence and civil freedom. . . . Yet the glorious termination to which Edward was enabled, at least for a time, to bring the contest, was rather the work of fortune than of valour and prudence. Until the battle of Poitiers [1356] he had made no progress towards the conquest of France. That country was too vast, and his army too small, for such a revolution. The victory of Crécy gave him nothing but Calais. . . . But at Poitiers he obtained the greatest of prizes, by taking prisoner the king of France. [See also POITIERS, BATTLE OF.] Not only the love of freedom tempted that prince to ransom himself by the utmost sacrifices, but his captivity left France defenceless and seemed to annihilate the monarchy itself. . . . There is no affliction which did not fall upon France during this miserable period. . . . Subdued by these misfortunes, though Edward had made but slight progress towards the conquest of the country, the regent of France, afterwards Charles V., submitted to the peace of Bretigni. [See also BREITIGNY, TREATY OF.] By this treaty, not to mention less important articles, all Guienne, Gascony, Poitou, Saintonge, the Limousin, and the Angoumois, as well as Calais, and the county of Ponthieu, were ceded in full sovereignty to Edward; a price abundantly compensating his renunciation of the title of France, which was the sole concession stipulated in return."—H. Hallam, *Middle Ages, ch. 1, pt. 2*.—See also ENGLAND: 1333-1380.

ALSO IN: J. Froissart, *Chronicles* (Johnes tr.), *bk. 1, ch. 1-212*.—W. Longman, *History of Edward III, v. 1, ch. 6-22*.—F. P. Guizot, *Popular history of France, ch. 20*.—D. F. Jamison, *Life and times of Bertrand du Guesclin, v. 1, ch. 4-10*.

1347-1348.—Black plague.—"Epochs of moral depression are those, too, of great mortality. . . . In the last years of Philippe de Valois' reign,

the depopulation was rapid. The misery and physical suffering which prevailed were insufficient to account for it; for they had not reached the extreme at which they subsequently arrived. Yet, to adduce but one instance, the population of a single town, Narbonne, fell off in the space of four or five years from the year 1300, by 500 families. Upon this too tardy diminution of the human race followed extermination,—the great black plague, or pestilence, which at once heaped up mountains of dead throughout Christendom. It began in Provence, in the year 1347, on All Saints' Day, continued sixteen months, and carried off two-thirds of the inhabitants. The same wholesale destruction befell Languedoc. At Montpellier, out of twelve consuls, ten died. At Narbonne, 30,000 persons perished. In several places, these remained only a tithe of the inhabitants. All that the careless Froissart says of this fearful visitation, and that only incidentally, is—“For at this time there prevailed throughout the world generally a disease called epidemic, which destroyed a third of its inhabitants.” This pestilence did not break out in the north of the kingdom until August, 1348, where it first showed itself at Paris and St. Denys. So fearful were its ravages at Paris, that, according to some, 800, according to others, 500, daily sank under it. . . . As there was neither famine at the time nor want of food, but, on the contrary great abundance, this plague was said to proceed from infection of the air and of the springs. The Jews were again charged with this, and the people cruelly fell upon them.”—J. Michelet, *History of France*, bk. 6, ch. 1.—See also BLACK DEATH.

1350.—Accession of King John II.

1356-1358.—Temporary stimulus to democracy in defeat of Poitiers.—Assembly of the States-General under leadership of Paris.—Assumption of right of national representation and legislation by bourgeoisie.—Etienne Marcel, and anticipation of modern republican institutions under his leadership.—“The disaster of Poitiers [1356] excited in the minds of the people a sentiment of national grief, mixed with indignation and scorn at the nobility who had fled before an army so inferior in number. Those nobles who passed through the cities and towns on their return from the battle were pursued with imprecations and outrages. The Parisian bourgeoisie, animated with enthusiasm and courage, took upon itself at all risks the charge of its own defense; whilst the eldest son of the king, a youth of only nineteen, who had been one of the first to fly, assumed the government as lieutenant of his father. It was at the summons of this prince that the states assembled again at Paris before the time which they had appointed. The same deputies returned to the number of 800, of whom 400 were of the bourgeoisie; and the work of reform, rudely sketched in the preceding session, was resumed under the same influence, with an enthusiasm which partook of the character of revolutionary impulse. The assembly commenced by concentrating its action in a committee of twenty-four members, deliberating, as far as appears, without distinction of orders; it then intimated its resolutions under the form of petitions, which were as follow: The authority of the states declared supreme in all affairs of administration and finance, the impeachment of all the counsellors of the king, the dismissal in a body of the officers of justice, and the creation of a council of reformers taken from the three orders; lastly, the prohibition to conclude any truce without the

assent of the three states, and the right on their part to re-assemble at their own will without a royal summons. The lieutenant of the king, Charles Duke of Normandy, exerted in vain the resources of a precocious ability to escape these imperious demands; he was compelled to yield everything. The States governed in his name; but dissension, springing from the mutual jealousy of the different orders, was soon introduced into their body. The preponderating influence of the bourgeois appeared intolerable to the nobles, who, in consequence, deserted the assembly and retired home. The deputies of the clergy remained longer at their posts, but they also withdrew at last; and, under the name of the States-General, none remained but the representatives of the cities, alone charged with all the responsibilities of the reform and the affairs of the kingdom. Bowing to a necessity of central action, they submitted of their own accord to the deputation of Paris; and soon, by the tendency of circumstances, and in consequence of the hostile attitude of the Regent, the question of supremacy of the states became a Parisian question, subject to the chances of a popular émeute [riot] and the guardianship of the municipal power. At this point appears a man whose character has grown into historical importance in our days from our greater facilities of understanding it, Etienne [Stephen] Marcel, ‘*prévôt des marchands*’—that is to say, mayor of the municipality of Paris. This *échevin* [sheriff] of the 14th century, by a remarkable anticipation, designed and attempted things which seem to belong only to recent revolutions. Social unity, and administrative uniformity; political rights, co-extensive and equal with civil rights; the principle of public authority transferred from the crown to the nation; the States-General changed, under the influence of the third order, into a national representation; the will of the people admitted as sovereign in the presence of the depositary of the royal power; the influence of Paris over the provinces, as the head of opinion and centre of the general movement; the democratic dictatorship, and the influence of terror exercised in the name of the common weal; new colours assumed and carried as a sign of patriotic union and symbol of reform; the transference of royalty itself from one branch of the family to the other, with a view to the cause of reform and the interest of the people—such were the circumstances and the scenes which have given to our own as well as the preceding century their political character. It is strange to find the whole of it comprised in the three years over which the name of the *Prévôt Marcel* predominates. His short and stormy career was, as it were, a premature attempt at the grand designs of Providence, and the mirror of the bloody changes of fortune through which those designs were destined to advance to their accomplishment under the impulse of human passions. Marcel lived and died for an idea—that of hastening on, by the force of the masses, the work of gradual equalisation commenced by the kings themselves; but it was his misfortune and his crime to be unrelenting in carrying out his convictions. To the impetuosity of a tribune who did not shrink even from murder he added the talent of organization; he left in the grand city, which he had ruled with a stern and absolute sway, powerful institutions, noble works, and a name which two centuries afterwards his descendants bore with pride as a title of nobility.”—A. Thierry, *Formation and progress of the Tiers État*, v. 1, ch. 2.—See also STATES-GENERAL OF FRANCE.

1358.—Peasant resistance to feudalism.—Insurrection of the Jacquerie.—“The miseries of France weighed more and more heavily on the peasantry; and none regarded them. They stood apart from the cities, knowing little of them; the nobles despised them and robbed them of their substance or their labour. . . . At last the peasantry (May, 1358), weary of their woes, rose up to work their own revenge and ruin. They began in the Beauvais country and there fell on the nobles, attacking and destroying castles, and slaying their inmates: it was the old unvarying story. They made themselves a kind of king, a man of Clermont in the Beauvoism, named William Callet. Froissart imagines that the name ‘Jacques Bonhomme’ meant a particular person, a leader in these risings. Froissart however had no accurate knowledge of the peasant and his ways. Jacques Bonhomme was the common nickname, the ‘Giles’ or ‘Hodge’ of France, the name of the peasant generally; and from it such risings as this of 1358 came to be called the ‘Jacquerie,’ or the disturbances of the ‘Jacques.’ The nobles were soon out against them, and the whole land was full of anarchy. Princes and nobles, angry peasants with their ‘iron shod sticks and knives,’ free-lances, English bands of pillagers, all made up a scene of utter confusion: ‘cultivation ceased, commerce ceased, security was at an end.’ The burghers of Paris and Meaux sent a force to help the peasants, who were besieging the fortress at Meaux, held by the nobles; these were suddenly attacked and routed by the Captal de Buch and the Count de Foix, ‘then on their return from Prussia.’ The King of Navarre also fell on them, took by stratagem their leader Callet, tortured and hanged him. In six weeks the fire was quenched in blood.”—G. W. Kitchin, *History of France, ch. 2, sect. 3*.—“Froissard relates the horrible details of the Jacquerie with the same placid interest which characterises his description of battles, tournaments, and the pageantry of chivalry. The charm and brilliancy of his narrative have long popularised his injustice and his errors, which are self-apparent when compared with the authors and chroniclers of his time. . . . The chronicles contemporary of the Jacquerie confine themselves to a few words on the subject, although, with the exception of the Continuator of Nangis, they were all hostile to the cause of the peasants. The private and local documents on the subjects say very little more. The Continuator of Nangis has drawn his information from various sources. He takes care to state that he has witnessed almost all he relates. After describing the sufferings of the peasants, he adds that the laws of justice authorised them to rise in revolt against the nobles of France. His respected testimony reduces the insurrection to comparatively small proportions. The hundred thousand Jacques of Froissard are reduced to something like five or six thousand men, a number much more probable when it is considered that the insurrection remained a purely local one, and that, in consequence of the ravages we have mentioned, the whole open country had lost about two-thirds of its inhabitants. He states very clearly that the peasants killed indiscriminately, and without pity, men and children, but he does not say anything of those details of atrocity related by Froissard. He only alludes once to a report of some outrages offered to some noble ladies; he speaks of it as a vague rumour. He describes the insurgents, after the first explosion of their vindictive fury, as pausing—amazed at their own boldness, and terrified at their own crimes, and the nobles, recovering from their terror, taking immediate advantage of this sudden torpor and paralysis—assembling and slaughtering all, innocent and guilty, burning houses

and villages. If we turn to other writers contemporary with the Jacquerie, we find that Louvet, author of the ‘History of the District of Beauvais,’ does not say much on the subject, and evinces also a sympathy for the peasants: the paucity of his remarks on a subject represented by Froissard as a gigantic, bloody tragedy, raises legitimate doubts as to the veracity of the latter. There is another authority on the events of that period, which may be considered as more weighty, in consequence of its ecclesiastical character; it is the ‘cartulaire,’ or journal of the Abbot of Beauvais. . . . There is no trace in it of the horror and indescribable terror . . . [the rising] must have inspired if the peasants had committed the atrocities attributed to them by the feudal historian, Froissard. On the contrary, the vengeance of the peasants falls into the shade, as it were, in contrast with the merciless reaction of the nobles, along with the sanguinary oppression of the English. The writer of the ‘Abbey of Beauvais,’ and the anonymous monk, ‘Continuator of Nangis,’ concur with each other in their account of the Jacquerie. Their judgments are similar, and they manifest the same moderation. Their opinions, moreover, are confirmed by a higher authority, a testimony that must be considered as indisputable, namely, the letters of amnesty of the Regent of France, which are all preserved; they bear the date of 10th August, 1358, and refer to all the acts committed on the occasion of the Jacquerie. In these he proves himself more severe upon the reaction of the nobles than on the revolt of the peasants. . . . There is not the slightest allusion to the monstrosities related by Froissard, which the Regent could not have failed to stigmatise, as he is well known for having entertained an unscrupulous hatred to any popular movement, or any claims of the people. The manner, on the contrary, in which the Jacquerie are represented in this official document, is full of signification; it represents the men of the open country assembling spontaneously in various localities, in order to deliberate on the means of resisting the English, and suddenly, as with a mutual agreement, turning fiercely on the nobles, who were the real cause of their misery, and of the disgrace of France, on the days of Crecy and Poitiers. . . . It has also been forgotten that many citizens took an active part in the Jacquerie. The great chronicles of France state that the majority were peasants, labouring people, but that there were also among them citizens, and even gentlemen, who, no doubt, were impelled by personal hatred and vengeance. Many rich men joined the peasants, and became their leaders. The bourgeoisie, in its struggles with royalty, could not refuse to take advantage of such a diversion; and Beauvais, Senlis, Amiens, Paris, and Meaux accepted the Jacquerie. Moreover, almost all the poorer classes of the cities sympathised with the revolted peasants. The Jacquerie broke out on the 21st of May, 1358, and not in November, 1357, as erroneously stated by Froissard, in the districts around Beauvais and Clermont-sur-Oise. The peasants, merely armed with pikes, sticks, fragments of their ploughs, rushed on their masters, murdered their families, and burned down their castles. The country comprised between Beauvais and Melun was the principal scene of this war of extermination. . . . The Jacquerie had commenced on the 21st of May. On the 9th of June . . . it was already terminated. It was, therefore, in reality, an insurrection of less than three weeks’ duration. The reprisals of the nobles had already commenced on the 9th of June, and continued through the whole of July, and the greater part of August. Froissard states that the Jacquerie lasted over six weeks, thus comprising in his reckoning three weeks of the ferocious ven-

geance of the nobles, and casting on Jacques Bonhomme the responsibility of the massacres of which he had been the victim, as well as those he had committed in his furious despair."—Prof. De Vericour, *Jacquerie (Royal Historical Society Transactions, v. 1)*.

ALSO IN: J. Froissart, *Chronicles* (Johnes tr.), bk. 1, ch. 181.

1360-1363.—Children's plague. See PLAGUE: 1360-1363.

1360-1380.—English conquests recovered.—The Peace of Bretigny brought little peace to France or little diminution of the troubles of the kingdom. In some respects there was a change for the worse introduced. The armies which had ravaged the country dissolved into plundering bands which afflicted it even more. Great numbers of mercenaries from both sides were set free, who gathered into Free Companies, as they were called, under leaders of fit recklessness and valor, and swarmed over the land, warring on all prosperity and all the peaceful industries of the time, seeking booty wherever it might be found (see ITALY: 1343-1393). Civil war, too, was kept alive by the intrigues and conspiracies of the Navarrese king, Charles the Bad; and war in Brittany, over a disputed succession to the dukedom, was actually stipulated for, by French and English, in their treaty of general peace. But when the chivalric but hapless King John died, in 1364, the new king, Charles V, who had been regent during his captivity, developed an unexpected capacity for government. He brought to the front the famous Breton warrior Du Guesclin—rough, ignorant, unchivalric—but a fighter of the first order in his hard-fighting day. He contrived with adroitness to rid France, mostly, of the Free Companies, by sending them, with Du Guesclin at their head, into Spain, where they drove Peter the Cruel from the throne of Castile, and fought the English, who undertook, wickedly and foolishly, to sustain him. The Black Prince won a great battle, at Najara or Navarrete (1367), took Du Guesclin prisoner and restored the cruel Pedro to his throne. But it was a victory fatal to English interests in France. Half the army of the English prince perished of a pestilent fever before he led it back to Aquitaine, and he himself was marked for early death by the same malady. He had been made duke of Aquitaine, or Guienne, and held the government of the country. The war in Spain proved expensive; he taxed his Gascon and Aquitanian subjects heavily. He was ill, irritable, and treated them harshly. Discontent became widely spread, and the king of France subtly stirred it up until he felt prepared to make use of it in actual war. At last, in 1368, he challenged a rupture of the Peace of Bretigny by summoning King Edward, as his vassal, to answer complaints from Aquitaine. In April of the next year he formally declared war and opened hostilities the same day. His cunning policy was not to fight, but to waste and wear the enemy out. Its wisdom was well-proved by the result. Day by day the English lost ground; the footing they had gained in France was found to be everywhere insecure. The dying Black Prince achieved one hideous triumph at Limoges, where he slew 3,000 people to punish a revolt; then he was carried home to end his days in England. In 1376 he died, and one year later his father, King Edward, followed him to the grave, and a child of eleven (Richard II) came to the English throne. But the same calamity befell France in 1380, when Charles the Wise died, leaving an heir to the throne only twelve years of age. In both kingdoms the minority of the sovereign gave rise to factious intrigues and distracting feuds. The war went on at intervals, with frequent truces and armistices, and

with little result beyond the animosities which it kept alive. But the English possessions, by this time, had been reduced to Calais and Guines, with some small parts of Aquitaine adjoining the cities of Bordeaux and Bayonne. And thus, it may be said, the situation was prolonged through a generation, until Henry V of England resumed afresh the undertaking of Edward III.—F. P. Guizot, *Popular history of France, ch. 22*—See also SPAIN: 1366-1369.

ALSO IN: J. Michelet, *History of France, bk. 6, ch. 4*.—T. Wright, *History of France, bk. 2, ch. 6*.—E. A. Freeman, *Historical geography of Europe, ch. 9*.—D. F. Jamison, *Life and times of Du Guesclin*.—J. Froissart, *Chronicles* (Johnes tr.), bk. 1.

1361-1364.—John II takes possession of the dukedom of Burgundy.—Confers it on Philip the Fearless in 1364. See BURGUNDY: 1364.

1364.—Accession of King Charles V.

1378.—Acquisitions in the Rhone valley legally conferred by the emperor. See BURGUNDY: 1127-1378.

1380.—Accession of King Charles VI.

1380-1415.—Reign of the dukes.—Civil war of Armagnacs and Burgundians.—"Charles VI. had arrived at the age of eleven years and some months when his father died [1380]. His three paternal uncles, the Dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy, and his maternal uncle, the Duke of Bourbon, disputed among themselves concerning his guardianship and the regency. They agreed to emancipate the young King immediately after his coronation, which was to take place during the year, and the regency was to remain until that period in the hands of the eldest, the Duke of Anjou." But the duke of Anjou was soon afterwards lured into Italy by the fatal gift of a claim to the crown of Naples (see ITALY: 1343-1389), and perished in striving to realize it. The surviving uncles misgoverned the country between them until 1389, when the young king was persuaded to throw off their yoke. The nation rejoiced for three years in the experience and the prospect of administrative reforms; but suddenly, in July, 1392, the young king became demented, and "then commenced the third fatal epoch of that disastrous reign. The faction of the dukes again seized power," but only to waste and afflict the kingdom by dissensions among themselves. The number of the rival dukes was now increased by the addition of the duke of Orleans, brother of the king, who showed himself as ruthless and rapacious as any. "Charles was still considered to be reigning; each one sought in turn to get possession of him, and each one watched his lucid moments in order to stand well in power. His flashes of reason were still more melancholy than his fits of delirium. Incapable of attending to his affairs, or of having a will of his own, always subservient to the dominant party, he appeared to employ his few glimmerings of reason only in sanctioning the most tyrannical acts and the most odious abuses. It was in this manner that the kingdom of France was governed during twenty-eight years." In 1404, the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold, having died, the duke of Orleans acquired supreme authority and exercised it most oppressively. But the new duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless, made his appearance on the scene ere long, arriving from his county of Flanders with an army and threatening civil war. Terms of peace, however, were arranged between the two dukes and an apparent reconciliation took place. On the very next day the duke of Orleans was assassinated (1407), and the duke of Burgundy openly proclaimed his instigation of the deed. Out of that treacherous murder sprang a war of factions so

deadly that France was delivered by it to foreign conquest, and destroyed, we may say, for the time being, as a nation. The elder of the young princes of Orleans, sons of the murdered duke, had married a daughter of Count Bernard of Armagnac, and Count Bernard became the leader of the party which supported them and sought to avenge them, as against the duke of Burgundy and his party. Hence the former acquired the name of Armagnacs; the latter were called Burgundians. Armagnac led an army of Gascons (1410) and threatened Paris, "where John the Fearless caressed the vilest populace. Burgundy relied on the name of the king, whom he held in his power, and armed in the capital a corps of one hundred young butchers or horse-knackers, who, from John Caboche, their chief, took the name of Cabochiens. A frightful war, interrupted by truces violated on both sides, commenced between the party of Armagnac and that of Burgundy. Both sides appealed to the English, and sold France to them. The Armagnacs pillaged and ravaged the environs of Paris with unheard-of cruelties, while the Cabochiens caused the capital they defended to tremble. The States-General, convoked for the first time for thirty years, were dumb—without courage and without strength. The Parliament was silent, the university made itself the organ of the populace, and the butchers made the laws. They pillaged, imprisoned and slaughtered with impunity, according to their savage fury, and found judges to condemn their victims. . . . The reaction broke out at last. Tired of so many atrocities, the bourgeoisie took up arms, and shook off the yoke of the horse-knackers. The Dauphin was delivered by them. He mounted on horseback, and, at the head of the militia, went to the Hôtel de Ville, from which place he drove out Caboche and his brigands. The counter revolution was established. Burgundy departed, and the power passed to the Armagnacs. The princes re-entered Paris, and King Charles took up the oriflamme (the royal standard of France), to make war against John the Fearless, whose instrument he had been a short time before. His army was victorious. Burgundy submitted, and the treaty of Arras [1415] suspended the war, but not the executions and the ravages. Henry V., King of England, judged this a propitious moment to descend upon France, which had not a vessel to oppose the invaders."—E. de Bonnechese, *History of France*, v. 1, pp. 266-270.—See also FLANDERS: 1382; NETHERLANDS: 1406-1417; SOISSONS: 1414; Pillage and destruction by the Armagnacs.

ALSO IN: E. de Monstrelet, *Chronicles* (Johnes tr.), v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 1-140.—T. Wright, *History of France*, bk. 2, ch. 8-9.

1383.—Pope Urban's Crusade against the Schismatics. See FLANDERS: 1383.

1396.—Sovereignty of Genoa surrendered to the king. See GENOA: 1381-1422.

1400-1428.—Decay of feudal principles.—Qualifications for the franchise.—Cahiers, or schedule of petition.—Powers of the States-General.—Letters of convocation. See STATES-GENERAL OF FRANCE.

1409.—At the Council of Pisa. See PAPACY: 1377-1417.

1415.—Hundred Years' War renewed by Henry V of England.—Claims and demands of Henry.—Battle of Agincourt.—"When Henry V. resolved to recover what he claimed as the inheritance of his predecessors, he had to begin, it may be said, the work of conquest over again. Allies, however, he had, whose assistance he was to find very useful. The dynasty of De Montfort had been established in possession of the dukedom of Brittany

in a great measure by English help, and though the relations between the two countries had not been invariably friendly since that time, the sense of this obligation, and, still more powerfully, a jealous fear of the French king, inclined Brittany to the English alliance. The Dukes of Burgundy, though they had no such motives of gratitude towards England, felt a far stronger hostility towards France. The feud between the rival factions which went by the names of Burgundians and Armagnacs had now been raging for several years; and though the attitude of the Burgundians varied—at the great struggle of Agincourt they were allies, though lukewarm and even doubtful allies, of the French—they ultimately ranked themselves decidedly on Henry's side. In 1414, then, Henry formally demanded, as the heir of Isabella, mother of his great-grandfather Edward, the crown of France. This claim the French princes wholly refused to consider. Henry then moderated his demands so far, at least, as to allow Charles to remain in nominal possession of his kingdom; but . . . France was to cede to England, no longer as a feudal superior making a grant to a vassal, but in full sovereignty, the provinces of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, together with all that was comprised in the ancient duchy of Aquitaine. Half, too, of Provence was claimed, and the arrears of the ransom of King John, amounting to 1,200,000 crowns, were also to be paid. Finally, the French king was to give his youngest daughter, Katharine, in marriage to Henry, with a portion of 2,000,000 crowns. The French ministers offered, in answer, to yield the duchy of Aquitaine, comprising the provinces of Anjou, Gascony, Guienne, Poitou, and to give the hand of the princess Katharine with a dowry of 600,000 crowns." Negotiations went on through several months, with small chance of success, while Henry prepared for war. His preparations were completed in the summer of 1415, and on the 11th of August in that year he set sail from Southampton, with an army of 6,000 men-at-arms and 24,000 archers, very completely equipped, and accompanied with cannon and other engines of war. Landing in the estuary of the Seine, the invaders first captured the important Norman seaport of Harfleur, after a siege of a month, and expelled the inhabitants from the town. It was an important acquisition; but it had cost the English heavily. They were ill-supplied with food; they had suffered from much rain; 2,000 had died of an epidemic of dysentery. The army was in no condition for a forward movement. "The safest course would now have been to return at once; and this seems to have been pressed upon the king by the majority of his counsellors. But this prudent advice did not approve itself to Henry's adventurous temper. . . . He determined . . . to make what may be called a military parade to Calais. This involved a march of not less than 150 miles through a hostile country, a dangerous, and, but that one who cherishes such designs as Henry's must make a reputation for daring, a useless operation; but the king's determined will overcame all opposition." Leaving a strong garrison at Harfleur, Henry set out upon his march. Arrived at the Somme, his further progress was disputed, and he was forced to make a long detour before he could effect a crossing of the river. On the 24th of October, he encountered the French army, strongly posted at the village of Azincour or Agincourt, barring the road to Calais; and there, on the morning of the 25th, after a night of drenching rain, the great battle, which shines with so dazzling a glory in English history, was fought. There seems to be no doubt that the English were greatly outnumbered by the French—according to Monstrelet they were but one to six;

but the masses on the French side were unskilfully handled and no advantage was got from them. The deadly shafts of the terrible English archers built such a rampart of corpses in their front that it actually sheltered them from the charge of the French cavalry. "Everywhere the French were routed, slain, or taken. The victory of the English was complete. . . . The French loss was enormous. Monstrelet gives a long list of the chief princes and nobles who fell on that fatal field. . . . We are disposed to trust his estimate, which, including princes, knights and men-at-arms of every degree, he puts at 10,000. . . . Only 1,600 are said to have been 'of low degree.' . . . The number of knights and gentlemen taken prisoners was 1,500. Among them were Charles, Duke of Orleans, and the Duke of Bourbon, both princes of the blood-royal. . . . Brilliant as was the victory which Henry had won at Agincourt, it had, it may be said, no immediate results. . . . The army resumed its interrupted march to Calais, which was about forty miles distant. At Calais a council of war was held, and the resolution to return to England unanimously taken. A few days were allowed for refreshment, and about the middle of November the army embarked."—A. J. Church, *Henry the Fifth*, ch. 6-10.

ALSO IN: E. de Monstrelet, *Chronicles* (Johnes tr.), v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 140-149.—J. E. Tyler, *Henry of Monmouth*, ch. 10-23.—G. M. Towle, *History of Henry V*, ch. 7-8.—Lord Brougham, *History of England and France under the House of Lancaster*.—C. M. Yonge, *Cameos from English history: Second series*, ch. 24-26.

1415-1419.—Massacre of Armagnacs—Murder of the duke of Burgundy.—"The captivity of so many princes of the blood as had been taken prisoner at Agincourt might have seemed likely at least to remove some of the elements of discord; but it so happened that the captives were the most moderate and least ambitious men. The gentle, poetical Duke of Orleans, the good Duke of Bourbon, and the patriotic and gallant Arthur de Richemont, had been taken, while the savage Duke of Burgundy and the violent Gascon Count of Armagnac, Constable of France, remained at the head of their hostile factions. . . . The Count d'Armagnac now reigned supreme; no prince of the blood came to the councils, and the king and dauphin were absolutely in his hands. . . . The Duke of Burgundy was, however, advancing with his forces, and the Parisians were always far more inclined to him than to the other party. . . . For a whole day's ride round the environs of the city, every farmhouse had been sacked or burnt. Indeed, it was said in Paris a man had only to be called a Burgundian, or anywhere else in the Isle of France an Armagnac, to be instantly put to death. All the soldiers who had been posted to guard Normandy and Picardy against the English were recalled to defend Paris against the Duke of Burgundy; and Henry V. could have found no more favourable moment for a second expedition." The English king took advantage of his opportunity and landed in Normandy August 1, 1417, finding nobody to oppose him in the field. The factions were employed too busily in cutting each other's throats,—especially after the Burgundians had regained possession of Paris, which they did in the following spring. Thereupon the Parisian mob rose and ferociously massacred all the partisans of Armagnac, while the Burgundians looked and approved. "The prison was forced; Armagnac himself was dragged out and slain in the court. . . . The court of each prison became a slaughter-house; the prisoners were called down one by one, and there murdered, till the assassins were up to their ankles in blood. The women were as savage as the men, and dragged the corpses about

the streets in derision. The prison slaughter had but given a passion for further carnage, and the murderers broke open the houses in search of Armagnacs, killing not only men, but women, children, and even new-born babes, to whom in their diabolical frenzy they refused baptism, as being little Armagnacs. The massacre lasted from four o'clock on Sunday morning to ten o'clock on Monday. Some say that 3,000 perished, others 1,600, and the Duke of Burgundy's servants reported the numbers as only 400." Meantime Henry V was besieging Rouen, and starving Paris by cutting off the supplies for which it depended on the Seine. In August there was another rising of the Parisian mob and another massacre. In January, 1419, Rouen surrendered, and attempts at peace followed, both parties making a truce with the English invader. The imperious demands of King Henry finally impelled the two French factions to draw together and to make a common cause of the deliverance of the kingdom. At least that was the profession with which the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy met, in July, and went through the forms of a reconciliation. Perhaps there were treacherous intentions on both sides. On one side the treachery was consummated a month later (September 10, 1419), when, a second meeting between Duke John the Fearless and the dauphin taking place at the Bridge of Montereau, the duke was basely assassinated in the dauphin's presence. This murder, by which the Armagnacs, who controlled the young dauphin, hoped to break their rivals down, only kindled afresh the passions which were destroying France and delivering it an easy prey to foreign conquest.—C. M. Yonge, *Cameos from English history: Second series*, ch. 28-29.

ALSO IN: E. de Monstrelet, *Chronicles* (Johnes tr.), v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 150-211.—J. Michelet, *History of France*, bk. 9, ch. 2.

1417-1422.—Burgundy's revenge.—Triumph of Henry V.—Throne of France signed away to Henry V and his heirs forever in Treaty of Troyes by the duke of Burgundy.—Resistance of the towns to Treaty of Troyes.—Death of Henry V.—"Whilst civil war was . . . penetrating to the very core of the kingship, foreign war was making its way again into the kingdom. Henry V., after the battle of Agincourt, had returned to London, and had left his army to repose and reorganize after its sufferings and its losses. It was not until eighteen months afterwards, on the 1st of August, 1417, that he landed at Touques, not far from Honfleur, with fresh troops, and resumed his campaign in France. Between 1417 and 1419 he successively laid siege to nearly all the towns of importance in Normandy, to Caen, Bayeux, Falaise, Evreux, Coutances, Laigle, St. Lô, Cherbourg, &c., &c. Some he occupied after a short resistance, others were sold to him by their governors; but when, in the month of July, 1418, he undertook the siege of Rouen, he encountered there a long and serious struggle. Rouen had at that time, it is said, a population of 150,000 souls, which was animated by ardent patriotism. The Rouennese, on the approach of the English, had repaired their gates, their ramparts, and their moats; had demanded reinforcements from the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy; and had ordered every person incapable of bearing arms or procuring provisions for ten months to leave the city. Twelve thousand old men, women and children were thus expelled, and died either round the place or whilst roving in misery over the neighbouring country. . . . Fifteen thousand men of city-militia, 4,000 regular soldiers, 300 spearmen and as many archers from Paris, and it is not quite known how many men-at-arms sent by the Duke of Burgundy, de-

fended Rouen for more than five months amidst all the usual sufferings of strictly-besieged cities." On January 13th, 1419, the town was surrendered. "It was 215 years since Philip Augustus had won Rouen by conquest from John Lackland, King of England." After this great success there were truces brought about between all parties, and much negotiation, which came to nothing—except the treacherous murder of the duke of Burgundy, as related above. Then the situation changed. The son and successor of the murdered duke, afterwards known as Philip the Good, took sides, at once, with the English king and committed himself to a war of revenge, indifferent to the fate of France. "On the 17th of October [1419] was opened at Arras a congress between the plenipotentiaries of England and those of Burgundy. On the 20th of November a special truce was granted to the Parisians, whilst Henry V., in concert with Duke Philip of Burgundy, was prosecuting the war against the dauphin. On the 2d of December the bases were laid of an agreement between the English and the Burgundians. The preliminaries of the treaty, which was drawn up in accordance with these bases, were signed on the 9th of April, 1420, by King Charles VI. [now controlled by the Burgundians], and on the 20th communicated at Paris by the chancellor of France to the parliament." On May 20th following, the treaty, definitive and complete, was signed by Henry V and promulgated at Troyes. By this Treaty of Troyes, Princess Catherine, daughter of the king of France, was given in marriage to King Henry; Charles VI was guaranteed his possession of the French crown while he lived; on his death, "the crown and kingdom of France, with all their rights and appurtenances," were solemnly conveyed to Henry V of England and his heirs, forever. "The revulsion against the treaty of Troyes was real and serious, even in the very heart of the party attached to the Duke of Burgundy. He was obliged to lay upon several of his servants formal injunctions to swear to this peace, which seemed to them treason. . . . In the duchy of Burgundy the majority of the towns refused to take the oath to the King of England. The most decisive and the most helpful proof of this awakening of national feeling was the ease experienced by the dauphin, who was one day to be Charles VII., in maintaining the war which, after the treaty of Troyes, was, in his father's and his mother's name, made upon him by the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy. This war lasted more than three years. Several towns, amongst others, Melun, Crottoy, Meaux, and St. Riquier, offered an obstinate resistance to the attacks of the English and Burgundians. . . . It was in Perche, Anjou, Maine, on the banks of the Loire, and in Southern France, that the dauphin found most of his enterprising and devoted partisans. The sojourn made by Henry V. at Paris, in December, 1420, with his wife, Queen Catherine, King Charles VI., Queen Isabel, and the Duke of Burgundy, was not, in spite of galas and acclamations, a substantial and durable success for him. . . . Towards the end of August, 1422, Henry V. fell ill; and, too stout-hearted to delude himself as to his condition, he . . . had himself removed to Vincennes, called his councillors about him, and gave them his last royal instructions. . . . He expired on the 31st of August, 1422, at the age of thirty-four."—F. P. Guizot, *Popular history of France*, ch. 23.—At Paris, "the two sovereigns [Henry V and Charles VI] kept distinct courts. That of Henry was by far the most splendidly equipped and numerously attended of the two. He was the rising sun, and all men looked to him. All offices of trust and profit were at his disposal, and the nobles and gentlemen of France flocked into

his ante-chambers."—A. J. Church, *Henry the Fifth*, ch. 15.

ALSO IN: E. de Monstrelet, *Chronicles* (Johnes tr.), v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 171-264.—J. Michelet, *History of France*, bk. 9, ch. 2-3.

1422.—Accession of King Charles VII.

1429-1431.—Chaos following death of Henry V.—Appearance of Jeanne d'Arc.—"Voices" and her mission.—Military operations.—Coronation of Charles VII.—The Maid delivered to and sentenced by the Inquisition.—Execution.—Reversal of sentence twenty years later.—Beatification and canonization.—Summary of her character.—"France divided—two kings, two regencies, two armies, two governments, two nations, two nobilities, two systems of justice—met face to face: father, son, mother, uncles, nephews, citizens, and strangers, fought for the right, the soil, the throne, the cities, the spoil and the blood of the nation. The King of England died at Vincennes [August 31, 1422], and was shortly followed [October 22] by Charles VI., father of the twelve children of Isabel, leaving the kingdom to the stranger and to ruin. The Duke of Bedford insolently took possession of the Regency in the name of England, pursued the handful of nobles who wished to remain French with the dauphin, defeated them at the battle of Verneuil [August 17, 1424], and exiled the queen, who had become a burden to the government after having been an instrument of usurpation. He then concentrated the armies of England, France and Burgundy round Orleans, which was defended by some thousands of the partisans of the dauphin, and which comprised almost all that remained of the kingdom of France. The land was everywhere ravaged by the passing and repassing of these bands—sometimes friends, sometimes enemies—driving each other on, wave after wave, like the billows of the Atlantic; ravaging crops, burning towns, dispersing, robbing, and ill-treating the population. In this disorganization of the country, the young dauphin, sometimes awakened by the complaints of his people, at others absorbed in the pleasures natural to his age, was making love to Agnes Sorel in the castle of Loches. . . . Such was the state of the nation when Providence showed it a savior in a child."—A. de Lamartine, *Memoirs of celebrated characters: Joan of Arc*.—The child was Jeanne D'Arc, or Joan of Arc, better known in history as the Maid of Orleans,—daughter of a husbandman who tilled his own few acres at the village of Domrémy, in Upper Lorraine. Research in recent years has brought to light more than was formerly known of the family and the circumstances of the heroic Maid. "Jacques d'Arc and Isabelle de Vouthon had three sons, Jacquemin, Jean, and Pierre, and two daughters, the elder named Catherine, the younger Jeanne or rather Jeannette, she who was by her heroism to immortalize her line. Two documents . . . prove with evidence that Jacques d'Arc figured in the first rank of the notables of Domrémy. In the first of these, dated Maxey-sur-Meuse, October 7, 1423, he is styled 'doyen' of that village, and by this title comes immediately after the mayor and aldermen. . . . In the second document, drawn up at Vaucouleurs March 31, 1427, Jacques d'Arc appears as the agent of the inhabitants of Domrémy in a suit of great importance which they then had to sustain before Robert de Baudricourt, captain of Vaucouleurs. . . . Like the legendary beech of her native village, the childhood of the virgin of Domrémy sprang out of a soil full of vigor and was in the main haunted by beneficent fairies. Born in a fertile and smiling corner of the earth, the issue of an honest family, whose laborious mediocrity was elevated enough to touch nobility when ennobling

itself by alms-giving, and humble enough to remain in contact with all the poor; endowed by nature with a robust body, a sound intelligence and an energetic spirit, the little Jeannette d'Arc became under these gentle influences all goodness and all love."—S. Luce, *Jeanne d'Arc à Domrémy* (tr. from the French), ch. 2-3.—"Of the visions of the

succour of Orleans, where Dunois, the Bastard of Orleans, was in command" A. de Lamartine, *Memoirs of celebrated characters: Joan of Arc*—"It is perhaps curious that the attention of her historians should have been so generally directed to the psychological and mystical side of her character, . . . to the neglect of her career as a warrior and leader



JOAN OF ARC AT THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS
(After a mural painting by Lenepven in the Pantheon)

pious young maiden—of the voices she heard—of the conviction which came upon her that she was called by God to deliver her country—and of the enthusiasm of faith with which she went about her mission until all people bent to her as the messenger and minister of God—the story is a familiar one to all. In April, 1429, Joan was sent by the king, from Blois, with 10,000 or 12,000 men, to the

For the Maid of France was primarily concerned with a purely military task—the expulsion of the English invaders from France; she employed in its fulfilment none but military means; she won in her short and meteoric career a series of victories of which any soldier might well have been proud, and which would, in any other person, have established a claim to military talent of a high order; and she

eventually met in the field of battle a soldier's misfortune, which should have entitled her to a soldier's treatment at the hands of her enemies. She remains for all time an outstanding military figure in a period fruitful in warriors, if somewhat barren in generals. Yet there is no book in English which deals primarily with this phase of her career. . . . The military situation at the moment of the Maid's entry into the foreground of her country's story was full of ill-omen for France. The country was leaderless, disheartened and hopeless. The contemptible Dauphin, the nominal ruler, had lost faith in himself and his cause, and, withdrawn from the zone of fighting, where faithful soldiers still strove to stem the English invasion, spent his time idling and merrymaking with worthless companions. . . . The powerful Duke of Burgundy, France's greatest vassal, was in league with the foreign foe; their united armies held all North-eastern France as far as the line of the Loire, all North-western France as far as the Norman and Breton marches and a great slice of the finest provinces in the South. Disorder, jealousy and self-seeking racked the ranks of the French Royalists from end to end. . . . Morally and materially, then, the French armies were at their nadir when the Maid came on the scene in the spring of 1429, at a time when the English, having consolidated their gains in the North and North-west of France, were opening their advance against the South by besieging Orléans. Her first self-appointed task was the raising of this siege, and in this the Maid showed that she appreciated the strategic situation correctly. Orléans was the key to the line of the Loire, which was already partly held by the English on either side of the city. Its full possession by them would not only cut off the French garrisons in Perche and the Orléannais from all hope of succour, but would form an admirable base for an advance southwards, in conjunction with the troops of Burgundy from the area of Auxerre, against the heart of loyalist France. But the English forces besieging Orléans were neither commensurate with the importance nor equal to the demands of their task; the north-eastern front of the city lay open for exit and entry, and it was clear that by this route a large force might be brought and, reinforced by the garrison, debouch with good hopes of success against some point of the thinly held investing lines. The French resolved to make this attempt. The first part of the programme was carried out without a hitch. The Maid led a force of some seven thousand men, together with a convoy of supplies, safely into the city without the besiegers attempting to molest its progress. She now disposed of some ten thousand troops in all, available for active operations outside the walls, the garrisoning of which could be entrusted to the communal militia, about four to five thousand men. The besieging army, which had been recently weakened by the defection of the Burgundian contingent, numbered also about ten thousand men, but these were dispersed in a wide perimeter of some six miles; a sortie had therefore good chances of overwhelming them in detail before they could be fully concentrated for battle, and it was only a question of the direction of this sortie. The main body of the English army was distributed among the forts and works on the north bank of the Loire; eight thousand of its ten thousand men were in this sector; the remaining two thousand held posts on the south bank. . . . The attack began on May 6th. The Maid showed herself a great captain in battle, and it is agreed by all historians that the victory was in reality hers. It was she who overcame the panic which occurred as the result of an English counter-attack from the Augustins and led the final successful assault. It

was she who on the morrow refused to pay heed to the counsels of the fainthearted captains, content with this half success; it was she who, despite their resolve of the evening of the 6th to abstain from further attacks, led out the communal militia to the attack of the Tourelles, thus compelling the rest of the army for very shame to follow her example. In so acting, Jeanne did but follow the excellent maxim that the best is the enemy of the good, and that it is better consistently to pursue a mediocre plan to its end than to be constantly vacillating between one or other of several, perhaps better, schemes. The Tourelles fell, after fierce and desperate fighting, into the hands of the French, thanks again largely to the moral ascendancy and bold personal example of the Maid; and the south bank of the Loire was once for all clear of the enemy. . . . The siege of Orléans was raised and a new moral and military strength thus assured to the exultant French, who were enraptured at their victory and full of praise and thanks to God and the Maid. And indeed the victory had been primarily of her making. She had by her talents and courage saved the second city of France from capture, upheld the line of the Loire like a buckler covering the heart of the country, and destroyed once for all the legend of English invincibility on the battlefield. The fact that, had her counsel been fully followed, a whole English army must have been annihilated, with all the moral effect of such a victory throughout both France and Britain, was forgotten in the glory of her actual triumph. The Maid seems to have felt confident that even now, with the English army still in being to the south of Paris, she could lead the Dauphin to Reims for his coronation. To this end all her endeavours were henceforth directed. She was urged to it not only by her 'voices' but by a true appreciation of the political and military situation. But it was felt by all, even by her, that the time for this decisive move had hardly come, and that as a preliminary it was necessary to clear the English garrisons from the middle course of the Loire, and so obtain a good jumping-off ground for the proposed advance on Reims. This mission was therefore entrusted to a small army of about eight thousand fighting men, under the nominal command of the young Duke of Alençon; his instructions were, however, that he should conform entirely to the counsel of the Maid, who thus held a position analogous to that of the modern German Chief of Staff exercising the real command in the name of some young princeling, his nominal superior. The army assembled around Orléans early in June found itself in the centre of the English garrisons on the Loire, and in a position to deal with those above or below the city, as seemed best. Jeanne, true to her principle of dealing the decisive blow at the main body of the enemy at the earliest possible moment, determined to move first against Jargeau, the strongest of the garrisons, under the capable charge of the Earl of Suffolk. The latter's outposts were driven to seek refuge within the town walls after a smart encounter, and the assault was ordered for the early morning of the 13th. After a violent bombardment, continuing throughout all the 12th, and some four hours' severe fighting on the next day, the garrison, numbering about five hundred men, were compelled to lay down their arms. The river above Orléans was thus freed, but there was no time to be lost. News had come in that Fastolf was now actually on the march southwards from Paris with reinforcements and supplies for the English detachments on the Loire, and that his arrival might be looked for any day. The French, who had been joined by fresh contingents, bringing their total up to thirteen thousand men,

resolved therefore to push forward the operations against the English garrisons of Meung and Beaugency before Fastolf could arrive to their rescue. Talbot was in occupation of the latter place, with the main part of the forces under his command; and Jeanne, faithful to her invincible practice, counselled that he should next be dealt with. The army therefore passed by Meung, after capturing the bridgehead on the south bank, and undertook the siege of Beaugency; but Talbot, with the main body of his men, had already, on hearing of the fall of Jargeau, marched out to the northwards and effected his junction with Fastolf at Janville, on the Orléans-Paris road, some twenty miles north of the former place. The French meanwhile had opened their trenches against Beaugency, which with a reduced garrison only held out till the evening of June 17th. Talbot and Fastolf appeared before the place that day and offered battle to the investing force, but feeling themselves unable to attack the lines of circumvallation, fell back to Meung, with the idea of recapturing the bridgehead on the south bank from the French. This project they were about to put into execution on the morning of the 18th, when the news of the fall of Beaugency warned them that in a few hours the whole French army might be upon them; accordingly, they at once commenced their retirement towards the north. They had no time to lose, for the French army was hard on their heels, and came up with the English rearguard some miles south of Patay. Talbot and Fastolf decided to stand for battle with their backs against that village, and left a rearguard under command of the former to hold a gap between two thick hedges barring the plains, and thus to allow time for the main body to get into position. But the French advance guard under La Hire and Poton de Naintrailles, having received orders from the Maid to 'strike boldly and the enemy would take flight,' rode down and overwhelmed this rearguard and drove it back on Fastolf's main body, which was hastening to its chosen position before Patay, while that force was still in column of march. The whole English army was quickly dispersed. Talbot, Scales and many other notables were taken prisoners, and over two thousand two hundred dead were left on the field. The French victory was complete. As a result of it the line of the Loire and all the surrounding country came indisputably under their control; the only available field army of their enemies had been destroyed in fair fight, and the moral superiority, first achieved by the relief of Orléans, was incontestably bound to the French banners. One can hardly do better than quote, as comment on this brilliant and masterly campaign of the Maid's (the first and only one in which she was allowed a free hand), the verdict of General Dragomirov: Only on June 10th were her hands freed and permission given her to march with Alençon's army against the English garrisons on the Loire. On the 14th she took Jargeau by storm; on the 15th the bridgehead of Meung; on the 17th Beaugency; and on the 18th she defeated Talbot and Fastolf in a pitched battle. The result of these five days—two assaults and one battle—was not unworthily of Napoleon himself, and was a measure of the Maid's powers when she was allowed their free and untrammelled exercise. And Caronge adds: With Jeanne the conception and the execution are worthy of each other. The dominating idea is that of an audacious and persevering offensive, as with Napoleon, fixing the enemy, allowing him no time for deliberation and breaking him both materially and morally. The execution, forcible as it is, is in full accord with the circumstances."—E. W. Sheppard, *Sainte Jeanne D'Arc as a soldier* (*National Review*,

Sept., 1920, pp. 107-113.)—"The king was crowned [July 17, 1429], and Joan's mission was accomplished. 'Noble king,' said she, embracing his knees in the Cathedral after the coronation, 'now is accomplished the will of God, which commanded me to bring you to this city of Rheims to receive your holy unction—now that you at last are king, and that the kingdom of France is yours.' . . . From that moment a great depression, and a fatal hesitation seem to have come over her. The king, the people, and the army, to whom she had given victory, wished her to remain always their prophetess, their guide, and their enduring miracle. But she now only a weak woman, lost amid courts and camps, and she felt her weakness beneath her armor. Her heart alone remained courageous, but had ceased to be inspired." She urged an attack on Paris (Sept. 8, 1429) and experienced her first failure, being grievously wounded in the assault. The following spring, Compiègne being besieged, she entered the town to take part in the defence. The same evening (May 24, 1430) she led a sortie which was repulsed, and she was taken prisoner in the retreat. Some think she was betrayed by the commandant of the town, who ordered the raising of the drawbridge just as her horse was being spurred upon it. Once in the hands of her enemies, the doom of the unfortunate Maid was sealed. Sir Lionel de Ligny, her captor, gave his prisoner to the count of Luxembourg, who yielded her to the duke of Burgundy, who surrendered her to the English, who delivered her to the Inquisition, by which she was tried, condemned and burned to death, at Rouen, as a witch (May 30, 1431). "It was a complex crime, in which each party got rid of responsibility, but in which the accusation rests with Paris [the university of Paris was foremost among the pursuers of the wonderful Maid], the cowardice with Luxembourg, the sentence with the Inquisition, the blame and punishment with England, and the disgrace and ingratitude with France. This bartering about Joan by her enemies, of whom the fiercest were her countrymen, had lasted six months. . . . During these six months, the influence of this goddess of war upon the troops of Charles VII.—her spirit, which still guided the camp and council of the king—the patriotic, though superstitious, veneration of the people, which her captivity only doubled,—and, lastly, the absence of the Duke of Burgundy, . . . all these causes had brought reverse after reverse upon the English, and a series of successes to Charles VII. Joan, although absent, triumphed everywhere."—A. de Lamartine, *Memoirs of celebrated characters: Joan of Arc*.

"Jeanne d'Arc was out to death by the sentence of the Roman Catholic Church in May, 1431. Twenty years had hardly elapsed when a tribunal of the same Church re-examined and reversed the sentence. The King of France, whose failing fortunes she had restored, but who had made no effort to save her in her peril, was now better advised, and ordered a new trial of her case. Pope Calixtus III., in consequence of this royal demand, and in compliance with the request of the mother and brothers of the heroic girl, directed the Archbishop of Reims and the Bishops of Paris and Coutances to preside on the occasion. Seven or eight months were occupied in this investigation. Witnesses came from all parts to testify in her favor. The old people from her native town; the younger companions of her childhood; Dunois and the Duke d'Alençon, both comrades in her military leadership; Louis de Contes, her page; D'Aulon, her squire; Pasquerel, her confessor; those who saw her in her prison, and those who stood near her at the scaffold; even the officials and notaries employed by her enemies,—all appeared in turns to testify to

some separate trait in her lovely character. In their depositions was revealed the pure and modest life of the young girl in her father's home,—her simplicity of character and inspired firmness of soul during her famous career. All these witnesses testified to her patience amid her sufferings after she fell into the hands of the English, and to her boldness before the tribunal of her enemies. They also described the sudden illuminations which showed her the crafty purposes of her judges. After hearing this evidence the court declared that the charges brought against Jeanne were calumnious and false, and the former sentence null and of no effect. They commanded that this decree be read publicly in the place where she had been so cruelly put to death, and also in the city of Orleans which she had delivered. Thus there is no history which rests on more authentic materials than that of Jeanne d'Arc. The English, not satisfied with putting her to death with the utmost barbarity, endeavored to blast her reputation and destroy her character by the sentence of the ecclesiastical courts. That no monument might ever be built over her remains, they cast her ashes into the Seine; but, unconsciously, they had erected a far nobler monument to her memory in the trial itself. . . . After sleeping four hundred years in the Royal Library at Paris, a cloud of witnesses come forth from their graves to declare what they knew and saw. Ninety had appeared before the court of Revision to testify in her favor,—thirty-four of them from her native town. Three of the greatest generals of France—Dunois, D'Alençon, and De Gaucourt—bear witness to her military prowess. We have her own words given in answer to thirty public and private examinations during her trials. . . . Five large octavo volumes, edited by Jules Quicherat in 1854, reproduced, in the old Latin and French, the official record of the two trials of Condemnation and Revision. This is taken from the original manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale. These records were translated into modern French, and published in 1858 in two large octavo volumes, by E. O'Reilly, Counsellor of the Imperial Court at Rouen. Again, M. Wallon, Secretary of the Academy of Inscriptions, has collected in one volume, published in 1876, every important fact bearing on this story. . . . The four hundred and fifty years which have passed since the death of the Maid of Orleans⁶ have purified her memory from the stains with which prejudice and ignorance had soiled it; but it has been reserved for the nineteenth century to do full justice to the heroine of the fifteenth."—J. F. Clarke, *Events and epochs in religious history*, pp. 167-170.—"Always a saint in the popular mind, the canonization of Joan of Arc on May 16 [1920] in the historic basilica at Rome five hundred years after her martyrdom 'was hardly more than an official ratification of a sainthood revered by free peoples everywhere.' . . . The canonization ceremony, conducted by Pope Benedict, was described in the press dispatches as the most impressive function in several centuries. Thirty thousand persons, including 140 descendants of the shepherd girl's family and Church dignitaries from all parts of the world, witnessed the rites in St. Peter's. . . . Burned five centuries ago as a heretic and a witch, the French shepherd-girl is to-day an international heroine, and, says the *New York Tribune*, 'it was an outstanding fact of our campaign in the Great War that Joan of Arc was almost as much the heroine of the dough-boy as of the *poilu*.' The decree of heroicity was published in 1904; the proof of the three required miracles—three modern cures following invocation to Joan—was admitted in 1908; beatification ensued in 1909, and in March, 1919, the Pope's decision was given for canoniza-

tion. 'Joan's exaltation would have come before had it not been for powerful influence in the way,' says the *New York Evening Post*. 'The Court of France, which, under Charles VII., abandoned the Maid; the University of Paris, which condemned her as traitor and heretic; the Burgundians, whom she fought—these the Church was long reluctant to offend.' . . . She was the last, most perfect embodiment of chivalry and of profound medieval faith. That an untaught rustic girl of seventeen should in four months rise to command armies, defeat an apparently invincible foe, and reunite a France that for years had been the prey of a ruthless blood feud between the Duke of Burgundy and the Dauphin, with foreign enemies and mercenary nobles exploiting the civil war—this seems almost the wild imagings of romantic chroniclers. Her sublime courage and perfect simplicity are understandable."—*Saint Joan of Arc (Literary Digest, v. 65, June 5, 1920, p. 47)*.—"After all that can be done by the rationalising process, the mystery remains of an untutored and unlettered girl of eighteen years old not only imposing her will upon captains and courtiers, but showing a skill and judgment worthy . . . of the greatest commanders. . . . While we must give due weight and consideration to the age in which this marvel showed itself on the stage of history, . . . yet when all allowance is made there remains this sane, strong, solid girl leaving her humble home, and in two short months accomplishing more than Caesar or Alexander accomplished in so much time, and at an age when even Alexander had as yet achieved nothing. . . . Jeanne herself was in no way marked out from her companions by any special accomplishments or ambition. . . . She was intensely pious, but in no way introspective or morbid. God and His angels and saints were as real to her, more real indeed, than the men and women of her native village. Her doubts and misgivings as to her own unfitness she put aside as impertinences, when assured of her divine mission. No shadow of spiritual inflation or egotism is to be seen in all these things. Rather she held by the belief that her unworthiness in the world's eye was the cause of her being chosen as a simple instrument in the hands of the Lord. . . . The evidence . . . shows us clearly the magnitude of her achievements. . . . But the marvel is that these stupendous achievements were not the results of mere enthusiasm, great and potent though that was, but of settled, farseeing skill and prudence on the part of Jeanne, joined to a strength of soul and purpose which multiplied the strength of the army tenfold. Like Cromwell she 'new-modelled' the army. The licentious gaiety of the feudal warrior had to give way to the sobriety and seemliness which became a Christian camp. The voluptuary and the blasphemer had to amend their lives. To revels succeeded prayers and fasts and vigils. Yet never for a moment did this great amendment degenerate into formalism or hypocrisy. Like all great souls she awakened latent good and drove vice abashed from her presence without any conscious spiritual superiority in herself. Men were ashamed to be base in such a presence. Nor did she ever become a law unto herself, . . . rather she was more than ever observant of all the duties and claims and observances of ordinary religious obligation, being ever in heart the simple maid whom the Lord for His own mysterious purpose, and without any merit of hers, had chosen for a mighty task. The great qualities won for her the ready submission of the soldiers, while her name and fame brought levies of ardent volunteers,—eagerly contending for the glory of serving under such a leader. Her frame was hardy and enduring. . . . She ate sparingly and drank hardly at all, moisten-

ing a crust in wine, or, greatly fatigued, tasting a little as a restorative. While her woman's nature showed itself in her burst of tears when dishonouring names were flung at her by some brutal English soldiers, still there always came a quick moral reinforcement which restored her serene fortitude in the midst of indignities and perils. The story of her prison life is a record of shame to her gaolers. Chained, mocked at, threatened and insulted, her serenity never failed. She was in God's hand, and she bowed to his will. . . . The trial is one of the most enthralling dramas in all history. The caution, the skill, the simplicity withal, shown by Jeanne in her answers to bewildering and entrapping questions, well earned the praise bestowed twenty years later by the accomplished lawyers who wrote on the case, sustaining the appeal for a new hearing. The report gives all the details of the inquiry with fulness and accuracy, and when we carefully examine its course, we must agree with the canonists who said that the forms of law were indeed adhered to, but its spirit was grossly violated. The judges in Jeanne's case fortified themselves with the decision of the University of Paris, but that decision was procured by laying before the University what purported to be the statements of Jeanne, but what were in truth selected passages from her statements torn from qualifying contexts and often with the suppression of governing words. By a sentence, so obtained and so buttressed, Jeanne d'Arc was done to death. The story of the execution is one of the most heart-rending incidents in history."—T. D. Murray, *Jeanne d'Arc, Introduction*, pp. vii-viii, x, xii, xv, xix, xxii-xxiii.

ALSO IN: J. E. d'Auria, *La Véritable Jeanne d'Arc*.—M. Barrès, *Autour de Jeanne d'Arc*.—R. Bergot, *Jeanne d'Arc et l'histoire moderne*.—H. Cabane, *Sainte Jeanne d'Arc à Domrémy*.—J. Darmesteter, *English studies: Joan of Arc in England*.—A. France, *Life of Joan of Arc*, 2 v.—A. C. P. Haggard, *The France of Joan of Arc*.—G. Hanotaux, *Jeanne d'Arc*.—K. Hayens, *Schiller's Jungfrau von Orleans and Historic Maid of France (Modern language notes)*.—A. Lang, *Maid of France*.—G. James, *Joan of Arc*.—J. Michelet, *History of France*, bk. 10.

1431-1453.—Expulsion of the English.—Treaty of Arras.—Gradual loss of all English possessions in France except Calais.—"In Joan of Arc the English certainly destroyed the cause of their late reverses. But the impulse had been given, and the crime of base vengeance could not stay it. Fortune declared every where and in every way against them. In vain was Henry VI. brought to Paris, crowned at Notre Dame, and made to exercise all the functions of royalty in court and parliament. The duke of Burgundy, disgusted with the English, became at last reconciled to Charles, who spared no sacrifice to win the support of so powerful a subject. The amplest possible amends were made for the murder of the late duke. The towns beyond the Somme were ceded to Burgundy, and the reigning duke [but not his successors] was exempted from all homage towards the king of France. Such was the famous treaty of Arras [September 21, 1435], which restored to Charles his throne, and deprived the English of all hopes of retaining their conquests in the kingdom. The crimes and misrule of the Orleans faction were forgotten; popularity ebbed in favour of Charles. . . . One of the gates of Paris was betrayed by the citizens to the constable and Dunois [April, 1436]. Willoughby, the governor, was obliged to shut himself up in the Bastille with his garrison, from whence they retired to Rouen. Charles VII. entered his capital, after twenty years' exclusion from it, in November, 1437. Thenceforward the war lost its

serious character. Charles was gradually established on his throne, and the struggle between the two nations was feebly carried on, broken merely by a few sieges and enterprises, mostly to the disadvantage of the English. . . . There had been frequent endeavours and conferences towards a peace between the French and English. The demands on either side proved irreconcilable. A truce was however concluded, in 1444, which lasted four years; it was sealed by the marriage of Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, and granddaughter of Louis, who had perished while leading an army to the conquest of Naples. . . . In 1449 the truce was allowed to expire. The quarrels of York and Lancaster had commenced, and England was unable to defend her foreign possessions. Normandy was invaded. The gallant Talbot could not preserve Rouen with a disaffected population, and Charles recovered without loss of blood [1449] the second capital of his dominions. The only blow struck by the English for the preservation of Normandy was at Fourmigny near Bayeux. . . . Normandy was for ever lost to the English after this action or skirmish. The following year Guyenne was invaded by the count de Dunois. He met with no resistance. The great towns at that day had grown wealthy, and their maxim was to avoid a siege at all hazards. Lord Talbot was killed in an engagement at Castillon (1453), and with that hero expired the last hopes of his country in regard to France. Guyenne was lost [1453] as well as Normandy, and Calais remained to England the only fruit of so much blood spilt and so many victories achieved."—E. E. Crowe, *History of France*, v. 1, ch. 4.—See also AQUITAINE: 1366-1453.

ALSO IN: J. Michelet, *History of France*, bk. 11.—E. de Monstrelet, *Chronicles* (Johnes tr.), bk. 2, ch. 109; bk. 3, ch. 65.

1435-1439.—Creation of the taille. See PAILLE AND GABELLE.

1438.—Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VII.—Reforming decrees of the council of Basel adopted for the Gallican church.—After the rupture between the reforming council of Basel and Pope Eugenius IV (see PAPACY: 1431-1448), Charles VII of France "determined to adopt in his own kingdom such of the decrees of the Council as were for his advantage, seeing that no opposition could be made by the Pope. Accordingly a Synod was summoned at Bourges on May 1, 1438. The ambassadors of Pope and Council urged their respective causes. It was agreed that the King should write to Pope and Council to stay their hands in proceeding against one another; meanwhile, that the reformation be not lost, some of the Basel decrees should be maintained in France by royal authority. The results of the synod's deliberation were laid before the King, and on July 7 were made binding as a pragmatic sanction on the French Church. The Pragmatic Sanction enacted that General Councils were to be held every ten years, and recognised the authority of the Council of Basel. The Pope was no longer to reserve any of the greater ecclesiastical appointments, but elections were to be duly made by the rightful patrons. Grants to benefices in expectancy, 'whence all agree that many evils arise,' were to cease, as well as reservations. In all cathedral churches, one prebend was to be given to a theologian who had studied for ten years in a university, and who was to lecture or preach at least once a week. Benefices were to be conferred in future, one-third on graduates, two-thirds on deserving clergy. Appeals to Rome, except for important causes, were forbidden. The number of Cardinals was to be 24, each of the age of 30 at least. Annates and first-fruits were no longer to be paid to the Pope,

but only the necessary legal fees on institution. Regulations were made for greater reverence in the conduct of Divine service; prayers were to be said by the priest in an audible voice; mummeries in churches were forbidden, and clerical concubinage was to be punished by suspension for three months. Such were the chief reforms of its own special grievances, which France wished to establish. It was the first step in the assertion of the rights of national Churches to arrange for themselves the details of their own ecclesiastical organisation."—M. Creighton, *History of the papacy during the period of the Reformation*, v. 2, bk. 3, ch. 9.

1447.—Origin of claims of the House of Orleans to the duchy of Milan. See MILAN: 1447-1454.

1453-1461. — Reconstructed kingdom. — New plant of Absolutism.—“At the expulsion of the English, France emerged from the chaos with an altered character and new features of government. The royal authority and supreme jurisdiction of the parliament were universally recognised. Yet there was a tendency towards insubordination left among the great nobility, arising in part from the remains of old feudal privileges, but still more from that lax administration which, in the convulsive struggles of the war, had been suffered to prevail. In the south were some considerable vassals, the houses of Foix, Albret, and Armagnac, who, on account of their distance from the seat of empire, had always maintained a very independent conduct. The dukes of Britany and Burgundy were of a more formidable character, and might rather be ranked among foreign powers than privileged subjects. The princes, too, of the royal blood, who, during the late reign, had learned to partake or contend for the management, were ill-inclined towards Charles VII., himself jealous, from old recollections of their ascendancy. They saw that the constitution was verging rapidly towards an absolute monarchy, from the direction of which they would studiously be excluded. This apprehension gave rise to several attempts at rebellion during the reign of Charles VII., and to the war, commonly entitled, for the Public Weal (*‘du bien public’*), under Louis XI. [See below: 1461-1468.] Among the pretenses alleged by the revolvers in each of these, the injuries of the people were not forgotten; but from the people they received small support. Weary of civil dissension, and anxious for a strong government to secure them from depredation, the French had no inducement to intrust even their real grievances to a few malcontent princes, whose regard for the common good they had much reason to distrust. Every circumstance favoured Charles VII. and his son in the attainment of arbitrary power. The country was pillaged by military ruffians. Some of these had been led by the dauphin to a war in Germany, but the remainder still infested the high roads and villages. Charles established his companies of ordonnance, the basis of the French regular army, in order to protect the country from such depredators. They consisted of about nine thousand soldiers, all cavalry, of whom fifteen hundred were heavy-armed; a force not very considerable, but the first, except mere body-guards, which had been raised in any part of Europe as a national standing army. These troops were paid out of the produce of a permanent tax, called the *taille*; an innovation still more important than the former. But the present benefit cheating the people, now prone to submissive habits, little or no opposition was made, except in Guienne, the inhabitants of which had speedy reason to regret the mild government of England, and vainly en-

deavoured to return to its protection. It was not long before the new despotism exhibited itself in its harshest character. Louis XI., son of Charles VII., who during his father's reign, had been connected with the discontented princes, came to the throne greatly endowed with those virtues and vices which conspire to the success of a king."—H. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ch. 1, pt. 2.

1457-1489.—Development of printing in university center. See PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1457-1489.

1458-1461.—Submission of Genoa to Charles VII of France.—Renewed revolt. See GENOA: 1458-1464.

1461.—Accession of King Louis XI.—Contemporary portrait of him by Commines.—“Of all the princes that I ever knew, the wisest and most dexterous to extricate himself out of any danger or difficulty in time of adversity, was our master King Louis XI. He was the humblest in his conversation and habit, and the most painful and indefatigable to win over any man to his side that he thought capable of doing him either mischief or service; though he was often refused, he would never give over a man that he wished to gain, but still pressed and continued his insinuations, promising him largely, and presenting him with such sums and honours as he knew would gratify his ambition; and for such as he had discarded in time of peace and prosperity, he paid dear (when he had occasion for them) to recover them again; but when he had once reconciled them, he retained no enmity towards them for what had passed, but employed them freely for the future. He was naturally kind and indulgent to persons of mean estate, and hostile to all great men who had no need of him. Never prince was so conversable, nor so inquisitive as he, for his desire was to know everybody he could; and indeed he knew all persons of any authority or worth in England, Spain, Portugal and Italy, in the territories of the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, and among his own subjects; and by those qualities he preserved the crown upon his head, which was in much danger by the enemies he had created to himself upon his accession to the throne. But above all, his great bounty and liberality did him the greatest service: and yet, as he behaved himself wisely in time of distress, so when he thought himself a little out of danger, though it were but by a truce, he would disoblige the servants and officers of his court by mean and petty ways, which were little to his advantage; and as for peace, he could hardly endure the thoughts of it. He spoke slightly of most people, and rather before their faces, than behind their backs, unless he was afraid of them, and of that sort there were a great many, for he was naturally somewhat timorous. . . . I will not censure him, or say I ever saw a better prince; for though he oppressed his subjects himself he would never see them injured by anybody else.”—P. de Commines, *Memoirs*, bk. 1, ch. 10; bk. 6, ch. 11.

1461-1468.—Character and reign of Louis XI. —Union of feudal princes in the League of the Public Weal.—Defeat of the league.—End of power of feudalism, and final triumph of absolute monarchy.—“He [Louis XI.] was the first, as, indeed (with the solitary exception of Louis Philippe), he is still the only king of France whose mind was ever prepared for the duties of that high station by any course of severe and systematic study. Before he ascended the throne of his ancestors he had profoundly meditated the great Italian authors, and the institutions and maxims of the Italian republics. From those lessons he had derived a low esteem of his fellowmen, and

especially of those among them upon whom wealth, and rank, and power had descended as an hereditary birthright. . . . He clearly understood, and pursued with inflexible steadfastness of purpose the elevation of his country and the grandeur of his own royal house and lineage; but he pursued them with a torpid imagination, a cold heart, and a ruthless will. He regarded mankind as a physiologist contemplates the living subjects of his science, or as a chess-player surveys the pieces on his board. . . . It has been said of Louis XI., that the appearance of the men of the Revolution of 1789 first made him intelligible. . . . Louis was the first of the terrible Ideologists of France—of that class of men who, to enthrone an idolized idea, will offer whole hecatombs of human sacrifices at the shrine of their idol. The Idea of Louis was that of levelling all powers in the state, in order that the administration of the affairs, the possession of the wealth, and the enjoyment of the honours of his kingdom might be grasped by himself and his successors as their solitary and unrivalled dominion. . . . Before his accession to the throne, all the great fiefs into which France had been divided under the earlier Capetian kings had, with the exception of Bretagne, been either annexed to the royal domain, or reduced to a state of dependence on the crown. But, under the name of Apanages, these ancient divisions of the kingdom into separate principalities had reappeared. The territorial feudalism of the Middle Ages seemed to be reviving in the persons of the younger branches of the royal house. The Dukes of Burgundy had thus become the rulers of a state [see *BURGUNDY*: 1467] which, under the government of more politic princes, might readily, in fulfillment of their desires, have attained the rank of an independent kingdom. The Duke of Bretagne, still asserting the peculiar privileges of his duchy, was rather an ally than a subject of the king of France. Charles, Duke of Berri, the brother of Louis, aspired to the possession of the same advantages. And these three great territorial potentates, in alliance with the Duc de Bourbon and the Comte de St. Pol, the brothers-in-law of Louis and of his queen, united together to form that confederacy against him to which they gave the very inappropriate title of La Ligue du Bien Public. It was, however, a title which recognized the growing strength of the Tiers État, and of that public opinion to which the Tiers État at once gave utterance and imparted authority. Selfish ambition was thus compelled to assume the mask of patriotism. The princes veiled their insatiable appetite for their own personal advantages under the popular and plausible demands of administrative reforms—of the reduction of imposts—of the government of the people by their representatives—and, consequently, of the convocation of the States-General. To these pretensions Louis was unable to make any effectual resistance." An indecisive but bloody battle was fought at Montlehery, near Paris (July 16, 1465), from which both armies retreated with every appearance of defeat. The capital was besieged ineffectually for some weeks by the league; then the king yielded, or seemed to do so, and the Treaty of Conflans was signed. "He assented, in terms at least, to all the demands of his antagonists. He granted to the Duke of Berri the duchy of Normandy as an apanage transmissible in perpetuity to his male heirs. . . . The confederates then laid down their arms. The wily monarch bided his time. He had bestowed on them advantages which he well knew would destroy their popularity and so subvert the basis of their power, and which he also knew the state of public opinion would not allow them to

retain. To wrest those advantages from their hands, it was only necessary to comply with their last stipulation, and to convene the States-General. They met accordingly, at Tours, on the 6th of April, 1468." As Louis had anticipated—or, rather, as he had planned—the States-General cancelled the grant of Normandy to the duke of Berri (which the king had been able already to recover possession of, owing to quarrels between the dukes of Berri and Britany) and, generally, took away from the princes of the league nearly all that they had extorted in the Treaty of Conflans. On the express invitation of the king they appointed a commission to reform abuses in the government—which commission "attempted little and effected nothing"—and, then, having assisted the cunning king to overcome his threatening nobles, the States-General were dissolved, to meet no more while Louis XI occupied the throne. In a desperate situation he had used the dangerous weapon against his enemies with effect; he was too prudent to draw it from the sheath a second time.—J. Stephen, *Lectures on the history of France*, lect. 11.—"The career of Louis XI presents a curious problem. How could a ruler whose morality fell below that of Jonathan Wild yet achieve some of the greatest permanent results of patriotic statesmanship, and be esteemed not only by himself but by so calm an observer as Commines the model of kingly virtue? As to Louis's moral character and principles, or want of principle, not a doubt can be entertained. To say he committed the acts of a villain is to fall far short of the truth. . . . He possessed a kind of religious belief, but it was a species of religion which a respectable heathen would have scorned. He attempted to bribe heaven, or rather the saints, just as he attempted to win over his Swiss allies—that is, by gifts of money. . . . Yet this man, who was daunted by no cruelty, and who could be bound by no oath save one, did work which all statesmen must admire, and . . . I am of opinion that the troubles he was involved in, in his youth, when he fled from his father, and resided six years together with Philip Duke of Burgundy, were of great service to him; for there he learned to be complaisant to such as he had occasion to use, which was no slight advantage of adversity. As soon as he found himself a powerful and crowned king, his mind was wholly bent upon revenge; but he quickly found the inconvenience of this, repented by degrees of his indiscretion, and made sufficient reparation for his folly and error, by regaining those he had injured, as shall be related hereafter. Besides, I am very confident that if his education had not been different from the usual education of such nobles as I have seen in France, he could not so easily have worked himself out of his troubles; for they are brought up to nothing but to make themselves ridiculous, both in their clothes and discourse; they have no knowledge of letters; no wise man is suffered to come near them, to improve their understandings; they have governors who manage their business, but they do nothing themselves."—Such is the account of Louis XI. which Philip de Commines gives in one of the early chapters of his delightful Memoirs. In a later chapter he tells naively of the king's suspicions and fears, and of what he suffered, at the end of his life, as the penalty of his cruel and crafty dealings with his subjects: "Some five or six months before his death, he began to suspect everybody, especially those who were most capable and deserving of the administration of affairs. He was afraid of his son, and caused him to be kept close, so that no man saw or discoursed with him, but by his special command. At last he grew

suspicious of his daughter, and of his son-in-law the Duke of Bourbon, and required an account of what persons came to speak with them at Plessis, and broke up a council which the Duke of Bourbon was holding there, by his order. . . . He was still attended by his physician, Master James Coctier, to whom in five months' time he had given fifty-four thousand crowns in ready money, besides the bishopric of Amiens for his nephew, and other great offices and estates for himself and his friends; yet his doctor used him very roughly indeed; one would not have given such outrageous language to one's servants as he gave the King, who stood in such awe of him, that he durst not forbid him his presence. It is true he complained of his impudence afterwards, but he durst not change him as he had done all the rest of his servants; because he had told him after a most audacious manner one day, 'I know well that some time or other you will dismiss me from court, as you have done the rest; but he sure (and he confirmed it with a great oath) you shall not live eight days after it'; with which expression the King was so terrified, that ever after he did nothing but flatter and bribe him, which must needs have been a great mortification to a prince who had been humbly obeyed all his life by so many good and brave men. The King had ordered several cruel prisons to be made; some were cages of iron, and some of wood, but all were covered with iron plates both within and without, with terrible locks, about eight feet wide and seven high; the first contriver of them was the Bishop of Verdun, who was immediately put in the first of them that was made, where he continued fourteen years. Many bitter curses he has had since for his invention, and some from me as I lay in one of them eight months together in the minority of our present King. He also ordered heavy and terrible fetters to be made in Germany, and particularly a certain ring for the feet, which was extremely hard to be opened, and fitted like an iron collar, with a thick weighty chain, and a great globe of iron at the end of it, most unreasonably heavy, which engines were called the King's Nets. . . . As in his time this barbarous variety of prisons was invented, so before he died he himself was in greater torment, and more terrible apprehension than those whom he had imprisoned; which I look upon as a great mercy towards him, and as a part of his purgatory; and I have mentioned it here to show that there is no person, of what station or dignity soever, but suffers some time or other, either publicly or privately, especially if he has caused other people to suffer. The King, towards the latter end of his days, caused his castle of Plessis-les-Tours to be encompassed with great bars of iron in the form of thick grating, and at the four corners of the house four sparrow-nests of iron, strong, massy, and thick, were built. The grates were without the wall on the other side of the ditch, and sank to the bottom. Several spikes of iron were fastened into the wall, set as thick by one another as was possible, and each furnished with three or four points. He likewise placed ten bow-men in the ditches, to shoot at any man that durst approach the castle before the opening of the gates, and he ordered they should lie in the ditches, but retire to the sparrow-nests upon occasion. He was sensible enough that this fortification was too weak to keep out an army, or any great body of men, but he had no fear of such an attack; his great apprehension was, that some of the nobility of his kingdom, having intelligence within, might attempt to make themselves masters of the castle by night. . . . Is it possible then to keep a prince

(with any regard to his quality) in a closer prison than he kept himself? The cages which were made for other people were about eight feet square; and he (though so great a monarch) had but a small court of the castle to walk in, and seldom made use of that, but generally kept himself in the gallery, out of which he went into the chambers on his way to mass, but never passed through the court. . . . which French patriots must fervently approve. He was the creator of modern France. When he came to the throne it seemed more than likely that an utterly selfish and treacherous nobility would tear the country in pieces. The English still threatened to repeat the horrors of their invasions. The House of Burgundy overbalanced the power of the crown, and stimulated lawlessness throughout the whole country. The peasantry were miserably oppressed, and the middle classes could not prosper for want of that rule of law which is the first requisite for civilization. When Louis died, the existence of France and the power of the French crown was secured: 'He had extended the frontiers of his kingdom; Picardy, Provence, Burgundy, Anjou, Maine, Roussillon had been compelled to acknowledge the immediate authority of the crown.' He had crushed the feudal oligarchy; he had seen his most dangerous enemy destroyed by the resistance of the Swiss; he had baffled the attempt to construct a state which would have imperilled the national existence of France; he had put an end to all risk of English invasion; and he left France the most powerful country in Europe. Her internal government was no doubt oppressive, but, at any rate, it secured the rule of law; and his schemes for her benefit were still unfinished. He died regretting that he could not carry out his plans for the reform of the law and for the protection of commerce; and, in the opinion of Communes, if God had granted him the grace of living five or six years more, he would greatly have benefited his realm. He died commending his soul to the intercession of the Virgin, and the last words caught from his lips were: 'Lord, in thee have I trusted; let me never be confounded.' Nor should this be taken as the expression of hopeless self-delusion or gratuitous hypocrisy. In the opinion of Communes, uttered after the king's death, 'he was more wise, more liberal, and more virtuous in all things than any contemporary sovereign.' The expressions of Communes were, it may be said, but the echo of the low moral tone of the age. This, no doubt, is true; but the fact that the age did not condemn acts which, taken alone, seem to argue the utmost depravity, still needs explanation. The matter is the more worthy of consideration because Louis represents, though in an exaggerated form, the vices and virtues of a special body of rulers. He was the incarnation, so to speak, of kingcraft. The word and the idea it represents have now become out of date, but for about two centuries—say, roughly, from the middle of the seventeenth century—the idea of a great king was that of a monarch who ruled by means of cunning, intrigue, and disregard of ordinary moral rules. We here come across the fact which explains both the career and the reputation of Louis and of others, such as Henry VII. of England, who were masters of kingcraft. The universal feeling of the time, shared by subjects no less than by rulers, was that a king was not bound by the rules of morality, and especially by the rules of honesty, which bind other men. Until you realize this fact, nothing is more incomprehensible than the adulation lavished by men such as Bacon or Casaubon on a ruler such as James I. . . . The real puzzle is to ascertain how

this feeling that kings were above the moral law came into existence. The facts of history afford the necessary explanation. When the modern European world was falling into shape the one thing required for national prosperity was the growth of a power which might check the disorders of the feudal nobility, and secure for the mass of the people the blessings of an orderly government. The only power which, in most cases, could achieve this end, was the crown. In England the monarchs put an end to the wars of the nobility. In France the growth of the monarchy secured not only internal quiet, but protection from external invasion. In these and in other cases the interest of the crown and the interest of the people became for a time identical. . . . Acts which would have seemed villainous when done to promote a purely private interest, became mere devices of statesmanship when performed in the interest of the public. The maxims that the king can do no wrong, and that the safety of the people is the highest law, blended together in the minds of ambitious rulers. The result was the production of men like Louis XI."—A. V. Dicey, *Willert's Louis XI (Nation, Dec. 7, 1876)*.—"A careful examination of the reign of Louis the Eleventh has particularly impressed upon me one fact, that the ends for which he toiled and sinned throughout his whole life were attained at last rather by circumstances than by his labours. The supreme object of all his schemes was to crush that most formidable of all his foes, Burgundy. And yet had Charles confined his ambition within reasonable limits, had he possessed an ordinary share of statecraft, and, above all, could he have controlled those fiery passions, which drove him to the verge of madness, he would have won the game quite easily. Louis lacked one of the essential qualities of statecraft—patience; and was wholly destitute of that necessity of ambition—boldness. An irritable restlessness was one of the salient points of his character. His courtiers and attendants were ever intriguing to embroil him in war, 'because,' says Comines, 'the nature of the King was such, that unless he was at war with some foreign prince, he would certainly find some quarrel or other at home with his servants, domestics, or officers, for his mind must be always working.' His mood was ever changing, and he was by turns confiding, suspicious, avaricious, prodigal, audacious, and timid. He frequently nullified his most crafty schemes by impatience for the result. He would sow the seed with the utmost care, but he could not wait for the fructification. In this he was false to the practice of those Italian statesmen who were avowedly his models. It was this irritable restlessness which brought down upon him the hatred of all classes, from the noble to the serf; for we find him at one time cunningly bidding for popularity, and immediately afterwards destroying all he had gained by some rash and inconsiderate act. His extreme timidity hampered the execution of all his plans. He had not even the holdness of the coward who will fight when all the strength is on his own side. Constantly at war, during a reign of twenty-two years there were fought but two battles, Montlhéry and Guingette, both of which, strange to say, were undecided, and both of which were fought against his will and counsel. . . . He left France larger by one-fourth than he had inherited it; but out of the five provinces which he acquired, Provence was bequeathed him, Roussillon was pawned to him by the usurping King of Navarre, and Burgundy was won for him by the Swiss. His triumphs were much more the result of fortune than the efforts of his own genius."

Louis the Eleventh (Temple Bar, v. 46, pp. 523-524).

ALSO IN: J. Michelet, *History of France, bk. 13*.—P. F. Willert, *Reign of Louis XI*.—J. F. Kirk, *History of Charles the Bold, bk. 1, ch. 4-6*.—P. de Commines, *Memoirs, bk. 1*.—E. de Monstrelet, *Chronicles (Johnes tr.), bk. 3, ch. 99-153*.

1464.—Expelled from Genoa. See GENOA: 1458-1464; ITALY: 1447-1480.

1467-1477.—Troubles of Louis XI with Charles the Bold of Burgundy.—Death of the duke and Louis' acquisition of Burgundy. See BURGUNDY: 1467-1468 to 1477; NETHERLANDS: 1460-1468; ALSACE-LORRAINE: 842-1477.

1482.—Treaty of Arras.—By marriage to Mary of Burgundy, Maximilian I of Austria acquired the large Burgundian possessions. Louis XI of France, however, claimed the whole, but by the Treaty of Arras (December, 1482) he received only Picardy, the Boulonnais, and Burgundy proper.

1483.—Kingdom as left by Louis XI.—Louis XI, who died August 30, 1483, "had joined to the crown Berry, the apauage of his brother, Provence, the duchy of Burgundy, Anjou, Maine, Ponthieu, the counties of Auxerre, of Mâcon, Charolais, the Free County, Artois, Marche, Armagnac, Cerdagne, and Roussillon. . . . The seven latter provinces did not yet remain irrevocably united with France: one part was given anew in apauage, and the other part restored to foreign sovereigns, and only returned one by one to the crown of France. . . . The principal work of Louis XI. was the abatement of the second feudality, which had raised itself on the ruins of the first, and which, without him, would have replunged France into anarchy. The chiefs of that feudality were, however, more formidable, since, for the most part, they belonged to the blood royal of France. Their powerful houses, which possessed at the accession of that prince a considerable part of the kingdom, were those of Orleans, Anjou, Burgundy, and Bourbon. They found themselves much weakened at his death, and dispossessed in great part, as we have seen in the history of the reign, by confiscations, treaties, gifts or heritages. By the side of these houses, which issued from that of France, there were others whose power extended still, at this period, in the limits of France proper, over vast domains. Those of Luxembourg and La Mark possessed great wealth upon the frontier of the north; that of Vaudemont had inherited Lorraine and the duchy of Bar; the house of La Tour was powerful in Auvergne; in the south the houses of Foix and Albert ruled, the first in the valley of Ariège, the second between the Adour and the Pyrenees. In the west the house of Brittany had guarded its independence; but the moment approached when this beautiful province was to be forever united with the crown. Lastly, two foreign sovereigns held possessions in France: the Pope had Avignon and the county Venaissin; and the Duke of Savoy possessed, between the Rhone and the Saône, Bugey and Valromey. The time was still distant when the royal authority would be seen freely exercised through every territory comprised in the natural limits of the kingdom. But Louis XI. did much to attain this aim, and after him no princely or vassal house was powerful enough to resist the crown by its own forces, and to put the throne in peril."—É. de Bonnechose, *History of France, v. 1, pp. 315-318, and foot-note*.

1483.—Accession of King Charles VIII.

1485-1487.—League of the Princes.—Charles VIII, son and successor of Louis XI, came to the throne at the age of thirteen, on the death of his father in 1483. His eldest sister, Anne, married to the lord of Beaujeu, made herself practically

regent of the kingdom, by sheer ability and force of character, and ruled during the minority, pursuing the lines of her father's policy. The princes of the blood-royal, with the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon at their head, formed a league against her. They were supported by many nobles, including Philip de Commines, the count of Dunois and the prince of Orange. They also received aid from the duke of Brittany, and from Maximilian of Austria, who now controlled the Netherlands. Anne's general, La Trémouille, defeated the league in a decisive battle (1487) near St. Aubin du Cormier, where the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and many nobles and knights were made prisoners. The duke and the prince were sent to Anne, who shut them up in strong places, while most of their companions were summarily executed.—E. de Bonnechose, *History of France*, v. 1, bk. 3, ch. 3.

ALSO IN: F. P. Guizot, *Popular history of France*, ch. 26.

1490-1498.—War against the Medici. See FLORENCE: 1490-1498.

1491.—Brittany, last of the great fiefs, united to the crown.—End of the feudal system. See BRITTANY: 1491.

1492-1515.—Reigns of Charles VIII and Louis XII.—Italian expeditions and wars.—Effects on France.—Beginning of the Renaissance.—Louis XI was succeeded by his son, Charles VIII, a boy of thirteen years, whose elder sister Anne governed the kingdom until he came of age. She dealt firmly with a rebellion of the nobles and suppressed it. She frustrated an intended marriage of Anne of Brittany with Maximilian of Austria, which would have drawn the last of the great semi-independent fiefs into a dangerous relationship, and she made Charles instead of his rival the husband of the Breton heiress. When Charles, who had little intelligence, assumed the government, he was excited with dreams of making good the pretensions of the Second House of Anjou to the kingdom of Naples. Those pretensions, which had been bequeathed to Louis XI, and which Charles VIII had now inherited, had the following origin: "In the eleventh century, Robert Guiscard, of the Norman family of Hauteville, at the head of a band of adventurers, took possession of Sicily and South Italy, then in a state of complete anarchy. Roger, the son of Robert, founded the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies under the Pope's suzerainty. In 1189 the Guiscard family became extinct, whereupon the German Emperor laid claim to the kingdom in the right of his wife Constance, daughter of one of the Norman kings. The Roman Pontiffs, dreading such powerful neighbours, were adverse to the arrangement, and in 1254 King Conrad, being succeeded by his son Conradin, still a minor, furnished a pretext for bestowing the crown of the Two Sicilies on Charles d'Anjou, brother of St. Louis. Manfred, guardian of the boy Conradin, and a natural son of the Emperor Frederick II., raised an army against Charles d'Anjou, but was defeated, and fell in the encounter of 1266. Two years later, Prince Conradin was cruelly beheaded in Naples. Before his death, however, he made a will, by which he invested Peter III. of Aragon, son-in-law of Manfred, with full power over the Two Sicilies, exhorting him to avenge his death [see ITALY (Southern): 1250-1268]. This bequest was the origin of the rivalry between the houses of Aragon and Anjou, a rivalry which developed into open antagonism when the island of Sicily was given up to Peter of Aragon and his descendants, while Charles d'Anjou still held Naples for himself and his heirs [see ITALY (Southern): 1282-1300]. In 1435 Joan

II., Queen of Naples, bequeathed her estates to Alfonso V. of Aragon, surnamed the Magnanimous, to the exclusion of Louis III. of Anjou. After a long and bloody struggle, Alfonso succeeded in driving the Anjou dynasty out of Naples [see ITALY (Southern): 1343-1389; 1386-1414]. Louis III. was the last representative of this once-powerful family. He returned to France, survived his defeat two-and-twenty years, and by his will left all his rights to the Count of Maine, his nephew, who, on his death, transferred them to Louis XI. The wily Louis was not tempted to claim this worthless legacy. His successor, Charles VIII., less matter-of-fact, and more romantic, was beguiled into a series of brilliant, though sterile, expeditions, disastrous to national interests, neglecting the Flemish provinces, the liege vassals of France, and thoroughly French at heart. Charles VIII. put himself at the head of his nobles, made a triumphal entry into Naples and returned without having gained an inch of territory [see ITALY: 1492-1494, and 1494-1496; PISA: 1494-1509]. De Commines judges the whole affair a mystery; it was, in fact, one of those dazzling and chivalrous adventures with which the French delighted to astonish Europe. Louis XII., like Charles VIII. [whom he succeeded in 1498], proclaimed his right to Naples, and also to the Duchy of Milan, inherited from his grandmother, Valentine de Visconti. These pretended rights were more than doubtful. The Emperor Wenceslas, on conferring the duchy on the Viscontis, excluded women from the inheritance, and both Louis XI. and Charles VIII. recognised the validity of the Salic law in Milan by concluding an alliance with the Sforzas. [In 1450 the Sforzas seized Milan after the Visconti family had died out.] The seventeen years of Louis XII.'s reign were absorbed in these Italian wars, in which the French invariably began by victory, and as invariably ended in defeat. The League of Cambrai, the Battles of Agnadell, Ravenna, Novara, the Treaties of Grenada and Blois, are the principal episodes of this unlucky campaign."—C. Coignet, *Francis the First and his times*, ch. 3.—See also ITALY: 1499-1500; FLORENCE: 1498-1500; SALIC LAW.—"The warriors of France came back from Italy with the wonders of the South on their lips and her treasures in their hands. They brought with them books and paintings, they brought with them armour inlaid with gold and silver, tapestries enriched with precious metals, embroidered clothing, and even household furniture. Distributed by many hands in many different places, each precious thing became a separate centre of initiative power. The châteaux of the country nobles boasted the treasures which had fallen to the share of their lords at Genoa or at Naples; and the great women of the court were eager to divide the spoil. The contagion spread rapidly. Even in the most fantastic moment of Gothic inspiration, the French artist gave evidence that his right hand obeyed a national instinct for order, for balance, for completeness, and that his eye preferred, in obedience to a national predilection, the most refined harmonies of colour. Step by step he had been feeling his way; now, the broken link of tradition was again made fast; the workmen of Paris and the workmen of Athens joined hands, united by the genius of Italy. It must not, however, be supposed that no intercourse had previously existed between France and Italy. The roads by Narbonne and Lyons were worn by many feet. The artists of Tours and Poitiers, the artists of Paris and Dijon, were alike familiar with the path to Rome. But an intercourse, hitherto restricted, was rendered by the wars of Charles VIII. all but

universal. . . Cruelly as the Italians had suffered at the hands of Charles VIII. they still looked to France for help; they knew that though they had been injured they had not been betrayed. But the weak and generous impulses of Charles VIII. found no place in the councils of his successors. . . . The doom of Italy was pronounced. Substantially the compact was this. Aided by Borgia, the French were to destroy the free cities of the north, and in return France was to aid Borgia in breaking the power of the independent nobles who yet resisted Papal aggression in the south. [Cæsar Borgia was the son of Pope Alexander VI.] In July 1499 the work began. At first the Italians failed to realise what had taken place. When the French army entered the Milanese territory the inhabitants fraternised with the troops, Milan, Genoa, Pavia opened their gates with joy. But in a few months the course of events, in the south, aroused a dread anxiety. There, Borgia, under the protection of the French king, and with the assistance of the French arms, was triumphantly glutting his brutal rage and lust, whilst Frenchmen were forced to look on helpless and indignant. Milan, justly terrified, made an attempt to throw herself on the mercy of her old ruler. To no purpose. Louis went back over the Alps, leaving a strong hand and a strong garrison in Milan, and dragging with him the unfortunate Louis Sforza, a miserable proof of the final destruction of the most brilliant court of Upper Italy. . . . By the campaign of 1507, the work, thus begun, was consummated. The ancient spirit of independence still lingered in Genoa, and Venice was not yet crushed. There were still fresh laurels to be won. In this Holy War the Pope [Julius II] and the Emperor willingly joined forces with France [League of Cambrai 1508]. . . . The deathblow was first given to Genoa. She was forced, Marot tells us, 'la corde au cou, la glaive sous la gorge, implorer la clémence de ce prince.' Venice was next traitorously surprised and irreparably injured. Having thus brilliantly achieved the task of first destroying the lettered courts, and next the free cities of Italy, Louis died, bequeathing to François I. the shame of fighting out a hopeless struggle for supremacy against allies who, no longer needing help, had combined to drive the French from the field. There was, indeed, one other duty to be performed. The shattered remains of Italian civilisation might be collected, and Paris might receive the men whom Italy could no longer employ. The French returned to France empty of honour, gorged with plunder, satiated with rape and rapine, boasting of cities sacked, and garrisons put to the sword. They had sucked the lifeblood of Italy, but her death brought new life to France. The impetus thus acquired by art and letters coincided with a change in political and social constitutions. The gradual process of centralisation which had begun with Louis XI. transformed the life of the whole nation. . . . The royal court began to take proportions hitherto unknown. It gradually became a centre which gathered together the rich, the learned, and the skilled. Artists, who had previously been limited in training, isolated in life, and narrowed in activity by the rigid conservative action of the great guilds and corporations, were thus brought into immediate contact with the best culture of their day. For the Humanists did not form a class apart, and their example incited those with whom they lived to effort after attainments as varied as their own, whilst the Court made a rallying point for all, which gave a sense of countenance and protection even to those who might never hope to enter it. . . . Emancipation of the

individual is the watchword of the sixteenth century; to the artist it brought relief from the trammels of a caste thraldom, and the ceaseless efforts of the Humanists find an answer even in the new forms seen slowly breaking through the sheath of Gothic art."—Mrs. M. Pattison, *Renaissance of art in France*, v. 1, ch. 1.

16th century.—Trade in the New World. See AMERICA: 1528-1648.

16th century.—Educational advance.—Social realism of Montaigne.—Rabelais.—Literature of the period. See EDUCATION: Modern: 16th century: Montaigne, Rabelais' Gargantua; FRENCH LITERATURE: 1498-1550.

1500-1501.—France jealous of Cesare Borgia's growing power in Italy. See ITALY: 1499-1507.

1501-1504.—Treaty of Louis XII with Ferdinand of Aragon for the partition of Naples.—French and Spanish conquest.—Quarrel of the confederates, and war.—Spaniards in possession of Neapolitan domain. See ITALY: 1501-1504.

1504.—Norman and Breton fishermen on the Newfoundland banks. See NEWFOUNDLAND: 1501-1578.

1504-1506.—Treaties of Blois, with Ferdinand and Maximilian, and their abrogation.—Relinquishment of claims on Naples. See ITALY: 1504-1506.

1507.—Revolt and subjugation of Genoa. See GENOA: 1500-1507.

1508-1509.—League of Cambrai against Venice. See VENICE: 1508-1509.

1510-1513.—Break-up of the League of Cambrai.—Holy league formed by Pope Julius II against Louis XII.—French expelled from Milan and all Italy. See ITALY: 1510-1513; MILAN: 1512.

1513-1515.—English invasion under Henry VIII.—Battle of the Spurs.—Marriage of Louis XII with Mary of England.—King's death.—Accession of Francis I.—"The long preparations of Henry VIII. of England for the invasion of France [in pursuance of the 'Holy League' against Louis XII, formed by Pope Julius II and renewed by Leo X,—see ITALY: 1510-1513] being completed, that king, in the summer of 1513, landed at Calais, whither a great part of his army had already been transported. The offer of 100,000 golden crowns easily persuaded the Emperor to promise his assistance, at the head of a body of Swiss and Germans. But at the moment Henry was about to penetrate into France, he received the excuses of Maximilian [Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor from 1493-1510], who, notwithstanding a large advance received from England, found himself unable to levy the promised succours. Nothing disheartened by this breach of faith, the King of England had already advanced into Artois; when the Emperor, attended by a few German nobles, appeared in the English camp, and was cordially welcomed by Henry, who duly appreciated his military skill and local knowledge. A valuable accession of strength was also obtained by the junction of a large body of Swiss, who, encouraged by the victory of Novara, had already crossed the Jura, and now marched to the seat of war. The poverty of the Emperor degraded him to the rank of a mercenary of England; and Henry consented to grant him the daily allowance of 100 crowns for his table. But humiliating as this compact was to Maximilian, the King of England reaped great benefit from his presence. A promiscuous multitude of Germans had flocked to the English camp, in hopes of partaking in the spoil; and the arrival of their valiant Emperor

excited a burst of enthusiasm. The siege of Terouenne was formed: but the bravery of the besieged baffled the efforts of the allies; and a month elapsed, during which the English sustained severe loss from frequent and successful sorties. By the advice of the Emperor, Henry resolved to risk a battle with the French, and the plain of Guinegate was once more the field of conflict [August 18, 1513]. This spot, where Maximilian had formerly struck terror into the legions of Louis XI., now became the scene of a rapid and undisputed victory. The French were surprised by the allies, and gave way to a sudden panic; and the shameful flight of the cavalry abandoned the bravest of their leaders to the hands of their enemies. The Duke of Longueville, La Palisse, Imbercourt, and the renowned Chevalier Bayard, were made prisoners; and the ridicule of the conquerors commemorated the inglorious flight by designating the rout as the Battle of the Spurs. The capture of Terouenne immediately followed; and the fall of Tournay soon afterwards opened a splendid prospect to the King of England. Meanwhile the safety of France was threatened in another quarter. A large body of Swiss, levied in the name of Maximilian but paid with the gold of the Pope, burst into Burgundy; and Dijon was with difficulty saved from capture. From this danger, however, France was extricated by the dexterous negotiation of Trémouille; and the Swiss were induced to withdraw. . . . Louis now became seriously desirous of peace. He made overtures to the Pope, and was received into favour upon consenting to renounce the Council of Pisa. [See PAPACY: 1377-1417.] He conciliated the Kings of Aragon and England by proposals of marriage; he offered his second daughter Renée to the young Charles of Spain; and his second Queen, Anne of Britany, being now dead, he proposed to unite himself with Mary of England, the favourite sister of Henry. . . . But though peace was made upon this footing, the former of the projected marriages never took place; the latter, however, was magnificently solemnized, and proved fatal to Louis. The amorous King forgot his advanced age in the arms of his young and beautiful bride; his constitution gave way under the protracted festivities consequent on his nuptials; and on the 1st of January, 1515, Louis XII. was snatched from his adoring people, in his 53d year. He was succeeded by his kinsman and son-in-law, Francis, Count of Angoulême, who stood next in hereditary succession, and was reputed one of the most accomplished princes that ever mounted the throne of France."—R. Comyn, *History of the western empire*, v. 2, ch. 38.

Also in: J. S. Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, ch. 1.—L. von Ranke, *History of the Latin and Teutonic nations from 1494 to 1514*, bk. 2, ch. 4, sect. 7-8.

1515.—Accession of Francis I.—Invasion of Italy.—Battle of Marignano.—"François I. was in his 21st year when he ascended the throne of France. His education in all manly accomplishments was perfect, and . . . he manifested . . . an intelligence which had been carefully cultivated. . . . Unfortunately his moral qualities had been profoundly corrupted by the example of his mother, Louise of Savoy, a clever and ambitious woman, but selfish, unscrupulous, and above all shamelessly licentious. Louise had been an object of jealousy to Anne of Britany, who had always kept her in the shade, and she now snatched eagerly at the prospect of enjoying power and perhaps of reigning in the name of her son, whose love for his mother led him to allow her to exercise an influence which was often fatal to the interests of

his kingdom. . . . Charles, duke of Bourbon, who was notoriously the favoured lover of Louise, was appointed to the office of constable, which had remained vacant since 1488; and one of her favourite ministers, Antoine Duprat, first president of the parliament of Paris, was entrusted with the seals. Both were men of great capacity; but the first was remarkable for his pride, and the latter for his moral depravity. The first cares of the new king of France were to prepare for war. . . . Unfortunately for his country, François I. shared in the infatuation which had dragged his predecessors into the wars in Italy; and all these warlike preparations were designed for the reconquest of Milan. He had already intimated his design by assuming at his coronation the titles of king of France and duke of Milan. . . . He entered into an alliance with Charles of Austria [grandson of Maximilian I], prince of Castile, who had now reached his majority and assumed the government of the Netherlands. . . . A treaty between these two princes, concluded on the 24th of March, 1515, guaranteed to each party not only the estates they held or which might subsequently descend to them, but even their conquests. . . . The republic of Venice and the king of England renewed the alliances into which they had entered with the late king, but Ferdinand of Aragon refused even to prolong the truce unless the whole of Italy were included in it, and he entered into a separate alliance with the emperor, the Duke of Milan, and the Swiss, to oppose the designs of the French king. The efforts of François I. to gain over the Swiss had been defeated by the influence of the cardinal of Sion. Yet the pope, Leo X., hesitated, and avoided compromising himself with either party. In the course of the month of July [1515], the most formidable army which had yet been led from France into Italy was assembled in the district between Grenoble and Embrun, and the king, after entrusting the regency to his mother, Louise, with unlimited powers, proceeded to place himself at its head."—T. Wright, *History of France*, v. 1, bk. 3, ch. 1.—"The passes in Italy had already been occupied by the Swiss under their captain general Galeazzo Visconti. Galeazzo makes their number not more than 6,000. . . . They were posted at Susa, commanding the two roads from Mont Cenis and Geneva, by one of which the French must pass or abandon their artillery. In this perplexity it was proposed by Triulcio to force a lower passage across the Cottian Alps leading to Saluzzo. The attempt was attended with almost insurmountable difficulties. . . . But the French troops with wonderful spirits and alacrity . . . were not to be baffled. They dropped their artillery by cables from steep to steep; down one range of mountains and up another, until five days had been spent in this perilous enterprise, and they found themselves safe in the plains of Saluzzo. Happily the Swiss, secure in their position at Susa, had never dreamed of the possibility of such a passage. . . . Prosper Colonna, who commanded in Italy for the Pope, was sitting down to his comfortable dinner at Villa Franca, when a scout covered with dust dashed into his apartment announcing that the French had crossed the Alps. The next minute the town was filled with the advanced guard, under the Sieur d'Ymbercourt and the celebrated Bayard. The Swiss at Susa had still the advantage of position, and might have hindered the passage of the main body of the French; but they had no horse to transport their artillery, were badly led, and evidently divided in their councils. They retired upon Novara," and to Milan, intending to effect a junction with the viceroy of Naples, who advanced to Cremona.

On the morning of the 13th of September, Cardinal Scheimer harangued the Swiss and urged them to attack the French in their camp, which was at Marignano, or Melignano, twelve miles away. His fatal advice was acted on with excitement and haste. "The day was hot and dusty. The advanced guard of the French was under the command of the Constable of Bourbon, whose vigilance defeated any advantage the Swiss might otherwise have gained by the suddenness and rapidity of their movements. At nine o'clock in the morning, as Bourbon was sitting down at table, a scout, dripping with water, made his appearance. He had left Milan only a few hours before, had waded the canals, and came to announce the approach of the enemy. . . . The Swiss came on apace; they had disencumbered themselves of their hats and caps, and thrown off their shoes, the better to fight without slipping. They made a dash at the French artillery, and were foiled after hard fighting. . . . It was an autumnal afternoon; the sun had gone down; dust and night-fall separated and confused the combatants. The French trumpets sounded a retreat; both armies crouched down in the darkness within cast of a tennis-ball of each other. . . . Where they fought, there each man laid down to rest when darkness came on, within hand-grip of his foe." The next morning, "the autumnal mist crawled slowly away, and once more exposed the combatants to each other's view. The advantage of the ground was on the side of the French. They were drawn up in a valley protected by a ditch full of water. Though the Swiss had taken no refreshment that night, they renewed the fight with unimpaired animosity and vigour. . . . Francis, surrounded by a body of mounted gentlemen, performed prodigies of valour. The night had given him opportunity for the better arrangement of his troops; and as the day wore on, and the sun grew hot, the Swiss, though 'marvellously deliberate, brave, and obstinate,' began to give way. The arrival of the Venetian general, D'Alviano, with fresh troops, made the French victory complete. But the Swiss retreated inch by inch with the greatest deliberation, carrying off their great guns on their shoulders. . . . The French were too exhausted to follow. And their victory had cost them dear; for the Swiss, with peculiar hatred to the French gentry and the lance-knights, had shown no mercy. They spared none, and made no prisoners. The glory of the battle was great. . . . The Swiss, the best troops in Europe, and hitherto reckoned invincible . . . had been the terror and scourge of Italy, equally formidable to friend and foe, and now their prestige was extinguished. But it was not in these merely military aspects that the battle of Marignano was important. No one who reads the French chronicles of the times, can fail to perceive that it was a battle of opinions and of classes even more than of nations; of a fierce and rising democratical element, now rolled back for a short season, only to display itself in another form against royalty and nobility:—of the burgher classes against feudality. . . . The old romantic element, overlaid for a time by the political convulsions of the last century, had once more gained the ascendant. It was to blaze forth and revive, before it died out entirely, in the Sydneys and Raleighs of Queen Elizabeth's reign; it was to lighten up the glorious imagination of Spenser before it faded into the dull prose of Puritan divinity, and the cold grey dawn of inductive philosophy. But its last great battle was the battle of Marignano."—J. S. Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII.*, v. 1, ch. 3.

ALSO IN: J. Pardoe, *Court and reign of Fran-*

cis I, v. 1, ch. 6-7.—L. Larchey, *History of Bayard*, bk. 3, ch. 1-2.

1515-1518.—Francis I in possession of Milan.—Treaties with the Swiss and the pope.—Nullification of the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VII.—Concordat of Bologna.—"On the 15th of September, the day after the battle [of Marignano], the Swiss took the road back to their mountains. Francis I. entered Milan in triumph. Maximilian Sforza took refuge in the castle, and twenty days afterwards on the 4th of October, surrendered, consenting to retire to France, with a pension of 30,000 crowns, and the promise of being recommended for a cardinal's hat, and almost consoled for his downfall 'by the pleasure of being delivered from the insolence of the Swiss, the exactions of the Emperor Maximilian, and the rascalities of the Spaniards.' Fifteen years afterwards, in June, 1530, he died in oblivion at Paris. Francis I. regained possession of all Milanese, adding thereto, with the pope's consent, the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, which had been detached from it. . . . Two treaties, one of November 7, 1515, and the other of November 29, 1516, re-established not only peace, but perpetual alliance, between the King of France and the thirteen Swiss Cantons, with stipulated conditions in detail. Whilst these negotiations were in progress, Francis I. and Leo X., by a treaty published at Viterbo, on the 13th of October, proclaimed their hearty reconciliation. The pope guaranteed to Francis I. the duchy of Milan, restored to him those of Parma and Piacenza, and recalled his troops which were still serving against the Venetians." At the same time, arrangements were made for a personal meeting of the pope and the French king, which took place at Bologna in December, 1515. "Francis did not attempt to hide his design of reconquering the kingdom of Naples, which Ferdinand the Catholic had wrongfully usurped, and he demanded the pope's countenance. The pope did not care to refuse, but he pointed out to the king that everything foretold the very near death of King Ferdinand; and 'Your Majesty,' said he, 'will then have a natural opportunity for claiming your rights; and as for me, free, as I shall then be, from my engagements with the King of Arragon in respect of the crown of Naples, I shall find it easier to respond to your majesty's wish.' The pope merely wanted to gain time. Francis, putting aside for the moment the kingdom of Naples, spoke of Charles VII.'s Pragmatic Sanction [see above: 1438], and the necessity of putting an end to the difficulties which had arisen on this subject between the court of Rome and the Kings of France, his predecessors. 'As to that,' said the pope, 'I could not grant what your predecessors demanded; but be not uneasy; I have a compensation to propose to you which will prove to you how dear your interests are to me.' The two sovereigns had, without doubt, already come to an understanding on this point, when, after a three days' interview with Leo X., Francis I. returned to Milan, leaving at Bologna, for the purpose of treating in detail the affair of the Pragmatic Sanction, his chancellor, Duprat, who had accompanied him during all this campaign as his adviser and negotiator. . . . The popes . . . had all of them protested since the days of Charles VII. against the Pragmatic Sanction as an attack upon their rights, and had demanded its abolition. In 1461, Louis XI. . . . had yielded for a moment to the demand of Pope Pius II., whose countenance he desired to gain, and had abrogated the Pragmatic; but, not having obtained what he wanted thereby, and having met with strong opposition in the Parliament of Paris to his concession, he

had let it drop without formally retracting it. . . . This important edict, then, was still vigorous in 1515, when Francis I., after his victory at Melegnano and his reconciliation with the pope, left Chancellor Duprat at Bologna to pursue the negotiation reopened on that subject. The 'compensation,' of which Leo X., on redemanding the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction, had given a peep to Francis I., could not fail to have charms for a prince so little scrupulous, and for his still less scrupulous chancellor. The pope proposed that the Pragmatic, once for all abolished, should be replaced by a Concordat between the two sovereigns, and that this Concordat, whilst putting a stop to the election of the clergy by the faithful, should transfer to the king the right of nomination to bishoprics and other great ecclesiastical offices and benefices, reserving to the pope the right of presentation of prelates nominated by the king. This, considering the condition of society and government in the 16th century, in the absence of political and religious liberty, was to take away from the church her own existence, and divide her between two masters, without giving her, as regarded either of them, any other guarantee of independence than the mere chance of their dissensions and quarrels. . . . Francis I. and his chancellor saw in the proposed Concordat nothing but the great increment of influence it secured to them, by making all the dignitaries of the church supplicants at first and then clients of the kingship. After some difficulties as to points of detail, the Concordat was concluded and signed on the 18th of August, 1516. Five months afterwards, on the 5th of February, 1517, the king repaired in person to Parliament, to which he had summoned many prelates and doctors of the University. The Chancellor explained the points of the Concordat. . . . The king ordered its registration, 'for the good of his kingdom and for quittance of the promise he had given the pope.' For more than a year the parliament at Paris resisted the royal order, and it was not until the 22d of March, 1518, that it yielded to the king's threats and proceeded to registration of the Concordat, with forms and reservations "which were evidence of compulsion. The other Parliaments of France followed with more or less zeal . . . the example shown by that of Paris. The University was heartily disposed to push resistance farther than had been done by Parliament."—F. P. Guizot, *Popular history of France*, v. 4, ch. 28.—It should be remembered that the French parliament had no resemblance to what is known as a parliamentary body. They were higher courts of law and were next in importance to the king's council. However, they did more than try lawsuits, for as guardians of the law they registered all the king's edicts and by their refusal against any edict which they considered inadequate or unjust they frequently influenced the trend of legislation.—See also COURTS: France: Lack of uniformity; PARLIAMENT OF PARIS.

"The execution of the Concordat was vigorously contested for years afterwards. Cathedrals and monastic chapters proceeded to elect bishops and abbots under the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction; and every such case became a fresh source of exasperation between the contending powers. . . . But the Parliament, though clamouring loudly for the 'Gallican liberties,' and making a gallant stand for national independence as against the usurpations of Rome, was unable to maintain its ground against the overpowering despotism of the Crown. The monarchical authority ultimately achieved a complete triumph. In 1527 a peremptory royal ordinance prohibited the courts of Parliament from taking further cognisance of causes

affecting elections to consistorial benefices and conventual priories; and all such matters were transferred to the sole jurisdiction of the Council of State. After this the agitation against the Concordat gradually subsided. But although, in virtue of its compulsory registration by the Parliament, the Concordat became part of the law of the land, it is certain that the Gallican Church never accepted this flagrant invasion of its liberties."—W. H. Jervis, *History of the church of France*, v. 1, pp. 109-110.—See also CONCORDAT: 1515-1801.

1515-1547.—**Institution of the Court.**—**Baneful influence.**—"Francis I. instituted the Court, and this had a decisive influence upon the manners of the nobility. Those lords, whose respects royalty had difficulty in keeping when they were at their castles, having come to court, prostrated themselves before the throne, and yielded obedience with their whole hearts. A few words will describe this Court. The king lodged and fed in his own large palace, which was fitted for the purpose, the flower of the French nobility. Some of these lords were in his service, under the title of offices of his household—as chamberlains, purveyors, equerries, &c. Large numbers of domestic officers were created solely as an excuse for their presence. Others lived there, without duties, simply as guests. All these, besides lodging and food, had often a pension as well. A third class were given only a lodging, and provided their own table; but all were amused and entertained with various pleasures, at the expense of the king. Balls, carousals, stately ceremonials, grand dinners, theatricals, conversations inspired by the presence of fair women, constant intercourse of all kinds, where each could choose for himself, and where the refined and literary found a place as well as the vain and profligate,—such was court life, a truly different thing from the monotonous and brutal existence of the feudal lord at his castle in the depths of his province. So, from all sides, nobles flocked to court, to gratify both the most refined tastes and the most degraded passions. Some came hoping to make their fortune, a word from the king sufficing to enrich a man; others came to gain a rank in the army, a lucrative post in the finance department, an abbey, or a bishopric. From the time kings held court, it became almost a law, that nothing should be granted to a nobleman who lived beyond its pale. Those lords who persisted in staying on their own estates were supposed to rail against the administration, or, as we of the present would express it, to be in opposition. 'They must indeed be men of gross minds who are not tempted by the polish of the court; at all events it is very insolent in them to show so little wish to see their sovereign, and enjoy the honor of living under his roof.' Such was almost precisely the opinion of the king in regard to the provincial nobility. . . . Ambition drew the nobles to court; ambition, society, and dissipation kept them there. To incur the displeasure of their master, and be exiled from court was, first, to lose all hope of advancement, and then to fall from paradise into purgatory. It killed some people. But life was much more expensive at court than in the castles. As in all society where each is constantly in the presence of his neighbor, there was unbounded rivalry as to who should be most brilliant, most superb. The old revenues did not suffice, while, at the same time, the inevitable result of the absence of the lords was to decrease them. Whilst the expenses of the noblemen at Chambord or Versailles were steadily on the increase, his intendant, alone and unrestrained upon the estate, filled his own pockets, and sent less money every quarter, so that, to keep up the proper rank, the lord was forced to beg a pension from the king. Low indeed was the downfall of

the old pride and feudal independence. The question was how to obtain these pensions, ranks, offices, and favors of all kinds. The virtues most prized and rewarded by the kings were not civic virtues,—capacity, and services of value for the public good; what pleased them was, naturally devotion to their person, blind obedience, flattery, and subservience.”—P. Lacombe, *Short history of the French people*, ch. 23.

1516-1517.—Maximilian's attempt against Milan.—Diplomatic intrigues.—Treaty of Noyon.—After Francis I had taken possession of Milan, and while Pope Leo X was making professions of friendship to him at Bologna, a scheme took shape among the French king's enemies for depriving him of his conquest, and the pope was privy to it. “Henry VIII. would not openly break the peace between England and France, but he offered to supply Maximilian with Swiss troops for an attack upon Milan. It was useless to send money to Maximilian, who would have spent it on himself”; but troops were hired for the emperor by the English agent, Pace, and “at the beginning of March [1516] the joint army of Maximilian and the Swiss assembled at Trent. On March 24 they were within a few miles of Milan, and their success seemed sure, when suddenly Maximilian found that his resources were exhausted and refused to proceed; next day he withdrew his troops and abandoned his allies. . . . The expedition was a total failure; yet English gold had not been spent in vain, as the Swiss were prevented from entirely joining the French, and Francis I. was reminded that his position in Italy was by no means secure. Leo X., meanwhile, in the words of Pace, ‘had played marvellously with both hands in this enterprise.’ . . . England was now the chief opponent of the ambitious schemes of France, and aimed at bringing about a league with Maximilian, Charles [who had just succeeded Ferdinand of Spain, deceased January 23, 1516], the Pope, and the Swiss. But Charles's ministers, chief of whom was Croy, lord of Chievres, had a care above all for the interests of Flanders, and so were greatly under the influence of France. . . . France and England entered into a diplomatic warfare over the alliance with Charles. First, England on April 10 recognised Charles as King of Spain, Navarre, and the Two Sicilies; then Wolsey strove to make peace between Venice and Maximilian as a first step towards detaching Venice from its French alliance.” On the other hand, negotiations were secretly carried on and (August 13) “the treaty of Noyon was concluded between Francis I. and Charles. Charles was to marry Louise, the daughter of Francis I., an infant of one year old, and receive as her dower the French claims on Naples; Venice was to pay Maximilian 200,000 ducats for Brescia and Verona; in case he refused this offer and continued the war, Charles was at liberty to help his grandfather, and Francis I. to help the Venetians, without any breach of the peace now made between them. . . . In spite of the efforts of England, Francis I. was everywhere successful in settling his difficulties. On November 29 a perpetual peace was made at Friburg between France and the Swiss Cantons; on December 3 the treaty of Noyon was renewed, and Maximilian was included in its provisions. Peace was made between him and Venice by the provision that Maximilian was to hand over Verona to Charles, who in turn should give it up to the King of France, who delivered it to the Venetians; Maximilian in return received 100,000 ducats from Venice and as much from France. The compact was duly carried out: ‘On February 8, 1517,’ wrote the Cardinal of Sion, ‘Verona belonged to the Emperor; on the 9th to the King Catholic; on the 15th to the French; on

the 17th to the Venetians.’ Such was the end of the wars that had arisen from the League of Cambrai. After a struggle of eight years the powers that had confederated to destroy Venice came together to restore her to her former place. Venice might well exult in this reward of her long constancy, her sacrifices and her disasters.”—M. Creighton, *History of the papacy, during the period of the Reformation*, v. 4, bk. 5, ch. 19.

ALSO IN: J. S. Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, v. 1, ch. 4-6.

1519.—Candidacy of Francis I for the imperial crown. See GERMANY: 1519.

1520-1523.—Rivalry of Francis I and Charles V.—Emperor's successes with England and the pope.—Francis' failure in Spain and his loss of Milan.—Wrongs and treason of the constable of Bourbon.—“With their candidature for the Imperial crown, burst forth the inextinguishable rivalry between Francis I. and Charles V. The former claimed Naples for himself and Navarre for Henry d'Albret: the Emperor demanded the Milanese as a fief of the Empire, and the Duchy of Burgundy. Their resources were about equal. If the empire of Charles were more extensive the kingdom of France was more compact. The Emperor's subjects were richer, but his authority more circumscribed. The reputation of the French cavalry was not inferior to that of the Spanish infantry. Victory would belong to the one who should win over the King of England to his side. . . . Both gave pensions to his Prime Minister, Cardinal Wolsey; they each asked the hand of his daughter Mary, one for the dauphin, the other for himself. Francis I. obtained from him an interview at Calais, and forgetting that he wished to gain his favour, eclipsed him by his elegance and magnificence [see FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD]. Charles V., more adroit, had anticipated this interview by visiting Henry VIII. in England. He had secured Wolsey by giving him hopes of the tiara. . . . Everything succeeded with the Emperor. He gained Leo X. to his side and thus obtained sufficient influence to raise his tutor, Adrian of Utrecht, to the papacy [on the death of Leo, December 1, 1521]. The French penetrated into Spain, but arrived too late to aid the rising there [in Navarre, 1521]. The governor of the Milanese, Lautrec, who is said to have exiled from Milan nearly half its inhabitants, was driven out of Lombardy [and the pope retook Parma and Placentia]. He met with the same fate again in the following year: the Swiss, who were ill-paid, asked either for dismissal or battle, and allowed themselves to be beaten at La Bicoque [April 29, 1522]. The money intended for the troops had been used for other purposes by the Queen-mother, who hated Lautrec. At the moment when Francis I. was thinking of re-entering Italy, an internal enemy threw France into the utmost danger. Francis had given mortal offence to the Constable of Bourbon, one of those who had most contributed to the victory of Marignan. Charles, Count of Montpensier and Dauphin of Auvergne, held by virtue of his wife, a granddaughter of Louis XI., the Duchy of Bourbon, and the counties of Clermont, La Marche and other domains, which made him the first noble in the kingdom. On the death of his wife, the Queen-mother, Louise of Savoy, who had wanted to marry the Constable and had been refused by him, resolved to ruin him. She disputed with him this rich inheritance and obtained from her son that the property should be provisionally sequestered. Bourbon, exasperated, resolved to pass over to the Emperor (1523). Half a century earlier, revolt did not mean disloyalty. The most accomplished knights in France, Dunois and John of Calabria, had joined the ‘League for

the public weal.' . . . But now it was no question of a revolt against the king; such a thing was impossible in France at this time. It was a conspiracy against the very existence of France that Bourbon was plotting with foreigners. He promised Charles V. to attack Burgundy as soon as Francis I. had crossed the Alps, and to rouse into revolt five provinces of which he believed himself master; the kingdom of Provence was to be re-established in his favour, and France, partitioned between Spain and England, would have ceased to exist as a nation. He was soon able to enjoy the reverses of his country."—J. Michelet, *Summary of modern history*, ch. 6.—"Henry VIII. and Charles V. were both ready to secure the services of the ex-Constable. He decided in favour of Charles as the more powerful of the two. . . . These secret negotiations were carried on in the spring of 1523, while Francis I. (having sent a sufficient force to protect his northern frontier) was preparing to make Italy the seat of war. With this object the king ordered a rendezvous of the army at Lyons, in the beginning of September, and having arranged to pass through Moulins on his way to join the forces, called upon the Constable to meet him there and to proceed with him to Lyons. Already vague rumours of an understanding between the Emperor and Bourbon had reached Francis, who gave no credence to them; but on his way M. de Brézé, Seneschal of Normandy, attached to the Court of Louise of Savoy, sent such precise details of the affair by two Norman gentlemen in the Constable's service that doubt was no longer possible." Francis accordingly entered Moulins with a considerable force, and went straight to Bourbon, who feigned illness. The Constable stoutly denied to the king all the charges which the latter revealed to him, and Francis, who was strongly urged to order his arrest, refused to do so. But a few days later, when the king had gone forward to Lyons, Bourbon, pretending to follow him, rode away to his strong castle of Chantelles, from whence he wrote letters demanding the restitution of his estates. As soon as his flight was known, Francis sent forces to seize him; but the Constable, taking one companion with him, made his way out of the kingdom in disguise. Escaping to Italy, he was there placed in command of the imperial army.—C. Coignet, *Francis I and his times*, ch. 4.—See also AUSTRIA: 1519-1555.

ALSO IN: J. Pardoe, *Court and reign of Francis I*, v. 1, ch. 14-19.

1521.—Invasion of Navarre. See NAVARRE: 1442-1521.

1521-1525.—Beginning of the Protestant reform movement. See PAPACY: 1521-1535.

1521-1545.—Buccaneers in the West Indies. See BUCCANEERS: French.

1523.—Support of the Irish against the English. See IRELAND: 1520-1540.

1523-1524.—First undertakings in the New World.—Voyages of Verrazano. See AMERICA: 1523-1524.

1523-1525.—French army enters Italy and is defeated at Romagnano.—Death of Bayard.—Second invasion of Italy by Francis I.—Defeat and capture at Pavia.—"Bonnivet, the personal enemy of Bourbon, was now entrusted with the command of the French army. He marched without opposition into the Milanese, and might have taken the capital had he pushed on to its gates. Having by irresolution lost it, he retreated to winter quarters behind the Tesino. The operations of the English in Picardy, of the imperialists [supporters of Charles V] in Champagne, and of the Spaniards near the Pyrenees, were equally insignificant. The spring of 1524 brought on an action, if the attack of one point can be called such, which

proved decisive for the time. Bonnivet advanced rashly beyond the Tesino. The imperialists, commanded by four able generals, Launoi, Pescara, Bourbon, and Sforza, succeeded in almost cutting off his retreat. They at the same time refused Bonnivet's offer to engage. They hoped to weaken him by famine. The Swiss first murmured against the distress occasioned by want of precaution. They deserted across the river; and Bonnivet, thus abandoned, was obliged to make a precipitate and perilous retreat. A bridge was hastily flung across the Sessia, near Romagnano; and Bonnivet, with his best knights and gensdarmes, undertook to defend the passage of the rest of the army. The imperialists, led on by Bourbon, made a furious attack. Bonnivet was wounded, and he gave his place to Bayard, who, never entrusted with a high command, was always chosen for that of a forlorn hope. The brave Vendeness was soon killed; and Bayard himself received a gun-shot through the reins. The gallant chevalier, feeling his wound mortal, caused himself to be placed in a sitting posture beneath a tree, his face to the enemy, and his sword fixed in guise of a cross before him. The constable Bourbon, who led the imperialists, soon came up to the dying Bayard, and expressed his compassion. 'Weep not for me,' said the chevalier, 'but for thyself. I die in performing my duty; thou art betraying thine.' Nothing marks more strongly the great rise, the sudden sacro-sanctity of the royal authority in those days, than the general horror which the treason of Bourbon excited. . . . The fact is, that this sudden horror of treason was owing, in a great measure, to the revived study of the classics, in which treason to one's country is universally mentioned as an impiety and a crime of the deepest dye. Feudality, with all its oaths, had no such horror of treason. . . . Bonnivet had evacuated Italy after this defeat at Romagnano. Bourbon's animosity stimulated him to push his advantage. He urged the emperor to invade France, and recommended the Bourbonnais and his own patrimonial provinces as those most advisable to invade. Bourbon wanted to raise his friends in insurrection against Francis; but Charles descried selfishness in this scheme of Bourbon, and directed Pescara to march with the constable into the south of France and lay siege to Marseilles. . . . Marseilles made an obstinate resistance," and the siege was ineffectual. "Francis, in the meantime, alarmed by the invasion, had assembled an army. He burned to employ it, and avenge the late affront. The king of England, occupied with the Scotch, gave him respite in the north; and he resolved to employ this by marching, late as the season was, into Italy. His generals, who by this time were sick of warring beyond the Alps, opposed the design; but not even the death of his queen, Claude, could stop Francis. He passed Mount Cenis; marched upon Milan, whose population was spiritless and broken by the plague, and took it without resistance. It was then mooted whether Lodi or Pavia should be besieged. The later, imprudently, as it is said, was preferred. It was at this time that Pope Clement VII., of the house of Medici, who had lately succeeded Adrian, made the most zealous efforts to restore peace between the monarchies. He found Charles and his generals arrogant and unwilling to treat. The French, said they, must on no account be allowed a footing in Italy. Clement, impelled by pique towards the emperor, or generosity to Francis, at once abandoned the prudent policy of his predecessors, and formed a league with the French king, to whom, after all, he brought no accession of force. This step proved afterwards fatal to the city of Rome. The siege of Pavia was formed about the middle of October [1524]. Antonio de Leyva, an

experienced officer, supported by veteran troops, commanded in the town. The fortifications were strong, and were likely to hold for a considerable time. By the month of January the French had made no progress; and the impatient Francis despatched a considerable portion of his army for the invasion of Naples, hearing that the country was drained of troops. This was a gross blunder, which Pescara observing, forbore to send any force to oppose the expedition. He knew that the fate of Italy would be decided before Pavia. Bourbon, in the mean time, disgusted with the jealousies and tardiness of the imperial generals, employed the winter in raising an army of lansquenets [mercenary foot-soldiers] on his own account. From the duke of Savoy he procured funds; and early in the year 1525 the constable joined Pescara at Lodi with a fresh army of 12,000 mercenaries. They had, besides, some 7,000 foot, and not more than 1,500 horse. With these they marched to the relief of Pavia. Francis had a force to oppose to them, not only inferior in numbers, but so harassed with a winter's siege, that all the French generals of experience counselled a retreat. Bonnivet and his young troop of courtiers were for fighting; and the monarch harkened to them. Pavia, to the north of the river, was covered in great part by the chateau and walled park of Mirabel. Adjoining this, and on a rising ground, was the French camp, extending to the Tesino. Through the camp, or through the park, lay the only ways by which the imperialists could reach Pavia. The camp was strongly entrenched and defended by artillery, except on the side of the park of Mirabel, with which it communicated." On the night of February 23, the imperialists made a breach in the park wall, through which they pressed next morning, but were driven back with heavy loss. "This was victory enough, could the French king have been contented with it. But the impatient Francis no sooner beheld his enemies in rout, than he was eager to chase them in person, and complete the victory with his good sword. He rushed forth from his entrenchments at the head of his gendarmes, flinging himself between the enemy and his own artillery, which was thus masked and rendered useless. The imperialists rallied as soon as they found themselves safe from the fire of the cannon," and the French were overwhelmed. "The king . . . behind a heap of slain, defended himself valiantly; so beaten and shattered, so begrimed with blood and dust, as to be scarcely distinguishable, notwithstanding his conspicuous armour. He had received several wounds, one in the forehead; and his horse, struck with a ball in the head, reared, fell back, and crushed him with his weight: still Francis rose, and laid prostrate several of the enemies that rushed upon him." But presently he was recognized and was persuaded to surrender his sword to Lannoy, the viceroy of Naples. "Such was the signal defeat that put an end to all French conquests and claims in Italy."—E. E. Crowe, *History of France*, v. 1, ch. 6.—See also ITALY: 1523-1527.

ALSO IN: W. Robertson, *History of the reign of Charles V*, v. 2, bk. 4.—J. S. Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, v. 2, ch. 21.—H. G. Smith, *Romance of history*, ch. 6.

1525-1526.—Captivity of Francis I and his perfidy in the Treaty of Madrid.—The captive king of France was lodged in the castle at Pizzighitona. "Instead of bearing his captivity with calmness and fortitude, he chafed and fretted under the loss of his wonted pleasures. . . . France, at first stupified by the mishap, soon began to recover hope. The Regent [Louise, the queen-mother], for all her vices and faults, was proud and strong; she gathered what force she could at Lyons, and looked

round for help. . . . Not only were there anxieties at home, but the frontiers were also threatened. On the side of Germany a popular movement [the Peasant War], closely connected with the religious excitement of the time, pushed a fierce and cruel rabble into Lorraine, whence they proposed to enter France. But they were met by the Duke of Guise and the Count of Vaudemont, his brother, at the head of the garrisons of Burgundy and Champagne, and were easily dispersed. It was thought that during these troubles Lannoy would march his army, flushed with victory, from the Po to the Rhone. . . . But Lannoy had no money to pay his men, and could not undertake so large a venture. Meanwhile negotiations began between Charles V. and the King; the Emperor demanding, as ransom, that Bourbon should be invested with Province and Dauphiny, joined to his own lands in Auvergne, and should receive the title of king; and secondly that the Duchy of Burgundy should be given over to the Emperor as the inheritor of the lands and rights of Charles the Bold. But the King of France would not listen for a moment. And now the King of England and most of the Italian states, alarmed at the great power of the Emperor, began to change sides. Henry VIII. came first. He signed a treaty of neutrality with the Regent, in which it was agreed that not even for the sake of the King's deliverance should any part of France be torn from her. The Italians joined in a league to restore the King to liberty, and to secure the independence of Italy: and Turkey was called on for help. . . . The Emperor now felt that Francis was not in secure keeping at Pizzighitona. . . . He therefore gave orders that Francis should at once be removed to Spain." The captive king "was set ashore at Valencia, and received with wonderful welcome: dances, festivals, entertainments of every kind, served to relieve his captivity; it was like a restoration to life. But this did not suit the views of the Emperor, who wished to weary the King into giving up all thought of resistance: he trusted to his impatient and frivolous character; his mistake, as he found to his cost, lay in thinking that a man of such character would keep his word. He therefore had him removed from Valencia to Madrid, where he was kept in close and galling confinement."—G. W. Kitchin, *History of France*, v. 2, bk. 2, ch. 5.—"Charles had an advantage in his prisoner's character. Francis was a bad subject for prison life, even though comfortably lodged and reverently treated. He was too selfish and too sensitive to sacrifice himself for his kingdom. Should, however, he abdicate or die, the fruits of his capture would be lost. France had not been demoralised by her disaster, and the energy of her regent had prepared her against attack. The Emperor's troops in Italy were dwindling, their generals wrangling; every Italian State was heaving restlessly under the incubus of the unpaid soldiery. Ferdinand, who, true to himself, had advised enterprising measures against France, was crippled by the dangerous Tyrolese rebellion. Thus it was that on January 13, 1526, the treaty of Madrid was concluded. By the terms of the famous treaty Francis resigned all claims to Milan, Genoa and Asti; he ceded the suzerainty of Flanders, Artois and Tournai, restoring places taken on the Netherland frontiers; he engaged to persuade the Estates General and the Parliament of Paris to assent to the cession of Burgundy, or, failing this, to return to the prison to which two of his sons should be sent as hostages; a French fleet should escort Charles to Italy for the purpose of his coronation; a French army under the king in person should co-operate in a crusade against the infidel, and in the suppression of Lutheran and other pernicious sects. Francis abandoned

his ally the Duke of Guelders, and renounced the claims of the house of Albret to Navarre. To Bourbon was promised the restoration of his estates, but Charles made no further stipulations in his favour. It was, however, understood that the Constable should receive the duchy of Milan, while Louis XII.'s daughter Renée, poor shuttlecock tossed from prince to prince, was suggested as his bride. On the morrow of the treaty an altar was placed in the king's room. Here, after mass was said, Francis swore upon the Gospel to keep his oath. Lannoy asked him for his word of honour as a knight. Francis with bared head laid his hand in Lannoy's, and promised on his word as a gentleman to return to prison in six weeks, if all the conditions were not fulfilled. Francis lied and he had meant to lie, for on the previous day he had, in the presence of the French ambassadors, renewed a protest made in August, that he was acting under compulsion and vile duress, that the treaty reduced France to slavery, that he would never sacrifice the rights of the French crown. When the last arrangements had been made, Emperor and King spent five days together in true brotherly intercourse. At parting they stood alone man to man before a roadside crucifix. Here Francis renewed his pledges under pain of being held a miserable scoundrel. Charles assured him that he had never hated him, but that if he broke his word to Eleanor, he could never forgive him, and would strive to wreak his vengeance on him, wherever he might be. Every one in Europe knew that the king was on his road to France and perjury. On March 17 Francis leapt from his boat into the French water of the Bidassoa, waded to land, and, springing on his horse, exclaimed, 'Now I am king, I am king once more.' Charles had let slip his chance. He had lost that one August day which Lannoy, in announcing the victory of Pavia, had declared come to a man once and once only in his life."—E. Armstrong, *Emperor Charles V*, v. 1, pp. 154-156.

ALSO IN: A. B. Cochrane, *Francis I in captivity*.—T. H. Dyer, *History of modern Europe*, v. 1, bk. 2, ch. 5.—C. Coignet, *Francis I and his times*, ch. 5-8.—W. Robertson, *History of the reign of Charles V*, v. 2, bk. 4.

1526-1527.—Holy League with Pope Clement VII against Charles V.—Bourbon's attack on Rome. See ITALY: 1523-1527, 1527; ROME: Modern city* 1527.

1527-1529.—New alliance against Charles V.—Early successes in Lombardy.—Disaster at Naples.—Genoa and all possessions in Italy lost.—Humiliating Peace of Cambrai. See ITALY: 1527-1529; 1528-1570.

1528.—Principle of free trade in America affirmed by Francis I. See AMERICA: 1528-1648.

1528-1648.—Rivalry with other powers for control of New World. See AMERICA: 1528-1648.

1529-1535.—Persecution of Protestant reformers and spread of their doctrines. See PAPACY: 1521-1535.

1531.—Alliance with the Protestant princes of the German League of Smalkalde. See GERMANY: 1530-1532.

1532.—Final reunion of Brittany with the crown. See BRITAIN: 1532.

1532-1547.—Treaty with the pope.—Marriage of Prince Henry with Catherine de' Medici.—Renewed war with Charles V.—Alliance with the Turks.—Victory at Cerisoles.—Treaty of Crespy.—Increased persecution of Protestants.—Massacre of Waldenses.—War with England.—Death of Francis I.—"The 'ladies' peace' [Anne of Montmorency, who succeeded Duprat, kept Charles V and Francis I on almost friendly terms for four years (1531-1535)] . . . lasted up to

1536; incessantly troubled, however, by far from pacific symptoms, proceedings and preparations. In October, 1532, Francis I. had, at Calais, an interview with Henry VIII., at which they contracted a private alliance, and undertook 'to raise between them an army of 80,000 men to resist the Turk.'" But when, in 1535, Charles V. attacked the seat of the Barbary pirates, and took Tunis, Francis "entered into negotiations with Soliman II. [sultan of the Turkish empire from 1520 to 1566], and concluded a friendly treaty with him against what was called 'the common enemy.'" Francis had been for some time preparing to resume his projects of conquest in Italy; he had effected an interview at Marseilles, in October, 1533, with Pope Clement VII., who was almost at the point of death, and it was there that the marriage of Prince Henry of France with Catherine de' Medici [daughter of Lorenzo, duke of Urbino, and granddaughter of Piero de' Medici] was settled. Astonishment was expressed that the pope's niece had but a very moderate dowry. 'You don't see, then,' said Clement VII.'s ambassador, 'that she brings France three jewels of great price, Genoa, Milan and Naples? When this language was reported at the court of Charles V., it caused great irritation there. In 1536 all these combustibles of war exploded; in the month of February, a French army entered Piedmont, and occupied Turin; and, in the month of July, Charles V. in person entered Provence at the head of 50,000 men. Anne de Montmorency, having received orders to defend southern France, began by laying it waste in order that the enemy might not be able to live in it. . . . Montmorency made up his mind to defend, on the whole coast of Provence, only Marseilles and Arles; he pulled down the ramparts of the other towns, which were left exposed to the enemy. For two months Charles V. prosecuted this campaign without a fight, marching through the whole of Provence an army which fatigue, shortness of provisions, sickness, and ambuscades were decimating ingloriously. At last he decided upon retreating. . . . On returning from his sorry expedition, Charles V. learned that those of his lieutenants whom he had charged with the conduct of a similar invasion in the north of France, in Picardy, had met with no greater success than he himself in Provence. A truce for three months was soon afterwards arranged, and in June, 1538, through the mediation of Pope Paul III., a treaty was signed at Nice which extended the truce to ten years. Next month the two sovereigns met at Aigues-Mortes and exchanged many assurances of friendship."—F. P. Guizot, *Popular history of France*, v. 4, ch. 28.—In August, 1530, a revolt at Ghent "called Charles V. into Flanders; he was then in Spain, and his shortest route was through France. He requested permission to cross the kingdom, and obtained it, after having promised the Constable Montmorency that he would give the investiture of Milan to the second son of the King. His sojourn in France was a time of expensive fêtes, and cost the treasury four millions; yet, in the midst of his pleasures, the Emperor was not without uneasiness. . . . Francis, however, respected the rights of hospitality; but Charles did not give to his son the investiture of Milan. The King, indignant, exiled the constable for having trusted the word of the Emperor without exacting his signature, and avenged himself by strengthening his alliance with the Turks, the most formidable enemies of the empire. . . . The hatred of the two monarchs was carried to its height by these last events; they mutually outraged each other by injurious libels, and submitted their differences to the Pope. Paul III. refused to decide between them, and they again took up arms [1542]. The King in-

vaded Luxembourg, and the Dauphin Rousillon; and while a third army in concert with the Mussulmans besieged Nice [1542], the last asylum of the dukes of Savoy, by land, the terrible Barbarossa, admiral of Soliman, attacked it by sea. The town was taken, the castle alone resisted, and the siege of it was raised. Barbarossa consoled himself for this check by ravaging the coasts of Italy, where he made 10,000 captives. The horror which he inspired recoiled on Francis I., his ally, whose name became odious in Italy and Germany. He was declared the enemy of the empire, and the Diet raised against him an army of 24,000 men, at the head of which Charles V. penetrated into Champagne, while Henry VIII., coalescing with the Emperor, attacked Picardy with 10,000 English. The battle of Cerisoles, a complete victory, gained during the same year [April 14, 1544], in Piedmont, by Francis of Bourbon, Duke d'Enghien, against Gast, general of the Imperial troops, did not stop this double and formidable invasion. Charles V. advanced almost to Château-Thierry. But discord reigned in his army; he ran short of provisions, and could easily have been surrounded; he then again promised Milan to the Duke of Orleans, the second son of the King. This promise irritated the Dauphin Henry, who was afraid to see his brother become the head of a house as dangerous for France as had been that of Burgundy; he wished to reject the offer of the Emperor and to cut off his retreat. A rivalry among women, it is said, saved Charles V. . . . The war was terminated almost immediately afterwards [1544] by the treaty of Crespy in Valois. The Emperor promised his daughter to the Duke of Orleans, with the Low Countries and Franche-Comté, or one of his nieces, with Milan. Francis restored to the Duke of Savoy the greater part of the places that he held in Piedmont; he renounced all ulterior pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and likewise to the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; Charles, on his part, gave up the duchy of Burgundy. This treaty put an end to the rivalry of the two sovereigns, which had ensanguined Europe for 25 years. The death of the Duke of Orleans freed the Emperor from dispossessing himself of Milan or the Low Countries; he refused all compensation to the King, but the peace was not broken. Francis I. profited by it to redouble his severity with regard to the Protestants. A population of many thousands of Waldenses, an unfortunate remnant from the religious persecutions of the 13th century, dwelt upon the confines of Provence, and the County Venaissin, and a short time back had entered into communion with the Calvinists. The King permitted John Mesnier, Baron d'Oppède, first president of the Parliament of Aix, to execute [1546] a sentence delivered against them five years previously by the Parliament. John d'Oppède himself directed this frightful execution. Twenty-two towns or villages were burned and sacked; the inhabitants, surprised during the night, were pursued among the rocks by the glare of the flames which devoured their houses. The men perished by executions, but the women were delivered over to terrible violences. At Cabrières, the principal town of the canton, 700 men were murdered in cold blood, and all the women were burnt; lastly, according to the tenor of the sentence, the houses were rased, the woods cut down, the trees in the gardens torn up, and in a short time this country, so fertile and so thickly peopled, became a desert and a waste. This dreadful massacre was one of the principal causes of the religious wars which desolated France for so long a time. . . . The war continued between [Henry VIII] and Francis I. The English had taken Boulogne, and a French fleet ravaged the coasts of

England, after taking possession of the Isle of Wight [1545]. Hostilities were terminated by the treaty of Guines [1547], which the two kings signed on the edge of their graves, and it was arranged that Boulogne should be restored for the sum of 2,000,000 of gold crowns. . . . Henry VIII and Francis I. died in the same year [1547]."—E. de Bonnechose, *History of France*, v. 1, pp. 363-367.

ALSO IN: W. Robertson, *History of the reign of Charles V*, v. 2, bk. 6-9.—J. A. Froude, *History of England*, v. 4, ch. 20-23.

1534-1535.—Voyages of Jacques Cartier and the taking possession of Canada. See AMERICA: 1534-1535; also Map showing voyages of discovery.

1534-1560.—Persecution of Protestants.—Their organization.—Their numbers.—"Francis I. had long shrunk from persecution, but having once begun he showed no further hesitation. During the remainder of his reign and the whole of that of his son Henry II. (1534-1559) the cruelty of the sufferings inflicted on the Reformers increased with the number of the victims. At first they were strangled and burnt, then burnt alive, then hung in chains to roast over a slow fire. . . . The Edict of Chateaubriand (1551), taking away all right of appeal from those convicted of heresy, was followed by an attempt to introduce an Inquisition on the model of that of Spain, and when this failed owing to the opposition of the lawyers, the Edict of Compiègne (1557) denounced capital punishment against all who in public or private professed any heterodox doctrine. It is a commonplace that persecution avails nothing against the truth—that the true Church springs from the blood of martyrs. Yet the same cause which triumphed over persecution in France was crushed by it in Spain and in the Walloon Netherlands. Was it therefore not the truth? The fact would rather seem to be, that there is no creed, no sect which cannot be extirpated by force. But that it may prevail, persecution must be without respect of persons, universal, continuous, protracted. Not one of these conditions was fulfilled in France. The opinions of the greater nobles and princes, and of those who were their immediate followers, were not too narrowly scanned, nor was the persecution equally severe at all times and in all places. Some governors and judges and not a few of the higher clergy inclined to toleration. . . . The cheerful constancy of the French martyrs was admirable. Men, women and children walked to execution singing the psalms of Marot and the Song of Simeon. This boldness confounded their enemies. Hawkers distributed in every part of the country the books issued from the press of Geneva and which it was a capital offence even to possess. Preachers taught openly in the streets and market-places. . . . The increasing numbers of their converts and the high position of some among them gave confidence to the Protestants. Delegates from the reformed congregations of France were on their way to Paris to take part in the deliberations of the first national Synod on the very day (April 2, 1559) when the peace of Cateau Cambresis was signed, a peace which was to be the prelude to a vigorous and concerted effort to root out heresy on the part of the kings of France and Spain. The object of the meeting was twofold: first to draw up a detailed profession of faith, which was submitted to Calvin—there was, he said, little to add, less to correct—secondly to determine the 'ecclesiastical discipline' of the new Church. The ministers were to be chosen by the elders and deacons, but approved by the whole congregation. The affairs of each congregation were placed under the control of the Consistory, a court composed of the pastors, elders and deacons; more important matters were reserved for the decision of

the provincial 'colloques' or synods, which were to meet twice a year, and in which each church was represented by its pastor and at least one elder. Above all was the national Synod also composed of the clergy and of representative laymen. This organisation was thoroughly representative and popular, the elected delegates of the congregations, the elders and deacons, preponderated in all the governing bodies, and all ministers and churches were declared equal. The Reformed churches, which, although most numerous in the South, spread over almost the whole country, are said at this time to have counted some 400,000 members (1550). These were of almost all classes, except perhaps the lowest, although even among the peasantry there were some martyrs for the faith." On the accession of Charles IX., in 1560, "a quarter of the inhabitants of France were, it was said, included in the 2,500 reformed congregations. This is certainly an exaggeration, but it is probable that the number of the Protestants was never greater than during the first years of the reign of Charles IX. . . . The most probable estimate is that at the beginning of the wars of religion the Huguenots with women and children amounted to some 1,500,000 souls out of a population of between fifteen and twenty millions. But in this minority were included about one-fourth of the lesser nobility, the country gentlemen, and a smaller proportion of the great nobles, the majority of the better sort of townspeople in many of the most important towns, such as Caen, Dieppe, Havre, Nantes, La Rochelle, Nîmes, Montpellier, Montauban, Châlons, Mâcon, Lyons, Valence, Limoges and Grenoble, and an important minority in other places, such as Rouen, Orleans, Bordeaux and Toulouse. The Protestants were most numerous in the South-west, in Poitou, in the Marche, Limousin, Angoumois and Périgord, because in those districts, which were the seats of long-established and flourishing manufactures, the middle classes were most prosperous, intelligent and educated. It is doubtful whether the Catholics were not in a large majority, even where the superior position, intelligence and vigour of the Huguenots gave them the upper hand. Only in some parts of the South-west and of Dauphiny do the bulk of the population appear to have been decidedly hostile to the old religion. During the course of the Civil War the Protestants came to be more and more concentrated in certain parts of the country, as for instance between the Garonne and the Loire."—P. F. Willert, *Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots in France*, ch. 1.

1535.—First treaty with Turkey.—Rights in Jerusalem recognized. See JERUSALEM: 16th-20th centuries.

1540-1579.—Desire to invade Ireland as a base for attack on England. See IRELAND: 1540-1579.

1541-1543.—Jacques Cartier's last explorations in Canada. See AMERICA: 1541-1603.

1541-1564.—Rise and influence of Calvinism. See GENEVA: 1536-1564.

1544.—Agreement with Portuguese regarding trade in West Indies. See AMERICA: 1528-1648.

1544.—Poor relief law. See CHARITIES: France: 511-1553.

1547.—Accession of King Henry II.

1547-1559.—Rise of the Guises.—Alliance with German Protestants.—Acquisition of Toul, Verdun and Metz.—Unsuccessful campaign in Italy.—Battle and siege of St. Quentin.—French take Calais.—Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis.—"The son of Francis I., who in 1547 ascended the throne under the title of Henry II., was told by his dying father to beware of the Guises. . . . The Guises were a branch of the ducal House of Lor-

raine, which, although the dukedom was a fief of the German empire, had long stood in intimate relations with the court and nobility of France. The founder of the family was Claude, a younger son of René II., Duke of Lorraine, who, being naturalised in France in 1505, rendered himself conspicuous in the wars of Francis I., and was created first Duke of Guise. He died in 1550, leaving five daughters and six sons. His eldest daughter, Mary, became the wife of James V. of Scotland, and mother of Mary Queen of Scots. The sons were all men of extraordinary energy and ambition, and their united influence was, for a number of years, more than a match for that of the crown. Francis, second Duke of Guise, acquired, while still a young man, extraordinary renown as a military commander, by carrying out certain ambitious designs of France on a neighbouring territory. . . . As is well known, French statesmen have for many centuries cherished the idea that the natural boundary of France on the east is the Rhine, from its mouth to its source, and thence along the crest of the Alps to the Mediterranean. . . . To begin the realisation of the idea, advantage was taken of the war which broke out between the Emperor Charles V. and his Protestant subjects in North Germany [see GERMANY: 1546-1552]. Although the Protestants of France were persecuted to the death, Henry II., with furtively ambitious designs, offered to defend the Protestants of Germany against their own emperor; and entered into an alliance in 1551 with Maurice of Saxony and other princes, undertaking to send an army to their aid. As bases of his operations, it was agreed that he might take temporary military possession of Toul, Verdun, and Metz, three bishoprics [forming a district called the *Trois Evêchés*], each with a portion of territory lying within the area of the duchy of Lorraine, but held as distinct fiefs of the German empire—such, in fact, being fragments of Lothair's kingdom, which fell to Germany, and had in no shape been incorporated with France. It was stipulated that, in occupying these places, the French were not to interfere with their old connection with the empire. The confidence reposed in the French was grievously abused. All the stipulations went for nothing. In 1552, French troops took possession of Toul and Verdun, also of Nancy, the capital of Lorraine, treating the duchy, generally, as a conquered country. Seeing this, Metz shut her gates and trusted to her fortifications. To procure an entrance and secure possession, there was a resort to stratagems which afford a startling illustration of the tricks that French nobles at that time could be guilty of in order to gain their ends. The French commander, the Constable Montmorency, begged to be allowed to pass through the town with a few attendants, while his army made a wide circuit on its route. The too credulous custodiers of the city opened the gates, and, to their dismay, the whole French forces rushed in, and began to rule in true despotic fashion. . . . Thus was Metz secured for France in a way which modern Frenchmen, we should imagine, can hardly think of without shame. Germany, however, did not relinquish this important fortress without a struggle. Furious at its loss, the Emperor Charles V. proceeded to besiege it with a large army. The defence was undertaken by the Duke of Guise, assisted by a body of French nobility. After an investment of four months, and a loss of 30,000 men, Charles was forced to raise the siege, January 1, 1553, all his attempts at the capture of the place being effectually baffled."—W. Chambers, *France: its history and revolutions*, ch. 6.—"The war continued during the two following years; but both parties were now growing weary of a contest in which neither achieved any decisive superiority";

and the emperor, having negotiated an armistice, resigned all his crowns to his son, Philip II, and his brother Ferdinand (October, 1555). Ferdinand received the Hapsburg possessions, and Philip II, Spain with its vast American colonies, Milan, the two Sicilies, and the Netherlands. "Meantime Pope Paul IV., who detested the Spaniards and longed for the complete subversion of their power in the Peninsula, entered into a league with the French king against Philip; Francis of Guise was encouraged in his favorite project of effecting a restoration of the crown of Naples to his own family, as the descendants of René of Anjou; and in December, 1556, an army of 16,000 men, commanded by the Duke of Guise, crossed the Alps, and, marching direct to Rome, prepared to attack the Spanish viceroy of Naples, the celebrated Duke of Alva. In April, 1557, Guise advanced into the Abruzzi, and besieged Civitella; but here he encountered a determined resistance, and, after sacrificing a great part of his troops, found it necessary to abandon the attempt. He retreated toward Rome, closely pursued by the Duke of Alva; and the result was that the expedition totally failed. Before his army could recover from the fatigues and losses of their fruitless campaign, the French general was suddenly recalled by a dispatch containing tidings of urgent importance from the north of France. The Spanish army in the Netherlands, commanded by the Duke of Savoy, having been joined by a body of English auxiliaries under the Earl of Pembroke, had invaded France and laid siege to St. Quentin. This place was badly fortified, and defended by a feeble garrison under the Admiral de Coligny. Montmorency advanced with the main army to re-enforce it, and on the 10th of August rashly attacked the Spaniards, who outnumbered his own troops in the proportion of more than two to one, and inflicted on him a fatal and irretrievable defeat. The loss of the French amounted, according to most accounts, to 4,000 slain in the field, while at least an equal number remained prisoners, including the Constable himself. The road to Paris lay open to the victors. . . . The Duke of Savoy was eager to advance; but the cautious Philip, happily for France, rejected his advice, and ordered him to press the siege of St. Quentin. That town made a desperate resistance for more than a fortnight longer, and was captured by storm on the 27th of August [1557]. . . . Philip took possession of a few other neighbouring fortresses, but attempted no serious movement in prosecution of his victory. [See also NETHERLANDS: 1555-1558.] . . . The Duke of Guise arrived from Italy early in October, to the great joy of the king and the nation, and was immediately created lieutenant-general of the kingdom, with powers of almost unlimited extent. He applied himself, with his utmost ability and perseverance, to repair the late disasters; and with such success, that in less than two months he was enabled to assemble a fresh and well-appointed army at Compiègne. Resolving to strike a vigorous blow before the enemy could reappear in the field, he detached a division of his army to make a feint in the direction of Luxemburg; and, rapidly marching westward with the remainder, presented himself on the 1st of January, 1558, before the walls of Calais. . . . The French attack was a complete surprise; the two advanced forts commanding the approaches to the town were bombarded, and surrendered on the 3d of January; three days later the castle was carried by assault; and on the 8th, the governor, Lord Wentworth, was forced to capitulate. . . . Guines, no longer tenable after the fall of Calais, shared the same fate on the 21st of January; and thus, within the short space of three weeks, were the last remnants of her ancient dominion on the

Continent snatched from the grasp of England—possessions which she had held for upward of 200 years. . . . This remarkable exploit, so flattering to the national pride, created universal enthusiasm in France, and carried to the highest pitch the reputation and popularity of Guise. From this moment his influence became paramount; and the marriage of the dauphin to the Queen of Scots, which was solemnised on the 24th of April, 1558, seemed to exalt the house of Lorraine to a still more towering pinnacle of greatness. It was stipulated by a secret article of the marriage-contract that the sovereignty of Scotland should be transferred to France, and that the two crowns should remain united forever, in case of the decease of Mary without issue. Toward the end of the year negotiations were opened with a view to peace." They were interrupted, however, in November, 1558, by the death of Queen Mary of England, wife of Philip of Spain. "When the congress assembled at Le Cateau-Cambresis, in February, 1559, the Spanish ministers no longer maintained the interests of England; and Elizabeth, thus abandoned, agreed to an arrangement which virtually ceded Calais to France, though with such nominal qualifications as satisfied the sensitiveness of the national honour. Calais was to be restored to the English at the end of eight years, with a penalty, in case of failure, of 500,000 crowns. At the same time, if any hostile proceedings should take place on the part of England against France within the period specified, the queen was to forgo all claim to the fulfillment of the article." The treaty between France and England was signed April 2, 1559, and that between France and Spain the following day. By the latter, "the two monarchs mutually restored their conquests in Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Picardy, and Artois; France abandoned Savoy and Piedmont, with the exception of Turin and four other fortresses [restoring Philibert Emanuel, duke of Savoy, to his dominions—see SAVOY AND PIEDMONT: 1550-1580]; she evacuated Tuscany, Corsica, and Montserrat, and yielded up no less than 189 towns or fortresses in various parts of Europe. By way of compensation, Henry preserved the district of the 'Trois Evêchés'—Toul, Metz, and Verdun—and made the all-important acquisition of Calais. This pacification was sealed, according to custom, by marriages"—Henry's daughter Elizabeth to Philip of Spain, and his sister Marguerite to the duke of Savoy. In a tournament, at Paris, which celebrated these marriages, Henry received an injury from the lance of Montgomery, captain of his Scottish guards, which caused his death eleven days afterwards—July 10, 1559.—W. H. Jervis, *Student's history of France*, ch. 15.

ALSO IN: J. L. Motley, *Rise of the Dutch republic*, v. 1, pt. 1, ch. 2-3.—C. H. C. Jackson, *Court of France in the 16th century*, v. 2, ch. 9-20.—L. von Ranke, *Civil wars and monarchy in France, 16th and 17th centuries*, v. 1, ch. 6.

1548.—Marriage of Antoine de Bourbon to Jeanne d'Albret, heiress of Navarre. See NAVARRE: 1528-1563.

1552.—Alliance with the Turks. See ITALY (Southern): 1528-1570.

1554-1565.—Huguenot attempts at colonization in Brazil and in Florida, and their result. See FLORIDA: 1562-1563; 1564-1565; 1565; 1567-1568; U. S. A.: 1607-1752.

1558-1559.—Aid given to revolt in Corsica. See GENOA: 1528-1550.

1559.—Accession of King Francis II.

1559-1561.—Power of the Guises over Francis II.—Opposition of Catherine de' Medici and the Protestants.—Conspiracy of Amboise.—Death of Francis II.—Rise of the Huguenot party.—

Disputed origin of its name.—Henry II “had been married from political motives to the niece of Clement VII., Catharine de’ Medici. This ambitious woman came to France conscious that the marriage was a political one, mentally a stranger to her husband; and such she always remained. This placed her from the first in a false position. The King was influenced by any one rather than by his wife; and a by no means charming mistress, Diana of Poitiers, played her part by the side of and above the Queen. . . . Immediately after the death of her husband, in 1550, she [Catharine] greedily grasped at power. The young King, Francis II., was of age when he entered his fourteenth year. There could therefore be no legal regency, though there might be an actual one, for a weakly monarch of sixteen was still incompetent to govern. But she was thwarted in her first grasp at power. Under Francis I., a family [the Guises—see above: 1547-1550] previously unknown in French history had begun to play a prominent part. . . . The brothers succeeded in bringing about a political marriage which promised to throw the King, who was mentally a child, entirely into their hands. Their sister Mary had been married to James V. of Scotland, whose crown was then rather an insignificant one, but was now beginning to gain importance. The issue of this marriage was a charming girl, who was destined for the King’s wife. She was betrothed to him without his consent when still a child. The young Queen was Mary Stuart. Her misfortunes, her beauty, and her connection with European history, have made her a historical personage, more conspicuous indeed for what she suffered than for what she did; her real importance is not commensurate with the position she occupies. This, then, was the position of the brothers Guise at court. The King was the husband of their niece; both were children in age and mind, and therefore doubly required guidance. The brothers, Francis [duke of Guise] and Charles [cardinal of Lorraine], had the government entirely in their hands; the Duke managed the army, the Cardinal the finances and foreign affairs. Two such leaders were the mayors of the palace. The whole constitution of the court reminds us of the ‘rois fainéants’ and the office of major-domo under the Carolingians. Thus, just when Catharine was about to take advantage of a favourable moment, she saw herself once more eclipsed and thrust aside, and that by insolent upstarts of whom one thing only was certain, that they possessed unusual talents, and that their consciences were elastic in the choice of means. It was not only from Catharine that the supremacy of the Guises met with violent opposition, but also from Protestantism, the importance of which was greatly increasing in France. . . . In the time of Henry II., in spite of all the edicts and executions, Protestantism had made great progress. . . . In the spring of 1550, interdicted Protestantism had secretly reviewed its congregations, and at the first national synod drawn up a confession of faith and a constitution for the new Church. Preachers and elders had appeared from every part of France, and their eighty articles of 28th May, 1550, have become the code of laws of French Protestantism. The Calvinistic principle of the Congregational Church, with choice of its own minister, deacons, and elders; a consistory which maintained strict discipline in matters of faith and morals . . . was established upon French soil, and was afterwards publicly accepted by the whole party. The more adherents this party gained in the upper circles, the bolder was its attitude; there was, indeed, no end to the executions, or to the edicts against heresy, but a spirit of opposition, previously unknown, had gradually gained ground.

Prisoners were set free, the condemned were rescued from the hands of the executioners on the way to the scaffold, and a plan was devised among the numerous fugitives in foreign lands for producing a turn in the course of events by violent means. La Rénaudie, a reformed nobleman from Perigord, who had sworn vengeance on the Guises for the execution of his brother, bad, with a number of other persons of his own way of thinking, formed a plan for attacking the Guises, carrying off the King, and placing him under the guardianship of the Bourbon agnates. . . . The project was betrayed; the Guises succeeded in placing the King in security in the Castle of Amboise; a number of the conspirators were seized, another troop overpowered and dispersed on their attack upon the castle, on the 17th of March, 1560; some were killed, some taken prisoners and at once executed. It was then discovered, or pretended, that the youngest of the Bourbon princes [see BOURBON, HOUSE OF], Louis of Condé, was implicated in the conspiracy [known as the Conspiracy or Tumult of Amboise]. . . . The Guises now ventured, in contempt of French historical traditions, to imprison this prince of the blood, this agnate of the reigning house; to summon him before an arbitrary tribunal of partisans, and to condemn him to death. . . . This affair kept all France in ‘suspense. All the nobles, although strongly infected with Huguenot ideas, were on Condé’s side; even those who condemned his religious opinions made his cause their own. They justly thought that if he fell none of them would be safe. In the midst of this ferment, destiny interposed. On the 5th of December, 1560, Francis II. died suddenly, and a complete change took place. His death put an end to a network of intrigues, which aimed at knocking the rebellion, political and religious, on the head. . . . During this confusion one individual had been watching the course of events with the eagerness of a beast ready to seize on its prey. Catharine of Medici was convinced that the time of her dominion had at length arrived. . . . Francis II. was scarcely dead when she seized upon the person and the power of Charles IX. He was a boy of ten years old, not more promising than his eldest brother, sickly and weakly like all the sons of Henry II., more attached to his mother than the others, and he had been neglected by the Guises. . . . One of her first acts was to liberate Condé; this was a decided step towards reconciliation with the Bourbons and the Protestants. The whole situation was all at once changed. The court was ruled by Catharine; her feverish thirst for power was satisfied. The Guises and their adherents were, indeed, permitted to remain in their offices and posts of honour, in order not fatally to offend them; but their supremacy was destroyed, and the new power was based upon the Queen’s understanding with the heads of the Huguenot party.”—L. Häusser, *Period of the Reformation, 1517 to 1648, ch. 25*.—“The recent commotion had disclosed the existence of a body of malcontents, in part religious, in part also political, scattered over the whole kingdom and of unascertained numbers. To its adherents the name of Huguenots was now for the first time given. What the origin of this celebrated appellation was, it is now perhaps impossible to discover. . . . It has been traced back to the name of the Eidgenossen or ‘confederates,’ under which the party of freedom figured in Geneva when the authority of the bishop and duke was overthrown; or to the ‘Roy Huguet,’ or ‘Hugon,’ a hobgoblin supposed to haunt the vicinity of Tours, to whom the superstitious attributed the nocturnal assemblies of the Protestants; or to the gate ‘du roy Huguon’ of the same city, near which those gatherings were wont to be made.

Some of their enemies maintained the former existence of a diminutive coin known as a 'huguenot,' and asserted that the appellation, as applied to the reformed, arose from their 'not being worth a huguenot,' or farthing. And some of their friends, with equal confidence and no less improbability, declared that it was invented because the adherents of the house of Guise secretly put forward claims upon the crown of France in behalf of that house as descended from Charlemagne, whereas the Protestants loyally upheld the rights of the Valois sprung from Hugh Capet. In the diversity of contradictory statements, we may perhaps be excused if we suspend our judgment. . . . Not a week had passed after the conspiracy of Amboise before the word was in everybody's mouth. Few knew or cared whence it arose. A powerful party, whatever name it might bear, had sprung up, as it were, in a night. . . . No feature of the rise of the Reformation in France is more remarkable than the sudden impulse which it received during the last year or two of Henry II.'s life, and especially within the brief limits of the reign of his eldest son. . . . There was not a corner of the kingdom where the number of incipient Protestant churches was not considerable. Provence alone contained 60, whose delegates this year met in a synod at the blood-stained village of Mérindol. In large tracts of country the Huguenots had become so numerous that they were no longer able or disposed to conceal their religious sentiments, nor content to celebrate their rites in private or nocturnal assemblies. This was particularly the case in Normandy, in Languedoc, and on the banks of the Rhone."—H. M. Baird, *History of the rise of the Huguenots*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 10.

ALSO IN: C. M. Yonge, *Cameos from English history*, 4th series, ch. 20.

1560.—Accession of King Charles IX.

1560-1563.—Changed policy of Catherine de' Medici.—Delusive favors to the Huguenots.—Guises and Catholics again ascendant.—Massacre of Vassy.—Outbreak of civil war.—Battle of Dreux.—Assassination of Guise.—Peace and the edict of Amboise.—"Catherine de' Medici, now regent, thought it wisest to abandon the policy which had till then prevailed under the influence of the Guises, and while she confirmed the Lorraine princes in the important offices they held, she named, on the other hand, Antoine de Bourbon [king of Navarre] lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and took Michel de l'Hôpital as her chief adviser. . . . Chancellor de l'Hôpital, like the Regent, aimed at the destruction of the parties which were rending the kingdom asunder; but his political programme was that of an honest man and a true liberal. A wise system of religious toleration and of administrative reform would, he thought, restore peace and satisfy all true Frenchmen. 'Let us,' he said, 'do away with the diabolical party-names which cause so many seditions—Lutherans, Huguenots, and Papists; let us not alter the name of Christians.' . . . The edicts of Saint Germain and of January (1562) were favourable to the Huguenots. Religious meetings were allowed in rural districts; all penalties previously decreed against Dissenters were suspended on condition that the old faith should not be interfered with; finally, the Huguenot divines, with Théodore de Bèze at their head, were invited to meet the Roman Catholic prelates and theologians in a conference (colloque) at Poissy, near Paris. Théodore de Bèze, the faithful associate and coadjutor of Calvin in the great work of the Reformation, both at Geneva and in France, is justly and universally regarded as the historian of the early Huguenots. . . . The speech he delivered at the opening of the colloque is an eloquent plea for liberty and mutual forbearance.

Unfortunately, the conciliatory measures he proposed satisfied no one."—G. Mason, *Huguenots*, ch. 2.—"The edict of January . . . gave permission to Protestants to hold meetings for public worship outside the towns, and placed their meetings under the protection of the law. . . . The Parliament of Paris refused to register the edict until after repeated orders from the Queen-mother. The Parliament of Dijon refused to register it. . . . The Parliament of Aix refused. Next, Antoine de Navarre, bribed by a promise of the restoration of the Spanish part of his little kingdom, announced that the colloquy of Poissy had converted him, dismissed Beza and the reformed preachers, sent Jeanne back to Béarn, demanded the dismissal of the Chatillons from the court, and invited the Duke of Guise and his brother, the Cardinal, who were at their château of Joinville, to return to Paris. Then occurred—it was only six weeks after the Edict of January—the massacre of Vassy. Nine hundred out of 3,000—the population of that little town—were Protestants. Rejoicing in the permission granted them by the new law, they were assembled on the Sunday morning, in a barn outside the town, for the purpose of public service. The Duke of Guise and the Cardinal, with their armed escort of gentlemen and soldiers, riding on their way to Paris, heard the bells which summoned the people, and asked what they meant. Being told that it was a Huguenot 'prêche,' the Duke swore that he would Huguenot them to some purpose. He rode straight to the barn and entered the place, threatening to murder them all. The people relying on the law, barred the doors. Then the massacre began. The soldiers burst open the feeble barrier, and began to fire among the perfectly unarmed and inoffensive people. Sixty-four were killed—men, women, and children; 200 were wounded. This was the signal for war. Condé, on the intelligence, immediately retired from the court to Meaux, whence he issued a proclamation calling on all the Protestants of the country to take up arms. Coligny was at Chatillon, whither Catharine addressed him letter after letter, urging upon him, in ambiguous terms, the defence of the King. It seems, though this is obscure, that at one time Condé might have seized the royal family and held them. But if he had the opportunity, he neglected it, and the chance never came again. Henceforward, however, we hear no more talk about Catharine becoming a Protestant. That pretence will serve her no more. Before the clash of arms, there was silence for a space. Men waited till the last man in France who had not spoken should declare himself. The Huguenots looked to the Admiral, and not to Condé. It was on him that the real responsibility lay of declaring civil war. It was a responsibility from which the strongest man might shrink. . . . The Admiral having once made up his mind, hesitated no longer, and, with a heavy heart, set off the next day to join Condé. He wrote to Catharine that he took up arms, not against the King, but against those who held him captive. He wrote also to his old uncle, the Constable [Montmorency]. . . . The Constable replied. There was no bitterness between uncle and nephew. The former was fighting to prevent the 'universal ruin' of his country, and for his 'petits maîtres,' the boys, the sons of his old friend, Henry II. Montmorency joined the Guises in perfect loyalty, and with the firm conviction that it was the right thing for him to do. The Chatillon fought in the name of law and justice, and to prevent the universal massacre of his people. . . . Then the first civil war began with a gallant exploit—the taking of Orleans [April 1562]. Condé rode into it at the head of 2,000 cavalry, all shouting like school-

boys, and racing for six miles who should get into the city first. They pillaged the churches, and turned out the Catholics. 'Those who were that day turned outside the city wept catholically that they were dispossessed of the magazines of the finest wines in France.' Truly a dire misfortune, for the Catholics to lose all the best claret districts! Orleans taken, the Huguenots proceeded to issue protestations and manifestoes, in all of which the hand of the Admiral is visible. They are not fighting against the King, who is a prisoner; the war was begun by the Guises. . . . They might have added, truly enough, that Condé and the Admiral held in their hands letters from Catharine, urging them to carry on the contest for the sake of the young King. The fall of Orleans was quickly followed by that of Rouen, Tours, Blois, Bourges, Vienne, Valence, and Montauban. The civil war was fairly begun. The party was now well organized. Condé was commander-in-chief by right of his birth; Coligny was real leader by right of his reputation and wisdom. It was by him that a Solemn League and Covenant was drawn up, to be signed by every one of the Calvinist chiefs. These were, besides Condé and the Châtillons, La Rochefoucauld, . . . Coligny's nephew and Condé's brother-in-law—he was the greatest seigneur in Poitou; Rohan, from Dauphiné, who was Condé's cousin; the Prince of Porcian, who was the husband of Condé's niece. Each of these lords came with a following worthy of his name. Montgomery, who had slain Henry II., brought his Normans; Genlis, the Picards. . . . With Andelot came a troop of Bretons; with the Count de Grammont came 6,000 Gascons. Good news poured in every day. Not only Rouen, but Havre, Caen, and Dieppe submitted in the North. Angers and Nantes followed. The road was open in the end for bringing troops from Germany. The country in the southwest was altogether in their hands. Meantime, the enemy were not idle. They began with massacres. In Paris they murdered 800 Huguenots in that first summer of the war. From every side fugitives poured into Orleans, which became the city of refuge. There were massacres at Amiens, Senlis, Cahors, Toulouse, Angoulême—everywhere. Coligny advised a march upon Paris, where, he urged, the Guises had but a rabble at their command. His counsels when war was once commenced, were always for vigorous measures. Condé preferred to wait. Andelot was sent to Germany, where he raised 3,000 horse. Calvin despatched letters in every direction, urging on the churches and the Protestant princes to send help to France. Many of Coligny's old soldiers of St. Quentin came to fight under his banner. Elizabeth of England offered to send an army if Calais were restored; when she saw that no Frenchman would give up that place again, she still sent men and money, though with grudging spirit. At length both armies took the field. The Duke of Guise had under him 8,000 men; Condé 7,000. They advanced, and met at the little town of Vassodun, where a conference was held between the Queen-mother and Navarre on the one hand, and Condé and Coligny on the other. Catharine proposed that all the chiefs of both sides—Guise, the Cardinal de Lorraine, St. André, Montmorency, Navarre, Condé, and the Chatillon brothers—should all alike go into voluntary exile. Condé was nearly persuaded to accept this absurd proposal. Another conference was held at Taley. These conferences were only delays. An attempt was made by Catharine to entrap Condé, which was defeated by the Admiral's prompt rescue. The Parliament of Paris issued a decree commanding all Romanists in every parish to rise in arms at

the sound of the bell and to slay every Huguenot. It was said that 50,000 were thus murdered. No doubt the numbers were grossly exaggerated. . . . These cruelties naturally provoked retaliation. . . . An English army occupied Havre. English troops set out for Rouen. Some few managed to get within the walls. The town was taken by the Catholics [October 25, 1562], and, for eight days, plundered. Needless to say that Guise hanged every Huguenot he could find. Here the King of Navarre was killed. The loss of Rouen, together with other disasters, greatly discouraged the Huguenots. Their spirits rose, however, when news came that Andelot, with 4,000 reiters, was on his way to join them. He brought them in safety across France, being himself carried in a litter, sick with ague and fever. The Huguenots advanced upon Paris, but did not attack the city. At Dreux [December 19, 1562], they met the army of Guise. Protestant historians endeavor to show that the battle was drawn. In fact both sides sustained immense losses. St. André was killed, Montmorency and Condé were taken prisoners. Yet Coligny had to retire from the field—his rival had outgeneralled him. It was characteristic of Coligny that he never lost heart. . . . With his German cavalry, a handful of his own infantry, and a small troop of English soldiers, Coligny swept over nearly the whole of Normandy. It is true that Guise was not there to oppose him. Every thing looked well. He was arranging for a 'splendid alliance' with England, when news came which stayed his hand. Guise marched southwards to Orleans. . . . There was in Orleans a young Huguenot soldier named Jean Poltrot de Méré. He was a fanatic. . . . He waited for an opportunity, worked himself into the good graces of the Duke, and then shot him with three balls, in the shoulder. Guise died three days later. . . . Then a peace was signed [and ratified by the Edict of Amboise, March 19, 1563]. Condé, won over and seduced by the sirens of the Court, signed it. It was a humiliating and disastrous peace. Huguenots were to be considered loyal subjects; foreign soldiers should be sent out of the country; churches and temples should be restored to their original uses; the suburbs of one town in every bailiwick were to be used for Protestant worship (this was a great reduction on the Edict of January, which allowed the suburbs of every town); and the nobility and gentry were to hold worship in their own houses after their own opinions. The Admiral was furious at this weakness. 'You have ruined,' he said to Condé, 'more churches by one stroke of the pen than the enemy could have done in ten years of war.'—W. Besant, *Gaspard de Coligny*, ch. 8.

ALSO IN: Duc d'Aumale, *History of the Princes of Condé*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 3.—E. Bersier, *Earlier life of Coligny*, ch. 21-26.—G. J. G. Masson, *Medieval France*.

1563-1564.—Recovery of Havre from the English.—Treaty of Troyes.—Under the terms on which the Huguenot leaders procured help from Elizabeth, the English queen held Havre, and refused to restore it until after the restoration of Calais to England, and the repayment of a loan of 1,400,000 crowns. The Huguenots, having now made peace with their Catholic fellow countrymen, were not prepared to fulfill the English contract, according to Elizabeth's claims, but demanded that Havre should be given up. The queen refusing, both the parties, lately in arms against each other, joined forces, and laid siege to Havre so vigorously that it was surrendered to them on July 28, 1563. Peace with England was concluded in the April following, by a treaty negotiated at Troyes, and the queen

lost all her rights over Calais.—Duc d'Aumale, *History of the Princes of Condé*, v. 1, ch. 4.

ALSO IN: J. A. Froude, *History of England: Reign of Elizabeth*, v. 1-2, ch. 6 and 8.

1563-1570.—Conference at Bayonne.—Outbreak of second civil war.—Battle of St. Denis.—Peace of Longjumeau.—Third civil war.—Huguenot rally at La Rochelle.—Appearance of the queen of Navarre.—Battle of Jarnac.—Death of Condé.—Henry of Navarre chosen to command.—Battle of Moncontour.—Peace of St. Germain.—The religious peace established under the Edict of Amboise lasted four years. "Not that the Huguenots enjoyed during these years anything like security or repose. The repeated abridgment even of those narrow liberties conferred by the Edict of Amboise, and the frequent outbreaks of popular hatred in which numbers of them perished, kept them in perpetual alarm. Still more alarming was the meeting at Bayonne [of Catherine de' Medici, the young king, her son, and the duke of Alva, representing Philip II of Spain] in the summer of 1565. . . . Amid the Court festivities which took place, it was known that there had been many secret meetings between Alva, Catherine, and Charles. The darkest suspicions as to their objects and results spread over France. It was generally believed—falsely, as from Alva's letters it now appears—that a simultaneous extermination of all heretics in the French and Spanish dominions had been agreed upon. To anticipate this stroke, Coligni proposed that the person of the King should be seized upon. The Court, but slenderly guarded, was then at Monceaux. The project had almost succeeded. Some time, however, was lost. The Court got warning and fled to Meaux. Six thousand Swiss arrived, and by a rapid march carried the King to Paris. After such a failure, nothing was left to the Huguenots but the chances of a second civil war. Condé entered holdly on the campaign. Though he had with him but 1,500 horse and 1,200 infantry, he marched to Paris, and offered battle to the royal troops beneath its walls. The Constable [Montmorency], who had 18,000 men at his command, accepted the challenge, and on the 10th of November 1567, the battle of St. Denis was fought. . . . Neither party could well claim the victory, as both retired from the field. The royal army had to mourn the loss that day of its aged and gallant commander, the Constable. Condé renewed next day the challenge, which was not accepted. The winter months were spent by the Huguenots in effecting a junction with some German auxiliaries, and in the spring they appeared in such force upon the field that, on the 23d March 1568, the Peace of Longjumeau was ratified, which re-established, free from all modifications and restrictions, the Edict of Amboise. It was evident from the first that this treaty was not intended to be kept; that it had been entered into by the government solely to gain time, and to scatter the ranks of the Huguenots. Coligni sought Condé at his château of Noyers in Burgundy. He had scarcely arrived when secret intelligence was given them of a plot upon their lives. They had barely time to fly, making many a singular escape by the way, and reaching Rochelle, which from this time became the head-quarters of the Huguenots, on the 15th September 1568. During the first two religious wars . . . the seat of war was so remote from her dominions that the Queen of Navarre [Jeanne d'Albret,—see NAVARRE: 1528-1563] had satisfied herself with opening her country as an asylum for those Huguenots driven thither out of the southern counties of France. But when she heard that Condé and Coligni . . . were on their way to Rochelle, to

raise there once more the Protestant banner, convinced that the French Court meditated nothing short of the extermination of the Huguenots, she determined openly to cast in her lot with her coreligionists, and to give them all the help she could. Dexterously deceiving Montluc, who had received instructions to watch her movements, and to seize upon her person if she showed any intention of leaving her own dominions, after a flight as precipitous and almost as perilous as that of Condé and Coligni, she reached Rochelle on the 29th September, ten days after their arrival. This town, for nearly a century the citadel of Protestantism in France, having by its own unaided power freed itself from the English dominion [in the period between 1368 and 1380] had had extraordinary municipal privileges bestowed on it in return—among others, that of an entirely independent jurisdiction, both civil and military. Like so many of the great commercial marts of Europe, in which the spirit of freedom was cherished, it had early welcomed the teaching of the Reformers, and at the time now before us nearly the whole of its inhabitants were Huguenots. . . . About the very time that the Queen of Navarre entered Rochelle a royal edict appeared, prohibiting, under pain of death, the exercise of any other than the Roman Catholic religion in France, imposing upon all the observance of its rites and ceremonies; and banishing from the realm all preachers of the doctrine of Calvin, fifteen days only being allowed them to quit the kingdom. It was by the sword that this stern edict was to be enforced or rescinded. Two powerful armies of nearly equal strength mustered speedily. One was nominally under the command of the Duke of Anjou, but really led by Tavannes, Biron, Brissac, and the young Duke of Guise, the last burning to emulate the military glory of his father; the other under the command of Condé and Coligni. The two armies were close upon one another; their generals desired to bring them into action; they were more than once actually in each other's presence; but the unprecedented inclemency of the weather prevented an engagement, and at last, without coming into collision, both had to retire to winter quarters. The delay was fatal to the Huguenots." In the following spring (March 13, 1569), while their forces were still scattered and unprepared, they were forced into battle with the better-generated Royalists, at Jarnac, and were grievously defeated. Condé, wounded and taken prisoner, was treated at first with respect by the officers who received his sword. But "Montesquiou, captain of the Swiss Guard of the Duke of Anjou, galloped up to the spot, and, hearing who the prisoner was, deliberately levelled his pistol at him and shot him through the head. The Duke passed no censure on his officer, and expressed no regret at his deed. The grossest indignities were afterwards, by his orders, heaped upon the dead body of the slain. The defeat of Jarnac, and still more the death of Condé, threw the Huguenot army into despair. . . . The utter dissolution of the army seemed at hand. The Admiral sent a messenger to the Queen of Navarre at Rochelle, entreating her to come to the camp. She was already on her way. On arrival, and after a short consultation with the Admiral, the army was drawn up to receive her. She rode along the ranks—her son Henry on one side, the son of the deceased Condé on the other." Then she addressed to the troops an inspiring speech, concluding with these heroic words: "Soldiers, I offer you everything I have to give,—my dominions, my treasures, my life, and, what is dearer to me than all, my children. I make here solemn oath before you all—I swear to defend to my last sigh the holy cause which now unites us."

"The soldiers crowded around the Queen, and unanimously, as if by sudden impulse, hailed young Henry of Navarre as their future general. The Admiral and La Rochefoucauld were the first to swear fidelity to the Prince; then came the inferior officers and the whole assembled soldiery; and it was thus that, in his fifteenth year, the Prince of Béarn was inaugurated as general-in-chief of the army of the Huguenots." In June the Huguenot army effected a junction at St. Yriex with a division of German auxiliaries, led by the Duc de Deux-Ponts, and including among its chiefs the prince of Orange and his brother Louis of Nassau. They attacked the duke of Anjou at La Roche-Abeille and gained a slight advantage; but wasted their strength during the summer, contrary to the advice of the Admiral Coligny, in besieging Poitiers. The duke of Anjou approached with a superior army, and, again in opposition to the judgment of Coligny, the Huguenots encountered him at Moncontour (October 3, 1569), where they suffered the worst of their defeats, leaving 5,000 dead and wounded on the field. Meanwhile a French army had entered Navarre, had taken the capital and spread destruction everywhere through the small kingdom; but the queen sent Count de Montgomery to rally her people, and the invaders were driven out. Coligny and Prince Henry wintered their troops in the far south, then moved rapidly northwards in the spring, up the valley of the Rhone, across the Cevennes, through Burgundy, approaching the Loire, and were met by the Marshal de Cosse at Arnay-le-Duc, where Henry of Navarre won his first success in arms—Coligny being ill. Though it was but a partial victory it brought about a breathing time of peace. "This happened in the end of June, and on the 8th of August [1570] the Peace of St. Germain-en-Laye was signed, and France had two full years of quiet."—W. Hanna, *Wars of the Huguenots*, ch. 4.

ALSO IN: Duc d'Aumale, *History of the princes of Condé*, v. 1-2, bk. 1, ch. 4-5.—M. W. Freer, *Life of Jeanne d'Albret*, ch. 8-10.—C. M. Yonge, *Camoes of English history*, 5th series, ch. 8.

1570-1572.—Coligny at court and his influence with the king.—Projected war with Spain.—Desperate step of Catherine de' Medici, and its consequence.—"After the Peace of 1570, it appeared as if a complete change of policy was about to take place. The Queen pretended to be friendly with the Protestants; her relations with the ambitious Guises were distant and cold, and the project of uniting the Houses of Bourbon and Valois by marriage [the marriage of Henry of Navarre with the king's sister, Marguerite] really looked as if she was in earnest. The most distinguished leader of the Huguenot party was the Admiral Caspar de Coligny. It is quite refreshing at this doleful period to meet with such a character. He was a nobleman of the old French school and of the best stamp; lived upon his estates with his family, his little court, his retainers and subjects, in ancient patriarchal style, and on the best terms, and regularly went with them to the Protestant worship and the communion; a man of unblemished morality and strict Calvinistic views of life. Whatever this man said or did was the result of his inmost convictions; his life was the impersonation of his views and thoughts. In the late turbulent times he had become an important person as leader and organizer of the Protestant armies. At his call, thousands of noblemen and soldiers took up arms, and they submitted under his command to very strict discipline. He could not boast of having won many battles, but he was famous for having kept his resources together after repeated defeats, and for rising up stronger than before after every lost engagement.

. . . Now that peace was made, 'why,' he asked, 'excite further dissensions for the benefit of our common enemies? Let us direct our undivided forces against the real enemy of France—against Spain, who stirs up intrigues in our civil wars. Let us crush this power, which condemns us to ignominious dependence.' The war against Spain was Coligny's project. It was the idea of a good Huguenot, for it was directed against the most blindly fanatical and dangerous foe of the new doctrines; but it was also that of a good Frenchman, for a victory over Spain would increase the power of France in the direction of Burgundy. . . . From September, 1571, Coligny was at court. On his first arrival he was heartily welcomed by the King, embraced by Catharine, and loaded with honours and favours by both. I am not of opinion that this was a deeply laid scheme to entrap the guileless hero, the more easily to ruin him. Catharine's ideas did not extend so far. Still less do I believe that the young King was trained to play the part of a hypocrite, and regarded Coligny as a victim to be cherished until the fête day. I think, rather, that Catharine, in her changeableness and hatred of the Guises, was now really disposed to make peace with the Protestants, and that the young King was for the time impressed by this superior personage. No youthful mind is so degraded as to be entirely inaccessible to such influence. . . . I believe that the first and only happy day in the life of this unfortunate monarch was when he met Coligny, who raised him above the degradation of vulgar life; and I believe further, that this relation was the main cause of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. A new influence was threatening to surround the King and to take deep root, which Catharine, her son Henry of Anjou, and the strict Catholic party, must do their utmost to avert; and it was quite in accordance with the King's weak character to allow the man to be murdered whom he had just called 'Father.' . . . It appears that about the middle of the year [1572] the matter [of war with Spain and help to the revolting Netherlands] was as good as decided. The King willingly acceded to Coligny's plan . . . [and] privately gave considerable sums for the support of the Flemish patriots, for the equipment of an army of 4,000 men, composed of Catholics and Protestants, who marched towards Mons, to succour Louis of Nassau. When in July this army was beaten, and the majority of the Huguenots were in despair, Coligny succeeded in persuading the King to equip a fresh and still larger army; but the opposition then bestirred itself. . . . The Queen . . . had been absent with her married daughter in Lorraine, and on her return she found everything changed; the Guises without influence, herself thrust on one side. Under the impression of the latest events in Flanders, which made it likely that the war with Spain would be ruinous, she hastened to the King, told him with floods of tears that it would be his ruin; that the Huguenots, through Coligny, had stolen the King's confidence, unfortunately for himself and the country. She made some impression upon him, but it did not last long, and thoughts of war gained the upper hand again. The idea now (August, 1572), must have been matured in Catharine's mind of venturing on a desperate step, in order to save her supremacy and influence. . . . The idea ripened in her mind of getting rid of Coligny by assassination. . . . Entirely of one mind with her son Henry [duke of Anjou, younger brother of Charles IX], she turned to the Guises, with whom she was at enmity when they were in power, but friendly when they were of no more consequence than herself. They breathed vengeance against the Calvinists, and were ready at once to avenge the

murder of Francis of Guise by a murderous attack upon Coligny. An assassin was hired, and established in a house belonging to the Guises, near Coligny's dwelling, and as he came out of the palace, on the 22nd of August, a shot was fired at him, which wounded but did not kill him. Had Coligny died of his wound, Catherine would have been content. . . . But Coligny did not die; the Huguenots defiantly demanded vengeance on the well-known instigator of the deed; their threats reached the Queen and Prince Henry of Anjou, and the personal fascination which Coligny had exercised over King Charles appeared rather to increase than to diminish. Thus doubtless arose, during the anxious hours after the failure of the assassination, the idea of an act of violence on a large scale, which should strike a blow at Coligny and his friends before they had time for revenge. It certainly had not been in preparation for months, not even since the time that Coligny had been at Court; it was conceived in the agony of these hours."—L. Häusser, *Period of the Reformation*, ch. 27.

ALSO IN: J. L. Motley, *Rise of the Dutch republic*, v. 2, pt. 3, ch. 6-7.—L. von Ranke, *Civil wars and monarchy in France*, ch. 15.

1572 (August).—Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day.—"With some proofs, forged or real, in her hand that he was in personal danger, the Queen Mother [August 24] presented herself to her son. She told him that at the moment she was speaking the Huguenots were arming. Sixteen thousand of them intended to assemble in the morning, seize the palace, destroy herself, the Duke of Anjou, and the Catholic noblemen, and carry off Charles. The conspiracy, she said, extended through France. The chiefs of the congregations were waiting for a signal from Coligny to rise in every province and town. The Catholics had discovered the plot, and did not mean to sit still to be murdered. If the King refused to act with them, they would choose another leader; and whatever happened he would be himself destroyed. Unable to say that the story could not be true, Charles looked enquiringly at Tavannas and De Nevers, and they both confirmed the Queen Mother's words. Shaking his incredulity with reminders of Amboise and Meaux, Catherine went on to say that one man was the cause of all the troubles in the realm. The Admiral [Coligny] aspired to rule all France, and she—she admitted, with Anjou and the Guises, had conspired to kill him to save the King and the country. She dropped all disguise. The King, she said, must now assist them or all would be lost. . . . Charles was a weak, passionate boy, alone in the dark conclave of iniquity. He stormed, raved, wept, implored, spoke of his honour, his plighted word; swore at one moment that the Admiral should not be touched, then prayed them to try other means. But clear, cold and venomous, Catherine told him it was too late. If there was a judicial enquiry, the Guises would shield themselves by telling all that they knew. They would betray her; they would betray his brother; and, fairly or unfairly, they would not spare himself. . . . For an hour and a half the King continued to struggle. 'You refuse, then,' Catherine said at last. . . . 'Is it that you are afraid, Sire?' she hissed in his ear. 'By God's death,' he cried, springing to his feet, 'since you will kill the Admiral, kill them all. Kill all the Huguenots in France, that none may be left to reproach me. Mort Dieu! Kill them all.' He dashed out of the cabinet. A list of those who were to die was instantly drawn up. Navarre and Condé were first included; but Catherine prudently reflected that to kill the Bourbons would make the Guises

too strong. Five or six names were added to the Admiral's, and these Catherine afterwards asserted were all that it was intended should suffer. . . . Night had now fallen. Guise and Aumale were still lurking in the city, and came with the Duke of Montpensier at Catherine's summons. The persons who were to be killed were in different parts of the town. Each took charge of a district. Montpensier promised to see to the Palace; Guise and his uncle undertook the Admiral; and below these, the word went out to the leaders of the already organised sections, who had been disappointed once, but whose hour was now come. The Catholics were to recognise one another in the confusion by a white handkerchief on the left arm and a white cross in their caps. The Royal Guard, Catholics to a man, were instruments ready made for the work. Guise assembled the officers: he told them that the Huguenots were preparing to rise, and that the King had ordered their instant punishment. The officers asked no questions, and desired no better service. The business was to begin at dawn. The signal would be the tolling of the great bell at the Palace of Justice, and the first death was to be Coligny's. The soldiers stole to their posts. Twelve hundred lay along the Seine, between the river and the Hôtel de Ville; other companies watched at the Louvre. As the darkness waned, the Queen Mother went down to the gate. The stillness of the dawn was broken by an accidental pistol-shot. Her heart sank, and she sent off a messenger to tell Guise to pause. But it was too late. A minute later the bell boomed out, and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew had commenced." The assassins broke into the admiral's dwelling and killed him as he lay wounded in bed. "The window was open. 'Is it done?' cried Guise from the court below, 'is it done?' Fling him out that we may see him.' Still breathing, the Admiral was hurled upon the pavement. The Bastard of Angoulême wiped the blood from his face to be sure of his identity, and then, kicking him as he lay, shouted, 'So far well. Courage, my brave boys! now for the rest.' One of the Duc de Nevers's people hacked off the head. A rope was knotted about the ankles, and the corpse was dragged out into the street amidst the howling crowd. Teligny, . . . Rochefoucault, and the rest of the Admiral's friends who lodged in the neighbourhood were disposed of in the same way, and so complete was the surprise that there was not the most faint attempt at resistance. Montpensier had been no less successful in the Louvre. The staircases were all beset. The retinues of the King of Navarre and the Prince had been lodged in the palace at Charles's particular desire. Their names were called over, and as they descended unarmed into the quadrangle they were hewn in pieces. There, in heaps, they fell below the Royal window, under the eyes of the miserable King, who was forced forward between his mother and his brother that he might be seen as the accomplice of the massacre. Most of the victims were killed upon the spot. Some fled wounded up the stairs, and were slaughtered in the presence of the Princesses. . . . By seven o'clock the work which Guise and his immediate friends had undertaken was finished with but one failure. The Count Montgomery and the Vidame of Chartres . . . escaped to England. The mob meanwhile was in full enjoyment. . . . While dukes and lords were killing at the Louvre, the bands of the sections imitated them with more than success; men, women, and even children, striving which should be the first in the pious work of murder. All Catholic Paris was at the business, and every Huguenot household had neighbours to know and denounce them. Through street and lane and quay

and causeway, the air rang with yells and curses, pistol-shots and crashing windows; the roadways were strewn with mangled bodies, the doors were blocked by the dead and dying. From garret, closet, roof, or stable, crouching creatures were torn shrieking out, and stabbed and hacked at; boys practised their hands by strangling babies in their cradles, and headless bodies were trailed along the trottoirs. . . . Towards midday some of the quieter people attempted to restore order. A party of the town police made their way to the palace. Charles caught eagerly at their offers of service, and bade them do their utmost to put the people down; but it was all in vain. The soldiers, maddened with plunder and blood, could not be brought to assist, and without them nothing could be done. All that afternoon and night, and the next day and the day after, the horrible scenes continued, till the flames burnt down at last for want of fuel. The number who perished in Paris was computed variously from 2,000 to 10,000. In this, as in all such instances, the lowest estimate is probably the nearest to the truth. The massacre was completed—completed in Paris—only, as it proved, to be continued elsewhere. . . . On the 24th, while the havoc was at its height, circulars went round to the provinces that a quarrel had broken out between the Houses of Guise and Coligny; that the Admiral and many more had been unfortunately killed, and that the King himself had been in danger through his efforts to control the people. The governors of the different towns were commanded to repress at once any symptoms of disorder which might show themselves, and particularly to allow no injury to be done to the Huguenots." But Guise, when he learned of these circulars, which threw upon him the odium of the massacre, forced the king to recall them. "The story of the Huguenot conspiracy was revived. . . . The Protestants of the provinces, finding themselves denounced from the throne, were likely instantly to take arms to defend themselves. Couriers were therefore despatched with second orders that they should be dealt with as they had been dealt with at Paris; and at Lyons, Orleans, Rouen, Bordeaux, Toulon, Meaux, in half the towns and villages of France, the bloody drama was played once again. The King, thrown out into the hideous torrent of blood, became drunk with frenzy, and let slaughter have its way, till even Guise himself affected to be shocked, and interposed to put an end to it; not, however, till, according to the belief of the times, 100,000 men, women and children had been miserably murdered. . . . The number again may be hoped to have been prodigiously exaggerated; with all large figures, when unsupported by exact statistics, it is safe to divide at least by ten."—J. A. Froude, *History of England: Reign of Elizabeth*, v. 4, ch. 23.

ALSO IN: H. White, *Massacre of St. Bartholomew*, ch. 12-14.—Duke of Sully, *Memoirs*, bk. 1.—G. P. Fisher, *Massacre of St. Bartholomew* (*New Englander*, Jan., 1880).

1572 (August-October).—King's avowal of responsibility for the massacre, and celebration of his "victory."—Rejoicings at Rome and Madrid.—General horror of Europe.—Effects in France.—Changed character of the Protestant party.—"On the morning of the 26th of August, Charles IX. went to hold a 'bed of justice' in the parliament, carrying with him the king of Navarre, and he then openly avowed that the massacre had been perpetrated by his orders, made . . . excuse for it, grounded on a pretended conspiracy of the Huguenots against his person, and then directed the parliament to commence judicial proceedings against Coligny and his accomplices, dead or alive, on the charge of high treason. The parliament obeyed,

and, after a process of two months, which was a mere tissue of falsehoods, they not only found all the dead guilty, but they included in the sentence two of the principal men who had escaped—the old captain Briquemaut, and Arnaud de Cavaignes. . . . Both were hanged at the Place de Grève, in the presence of the king, who compelled the king of Navarre also to be a witness of their execution. Having once assumed the responsibility of the massacre of the protestants, Charles IX. began to glory in the deed. On the 27th of August, he went with the whole court to Montfaucon, to contemplate the mutilated remains of the admiral. . . . Next day, a grand jubilee procession was headed by the king in celebration of his so-called victory. . . . The 'victory' was also celebrated by two medals. . . . Nevertheless, the minds of Charles and his mother were evidently ill at ease, and their misgivings as to the effect which would be produced at foreign courts by the news of these proceedings are very evident in the varying and often contradictory orders which they dispatched into the provinces. . . . The news of these terrible events caused an extreme agitation in all the courts throughout christian Europe. Philip of Spain, informed of the massacres by a letter from the king and the queen-mother, written on the 29th of August, replied by warm congratulations and expressions of joy. The cardinal of Lorraine, who was . . . at Rome, gave a reward of 1,000 écus of gold to the courier who brought the despatches, and the news was celebrated at Rome by the firing of the cannons of the castle of St. Angelo, and by the lighting of bon-fires in the streets. The pope (Gregory XIII.) and the sacred college went in grand procession to the churches to offer their thanks to God. . . . Not content with these demonstrations, the pope caused a medal to be struck. . . . Gregory dispatched immediately to the court of France the legate Fabio d'Orsini, with a commission to congratulate the king and his mother for the vigour they had shown in the repression of heresy, to demand the reception in France of the council of Trent, and the establishment of the Inquisition. . . . But the papal legate found the court of France in a different temper from that which he anticipated. Catherine, alarmed at the effect which these great outrages had produced on the protestant sovereigns, found it necessary to give him private intimations that the congratulations of the pontiff were untimely, and could not be publicly accepted. . . . The policy of the French court at home was no less distasteful to the papal legate than its relations abroad. The old edicts against the public exercise of the protestant worship were gradually revived, and the Huguenots were deprived of the offices which they had obtained during the short period of toleration, but strict orders were sent round to forbid any further massacres, with threats of punishment against those who had already offended. On the 8th of October, the king published a declaration, inviting such of the protestants as had quitted the kingdom in consequence of the massacres to return, and promising them safety; but this was soon followed by letters to the governors of the provinces, directing them to exhort the Huguenot gentry and others to conform to the catholic faith, and declaring that he would tolerate only one religion in his kingdom. Many, believing that the protestant cause was entirely ruined in France, complied, and this defection was encouraged by the example of the two princes of Bourbon [Henry, now king of Navarre, his mother, Jeanne d'Albret, having died June 9, 1572, and Henry, the young prince of Condé], who, after some weeks of violent resistance, submitted at the end of September, and, at least in outward form,

became catholics. It has been remarked that the massacre of St. Bartholomew's-day produced an entire change in the character of the protestant party in France. The Huguenots had hitherto been entirely ruled by their aristocracy, who took the lead and direction in every movement; but now the great mass of the protestant nobility had perished or deserted the cause, and from this moment the latter depended for support upon the inhabitants of some of the great towns and upon the un-noble class of the people; and with this change it took a more popular character, in some cases showing even a tendency to republicanism. In the towns where the protestants were strong enough to offer serious resistance, such as La Rochelle, Nimes, Sancerre, and Montauban, the richer burghers, and a part at least of the municipal officers, were in favour of submission, and they were restrained only by the resolution and devotion of the less wealthy portion of the population."—T. Wright, *History of France*, v. 1, bk. 3, ch. 7.

ALSO IN: H. M. Baird, *History of the rise of the Huguenots*, v. 2, ch. 10.—A. de Montor, *Lives and times of the Roman pontiffs*, v. 1, pp. 810-812.

1572-1573.—Fourth religious war.—Siege and successful defence of La Rochelle.—Favorable peace.—"The two Reformer-princes, Henry of Navarre and Henry de Condé, attended mass on the 20th of September, and, on the 3d of October, wrote to the pope, deploring their errors and giving hopes of their conversion. Far away from Paris, in the mountains of the Pyrenees and of Languedoc, in the towns where the Reformers were numerous and confident . . . the spirit of resistance carried the day. An assembly, meeting at Milhau, drew up a provisional ordinance for the government of the Reformed church, 'until it please God, who has the hearts of kings in His keeping, to change that of King Charles IX. and restore the state of France to good order, or to raise up such neighboring prince as is manifestly marked out, by his virtue and by distinguishing signs, for to be the liberator of this poor afflicted people.' In November, 1572, the fourth religious war broke out. The siege of La Rochelle was its only important event. Charles IX. and his councillors exerted themselves in vain to avoid it. There was everything to disquiet them in this enterprise; so sudden a revival of the religious war after the grand blow they had just struck, the passionate energy manifested by the Protestants in asylum at La Rochelle, and the help they had been led to hope for from Queen Elizabeth, whom England would never have forgiven for indifference in this cause. . . . The king heard that one of the bravest Protestant chiefs, La Noue, 'Ironarm,' had retired to Mons with Prince Louis of Nassau. The Duke of Longueville . . . induced him to go to Paris. The king received him with great favor . . . and pressed him to go to La Rochelle and prevail upon the inhabitants to keep the peace. . . . La Noue at last consented, and repaired, about the end of November, 1572, to a village close by La Rochelle, whither it was arranged that deputies from the town would come and confer with him. . . . After hearing him, the senate rejected the pacific overtures made to them by La Noue. 'We have no mind [they said] to treat specially and for ourselves alone; our cause is that of God and of all the churches of France; we will accept nothing but what shall seem proper to all our brethren.' They then offered to trust themselves under La Noue's command, notwithstanding the commission by which he was acting for the king. "La Noue did not hesitate; he became, under the authority of the mayor, Jacques Henri, the military head of La Rochelle, whither Charles IX. had sent him to make peace. The king authorized him

to accept this singular position. La Noue conducted himself so honorably in it, and everybody was so convinced of his good faith as well as bravery, that for three months he commanded inside La Rochelle, and superintended the preparations for defence, all the while trying to make the chances of peace prevail. At the end of February, 1573, he recognized the impossibility of his double commission, and he went away from La Rochelle, leaving the place in better condition than that in which he had found it, without either king or Rochellese considering that they had any right to complain of him. Biron first and then the Duke of Anjou in person took the command of the siege. They brought up, it is said, 40,000 men and 60 pieces of artillery. The Rochellese, for defensive strength, had but 22 companies of refugees or inhabitants, making in all 3,100 men. The siege lasted from the 26th of February to the 13th of June, 1573; six assaults were made on the place. . . . La Rochelle was saved. Charles IX. was more and more desirous of peace; his brother, the Duke of Anjou, had just been elected King of Poland; Charles IX. was anxious for him to leave France and go to take possession of his new kingdom. Thanks to these complications, the peace of La Rochelle was signed on the 6th of July, 1573. Liberty of creed and worship was recognized in the three towns of La Rochelle, Montauban, and Nimes. They were not obliged to receive any royal garrison, on condition of giving hostages to be kept by the king for two years. Liberty of worship throughout the extent of their jurisdiction continued to be recognized in the case of lords high-justiciary. Everywhere else the Reformers had promises of not being persecuted for their creed, under the obligation of never holding an assembly of more than ten persons at a time. These were the most favorable conditions they had yet obtained. Certainly this was not what Charles IX. had calculated upon when he consented to the massacre of the Protestants."—F. P. Guizot, *Popular history of France*, ch. 33.

1573-1576.—Escape of Condé and Navarre.—Death of Charles IX.—Accession of Henry III.—Fifth civil war.—Navarre's repudiation of Catholicism.—Peace of Monsieur.—King's misgivings and the nation's disgust.—"Catherine . . . had the address to procure the crown of Poland for the son of her predilection, Henry duke of Anjou. She had lavished her wealth upon the electors for this purpose. No sooner was the point gained than she regretted it. The health of Charles was now manifestly on the decline, and Catherine would fain have retained Henry; but the jealousy of the king forbade. After conducting the duke on his way to Poland the court returned to St. Germain, and Charles sunk, without hope or consolation, on his couch of sickness. Even here he was not allowed to repose. The young king of Navarre formed a project of escape with the prince of Condé. The duc d'Alençon, youngest brother of the king, joined in it. . . . The vigilance of the queen-mother discovered the enterprise, which, for her own purposes, she magnified into a serious plot. Charles was informed that a huguenot army was coming to surprise him, and he was obliged to be removed into a litter, in order to escape. . . . Condé was the only prince that succeeded in making his escape. The king of Navarre and the duc d'Alençon were imprisoned." The young king of Navarre "had already succeeded by his address, his frankness, and high character, in rallying to his interests the most honourable of the noblesse, who dreaded at once the perfidious Catherine and her children; who had renounced their good opinion of young Guise after the day of St. Bartholomew;

and who, at the same time professing catholicism, were averse to huguenot principles and zeal. This party, called the Politiques, professed to follow the middle or neutral course, which at one time had been that of Catherine of Medicis; but she had long since deserted it, and had joined in all the sanguinary and extreme measures of her son and of the Guises. Hence she was especially odious to the new and moderate party of the Politiques, among whom the family of Montmorency held the lead [Francis of Montmorency, marshal of France and governor of Paris]. Catherine feared their interference at the moment of the king's death, whilst his successor was absent in a remote kingdom; and she swelled the project of the princes' escape into a serious conspiracy, in order to be mistress of those whom she feared. . . . In this state of the court Charles IX expired on the 30th of May, 1574, after having nominated the queen-mother to be regent during his successor's absence. . . . The career of the new king [Henry III], while duke of Anjou, had been glorious. Raised to the command of armies at the age of 15, he displayed extreme courage as well as generalship. He had defeated the veteran leader of the protestants at Jarnac and at Moncontour; and the fame of his exploits had contributed to place him on the elective throne of Poland, which he now occupied. Auguring from his past life, a brilliant epoch might be anticipated; and yet we enter upon the most contemptible reign, perhaps, in the annals of France. . . . Henry was obliged to run away by stealth from his Polish subjects [see POLAND: 1574-1590]. When overtaken by one of the nobles of that kingdom, the monarch, instead of pleading his natural anxiety to visit France and secure his inheritance, excused himself by drawing forth the portrait of his mistress. . . . and declared that it was love which hastened his return. At Vienna, however, Henry forgot both crown and mistress amidst the feasts that were given him; and he turned aside to Venice, to enjoy a similar reception from that rich republic. . . . The hostile parties were in the meantime arming. The Politiques, or neutral catholics, for the first time showed themselves in the field. They demanded the freedom of Cossé and of Montmorency, and at length formed a treaty of alliance with the huguenots. Henry, after indulging in the ceremony of being crowned, was obliged to lead an army into the field. Sieges were undertaken on both sides, and what is called the fifth civil war raged openly. It became more serious when the king's brother joined it. This was the duke of Alençon, a vain and fickle personage, of whom it pleased the king to become jealous. Alençon fled and joined the malcontents. The reformers, however, warred but languidly. Both parties were without active and zealous leaders; and the only notable event of this war was a skirmish in Champagne [the battle of Dormans, in which both sides lost heavily], where the duke of Guise received a slight wound in the cheek. From hence came his surname of 'Le Balafgré.' In February, 1576, the king of Navarre made his escape from court. "He bent his course towards Guienne, and at Niort publicly avowed his adherence to the reformed religion, declaring that force alone had made him conform to the mass. It was about this time that the king, in lieu of leading an army against the malcontents, despatched the queen-mother, with her gay and licentious court, to win back his brother. She succeeded, though not without making large concessions [in a treaty called the 'Peace of Monsieur']. The duke of Alençon obtained Anjou, and other provinces in appanage, and henceforth was styled duke of Anjou. More favourable terms were granted to the huguenots: they were allowed

ten towns of surety in lieu of six, and the appointment of a certain number of judges in the parliament. Such weakness in Henry disgusted the body of the catholics; and the private habits of his life contributed still more, if possible, than his public measures, to render him contemptible. He was continually surrounded by a set of young and idle favourites, whose affectation it was to unite ferocity with frivolity. The king showed them such tender affection as he might evince towards woman; they even had the unblushing impudence to adopt feminine habits of dress; and the monarch passed his time in adorning them and himself with robes and ear-rings. . . . The indescribable tastes and amusements of Henry and his mignons, as his favourites were called, . . . raised up throughout the nation one universal cry of abhorrence and contempt."—E. E. Crowe, *History of France*, v. 1, ch. 8-9.

ALSO IN: C. H. C. Jackson, *Last of the Valois*, v. 2, ch. 2-6.—S. Menzies, *Royal favourites*, v. 1, ch. 5.

1576-1585.—Rise of the League.—Secret objects and aims.—Alliance with Philip II of Spain.—Pope's bull against Navarre and Condé.—"The famous association known as the 'Catholic League' or 'Holy Union,' took its rise from the strangely indulgent terms granted to the Huguenots by the 'Peace of Monsieur,' in April, 1576. Four years had scarcely elapsed since the blood-stained Eve of St. Bartholomew. It had been hoped that by means of that execrable crime the Reformation would have been finally crushed and extinguished in France; but instead of this, a treaty was concluded with the heretics, which placed them in a more favourable situation than they had ever occupied before. . . . It was regarded by the majority of Catholics as a wicked and cowardly betrayal of their most sacred interests. They ascribed it to its true source, namely, the hopeless incapacity of the reigning monarch, Henry III.; a prince whose monstrous vices and gross misgovernment were destined to reduce France to a state of disorganization bordering on national ruin. The idea of a general confederation of Catholics for the defence of the Faith against the inroads of heresy had been suggested by the Cardinal of Lorraine during the Council of Trent [see PAPACY: 1537-1563], and had been favourably entertained at the Court of Rome. The Duke of Guise was to have been placed at the head of this alliance; but his sudden death changed the face of affairs, and the project fell into abeyance. The Cardinal of Lorraine was now no more; he died at Avignon, at the age of 50, in December, 1574. . . . Henry, the third Duke of Guise, inherited in their fullest extent the ambition, the religious ardour, the lofty political aspirations, the enterprising spirit, the personal popularity, of his predecessors. The League of 1576 was conceived entirely in his interest. He was the leader naturally pointed out for such a movement;—a movement which, although its ulterior objects were at first studiously concealed, aimed in reality at substituting the family of Lorraine for that of Valois on the throne of France. The designs of the confederates, as set forth in the original manifesto which was circulated for signature, seemed at first sight highly commendable, both with regard to religion and politics. According to this document, the Union was formed for three great purposes: to uphold the Catholic Church; to suppress heresy; and to maintain the honour, the authority and prerogatives of the Most Christian king and his successors. On closer examination, however, expressions were detected which hinted at less constitutional projects. . . . Their secret aims became incontestably manifest soon afterwards, when one of their confidential agents, an advocate

named David, happened to die suddenly on his return from Rome, and his papers fell into the hands of the Huguenots, who immediately made them public. . . . A change of dynasty in France was the avowed object of the scheme thus disclosed. It set forth, in substance, that the Capetian monarchs were usurpers,—the throne belonging rightfully to the house of Lorraine as the lineal descendants of Charlemagne. . . . The Duke of Guise, with the advice and permission of the Pope, was to imprison Henry for the rest of his days in a monastery, after the example of his ancestor Pepin when he de-throned the Merovingian Childeric. Lastly, the heir of the Carolingians was to be proclaimed King of France; and, on assuming the crown, was to make such arrangements with his Holiness as would secure the complete recognition of the sovereignty of the Vicar of Christ, by abrogating for ever the so-called 'liberties of the Gallican Church.' . . . This revolutionary plot . . . unhappily, was viewed with cordial sympathy, and supported with enthusiastic zeal, by many of the prelates, and a large majority of the parochial clergy, of France. . . . The death of the Duke of Anjou, presumptive heir to the throne, in 1584, determined the League to immediate action. In the event of the king's dying without issue, which was most probable,—the crown would now devolve upon Henry of Bourbon [the king of Navarre], the acknowledged leader of the Huguenots. . . . In January, 1585, the chiefs of the League signed a secret treaty at Joinville with the King of Spain, by which the contracting parties made common cause for the extirpation of all sects and heresies in France and the Netherlands, and for excluding from the French throne princes who were heretics, or who 'treated heretics with public impunity.' . . . Liberal supplies of men and money were to be furnished to the insurgents by Philip from the moment that war should break out. . . . The Leaguers lost no time in seeking for their enterprise the all-important sanction of the Holy See. For this purpose they despatched as their envoy to Rome a Jesuit named Claude Matthieu. . . . The Jesuit fraternity in France had embraced with passionate ardour the anti-royalist cause. . . . His Holiness [Gregory XIII], however, was cautious and reserved. He expressed in general terms his consent to the project of taking up arms against the heretics, and granted a plenary indulgence to those who should aid in the holy work. But he declined to countenance the deposition of the king by violence. . . . At length, however [September 9, 1585], Sixtus [V] was persuaded to fulminate a bull against the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, in which . . . both culprits, together with their heirs and posterity were pronounced for ever incapable of succeeding to the throne of France or any other dignity; their subjects and vassals were released from their oath of homage, and forbidden to obey them."—W. H. Jervis, *History of the Church of France*, v. 1, ch. 3.

ALSO IN: L. von Ranke, *Civil wars and monarchy in France*, ch. 21.

1577-1578.—Rapid spread of the League.—Sixth civil war and the peace of Bergerac.—Anjou in the Netherlands.—The League "spread like lightning over the whole face of France; Condé could find no footing in Picardy or even in Poitou; Henry of Navarre was refused entrance into Bordeaux itself; the heads of the League, the family-party of the Dukes of Guise, Mayenne and Nemours, seemed to carry all before them; the weak King leant towards them; the Queen Mother, intriguing ever, succeeded in separating Anjou from the Politiques, and began to seduce Damville [Henry Damville, who by the death of his brother

had become duke of Montmorency and marshal of France]. She hoped once more to isolate the Huguenots and to use the League to weaken and depress them. . . . The Court and the League seemed to be in perfect harmony, the King . . . in a way, subscribed to the League, though the twelve articles were considerably modified before they were shown to him. . . . The Leaguers had succeeded in making war [called the Sixth Civil War—1577], and winning some successes: but on their heels came the Court with fresh negotiations for peace. The heart's desire of the King was to crush the stubborn Huguenots and to destroy the moderates, but he was afraid to act; and so it came about that, though Anjou was won away from them, and compromised on the other side, and though Damville also deserted them, and though the whole party was in the utmost disorder and seemed likely to disperse, still the Court offered them such terms that in the end they seemed to have even recovered ground. Under the walls of Montpellier, Damville, the King's general, and Châtillon, the Admiral's son, at the head of the Huguenots, were actually manœuvring to begin a battle, when La Noue came up bearing tidings of peace, and at the imminent risk of being shot placed himself between the two armies, and stayed their uplifted hands. It was the Peace of Bergerac [confirmed by the Edict of Poitiers—September 17, 1577], another ineffectual truce, which once more granted in the main what that of Chasteny [or the 'Peace of Monsieur'] had already promised: it is needless to say that the League would have none of it; and partisan-warfare, almost objectless, however oppressive to the country, went on without a break: the land was overrun by adventurers and bandits, sure sign of political death. Nothing could be more brutalising or more brutal: but the savage traits of civil war are less revolting than the ghastly revelries of the Court. All the chiefs were alike—neither the King, nor Henry of Navarre, nor Anjou, nor even the strict Catholic Guise, disdained to wallow in debauch." Having quarreled with his brother, the king, "Anjou fled, in the beginning of 1578, to Angers, where, finding that there was a prospect of amusement in the Netherlands, he turned his back on the high Catholics, and renewed friendship with the Huguenot chiefs. He was invited to come to the rescue of the distressed Calvinists in their struggle against Philip, and appeared in the Netherlands in July, 1578."—G. W. Kitchin, *History of France*, v. 2, pp. 370-373.—See also NETHERLANDS: 1577-1581; 1581-1584.

1578-1580.—Treaty of Nérac.—Seventh civil war, known as the War of the Lovers.—Peace of Fleix.—"The King, instead of availing himself of this interval of repose [after the Peace of Bergerac] to fortify himself against his enemies, only sank deeper and deeper into vice and infamy. . . . The court resembled at once a slaughter-house and a brothel, although, amid all this corruption, the King was the slave of monks and Jesuits whom he implicitly obeyed. It was about this time (December, 1578) that he instituted the military order of the Holy Ghost, that of St. Michael having fallen into contempt through being prostituted to unworthy objects. Meanwhile the Guises were using every effort to rekindle the war, which Catherine, on the other hand, was endeavouring to prevent. With this view she travelled, in August, into the southern provinces, and had an interview with Henry of Navarre at Nérac, bringing with her Henry's wife, her daughter Margaret; a circumstance, however, which did not add to the pleasure of their meeting. Henry received the ladies coldly, and they retired into Languedoc, where they passed

the remainder of the year. Nevertheless the negotiations were sedulously pursued; for a peace with the Hugonots was, at this time, indispensable to the Court. . . . In February, 1579, a secret treaty was signed at Nérac, by which the concessions granted to the Protestants by the peace of Bergerac were much extended. . . . Catherine spent nearly the whole of the year 1579 in the south, endeavouring to avert a renewal of the war by her intrigues, rather than by a faithful observance of the peace. But the King of Navarre saw through her Italian artifices, and was prepared to summon his friends and captains at the shortest notice. The hostilities which he foresaw were not long in breaking out, and in a way that would seem impossible in any other country than France. When the King of Navarre fled from Court in 1576, he expressed his indifference for two things he had left behind, the mass and his wife; Margaret, the heroine of a thousand amours, was equally indifferent, and though they now contrived to cohabit together, it was because each connived at the infidelities of the other. Henry was in love with Mademoiselle Fosseuse, a girl of fourteen, while Margaret had taken for her gallant the young Viscount of Turenne, who had lately turned Hugonot. . . . The Duke of Anjou being at this time disposed to renew his connection with the Hugonots, Margaret served as the medium of communication between her brother and her husband; while Henry III., with a view to interrupt this good understanding, wrote to the King of Navarre to acquaint him of the intrigues of his wife with Turenne. Henry was neither surprised nor afflicted at this intelligence; but he laid the letter before the guilty parties, who both denied the charge, and Henry affected to believe their protestations. The ladies of the Court of Nérac were indignant at this act of Henry III., 'the enemy of women'; they pressed their lovers to renew hostilities against that discourteous monarch; Anjou added his instances to those of the ladies; and in 1580 ensued the war called from its origin 'la guerre des amoureux,' or war of the lovers: the seventh of what are sometimes styled the wars of 'religion'! The Prince of Condé, who lived on bad terms with his cousin, had already taken the field on his own account, and in November 1579 had seized on the little town of La Fère in Picardy. In the spring of 1580 the Protestant chiefs in the south unfurled their banners. The King of Navarre laid the foundation of his military fame by the bravery he displayed at the capture of Cahors; but on the whole the movement proved a failure. Henry III. had no fewer than three armies in the field, which were generally victorious, and the King of Navarre found himself menaced in his capital of Nérac by Marshal Biron. But Henry III., for fear of the Guises, did not wish to press the Hugonots too hard, and at length accepted the proffered mediation of the Duke of Anjou, who was at this time anxious to enter on the protectorate offered to him by the Flemings. Anjou set off for the south, accompanied by his mother and her 'flying squadron' [of seductive nymphs]; conferences were opened at the castle of Fleix in Périgord, and on November 26th, 1850 a treaty was concluded which was almost a literal renewal of that of Bergerac. Thus an equivocal peace, or rather truce, was re-established, which proved of some duration."—T. H. Dyer, *History of modern Europe*, v. 2, bk. 3, ch. 8.

ALSO IN: Duc d'Aumale, *History of the princes of Condé*, v. 2, bk. 2, ch. 1.

1584-1589.—Henry of Navarre heir apparent to the throne.—Fresh hostility of the League.—Edict of Nemours.—Pope's *Brutum Fulmen*.—War of the Three Henrys.—Battle of Coutras.—Day of barricades at Paris.—Assassination of

Guise.—Assassination of Henry III.—"The Duc d'Anjou . . . died in 1584; Henri III. was a worn-out and feeble invalid; the reports of the doctors and the known virtue of the Queen forbade the hope of direct heirs. The King of Navarre was the eldest of the legitimate male descendants of Hugues Capet and of Saint-Louis [see BOURBON, HOUSE OF]. But on the one hand he was a relaxed heretic; on the other, his relationship to the King was so distant that he could never have been served heir to him in any civil suit. This last objection was of small account; the stringent rules which govern decisions in private affairs cannot be made applicable to matters affecting the tranquillity and well-being of nations. . . . His religion was the only pretext on which Navarre could be excluded. France was, and wished to remain, Catholic; she could not submit to a Protestant King. The managers of the League understood that this very wide-spread and even strongly cherished feeling might some day become a powerful lever, but that, in order to use it, it was very needful for them to avoid offending the national amour-propre; and they thought that they had succeeded in finding the means of effecting their object. Next to Navarre, the eldest of the Royal House was his uncle the Cardinal de Bourbon; the Guises acknowledged him as heir to the throne and first Prince of the Blood, under the protection of the Pope and of the King of Spain. . . . The feeble-minded old man, whom no one respected, was a mere phantom, and could offer no serious resistance, when it should be convenient to set him aside. . . . In every class throughout the nation the majority were anxious to maintain at once French unity and Catholic unity, disliking the Reformation, but equally opposed to ultramontane pretensions and to Spanish ambition. . . . But . . . this great party, already named the 'parti politique,' hung loosely together without a leader, and without a policy. For the present it was paralyzed by the contempt in which the King was held; while the dislike which was entertained for the religious opinions of the rightful heir to the throne seemed to deprive it of all hope for the future. Henry III. stood in need of the assistance of the King of Navarre; he would willingly have cleared away the obstacle which kept them apart, and he made an overture with a view to bring back that Prince to the Catholic religion. But these efforts could not be successful. The change of creed on the part of the Béarnais was to be a satisfaction offered to France, the pledge of a fresh agreement between the nation and his race, and not a concession to the threats of enemies. He was not an unbeliever; still less was he a hypocrite; but he was placed between two fanatical parties, and repelled by the excesses of both; so he doubted, honestly doubted, and as his religious indecision was no secret, his conversion at the time of which we are now speaking would have been ascribed to the worst motives." As it was, he found it necessary to quiet disturbing rumors with regard to the proposals of the King by permitting a plain account of what had occurred to be made public. "Henry III., having no other answer to make to this publication, which justified all the complaints of the Catholics, replied to it by the treaty of Nemours and by the edict of July [1585]. These two acts annulled all the edicts in favour of toleration; and placed at the disposal of the League all the resources and all the forces of the monarchy." Soon afterwards the Pope issued against Navarre and Condé his bull of excommunication. By this "the Pontiff did not deprive the Bourbons of a single friend, and did not give the slightest fresh ardour to their opponents; but he produced a powerful reaction among a portion of the clergy, among the magistracy, among all the

Royalists; wounded the national sensibility, consolidated that union between the two Princes which he wished to break off, and rallied the whole of the Reformed party round their leaders. The Protestant pamphleteers replied with no less vehemence, and gave to the Pontiff's bull that name of 'Brutum fulmen' by which it is still known. . . . Still the sentence launched from the Vatican had one very decided result—it had fired the train of powder; war broke out at once."—Duc d'Aumale, *History of the princes of Condé, bk. 2, ch. 1.*—"The war, called from the three leading actors in it [Henry of Valois, Henry of Navarre, and Henry of Guise] the War of the Three Henrys, now opened in earnest. Seven powerful armies were marshalled on the part of the King of France and the League. The Huguenots were weak in numbers, but strong in the quality of their troops. An immense body of German 'Reiter' had been enrolled to act as an auxiliary force, and for some time had been hovering on the frontiers. Hearing that at last they had entered France, Henry of Navarre set out from Rochelle to effect a junction with them. The Duke of Joyeuse, one of the French King's chief favourites, who had the charge of the army that occupied the midland counties, resolved to prevent their junction. By a rapid movement he succeeded in crossing the line of Henry's march and forcing him into action. The two armies came in front of each other on a plain near the village of Coutras, on the 10th of October, 1587. The Royalist army numbered from 10,000 to 12,000, the Huguenot from 6,000 to 7,000—the usual disparity in numbers; but Henry's skilful disposition did more than compensate for his numerical inferiority. . . . The struggle lasted but an hour, yet within that hour the Catholic army lost 3,000 men, more than 400 of whom were members of the first families in the kingdom; 3,000 men were made prisoners. Not more than a third part of their entire army escaped. The Huguenots lost only about 200 men. . . . Before night fell he [Navarre] wrote a few lines to the French King, which run thus: 'Sire, my Lord and Brother,—Thank God, I have beaten your enemies and your army.' It was but too true that the poor King's worst enemies were to be found in the very armies that were marshalled in his name."—W. Hanna, *Wars of the Huguenots, ch. 6.*—"The victory [at Coutras] had only a moral effect. Henry lost time by going to lay at the feet of the Countess of Grammont the flags taken from the enemy. Meantime the Duke of Guise, north of the Loire, triumphed over the Germans under the Baron of Dohna at Vimory, near Montargis, and again near Auneau (1587). Henry III. was unskilful enough to leave to his rival the glory of driving them out of the country. Henry III. re-entered Paris. As he passed along, the populace cried out, 'Saul has killed his thousands, and David his ten thousands'; and a few days after, the Sorbonne decided that 'the government could be taken out of the hands of princes who were found incapable.' Henry III., alarmed, forbade the Duke of Guise to come to Paris, and quartered in the faubourgs 4,000 Swiss and several companies of the guards. The Sixteen [chiefs of sixteen sections of Paris, who controlled the League in that city] feared that all was over; they summoned the 'Balafré' and he came [May 9, 1588]. Cries of 'Hosannah to the Son of David!' resounded throughout Paris, and followed him to the Louvre. . . . The king and the chief of the League fortified themselves, one in the Louvre, the other in the Hôtel Guise. Negotiations were carried on for two days. On the morning of the 11th the duke, well attended, returned to the Louvre, and in loud tones demanded of the king that he should send away his counsellors, establish the Inquisition,

and push to the utmost the war against the heretics. That evening the king ordered the companies of the city guards to hold several positions, and the next morning he introduced into the city the Swiss and 2,000 men of the French guards. But the city guards failed him. In two hours all Paris was under arms, all the streets were rendered impassable, and the advancing barricades soon reached the positions occupied by the troops [whence the insurrection became known as 'the Day of Barricades']. At this juncture Guise came out of his hôtel, dressed in a white doublet, with a small cane in his hand; saved the Swiss, who were on the point of being massacred, sent them back to the king with insulting scorn, and quieted everything as if by magic. He demanded the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom for himself, the convocation of the States at Paris, the forfeiture of the Bourbons, and, for his friends, provincial governments and all the other offices. The queen-mother debated these conditions for three hours. During this time the attack was suspended, and Henry III. was thus enabled to leave the Louvre and make his escape. The Duke of Guise had made a mistake; but if he did not have the king, he had Paris. There was now a king of Paris and a king of France; negotiations were carried on, and to the astonishment of all, Henry III. at length granted what two months before he had refused in front of the barricades. He swore that he would not lay down his arms until the heretics were entirely exterminated; declared that any non-Catholic prince forfeited his rights to the throne, appointed the Duke of Guise lieutenant-general, and convoked the States of Blois [October, 1588]. The States of Blois were composed entirely of Leaguers," and were wholly controlled by the duke of Guise. The latter despised the king too much to give heed to repeated warnings which he received of a plot against his life. Summoned to a private interview in the royal cabinet, at an early hour on the morning of December 23, he did not hesitate to present himself, boldly, alone, and was murdered as he entered, by eight of the king's body-guard, whom Henry III had personally ordered to commit the crime. "Killing the Duke of Guise was not killing the League. At the news of his death Paris was stunned for a moment; then its fury broke forth. . . . The Sorbonne decreed 'that the French people were set free from the oath of allegiance taken to Henry III.' . . . Henry III. had gained nothing by the murder; . . . but he had helped the fortunes of the king of Navarre, into whose arms he was forced to cast himself. . . . The junction of the Protestant and the royal armies under the same standard completely changed the nature of the war. It was no longer feudal Protestantism, but the democratic League, which threatened royalty; monarchy entered into a struggle with the Catholic masses in revolt against it. Henry III. called together, at Tours, his useless Parliament, and issued a manifesto against Mayenne and the chiefs of the League. Henry of Navarre carried on the war energetically. In two months he was master of the territory between the Loire and the Seine, and 15,000 Swiss and lanzknechts joined him. On the evening of July 30th, 1580, the two kings, with 40,000 men, appeared before Paris. The Parisians could see the long line of the enemies' fires gleaming in a vast semicircle on the left bank of the Seine. The king of Navarre established his headquarters at Meudon; Henry III. at Saint-Cloud. The great city was astounded; the people had lost energy; but the fury was concentrated in the hearts of the chiefs and in the depths of the cloisters. . . . The arm of a fanatic became the instrument of the general fury, and put into practice the doctrine of tyrannicide more than once asserted in the schools

and the pulpit. The assault was to be made on August 2d. On the morning of the previous day a young friar from the convent of the Dominicans, Jacques Clément, came out from Paris," obtained access to the king by means of a forged letter, and stabbed him in the abdomen, being, himself, slain on the spot by the royal guards. Henry III "died the same night, and with him the race of Valois became extinct. The aged Catherine de' Medici had died six months before."—V. Duruy, *History of France (abridged)*, ch. 45.

ALSO IN: L. von Ranke, *Civil wars and monarchy in France, 16th and 17th centuries*, ch. 22-25. —W. S. Browning, *History of the Huguenots*, ch. 35-42.

1585.—Proffered sovereignty of the United Netherlands declined by Henry III. See NETHERLANDS: 1585-1586.

1585-1660.—Rise of the Jansenists.—Their suppression by Louis XIV.—Education. See EDUCATION: Modern: 17th century: France: Jansenist schools.

1589.—Elizabeth of England aids with troops. See ENGLAND: 1588-1590.

1589-1590.—Henry of Navarre as Henry IV of France.—Difficulties as king of Catholic France and his retreat.—Battle of Arques.—Battle of Ivry.—"There was a moment of singular confusion in Monsieur de Gondî's 'red house' at Saint-Cloud on the morning of August 1, 1589, when the death of Henry III left the nation to face the inevitable fact that France had a new King and that this King was a Protestant. The prevailing sentiment in the monarch's immediate circle, which was chiefly composed of Catholics, was that of rage. . . . On the night of the 2nd, the chief Catholics of the Court met together to consider the situation. . . . Finally, at the instigation of d'Épernon, it was decided that a deputation should be sent to explain to Henry IV, that if he would immediately abjure the Protestant faith, he should be proclaimed without further delay. The new King of France was a man of five-and-thirty, of medium height, wiry, vigorous, and nervous, the most intelligent of all the French Kings, endowed with one of those lively and supple intellects which see all the shades of a question and make prompt decisions. . . . He possessed too lofty a conception of his own personal dignity and that of his position to accept the terms offered him, though he was fully conscious of his precarious situation. The army by which he was surrounded contained barely 2000 Huguenots, encamped apart at Meudon, the butt of the rest of the troops, who mockingly dubbed them 'the highwaymen.' At the very first moment he had despatched Biron to administer the oath of allegiance to the Swiss, foreigners, mercenaries, and Protestants, who would obey him. But outside these groups he had no supporters. A few Catholics might follow him; the rest might go; he would remain a King without a country, and a general without an army. He was a proud man, and held his ground firmly against the deputation which came to bid him be converted. . . . He promised to give the Catholics every possible guarantee and was ready to receive instruction by means of a national council. Let those who did not wish to stay take their departure. 'My supporters among the Catholics,' he said nobly at the end of his speech, 'will be those who love France and who love honour!' This determined attitude disconcerted the Catholic leaders, and they held another meeting. . . . Some one . . . proposed that Henry IV should be provisionally recognized, and given six months in which to be converted; a resolution to this effect was carried. Henry IV accepted the terms. An agreement was signed on

August 4, by which it was arranged that the King should be instructed, that during the course of the six months he should summon a national council, and that in the meanwhile no alteration should be made in the position of the Catholics and the Huguenots respectively. . . . Unfortunately, a number of stubborn Catholics refused to accept the compromise. They collected their baggage and left the army, one man taking his departure with the whole contingent under his command—a body of 7000 men. And, on the other hand, the Protestants, discouraged by the promises Henry IV had just made, also retired. La Trémoille broke up his camp and left with nine battalions. The royal army was thus thoroughly disorganized, and Henry IV, who, to add to his misfortunes, had no money, finding it impossible to carry on the siege, retreated from the banks of the Seine and fell back in the direction of Normandy. . . . The League regained confidence. It was no longer a question of defending themselves against the possible accession of a Reformer; the heretic was actually King. 'A second rebellion,' said Palma Cayet, 'almost took place.' Mayenne, realizing that he could not himself lay claim to the Crown, made up his mind to abide by the decision of the States-General at Blois, and to proclaim Cardinal Bourbon King with the title of Charles X. Cardinal Bourbon was shut up in the Château de Loches. He let Mayenne proceed and wrote to Vergnètes: 'I have embarked on the enterprise and nobody knows why. They (the League) have a grudge against the House of Bourbon. As long as I side with them they will be obliged to recognize the Bourbons. Meanwhile, the King of Navarre, my nephew, will make his own way. What I am doing is merely to preserve my nephew's rights.' . . . Notification of the accession of Charles X was sent to all the towns in France, and Mayenne assumed the title of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. Fortified by the knowledge of his rights and penetrated by a sense of duty, inspired, not by any personal ambition, but by a strong and admirable conviction of what he owed to France, Henry IV realized that he would have to conquer his kingdom step by step. . . . He had 10,000 men at his disposal, and with them he marched upon Rouen. The fall of that important town would have had a considerable effect. Mayenne hastened from Paris with a much more powerful army to force him to raise the siege. As it was impossible to await him in such a disadvantageous position Henry IV retreated towards Dieppe. . . . He entrenched himself strongly at Arques, whither Mayenne came with 32,000 men [the army of the League] to attack him. . . . The army of the League endeavoured to force the lines of the Royalists. . . . Henry IV, however, collecting his soldiers, threw them against the enemy so vigorously that the latter was obliged to give way after suffering severe losses. Mayenne tried to turn the tables, but failed. . . . This success at Arques produced an extremely favourable impression. Supporters hastened to Henry IV's side, and Longueville with his troops joined him. . . . In a short time, . . . he had mustered a force of some 23,000 men about him. They were miserably equipped, it is true, and in rags, but they were fairly well in hand and confident of success. Few French generals before Henry IV were more clear-headed and resolute than he. He immediately made up his mind to march to Paris, 'the bull's-eye of the target,' as he called it. He was fully aware that if he held Paris the rest would follow. On November 1 he attempted an assault on the city at three different points on the left bank, more particularly at the Porte de Nesle. Unfortunately for him, however, the League made a strong defence and repulsed him. The news that Mayenne was

advancing swiftly against him made him fall back, and, not wishing to be caught between two fires, he retreated to Tours. Still attracted by the 'target,' however, he soon set out again, and occupied Le Mans, Alençon, Falaise, and Honfleur, always hovering round Paris. . . . In that quick incisive style, which makes him one of the great writers of France, he ordered: 'To horse, Fervagues, I want to see at once of what feather are the geese of Normandy. Come straight to Alençon.' People followed readily. . . . In Paris, Mayenne's cause was far from prosperous. The tyranny of the faction controlled by the Sixteen was increasing. Exasperated by their humiliating and demagogic conduct, the nobility had adopted the attitude of holding aloof. . . . Mayenne, deprived of the swords of the nobility, was obliged to get troops where he could, that is to say, from abroad. . . . [The Duc de Mayenne, reinforced by Spanish troops from the Low Countries] left Paris and marched against Henry IV, hoping to reduce him by force of arms. Henry IV had retreated towards Dreux, to which he had laid siege. He had at this moment an army of 11,000 men including 3000 cavalry. The army of the League amounted to 16,000. At the approach of this force, which outnumbered his own, the King decamped from Dreux and descended the valley of the Eure. Mayenne followed cautiously. Then, suddenly, Henry IV made up his mind to attack his adversary. On March 14, 1590, he arranged his army on the plain of Ivry with six cannon in the centre surrounded by cavalry and flanked by companies of infantry. His own battered helmet adorned, according to du Bartas, 'with a horrible plume' he galloped along the front of his troops, who were miserably clad and poorly armed, repeating the famous words: 'Rally round my white plume; you will always find it on the road to honour and victory!' Mayenne would have preferred not to fight, but he was obliged to accept the encounter. After a few cannon shots his cavalry broke up. Their retreat was badly managed, however, for the horsemen, fleeing in haste, hustled each other, and confusion prevailed. The King of Navarre seized the opportunity to charge right through them, and carried along by his vigorous onslaught, his cavalry wrought havoc in the enemy's lines. Henry IV fought like an ordinary carabineer, bravely and heroically. Galvanized by his example his men followed him shouting, 'Long live the King!' As soon as the cavalry was beaten they hurled themselves upon the infantry. The Swiss contingents belonging to the League laid down their arms, and Mayenne, seeing that the battle was lost, took to flight, leaving 6000 men and eighty standards on the field. 'God has shown,' Henry IV wrote that evening, 'that he loves right better than might.' He invited all the chiefs of the victorious army to dinner at the Château de Rosny."—L. Batiffol, *Century of the Renaissance*, v. 2, pp. 286-293.

ALSO IN: H. M. Baird, *Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*, v. 2, ch. 11.—Duke of Sully, *Memoirs*, v. 1, bk. 3.—G. P. R. James, *Life of Henry IV*, v. 2, bk. 11-12.

1590.—Siege of Paris and its horrors.—Relief at hands of the Spaniards under Parma.—Readiness of League to give crown to Philip II.—"The king, yielding to the councils of Biron and other catholics, declined attacking the capital, and preferred waiting the slow, and in his circumstances eminently hazardous, operations of a regular siege. . . . Whatever may have been the cause of the delay, it is certain that the golden fruit of victory was not plucked, and that although the confederate

army had rapidly dissolved, in consequence of their defeat, the king's own forces manifested as little cohesion. And now began that slow and painful siege, the details of which are as terrible, but as universally known, as those of any chapters in the blood-stained history of the century. Henry seized upon the towns guarding the rivers Seine and Marne, twin nurses of Paris. By controlling the course of those streams as well as that of the Yonne and Oise—especially by taking firm possession of Lagny on the Marne, whence a bridge led from the Isle of France to the Brie country—great thoroughfare of wine and corn—and of Corbeil at the junction of the little river Essonne with the Seine—it was easy in that age to stop the vital circulation of the imperial city. By midsummer, Paris, unquestionably the first city of Europe at that day, was in extremities. . . . Rarely have men at any epoch defended their fatherland against foreign oppression with more heroism than that which was manifested by the Parisians of 1590 in resisting religious toleration, and in obeying a foreign and priestly despotism. Men, women, and children cheerfully laid down their lives by thousands in order that the papal legate and the king of Spain might trample upon that legitimate sovereign of France who was one day to become the idol of Paris and of the whole kingdom. A census taken at the beginning of the siege had showed a population of 200,000 souls with a sufficiency of provisions, it was thought, to last one month. But before the terrible summer was over—so completely had the city been invested—the bushel of wheat was worth 360 crowns. . . . The flesh of horses, asses, dogs, cats, rats, had become rare luxuries. There was nothing cheap, said a citizen bitterly, but sermons. And the priests and monks of every order went daily about the streets, preaching fortitude in that great resistance to heresy. . . . Trustworthy eye-witnesses of those dreadful days have placed the number of the dead during the summer at 30,000. . . . The hideous details of the most dreadful sieges recorded in ancient or modern times were now reproduced in Paris. . . . The priests . . . persuaded the populace that it was far more righteous to kill their own children, if they had no food to give them, than to obtain food by recognizing a heretic king. It was related, too, and believed, that in some instances mothers had salted the bodies of their dead children and fed upon them, day by day, until the hideous repast would no longer support their own life. . . . The bones of the dead were taken in considerable quantities from the cemeteries, ground into flour, baked into bread, and consumed. It was called Madame Montpensier's cake, because the duchess earnestly proclaimed its merits to the poor Parisians. 'She was never known to taste it herself, however,' bitterly observed one who lived in Paris through that horrible summer. She was right to abstain, for all who ate of it died. . . . Lansquenets and other soldiers, mad with hunger and rage, when they could no longer find dogs to feed on, chased children through the streets, and were known in several instances to kill and devour them on the spot. . . . Such then was the condition of Paris during that memorable summer of tortures. What now were its hopes of deliverance out of this Gehenna? The trust of Frenchmen was in Philip of Spain, whose legions, under command of the great Italian chief-tain [Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, commander of the Spanish forces in the Netherlands], were daily longed for to save them from rendering obedience to their lawful prince. For even the king of straw—the imprisoned cardinal [Cardinal de

Bourbon, whom the League had proclaimed king, under the title of Charles X, on the death of Henry III—was now dead, and there was not even the effigy of any other sovereign than Henry of Bourbon to claim authority in France. Mayenne, in the course of long interviews with the Duke of Parma at Condé and Brussels, had expressed his desire to see Philip king of France, and had promised his best efforts to bring about such a result." Parma, who was struggling hard with the obstinate revolt in the Netherlands, having few troops and little money to pay them with, received orders from his Spanish master to relieve Paris and conquer France. He obeyed the command to the best of his abilities. He left the Netherlands at the beginning of August, with 12,000 foot and 3,000 horse; effected a junction with Mayenne at Meaux, ten leagues from Paris, on the 22d, and the united armies—5,000 cavalry and 18,000 foot—arrived at Chelles on the last day of summer. "The two great captains of the age had at last met face to face. . . . The scientific duel which was now to take place was likely to task the genius and to bring into full display the peculiar powers and defects of the two." The winner in the duel was the duke of Parma, who foiled Henry's attempts to bring him to battle, while he captured Lagny under the king's eyes. "The bridges of Charenton and St. Maur now fell into Farnese's hands without a contest. In an incredibly short space of time provisions and munitions were poured into the starving city, 2,000 boat-loads arriving in a single day. Paris was relieved. Alexander had made his demonstration and solved the problem. . . . The king was now in worse plight than ever. His army fell to pieces. His cavaliers, cheated of their battle, and having neither food nor forage, rode off by hundreds every day." He made one last attempt, by a midnight assault on the city, but it failed. Then he followed the Spaniards—whom Parma led back to the Netherlands early in November—but could not bring about a battle or gain any important advantage. But Paris, without the genius of Alexander Farnese in its defence, was soon reduced to as complete a blockade as before. Lagny was recovered by the besieging royalists, the Seine and the Marne were again fast-locked, and the rebellious capital deprived of supplies.—J. L. Motley, *History of the united Netherlands*, v. 3, ch. 23.

Also in: M. W. Freer, *History of the reign of Henry IV*, bk. 1.—C. D. Yonge, *History of France under the Bourbons*, ch. 2.

1591-1593.—Siege of Rouen and Parma's second interference.—General advancement of Henry's cause.—Restiveness of the Catholics.—King's abjuration of Protestantism.—"It seemed as if Henri IV. had undertaken the work of Penelope. After each success, fresh difficulties arose to render it fruitless. . . . Now it was the Swiss who refused to go on without their pay; or Elizabeth who exacted seaports in return for fresh supplies; or the Catholics who demanded the conversion of the King; or the Protestants who complained of not being protected. Depressed spirits had to be cheered, some to be satisfied, others to be reassured or restrained, allies to be managed, and all to be done with very little money and without any sacrifice of the national interests. Henri was equal to all, both to war and to diplomacy, to great concerns and to small. . . . His pen was as active as his sword. The collection of his letters is full of the most charming notes. . . . Public opinion, which was already influential and thirsting for news, was not neglected. Every two or three months a little publication entitled 'A Discourse,' or

'An Authentic Narrative,' or 'Account of all that has occurred in the King's Army,' was circulated widely. . . . Thus it was that by means of activity, patience, and tact, Henri IV. was enabled to retrieve his fortunes and to rally his party; so that by the end of the year 1591, he found himself in a position to undertake an important operation. . . . The King laid siege to Rouen in December, 1591. He was at the head of the most splendid army he had ever commanded; it numbered upwards of 25,000 men. This was not too great a number; for the fortifications were strong, the garrison numerous, well commanded by Villars, and warmly supported by the townspeople. The siege had lasted for some months when the King learned that Mayenne had at last made the Duke of Parma to understand the necessity of saving Rouen at all hazards. Thirty thousand Spanish and French Leaguers had just arrived on the Somme. Rouen, however, was at the last gasp; Henri could not make up his mind to throw away the fruits of so much toil and trouble; he left all his infantry under the walls, under the command of Biron, and marched off with his splendid cavalry." He attacked the enemy imprudently, near Aumale, February 5, met with a repulse, was wounded and just missed being taken prisoner in a precipitate retreat. But both armies were half paralyzed at this time by dissensions among their chiefs. That of the Leaguers fell back to the Somme; but in April it approached Rouen again, and Parma was able, despite all Henry's efforts, to enter the town. This last check to the King "was the signal for a general desertion. Henri, left with only a small corps of regular troops and a few gentlemen, was obliged to retire rapidly upon Pont de l'Arche. The Duke of Parma did not follow him. Always vigilant, he wished before everything to establish himself on the Lower Seine, and laid siege to Caudebec, which was not likely to detain him long. But he received during that operation a severe wound, which compelled him to hand over the command to Mayenne." The incompetence of the latter soon lost all the advantages which Parma had gained. Henry's supporters rallied around him again almost as quickly as they had dispersed. "The Leaguers were pushed back upon the Seine and confined in the heart of the Pays de Caux. They were without provisions; Mayenne was at his wits' end; he had to resort to suggestions and for orders to the bed of suffering on which the Duke of Parma was held down by his wound." The great Italian soldier, dying though he was, as the event soon proved, directed operations which baffled the keen watchfulness and penetration of his antagonist, and extricated his army without giving to Henry the chance for battle which he sought. The Spanish army retired to Flemish territory. In the meantime, Henry's cause was being advanced in the northeast of his kingdom by the skill and valor of Turenne, then beginning his great career, and experiencing vicissitudes in the southeast, where Lesdiguières was contending with the mercenaries of the pope and the duke of Savoy, as well as with his countrymen of the League. He had defeated them with awful slaughter at Pontcharra, September 10, 1591, and he carried the war next year into the territories of the duke of Savoy, seeking help from the Italian Waldenses which he does not seem to have obtained. "Nevertheless the king had still some formidable obstacles to overcome. Three years had run their course since he had promised to become instructed in the Catholic religion, and there were no signs as yet that he was preparing to fulfil this undertaking. The position in which he found him-

self, and the importance and activity of his military operations, had hitherto been a sufficient explanation of his delay. But the war had now changed its character. The King had gained brilliant successes. There was no longer any large army in the field against him. Nothing seemed to be now in the way to hinder him from fulfilling his promise. And yet he always evaded it. He had to keep on good terms with Elizabeth and the Protestants; he wished to make his abjuration the occasion for an agreement with the Court of Rome, which took no steps to smooth over his difficulties; and lastly, he shrank from taking a step which is always painful when it is not the fruit of honest conviction. This indecision doubled the ardour of his enemies, prevented fresh adhesions, discouraged and divided his old followers. . . . A third party, composed of bishops and Royalist noblemen, drew around the cousins of Henri IV., the Cardinal de Vendôme and the Comte de Soissons. . . . The avowed object of this third party was to raise one of these two Princes to the throne, if the Head of their House did not forthwith enter the bosom of the Catholic Church. And finally, the deputies of the cities and provinces who had been called to Paris by Mayenne were assembling there for the election of a king. 'The Satire of Ménippée' has handed down the States of the League to immortal ridicule; but however decried that assembly has been, and deserved to be, it decided the conversion of Henri IV.: he does not attempt in his despatches to deny this. . . . In order to take away every excuse for such an election, he entered at once into conference with the Catholic theologians. After some very serious discussion, much deeper than a certain saying which has become a proverb [that 'Paris is certainly worth a mass'] would seem to imply, he abjured the Protestant religion on the 25th of July, 1593, before the Archbishop of Bourges. The League had received its death-blow."—Duc d'Aumale, *History of the princes of Condé*, v. 2, bk. 2, ch. 2.—"The news of the abjuration produced in the minds of honest men, far and near, the most painful impression. Politicians might applaud an act intended to conciliate the favor of the great majority of the nation, and extol the astuteness of the king in choosing the most opportune moment for his change of religion—the moment when he would secure the support of the Roman Catholics, fatigued by the length of the war and too eager for peace to question very closely the sincerity of the king's motives, without forfeiting the support of the Huguenots. But men of conscience, judging Henry's conduct by a standard of morality immutable and eternal, passed a severe sentence of condemnation upon the most flagrant instance of a betrayal of moral convictions which the age had known."—H. M. Baird, *Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*, v. 2, ch. 13.—"What the future history of France would have been if Henry had clung to his integrity, is known only to the Omniscient; but, with the annals of France in our hands, we have no difficulty in perceiving that the day of his impious, because pretended conversion, was among the 'dies nefasti' of his country. It restored peace indeed to that bleeding land, and it gave to himself an undisputed reign of seventeen years; but he found them years replete with cares and terrors, and disgraced by many shameful vices, and at last abruptly terminated by the dagger of an assassin. It rescued France, indeed, from the evils of a disputed succession, but it consigned her to two centuries of despotism and misgovernment. It transmitted the crown, indeed, to seven in succession of the posterity of Henry; but of them one died on the scaffold, three were deposed by insurrections of

their subjects, one has left a name pursued by unmitigated and undying infamy, and another lived and died in a monastic melancholy, the feeble slave of his own minister."—J. Stephen, *Lectures on the history of France*, lect. 16.

ALSO IN: P. F. Willert, *Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots of France*, ch. 5-6.

1593-1598.—Henry's winning of Paris.—First attempt upon his life.—Expulsion of Jesuits from Paris.—War with Spain.—Peace of Verbins.—"A truce of three months had been agreed upon [August 1, 1593], during which many nobles and several important towns made their submissions to the King. Many, however, still held out for the League, and among them Paris, as well as Rheims, by ancient usage the city appropriated to the coronation of the kings of France. Henry IV. deemed that ceremony indispensable to sanctify his cause in the eyes of the people, and he therefore



HENRY IV

Founder of the House of Bourbon

caused it to be performed at Chartres by the bishop of that place, February 27th 1594. But he could hardly look upon himself as King of France so long as Paris remained in the hands of a faction which disputed his right, and he therefore strained every nerve to get possession of that capital. . . . As he wished to get possession of the city without bloodshed, he determined to attempt it by corrupting the commandant. This was Charles de Cossé, Count of Brissac. . . . Henry promised Brissac, as the price of his admission into Paris, the sum of 200,000 crowns and an annual pension of 20,000 together with the governments of Corbeil and Mantes, and the continuance to him of his marshal's bâton. To the Parisians was offered an amnesty from which only criminals were to be excepted; the confirmation of all their privileges; and the prohibition of the Protestant worship within a radius of ten leagues. . . . Before day-break on the morning of the 22nd March, 1594, Brissac opened the gates of Paris to Henry's troops, who took possession of the city without resistance, except at one of the Spanish guard-houses, where a

LINEAGE OF THE

1ST GENERATION. 2D.

3D.

4TH.

5TH.

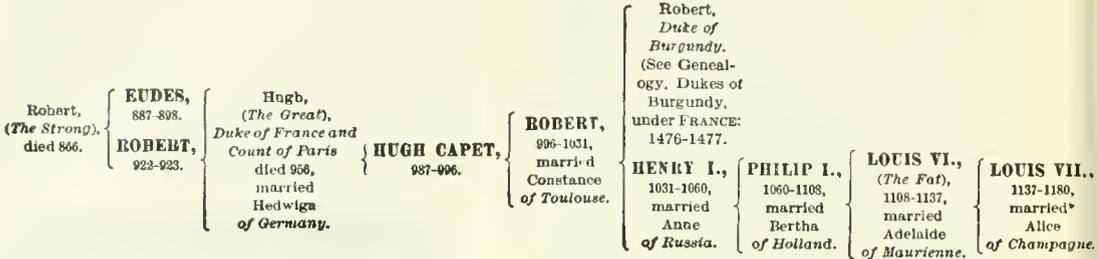
6TH.

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CAPETIANS.



17TH GENERATION.

18TH.

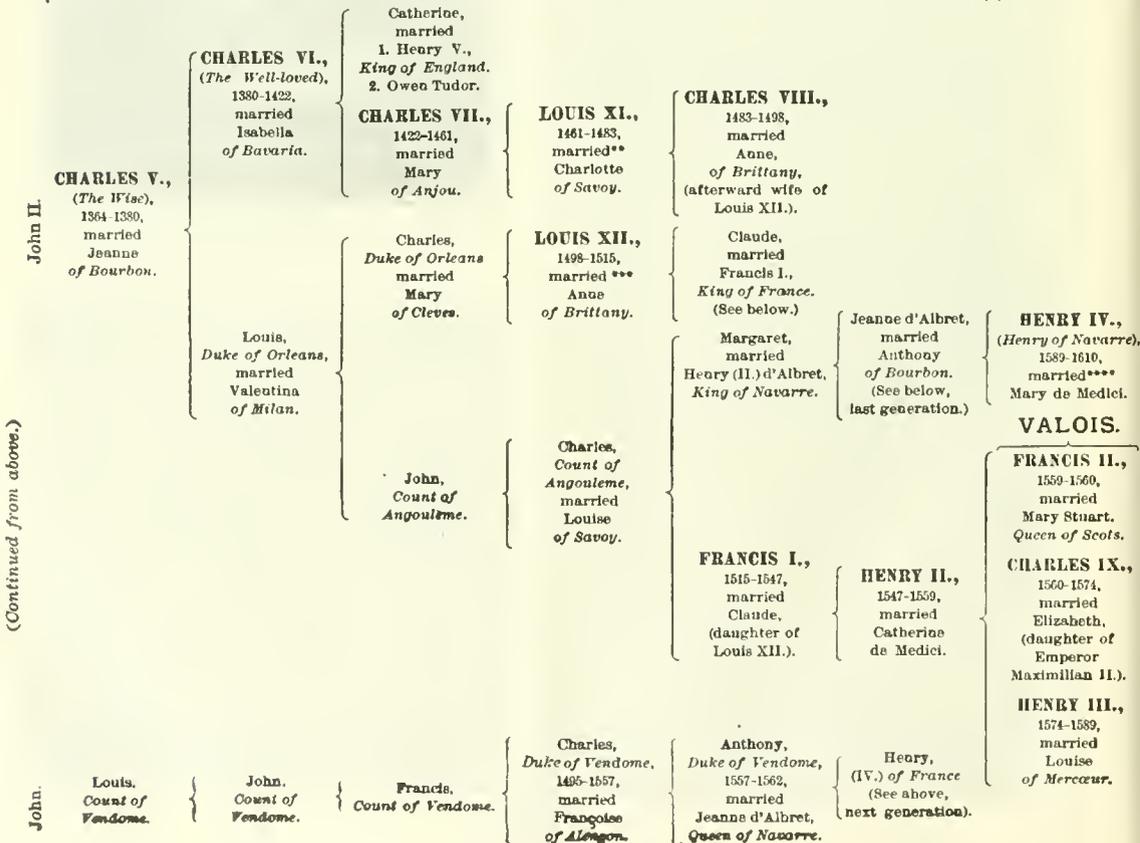
HOUSE OF VALOIS.

20TH.

21ST.

22D.

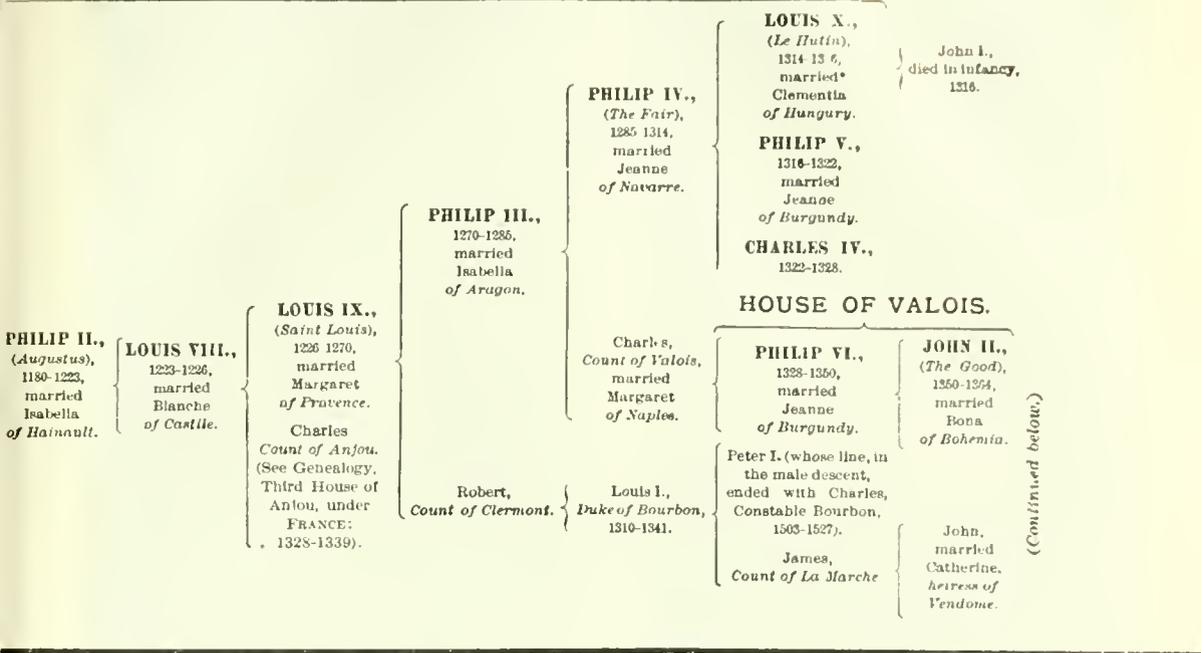
23D.



(Continued from above.)

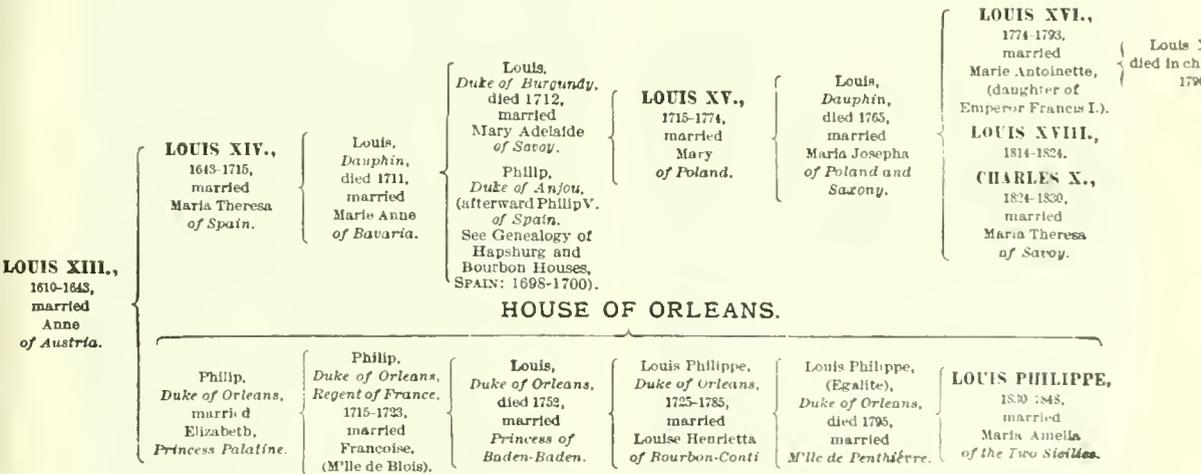
SOVEREIGNS OF FRANCE.

10TH. 11TH. 12TH. 13TH. 14TH. 15TH. 16TH.



24TH. 25TH. 26TH. 27TH. 28TH. 29TH. 30TH. 31ST.

BOURBON FAMILY.



* First married to Eleanor of Aquitaine (afterward wife of Henry II., king of England); secondly, to Constance of Castile.
 ** First married to Margaret of Scotland.
 *** First married to Jeanne, daughter of Louis XI.; thirdly, to Mary, daughter of Henry VII., king of England.
 **** First married to Margaret of Valois, daughter of Henry II., king of France.

few soldiers were killed. When all appeared quiet, Henry himself entered, and was astonished at being greeted with joyous cheers. . . . He gave manifold proofs of forbearance and good temper, fulfilled all the conditions of his agreement, and allowed the Spaniards [4,000] to withdraw unmolested." In May, 1594, Henry laid siege to Laon, which surrendered in August. "Its example was soon followed by Château-Thierry, Amiens, Cambrai and Noyon. The success of the King induced the Duke of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise to make their peace with him." In November, an attempt to kill the king was made by a young man named Jean Chatel, who confessed that he attended the schools of the Jesuits. "All the members of that order were arrested, and their papers examined. One of them, named Jean Guignard, on whom was found a treatise approving the murder of Henry III., and maintaining that his successor deserved a like fate, was condemned to the gallows; and the remainder of the order were banished from Paris, January 8th 1595, as corrupters of youth and enemies of the state. This example, however, was followed only by a few of the provincial cities. The irritation caused by this event seems to have precipitated Henry IV. into a step which he had been some time meditating: a declaration of war against his ancient and most bitter enemy Philip II. (January 17th 1595). The King of Spain, whom the want of money had prevented from giving the League much assistance during the two preceding years, was stung into fury by this challenge; and he immediately ordered Don Fernando de Velasco, constable of Castile, to join Mayenne in Franche Comté with 10,000 men. Velasco, however, was no great captain, and little of importance was done. The only action worth mentioning is an affair of cavalry at Fontaine Française (June 6th 1595), in which Henry displayed his usual bravery, or rather rashness, but came off victorious. He then overran nearly all Franche Comté without meeting with any impediment from Velasco, but retired at the instance of the Swiss, who entreated him to respect the neutrality of that province. Meanwhile Henry had made advances to Mayenne, who was disgusted with Velasco and the Spaniards, and on the 25th September Mayenne, in the name of the League, signed with the King a truce of three months, with a view to regulate the conditions of future submission. An event had already occurred which placed Henry in a much more favourable position with his Roman Catholic subjects; he had succeeded [September, 1595] in effecting his reconciliation with the Pope. . . . The war on the northern frontiers had not been going on so favourably for the King." In January, 1595, "Philip II. ordered the Spaniard Fuentés, who, till the arrival of Albert [the archduke], conducted the government of the Netherlands, to invade the north of France; and Fuentés . . . having left Mondragone with sufficient forces to keep Prince Maurice in check, set off with 15,000 men, with the design of recovering Cambrai. Catelet and Doullens yielded to his arms; Ham was betrayed to him by the treachery of the governor, and in August Fuentés sat down before Cambrai. . . . The Duke of Anjou had made over that place to his mother, Catherine de' Medici, who had appointed Balagni to be governor of it. During the civil wars of France, Balagni had established himself there as a little independent sovereign, and called himself Prince of Cambrai; but after the discomfiture of the League he had been compelled to declare himself, and had acknowledged his allegiance to the King of France. His extortion and tyranny having rendered him

detested by the inhabitants, they . . . delivered Cambrai to the Spaniards, October 2nd. Fuentés then returned into the Netherlands. . . . The Cardinal Archduke Albert arrived at Brussels in February 1596, when Fuentés resigned his command. . . . Henry IV. had been engaged since the winter in the siege of La Fère, a little town in a strong situation at the junction of the Serre and Oise. He had received reinforcements from England as well as from Germany and Holland. . . . Albert marched to Valenciennes with about 20,000 men, with the avowed intention of relieving La Fère; but instead of attempting that enterprise, he despatched De Rosen, a French renegade . . . with the greater part of the forces, to surprise Calais; and that important place was taken by assault, April 17th, before Henry could arrive for its defence. La Fère surrendered May 22nd; and Henry then marched with his army towards the coast of Picardy, where he endeavoured, but in vain, to provoke the Spaniards to give him battle. After fortifying Calais and Ardres, Albert withdrew again into the Netherlands. . . . Elizabeth, alarmed at the occupation by the Spaniards of a port which afforded such facilities for the invasion of England, soon afterwards concluded another offensive and defensive alliance with Henry IV. (May 24th), in which the contracting parties pledged themselves to make no separate peace or truce with Philip II." The Dutch joined in this treaty; but the Protestant princes of Germany refused to become parties to it. "The treaty, however, had little effect." Early in 1597, the Spaniards dealt Henry an alarming blow, by surprising and capturing the city of Amiens, gaining access to it by an ingenious stratagem. But Henry recovered the place in September, after a vigorous siege. He also put down a rising, under the Duc de Mercœur, in Brittany, defeating the rebels at Dinan, while his lieutenant, Lesdiguières, in the southeast, invaded Savoy once more, taking Maurienne, and paralyzing the hostile designs of its duke. The malignant Spanish king, suffering and near his end, discouraged and tired of the war, now sought to make peace. Both the Dutch and the English refused to treat with him; but Henry IV, notwithstanding the pledges given in 1596 to his allies, entered into negotiations which resulted in the Treaty of Vervins, signed May 2, 1598. "By the Peace of Vervins the Spaniards restored to France Calais, Ardres, Doullens, La Capelle, and Le Câtelet in Picardy, and Blavet (Port Louis) in Brittany, of all their conquests retaining only the citadel of Cambrai. The rest of the conditions were referred to the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, which Henry had stipulated should form the basis of the negotiations. The Duke of Savoy was included in the peace." While this important treaty was pending, in April, 1598, Henry quieted the anxieties of his Huguenot subjects by the famous Edict of Nantes.—T. H. Dyer, *History of modern Europe*, v. 2, bk. 3, ch. 10-11.

ALSO IN: C. H. C. Jackson, *First of the Bourbons*, v. 1, ch. 14-18; v. 2, ch. 1-7.—J. L. Motley, *History of the united Netherlands*, v. 3, ch. 29-35.—R. Watson, *History of the reign of Philip II*, bk. 23-24.

1598-1599.—Edict of Nantes.—For the purpose of receiving the submission of the duke of Mercœur and the Breton insurgents, the king proceeded down the Loire, and "reached the capital of Brittany, the commercial city of Nantes, on the 11th of April, 1598. Two days later he signed the edict which has come to be known as the Edict of Nantes [and which had been under discussion for some months with representatives of a Protestant

assembly in session at Châtellerault]. . . . The Edict of Nantes is a long and somewhat complicated document. Besides the edict proper, contained in 95 public articles, there is a further series of 56 'secret' articles, and a 'brevet' or patent of the king, all of which were signed on the 13th of April; and these documents are supplemented by a second set of 23 'secret' articles, dated on the last day of the same month. The first of these four papers is expressly declared to be a 'perpetual and irrevocable edict.' . . . Our chief concern being with the fortunes of the Huguenots, the provisions for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic worship, wherever in the course of the events of the last 30 years that worship had been interfered with or banished, need not claim our attention. For the benefit of the Protestants the cardinal concession was liberty to dwell anywhere in the royal dominions, without being subjected to inquiry, vexed, molested, or constrained to do anything contrary to their conscience. As respects public worship, while perfect equality was not established, the dispositions were such as to bring it within the power of a Protestant in any part of the kingdom to meet his fellow-believers for the holiest of acts, at least from time to time. To every Protestant nobleman enjoying that extensive authority known as 'haute justice,' and to noblemen in Normandy distinguished as possessors of 'fiefs de haubert,' the permission was granted to have religious services on all occasions and for all comers at their principal residence, as well as on other lands whenever they themselves were present. Noblemen of inferior jurisdiction were allowed to have worship on their estates, but only for themselves and their families. In addition to these seigniorial rights, the Protestant 'people' received considerable accessions to the cities where they might meet for public religious purposes. The exercise of their worship was authorized in all cities and places where such worship had been held on several occasions in the years 1596 and 1597, up to the month of August; and in all places in which worship had been, or ought to have been, established in accordance with the Edict of 1577 [the Edict of Poitiers—see above: 1577-1578], as interpreted by the Conference of Nérac and the Peace of Fleix [see above: 1578-1580]. But in addition to these, a fresh gift of a second city in every bailiwick and sénéchaussée of the kingdom greatly increased the facilities enjoyed by the scattered Huguenots for reaching the assemblies of their fellow-believers. . . . Scholars of both religions were to be admitted without distinction of religion to all universities, colleges, and schools throughout France. The same impartiality was to extend to the reception of the sick in the hospitals, and to the poor in the provision made for their relief. More than this, the Protestants were permitted to establish schools of their own in all places where their worship was authorized. . . . The scandal and inhumanity exhibited in the refusal of burial to the Protestant dead, as well in the disinterment of such bodies as had been placed in consecrated ground, was henceforth precluded by the assignment of portions of the public cemeteries or of new cemeteries of their own to the Protestants. The civil equality of the Protestants was assured by an article which declared them to be admissible to all public positions, dignities, offices, and charges, and forbade any other examination into their qualifications, conduct, and morals than those to which their Roman Catholic brethren were subjected. . . . Provision was made for the establishment of a 'chamber of the edict,' as it was styled, in the Par-

liament of Paris, with six Protestants among its sixteen counsellors, to take cognizance of cases in which Protestants were concerned. A similar chamber was promised in each of the parliaments of Rouen and Rennes. In Southern France three 'chambres mi-parties' were either continued or created, with an equal number of Roman Catholic and Protestant judges." In the "brevet" or patent which accompanied the edict, the king made a secret provision of 45,000 crowns annually from the royal treasury, which was understood to be for the support of Protestant ministers, although that purpose was concealed. In the second series of secret articles, the Protestants were authorized to retain possession for eight years of the "cautionary cities" which they held under former treaties, and provision was made for paying the garrisons. "Such are the main features of a law whose enactment marks an important epoch in the history of jurisprudence. . . . The Edict of Nantes was not at once presented to the parliaments; nor was it, indeed, until early in the following year that the Parliament of Paris formally entered the document upon its registers. . . . There were obstacles from many different quarters to be overcome. The clergy, the parliaments, the university, raised up difficulty after difficulty." But the masterful will of the king bore down all opposition, and the Edict was finally accepted as the law of the land. "On the 17th of March [1599] Henry took steps for its complete execution throughout France, by the appointment of commissioners—a nobleman and a magistrate from each province—to attend to the work."—H. M. Baird, *Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*, v. 2, ch. 14.

ALSO IN: C. M. Yonge, *Cameos from English history*, 5th series, ch. 36.

The full text of the Edict of Nantes will be found in the following named works: C. Weiss, *History of French Protestant refugees*, v. 2, appendix.—A. Maury, *Memoirs of a Huguenot family* (J. Fontaine), appendix.

1599-1610.—Invasion of Savoy.—Acquisition of the department of Aisne.—Ten years of peace and prosperity.—Great works of Henry IV.—Foreign policy.—Assassination.—"One thing only the peace of Vervins left unsettled. In the preceding troubles a small Italian appanage, the Marquisate of Saluces, had been seized by Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, and remained still in his possession. The right of France to it was not disputed, did not admit indeed of dispute; but the Duke was unwilling to part with what constituted one of the keys of Italy. He came to Paris in December, 1599, to negotiate the affair in person," but employed his opportunity to intrigue, with certain disaffected nobles, including the duke of Biron, marshal of France and governor of Burgundy. "Wearied with delays, whose object was transparent, Henry at last had recourse to arms. Savoy was speedily overrun with French troops, and its chief strongholds taken. Spain was not prepared to back her ally, and the affair terminated by Henry's accepting in lieu of the Marquisate that part of Savoy which now constitutes the Department of Aisne in France." Biron, whom the king tried hard to save by repeated warnings which were not heeded, paid the penalty of his treasonable schemes at last by losing his head. "The ten years from 1600 to 1610 were years of tranquillity, and gave to Henry the opportunity he had so ardently longed for of restoring and regenerating France." Henry's internal policy was worked out largely by his admirable minister the duc de Sully (1560-1641). He applied his energies and his active mind

to the establishment of absolutism, to the reorganization of the disordered finances of the kingdom, to the improvement of agriculture, to the extending of commerce.—W. Hanna, *Wars of the Huguenots*, ch. 8.—“To make the taxes bring in as much as could be raised with little incidental expense; to institute rigid economies; . . . to pay off most of the debts or diminish them by every kind of contrivance; and, finally, to put money aside, was the programme that Rosny [duc de Sully] traced out for himself. He conceived no new ideas in financial matters, he merely utilized methods already existing. It is incorrect to say that the keeping of public accounts at this period was in an embryonic condition, and that any individual connected with them could enrich himself at his leisure in the dark jungle of taxation. There were regulations, the observance of which was controlled by the Court of the Exchequer more strictly than is generally imagined. As a matter of fact, if we leave out of the reckoning the bad returns of the *taille*, it was owing to a thousand and one decisions which were correct enough, but ruinous in their results, that the money produced by the taxes found its way into the pockets of clever agents. The taxes, like the aids, were farmed out separately on relatively low terms. Rosny sold them by auction to a single tax-farmer, Monsieur Jean de Moisset, for a much more advantageous sum; and in the same way he increased the amount paid by the five great farmers-general. In cases where a given annual sum was due to a man, he had hitherto simply been exempted from the payment of some State claim upon him, and this exempted claim always represented a far larger sum than the one to which he had a right. Rosny had these alienated dues restored to the State. There were quantities of them, and the property of the Crown had been dismembered by this process. The persons concerned, who were chiefly great nobles, remonstrated; but the surly minister took no notice and merely told them that they would be paid in a different way. The debts, above all, were overwhelming. On every side money was owing to all manner of people both at home and abroad, for Henry IV had inherited liabilities incurred by the kings his predecessors during the civil wars. To the Duke of Tuscany alone a sum of 1,100,000 crowns was owing, and the Grand-Duke, in default of payment, had seized the Château d'If opposite Marseilles, as security, a humiliation to which Henry IV had been obliged to submit. Arrangements were made whereby these debts were to be paid off in regular yearly instalments. In the case of the King's own subjects Rosny made use of more expeditious methods. Amongst other liabilities, sixty millions of arrears in interest on state securities were due. The minister declared that as the titles of these creditors were not very clear, he wished to revise them. He then lowered the interest from 8½ per cent. to 6¼ per cent. An outcry was immediately raised that he was acting arbitrarily and that the State was bankrupt; whereupon Henry IV, threatened by an insurrection among the investors, was obliged to ask Rosny to be less drastic. This, however, did not prevent the latter from reducing the royal debts by 100 millions of capital. By a series of similar measures, and above all by opposing largesse of any sort, and by severe economy in expenditure, a method which the minister called ‘wonderful housekeeping,’ the Government in the end not only succeeded in balancing its budget, but put aside enough money to stock the Arsenal with provisions for war, and placed a surplus of thirteen millions in the Bastille. When once the financial

difficulties had been overcome, Henry IV and Rosny, who had been made Duke of Sully in 1606, set to work to ameliorate the condition of the people. The importance of the reforms they carried out in the domain of agriculture, commerce, and public works must not be exaggerated. Their chief merit lay in the fact that they put an end to war, and allowed the people to work in peace. Sully said, ‘Husbandry and the care of cattle are the two udders of France.’ But, as a matter of fact, he did not do much to alter the conditions of agriculture.”—L. Batiffol, *Century of the Renaissance*, v. 2, pp. 316-318.—Henry himself was deeply interested in increasing manufacturing and industry. He gave the first impulse to silk culture and silk manufacture in France; he founded the great Gobelin manufactory of tapestry at Paris; he built roads and bridges, and encouraged canal projects; he began the creation of a navy; he promoted the colonization of Canada. “It was, however, in the domain of foreign politics that Henry exhibited the acuteness and comprehensiveness of his genius, and his marvellous powers of contrivance, combination, execution. . . . The great political project, to the maturing of which Henry IV. devoted his untiring energies for the last years of his life, was the bringing of the . . . half of Europe into close political alliance, and arming it against the house of Austria, and striking when the fit time came, such a blow at the ambition and intolerance of that house that it might never be able to recover [“Grand Design”]. After innumerable negotiations . . . he had succeeded in forming a coalition of twenty separate States, embracing England, the United Provinces, Denmark, Sweden, Northern Germany, Switzerland. At last the time for action came. The Duke of Cleves died, 25th March, 1609. The succession was disputed. One of the claimants of the Dukedom was supported by the Emperor, another by the Protestant Princes of Germany [see GERMANY: 1608-1618]. The contest about a small German Duchy presented the opportunity for bringing into action that alliance which Henry had planned and perfected. In the great military movements that were projected he was himself to take the lead. Four French armies, numbering 100,000, were to be launched against the great enemy of European liberty. One of these Henry was to command; even our young Prince of Wales was to bring 6,000 English with him, and make his first essay in arms under the French King. By the end of April, 1610, 35,000 men and 50 pieces of cannon had assembled at Chalons. The 20th May was fixed as the day on which Henry was to place himself at its head.” But on the 16th of May (1610) he was struck down by the hand of an assassin (François Ravaillac), and the whole combination fell to pieces.—W. Hanna, *Wars of the Huguenots*, ch. 8.—“The Emperor, the King of Spain, the Queen of France, the Duke d'Épernon, the Jesuits, were all in turn suspected of having instigated the crime, because they all profited by it; but the assassin declared that he had no accomplices. . . . He believed that the King was at heart a Huguenot, and thought that in ridding France of this monarch he was rendering a great service to his country.”—A. de Bonnechose, *History of France*, v. 1, p. 450.

ALSO IN: M. W. Freer, *Last decade of a glorious reign*.—Duke of Sully, *Memoirs*, v. 2-5.—N. W. Wraxall, *History of France, 1574-1610*, v. 5, ch. 7-8; v. 6.—A. H. Johnson, *Europe in the sixteenth century*, pp. 447-448.

17th century.—Standard of education. See EDUCATION: Modern; 17th century; France: Standard, etc.

17th century.—Classics versus modern writers. See CLASSICS: 16th-17th centuries.

17th-18th centuries.—Foreign trade. See CAPITALISM: 17th-18th centuries: Foreign trade of France.

1600.—Treaties with England regarding trade in the Indies. See AMERICA: 1528-1648.

1602-1700.—Port Royal and the Jansenists. See PORT ROYAL AND THE JANSENISTS: 1602-1700.

1603-1608.—First settlements in Acadia. See CANADA: 1592-1603; 1603-1605; 1606-1608.

1608-1616.—Champlain's explorations and settlements in the valley of the St. Lawrence. See CANADA: 1608-1611 to 1616-1628.

1610.—Accession of King Louis XIII.

1610-1619.—Regency of Marie de Medicis.—Reign of favorites and riot of factions.—Distractions of the kingdom.—Rise of Richelieu.—“After the death of Henry IV it was seen how much the power, credit, manners, and spirit of a nation frequently depend upon a single man. This prince had by a vigorous, yet gentle administration, kept all orders of the state in union, lulled all factions to sleep, maintained peace between the two religions, and kept his people in plenty. He held the balance of Europe in his hands by his alliance, his riches, and his arms. All these advantages were lost in the very first year of the regency of his widow, Mary of Medicis [whom Henry had married in 1600, the pope granting a divorce from his first wife, Margaret of Valois]. . . . Mary of Medicis . . . appointed regent [during the minority of her son, Louis XIII], though not mistress of the kingdom, lavished in making of creatures all that Henry the Great had amassed to render his nation powerful. The army he had raised to carry the war into Germany was disbanded, the princes he had taken under his protection were abandoned. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, the new ally of Henry IV., was obliged to ask pardon of Philip III. of Spain for having entered into a treaty with the French king, and sent his son to Madrid to implore the mercy of the Spanish court, and to humble himself as a subject in his father's name. The princes of Germany, whom Henry had protected with an army of 40,000 men, now found themselves almost without assistance. The state lost all its credit abroad, and was distracted at home. The princes of the blood and the great nobles filled France with factions, as in the times of Francis II., Charles IX. and Henry III., and as afterwards, during the minority of Lewis XIV. At length [1614] an assembly of the general estates was called at Paris, the last that was held in France [prior to the States General which assembled on the eve of the Revolution of 1789]. . . . The result of this assembly was the laying open all the grievances of the kingdom, without being able to redress one. France remained in confusion, and governed by one Concini, a Florentine, who rose to be marshal of France without ever having drawn a sword, and prime minister without knowing anything of the laws. It was sufficient that he was a foreigner for the princes to be displeased with him. Mary of Medicis was in a very unhappy situation, for she could not share her authority with the prince of Condé, chief of the malecontents, without being deprived of it altogether; nor trust it in the hands of Concini, without displeasing the whole kingdom. Henry prince of Condé, father of the great Condé, and son to him who had gained the battle of Coutras in conjunction with Henry IV., put himself at the head of a party, and took up arms. The court made a dissembled peace with him, and afterwards clapt him up in the Bastille. This had been the fate of

his father and grandfather, and was afterwards that of his son. His confinement increased the number of the malecontents. The Guises, who had formerly been implacable enemies to the Condé family, now joined with them. The duke of Vendome, son to Henry IV., the duke of Nevers, of the house of Gonzaga, the marshal de Bouillon, and all the rest of the malecontents, fortified themselves in the provinces, protesting that they continued true to their king, and made war only against the prime minister. Concini, marshal d'Ancre, secure of the queen regent's protection, braved them all. He raised 7,000 men at his own expence, to support the royal authority. . . . A young man of whom he had not the least apprehension, and who was a stranger like himself, caused his ruin, and all the misfortunes of Mary of Medicis. Charles Albert of Luines, born in the county of Avignon, had, with his two brothers, been taken into the number of gentlemen in ordinary to the king, and the companions of his education. He had insinuated himself into the good graces and confidence of the young monarch, by his dexterity in bird-catching. It was never supposed that these childish amusements would end in a bloody revolution. The marshal d'Ancre had given him the government of Amboise, thinking by that to make him his creature; but this young man conceived the design of murdering his benefactor, banishing the queen, and governing himself; all which he accomplished without meeting with any obstacle. He soon found means of persuading the king that he was capable of reigning alone, though he was not then quite 17 years old, and told him that the queen-mother and Concini kept him in confinement. The young king, to whom in his childhood they had given the name of Just, consented to the murder of his prime minister; the marquis of Vitri, captain of the king's guards, du Hallier his brother, Persan, and others, were sent to dispatch him, who, finding him in the court of the Louvre, shot him dead with their pistols [April 24, 1617]: upon this they cried out, 'Vive le roi,' as if they had gained a battle, and Lewis XIII., appearing at a window, cried out, 'Now I am king.' The queen-mother had her guards take from her, and was confined to her own apartment, and afterwards banished to Blois. The place of marshal of France, held by Concini, was given to the marquis of Vitri, his murderer." Concini's wife, Eleanor Galigai, was tried on a charge of sorcery and burned, "and the king's favorite, Luines, had the confiscated estates. This unfortunate Galigai was the first promoter of cardinal Richelieu's fortune; while he was yet very young, and called the abbot of Chillon, she procured him the bishopric of Lucan [1607], and at length got him made secretary of state in 1616. He was involved in the disgrace of his protectors, and . . . was now banished . . . to a little priory at the farther end of Anjou. . . . The duke of Epemon, who had caused the queen to be declared regent, went to the castle of Blois [February 22, 1610], whither she had been banished, and carried her to his estate in Angoulême, like a sovereign who rescues his ally. This was manifestly an act of high treason; but a crime that was approved by the whole kingdom." The king presently "sought an opportunity of reconciliation with his mother, and entered into a treaty with the duke of Epemon, as between prince and prince. . . . But the treaty of reconciliation was hardly signed when it was broken again; this was the true spirit of the times. New parties took up arms in favour of the queen, and always to oppose the duke of Luines, as before it had been to oppose the marshal d'Ancre, but never against the king. Every favourite at that

time drew after him a civil war. Lewis and his mother in fact made war upon each other. Mary was in Anjou at the head of a small army against her son; they engaged each other on the bridge of C e, and the kingdom was on the point of ruin. This confusion made the fortune of the famous Richelieu. He was comptroller of the queen-mother's household, and had supplanted all that princess's confidants, as he afterwards did all the king's ministers. His pliable temper and bold disposition must necessarily have acquired for him the first rank everywhere, or have proved his ruin. He brought about the accommodation between the mother and son; and a nomination to the purple, which the queen asked of the king for him, was the reward of his services. The duke of Ep ernon was the first to lay down arms without making any demands, whilst the rest made the king pay them for having taken up arms against him. The queen-mother and the king her son had an interview at Brisac, where they embraced with a flood of tears, only to quarrel again more violently than ever. The weakness, intrigues, and divisions of the court spread anarchy through the kingdom. All the internal defects with which the state had for a long time been attacked were now increased, and those which Henry IV. had removed were revived anew."—Voltaire, *Ancient and modern history*, tr. by Smollet, v. 5, ch. 145.

ALSO IN: J. Boulenger, *Seventeenth century*.—C. D. Yonge, *History of France under the Bourbons*, v. 1, ch. 5-6.—A Thierry, *Formation and progress of the Tiers Etat in France*, v. 1, ch. 7.—S. Menzies, *Royal favorites*, v. 1, ch. 9.

1613.—Acquisition of bishopric of Metz and its lands. See ALSACE-LORRAINE: 1552-1774.

1613.—Settlement of Cayenne. See GUIANA: 1580-1814.

1620.—Extent of territory in America. See AMERICA: Map of King James's grants.

1620-1622.—Renewed jealousy of the Huguenots.—Their formidable organization and its political pretensions.—Restoration of Catholicism in Navarre and B earn.—Their incorporation with France.—Huguenot revolt.—Treaty of Montpellier.—"The Huguenot question had become a very serious one, and the bigotry of some of the Catholics found its opportunity in the insubordination of many of the Protestants. The Huguenots had undoubtedly many minor causes for discontent. . . . But on the whole the government and the majority of the people were willing to carry out in good faith the provision of the edict of Nantes. The Protestants, within the limits there laid down, could have worshipped after their own conscience, free from persecution and subject to little molestation. It was, perhaps, all that could be expected in a country where the mass of the population were Catholic, and where religious fanaticism had recently supported the League and fostered the wars of religion. But the Protestant party seem to have desired a separate political power, which almost justifies the charge made against them, that they sought to establish a state within a state, or even to form a separate republic. Their territorial position afforded a certain facility for such endeavors. In the northern provinces their numbers were insignificant. They were found chiefly in the southwestern provinces—Poitou, Saintonge, Guienne, Province, and Languedoc—while in B earn and Navarre they constituted the great majority of the population, and they held for their protection a large number of strongly fortified cities. . . . Though there is nothing to show that a plan for a separate republic was seriously considered, the Huguenots had adopted an

organization which naturally excited the jealousy and ill-will of the general government. They had long maintained a system of provincial and general synods for the regulation of their faith and discipline. . . . The assembly which met at Saumur immediately after Henry's death, had carried still further the organization of the members of their faith. From consistories composed of the pastors and certain of the laity, delegates were chosen who formed local consistories. These again chose delegates who met in provincial synods, and from them delegates were sent to the national synod, or general assembly of the church. Here not only matters of faith, but of state, were regulated, and the general assembly finally assumed to declare war, levy taxes, choose generals, and act both as a convocation and a parliament. The assembly of Saumur added a system of division into eight great circles, covering the territory where the Protestants were sufficiently numerous to be important. All but two of these were south of the Loire. They were subsequently organized as military departments, each under the command of some great nobleman. . . . The Huguenots had also shown a willingness to assist those who were in arms against the state, had joined Cond e, and contemplated a union with Mary de Medici in the brief insurrection of 1620. A question had now arisen which was regarded by the majority of the party as one of vital importance. The edict of Nantes, which granted privileges to the Huguenots, had granted also to the Catholics the right to the public profession of their religion in all parts of France. This had formerly been prohibited in Navarre and B earn, and the population of those provinces had become very largely Protestant. The Catholic clergy had long petitioned the king to enforce the rights which they claimed the edict gave them in B earn, and to compel also a restitution of some portion of the property, formerly held by their church, which had been taken by Jeanne d'Albret, and the revenues of which the Huguenot clergy still assumed to appropriate entirely to themselves. On July 25, 1617, Louis finally issued an edict directing the free exercise of the Catholic worship in B earn and the restitution to the clergy of the property that had been taken from them. The edict met with bitter opposition in B earn and from all the Huguenot party. The Protestants were as unwilling to allow the rites of the Catholic Church in a province which they controlled, as the Catholics to suffer a Huguenot conventicle within the walls of Paris. The persecutions which the Huguenots suffered distressed them less than the toleration which they were obliged to grant. . . . In the wars of religion the Huguenots had been controlled, not always wisely or unselfishly, by the nobles who had espoused their faith, but these were slowly drifting back to Catholicism. . . . The Cond es were already Catholics. Lesdigui eres was only waiting till the bribe for his conversion should be sufficiently glittering. [He was received into the Church and was made Constable of France in July, 1622.] Bouillon's religion was but a catch-weight in his political intrigues. The grandson of Coligni was soon to receive a marshal's baton for consenting to a peace which was disastrous to his party. Sully, Rohan, Soubise, and La Force still remained; but La Force's zeal moderated when he also was made a marshal, and one hundred years later Rohans and the descendants of Sully wore cardinal's hats. The party, slowly deserted by the great nobles, came more under the leadership of the clergy . . . and under their guidance the party now assumed a political activity which brought on the siege of La Rochelle and which made possible the

revocation of the edict of Nantes. Béarn was not only strongly Protestant, but it claimed, with Navarre, to form no part of France, and to be governed only by its own laws. Its States met and declared their local rights were violated by the king's edict; the Parliament of Pau refused to register it, and it was not enforced in the province. . . . The disturbances caused by Mary de Medici had delayed any steps for the enforcement of the edict, but these troubles were ended by the peace of Ponts-de-Cé in 1620. . . . In October, 1620, Louis led his army in Béarn, removed various Huguenot officials, and reestablished the Catholic clergy. . . . On October 20th, an edict was issued by which Navarre and Béarn were declared to be united to France, and a parliament was established for the two provinces on the same model as the other parliaments of the kingdom. . . . A general assembly of Protestants, sympathizing with their brethren of these provinces, was called for November 26, 1620, at La Rochelle. The king declared those guilty of high treason who should join in that meeting. . . . The meeting was held in defiance of the prohibition, and it was there resolved to take up arms. . . . The assembly proceeded in all respects like the legislative body of a separate state. The king prepared for the war with vigor. . . . He now led his forces into southern France, and after some minor engagements he laid siege to Montauban. A three months' siege resulted disastrously; the campaign closed, and the king returned to Paris. The encouragement that the Huguenots drew from this success proved very brief. The king's armies proceeded again into the south of France in 1622, and met only an irregular and inefficient opposition. . . . Chatillon and La Force each made a separate peace, and each was rewarded by the baton of marshal from the king and by charges of treachery from his associates. . . . The siege of Montpellier led to the peace called by that name, but on terms that were unfavorable to the Huguenots. They abandoned all the fortified cities which they had held for their security except La Rochelle and Montauban; no assemblies could meet without permission of the king, except the local synods for ecclesiastical matters alone, and the interests of Béarn and Navarre were abandoned. In return the edict of Nantes was again confirmed, and their religious privileges left undisturbed. Rohan accepted 800,000 livres for his expenses and governments, and the king agreed that the Fort of St. Louis, which had been built to overawe the turbulence of La Rochelle, should be dismantled. La Rochelle, the great Huguenot stronghold, continued hostilities for some time longer, but at last it made terms. The party was fast losing its power and its overthrow could be easily foretold. La Rochelle was now the only place capable of making a formidable resistance. . . . In the meantime the career of Luines reached its end." He had taken the great office of Constable to himself, incurring much ridicule thereby. "The exposures of the campaign and its disasters had worn upon him; a fever attacked him at the little town of Monheur, and on December 14, 1621, he died."—J. B. Perkins, *France under Mazarin, with a review of the administration of Richelieu*, v. 1, ch. 3.

ALSO IN: W. S. Browning, *History of the Huguenots*, ch. 54-56.

1621.—Claims in North America conflicting with England. See NEW ENGLAND: 1621-1631.

1624-1626.—Richelieu's policy and the Thirty Years' War.—Combinations against the Austro-Spanish ascendancy.—Valtelline War.—Huguenots again in revolt.—Second Treaty of Montpellier.—Treaty of Monzon with Spain.—"When

Richelieu in 1624 took the reins of government into his hands in France [supplanting La Vieuville], the Thirty Years' War was first about to envelope the whole of Germany in its fell embraces. The princes of the lower Saxon circle had begun to arm, the king of Denmark was about to take the lead of the Protestant forces, England had already taken active steps for the recovery of the Palatinate, and the reduction of the power of Spain. There was every probability that the whole energies of the Austro-Spanish House would be absorbed in the affairs of Germany for many years. The necessity of Spain and the Empire was ever in the seventeenth century the opportunity of France, and Richelieu realised by a flash of genius that the hour had arrived, which was to make or mar the influence of France in the World. Three things were necessary to the establishment of French supremacy in Europe,—national unity, monarchical centralisation, and the extension and security of the frontiers. To attain these three objects, Richelieu devoted his life, and he was sensible enough to see that complete success in foreign affairs must do much to render success in the other two inevitable. If the crown of France by military and diplomatic conquest could push back the French frontier towards the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the Pyrenees, it need have little fear from its internal foes. So Richelieu took up again the threads of policy, which had dropped from the lifeless hands of Henry IV., and directed all his energies to the resumption of the attack upon the Empire and upon Spain. But there was this difference between the two men. Henry IV had dreamed of establishing the peace and good order of the world upon the ruin of the Habsburgs. Richelieu cherished no such illusions. Nakedly and avowedly he sought but the supremacy of France."—H. O. Wakeman, *Europe, 1598-1715*, pp. 105-106.

ALSO IN: J. Boulenger, *Seventeenth century*.—J. B. Perkins, *France under Mazarin*.

"The Austro-Spanish power had greatly increased during these years: its successes had enabled it to knit together all the provinces which owed it allegiance. The Palatinate and the Lower Rhine secured their connexion with the Spanish Netherlands, as we may now begin to call them, and threatened the very existence of the Dutch: the Valtelline forts [commanding the valley east of Lake Como, from which one pass communicates with the Engadine and the Grisons, and another with the Tyrol] . . . were the roadway between the Spanish power at Milan and the Austrians on the Danube and in the Tyrol. Richelieu now resolved to attack this threatening combination at both critical points. In the North he did not propose to interfere in arms: there others should fight, and France support them with quiet subsidies and good will. He pressed matters on with the English, the Dutch, the North German Princes; he negotiated with Maximilian of Bavaria and the League [Catholic League formed in 1608 under Maximilian after the formation of Protestant Union in 1607 under the Elector of the Palatinate], hoping to keep the South German Princes clear of the Imperial policy. . . . The French ambassador at Copenhagen, well supported by the English envoy, Sir Robert Anstruther, at this time organised a Northern League, headed by Christian IV. of Denmark [see GERMANY: 1624-1626]. . . . The Lutheran Princes, alarmed at the threatening aspect of affairs, were beginning to think that they had made a mistake in leaving the Palatinate to be conquered; and turned a more willing ear to the French and English proposals for this Northern League. . . . By 1625 the

Cardinal's plans in the North seemed to be going well; the North-Saxon Princes, though with little heart and much difference of opinion, specially in the cities, had accepted Christian IV. as their leader; and the progress of the Spaniards in the United Provinces was checked. In the other point to which Richelieu's attention was directed, matters had gone still better. [The inhabitants of the Valtelline were mostly Catholics and Italians. They had long been subject to the Protestant Grisons or Graubunden. In 1620 they had risen in revolt, massacred the Protestants of the valley, and formed an independent republic, supported by the Spaniards and Austrians. Spanish and German troops occupied the four strong Valtelline forts, and controlled the important passes above referred to. The Grisons resisted and secured the support of Savoy, Venice and finally France. In 1623 an agreement had been reached, to hand over the Valtelline forts to the pope, in deposit, until some terms could be settled. But in 1625 this agreement had not been carried out, and Richelieu took the affair in hand.] . . . Richelieu, never attacking in full face if he could carry his point by a side-attack, allied himself with Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, and with Venice; he easily persuaded the Savoyard to threaten Genoa, the port by which Spain could penetrate into Italy, and her financial mainstay. Meanwhile, the Marquis of Cœuvres had been sent to Switzerland, and, late in 1624, had persuaded the Cantons to arm for the recovery of the Valtelline; then, heading a small army of Swiss and French, he had marched into the Grisons. The upper districts held by the Austrians revolted; the three Leagues declared their freedom, the Austrian troops hastily withdrew. Cœuvres at once secured the Tyrolese passes, and descending from the Engadine by Poschiavo, entered the Valtelline: in a few weeks the Papal and Spanish troops were swept out of the whole valley, abandoning all their forts, though the French general had no siege-artillery with which to reduce them. . . . Early in 1625, the Valtelline being secured to the Grisons and French, the aged Lesdiguières was sent forward to undertake the rest of the plan, the reduction of Genoa. But just as things were going well for the party in Europe opposed to Spain and Austria, an unlucky outburst of Huguenot dissatisfaction marred all: Soubise in the heart of winter had seized the Isle of Ré, and had captured in Blavet harbour on the Breton coast six royal ships; he failed however to take the castle which commanded the place, and was himself blockaded, escaping only with heavy loss. Thence he seized the Isle of Oléron: in May the Huguenots were in revolt in Upper Languedoc, Querci, and the Cevennes, led by Rohan on land, and Soubise by sea. Their rash outbreak [provoked by alleged breaches of the Treaty of Montpellier, especially in the failure of the king to demolish Fort Louis at La Rochelle] came opportunely to the aid of the distressed Austrian power, their true enemy. Although very many of the Huguenots stood aloof and refused to embarrass the government, still enough revolted to cause great uneasiness. The war in the Ligurian mountains was not pushed on with vigour; for Richelieu could not now think of carrying out the large plans which, by his own account, he had already formed, for the erection of an independent Italy. . . . He was for the present content to menace Genoa, without a serious siege. At this time James I. of England died, and the marriage of the young king [Charles I] with Henriette Marie [daughter of Henry IV] was pushed on. In May

Buckingham went to Paris to carry her over to England; he tried in vain to persuade Richelieu to couple the Palatinate [Frederick, Elector of the Palatinate, was a brother-in-law of Charles I] with the Valtelline question. . . . After this the tide of affairs turned sharply against the Cardinal; while Tilly with the troops of the Catholic League, and Wallenstein, the new general of the Emperor, who begins at this moment his brief and marvellous career, easily kept in check the Danes and their halfhearted German allies, Lesdiguières and the Duke of Savoy were forced by the Austrians and Spaniards to give up all thoughts of success in the Genoise country, and the French were even threatened in Piedmont and the Valtelline. But the old Constable of France was worthy of his ancient fame; he drove the Duke of Feria out of Piedmont, and in the Valtelline the Spaniards only succeeded in securing the fortress of Riva. Richelieu felt that the war was more than France could bear, harassed as she was within and without. . . . He was determined to free his hands in Italy, to leave the war to work itself out in Germany, and to bring the Huguenots to reason. . . . The joint fleets of Soubise and of La Rochelle had driven back the king's ships, and had taken Ré and Oléron; but in their attempt to force an entrance into the harbour of La Rochelle they were defeated by Montmorency, who now commanded the royal fleet: the islands were retaken, and the Huguenots sued for peace. It must be remembered that the bulk of them did not agree with the Rochellois, and were quiet through this time. Early in 1626 the treaty of Montpellier granted a hollow peace on tolerable terms to the reformed churches; and soon after . . . peace was signed with Spain at Monzon in May, 1626. All was done so silently that the interested parties, Savoy, the Venetians, the Grisons, knew nothing of it till all was settled: on Buckingham . . . the news fell like a thunder-clap. . . . The Valtelline remained under the Grisons, with guarantees for Catholic worship; France and Spain would jointly see that the inhabitants of the valleys were fairly treated: the Pope was entrusted with the duty of razing the fortresses: Genoa and Savoy were ordered to make peace. It was a treacherous affair; and Richelieu comes out of it but ill. We are bound, however, to remember . . . the desperate straits into which the Cardinal had come. . . . He did but fall back in order to make that wonderful leap forward which changed the whole face of European politics."—G. W. Kitchen, *History of France*, v. 2-3, bk. 4, ch. 3-4.—See also AUSTRIA: 1618-1648.

ALSO IN: F. P. Guizot, *Popular history of France*, ch. 40-41.—J. B. Perkins, *France under Mazarin*, v. 1, ch. 4-5.—G. Masson, *Richelieu*, ch. 5.

1625-1654.—Nova Scotia under French control. See NOVA SCOTIA: 1621-1668.

1627-1628.—War with England, and Huguenot revolt.—Richelieu's siege and capture of La Rochelle.—Example of magnanimity and toleration.—End of political Huguenotism.—"Richelieu now found himself dragged into a war against his will, and that with the very power with which, for the furtherance of his other designs, he most desired to continue at peace. James I of England had been as unable to live except under the dominion of a favourite as Louis. Charles . . . had the same unfortunate weakness; and the Duke of Buckingham, who had long been paramount at the court of the father, retained the same mischievous influence as that of the son. . . . In passing through France in 1623 he [Buckingham] had

been presented to the queen [Anne of Austria], and had presumed to address her in the language of love. When sent to Paris to conduct the young Princess Henrietta Maria to England, he had repeated this conduct. . . . There had been some little unpleasantness between the two Courts shortly after the marriage . . . owing to the imprudence of Henrietta," who paraded her popery too much in the eyes of Protestant England; and there was talk of a renewed treaty, which Buckingham sought to make the pretext for another visit to Paris. But his motives were understood; Louis "refused to receive him as an ambassador, and Buckingham, full of disappointed rage, instigated the Duke de Soubise, who was still in London, to rouse the Huguenots to a fresh outbreak, promising to send an English fleet to Rochelle to assist them. Rochelle was at this time the general headquarters not only of the Huguenots, but of all those who, on any account, were discontented with the Government. . . . Soubise . . . embraced the duke's offer with eagerness; and in July, 1627, without any previous declaration of war, an English fleet, with 16,000 men on board, suddenly appeared off Rochelle, and prepared to attack the Isle of Rhé. The Rochellois were very unwilling to co-operate with it"; but they were persuaded, "against their judgment, to connect themselves with what each, individually, felt to be a desperate enterprise; and Richelieu, to whom the prospect thus afforded him of having a fair pretence for crushing the Huguenot party made amends for the disappointment of being wantonly dragged into a war with England, gladly received the intelligence that Rochelle was in rebellion. At first the Duke d'Anjou was sent down to command the army, Louis being detained in Paris by illness; but by October he had recovered, his fondness for military operations revived, and he hastened to the scene of action, accompanied by Richelieu, whose early education had been of a military kind. . . . He at once threw across reinforcements into the Isle of Rhé, where M. Thoiras was holding out a fort known as St. Martin with great resolution, though it was unfinished and incompletely armed. In the beginning of November, Buckingham raised the siege, and returned home, leaving guns, standards and prisoners behind him; and Richelieu, anticipating a renewal of the attack the next year . . . undertook a work designed at once to baffle foreign enemies and to place the city at his mercy. Along the whole front of the port he began to construct a vast wall . . . having only one small opening in the centre which was commanded by small batteries. The work was commenced in November, 1627; and, in spite of a rather severe winter, was carried on with such ceaseless diligence, under the superintending eye of the cardinal himself, that before the return of spring a great portion of it was completed. . . . When, in May, 1628, the British fleet, under Lord Denbigh, the brother-in-law of Buckingham, returned to the attack, they found it unassailable, and returned without striking a blow."—C. D. Yonge, *History of France under the Bourbons*, v. 1, ch. 7.—"Richelieu . . . was his own engineer, general, admiral, prime-minister. While he urged on the army to work upon the dike, he organized a French navy, and in due time brought it around to that coast and anchored it so as to guard the dike and be guarded by it. Yet, daring as all this work was, it was but the smallest part of his work. Richelieu found that his officers were cheating his soldiers in their pay and disheartening them; in face of the enemy he had to reorganize the army

and to create a new military system. . . . He found, also, as he afterward said, that he had to conquer not only the Kings of England and Spain, but also the King of France. At the most critical moment of the siege Louis deserted him,—went back to Paris,—allowed courtiers to fill him with suspicions. Not only Richelieu's place, but his life, was in danger, and he well knew it; yet he never left his dike and siege-works, but wrought on steadily until they were done; and then the King, of his own will, in very shame, broke away from his courtiers, and went back to his master. And now a Royal Herald summoned the people of La Rochelle to surrender. But they were not yet half conquered. Even when they had seen two English fleets, sent to aid them, driven back from Richelieu's dike, they still held out manfully. . . . They were reduced to feed on their horses,—then on bits of filthy shell-fish,—then on



CARDINAL RICHELIEU

(After a painting by Ph. de Champagne)

stewed leather. They died in multitudes. Guiton, the Mayor, kept a dagger on the city council-table to stab any man who should speak of surrender. . . . But at last even Guiton had to yield. After the siege had lasted more than a year, after 5,000 were found remaining out of 15,000, after a mother had been seen to feed her child with her own blood, the Cardinal's policy became too strong for him. The people yielded [October 27, 1628], and Richelieu entered the city as master. And now the victorious statesman showed a greatness of soul to which all the rest of his life was as nothing. . . . All Europe . . . looked for a retribution more terrible than any in history. Richelieu allowed nothing of the sort. He destroyed the old franchises of the city, for they were incompatible with that royal authority which he so earnestly strove to build. But this was all. He took no vengeance,—he allowed the Protestants to worship as before,—he took many of them into the public service,—and to Guiton he showed marks of respect. He stretched forth that strong

arm of his over the city, and warded off all harm. . . . For his leniency Richelieu received the titles of Pope of the Protestants and Patriarch of the Atheists. But he had gained the first great object of his policy, and he would not abuse it: he had crushed the political power of the Huguenots forever."—A. D. White, *Statesmanship of Richelieu* (*Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1862).

ALSO IN: S. R. Gardiner, *History of England, 1603 to 1642*, ch. 56, 59-60., 65.—R. Lodge, *Life of Cardinal Richelieu*.

1627-1631.—War with Spain, Savoy and the Empire over the succession to the duchy of Mantua.—Successes of Richelieu. See ITALY: 1627-1631.

1628.—Richelieu's policy in Canada.—New France placed under the Company of the Hundred Associates.—Catholic religion established. See CANADA: 1616-1628.

1628-1632.—Loss and recovery of New France. See CANADA: 1628-1635.

1630-1632.—Day of Dupes, and after.—On the return of Richelieu and the king from their Italian expedition, in the beginning of August, 1630, "both the monarch and his minister had passed in safety through a whole tract infected with the plague; but, shortly after their arrival at Lyons, Louis XIII. fell ill, and in a few days his physicians pronounced his case hopeless. It was now that all the hatred which his power had caused to hide its head, rose up openly against Richelieu; and the two queens [Marie de Medicis, the queen-mother, and Anne of Austria, the king's wife], united only in their enmity towards the minister, never quitted the bedside of the king but to form and cement the party which was intended to work the cardinal's destruction as soon as the monarch should be no more. . . . The bold and the rash joined the faction of the queens; and the prudent waited with wise doubt till they saw the result they hoped for. Happy was it for those who did conceal their feelings; for suddenly the internal abscess, which had nearly reduced the king to the tomb, broke, passed away, and in a very few days he appeared perfectly convalescent. Richelieu might now have triumphed securely; . . . but he acted more prudently. He remembered that the queen-mother, the great mover of the cabal against him, had formerly been his benefactress; and though probably his gratitude was of no very sensitive nature, yet he was wise enough to affect a virtue that he did not possess, and to suffer the offence to be given by her. . . . At Paris [after the return of the court] . . . the queen-mother herself, unable to restrain any longer the violent passions that struggled in her bosom, seemed resolved to keep no terms with the cardinal." At an interview with him, in the king's presence, "the queen forgot the dignity of her station and the softness of her sex, and, in language more fit for the markets than the court, called him rogue, and traitor, and perturber of the public peace; and, turning to the king, she endeavoured to persuade him that Richelieu wished to take the crown from his head, in order to place it on that of the count de Soissons. Had Richelieu been as sure of the king's firmness as he was of his regard, this would have been exactly the conduct which he could have desired the queen to hold; but he knew Louis to be weak and timid, and easily ruled by those who took a tone of authority towards him; and when at length he retired at the command of the monarch . . . he seems to have been so uncertain how the whole would end, that he ordered his papers and most valuable effects to be secured, and preparations to be made

for immediate departure. All these proceedings had been watched by the courtiers: Richelieu had been seen to quit the queen's cabinet troubled and gloomy, his niece in tears; and, some time after, the king himself followed in a state of excessive agitation, and . . . left Paris for Versailles without seeing his minister. The whole court thought the rule of Richelieu at an end, and the saloons of the Luxembourg were crowded with eager nobles ready to worship the rising authority of the queen-mother." But the king, when he reached Versailles, sent this message to his minister: "Tell the cardinal de Richelieu that he has a good master, and bid him come hither to me without delay." Richelieu felt that the real power of France was still in his hands; and setting off for Versailles, he found Louis full of expressions of regard and confidence. Rumours every moment reached Versailles of the immense concourse that was flocking to pay court to the queen-mother: the king found himself nearly deserted, and all that Richelieu had said of her ambition was confirmed in the monarch's mind; while his natural good sense told him that a minister who depended solely upon him, and who under him exercised the greatest power in the realm, was not likely to wish his fall. . . . In the mean time, the news of these . . . events spread to Paris: the halls of the Luxembourg, which the day before had been crowded to suffocation, were instantly deserted; and the queen-mother found herself abandoned by all those fawning sycophants whose confidence and disappointment procured for the day of St. Martin, 1630, the title in French history of The Day of Dupes."—G. P. R. James, *Eminent foreign statesmen*, v. 2, pp. 88-92.—The ultimate outcome of the "Day of Dupes" was the flight of Marie de Medicis, who spent the remainder of her life in the Netherlands and in England; the trial and execution of Marshal de Marillac; the imprisonment or exile and disgrace of Bassompierre and other nobles; a senseless revolt, headed by Gaston, duke of Orleans, the king's brother, which was crushed in one battle at Castlenaudari, September 1, 1632, and which brought the duc de Montmorency to the block.—C. D. Yonge, *History of France under the Bourbons*, v. 1, ch. 7-8.

ALSO IN: M. W. Freer, *Married life of Anne of Austria*, v. 1, ch. 4.—C. M. Yonge, *Cameos of English history*, 6th series, ch. 20.

1631.—First printed newspaper.—Dr. Renouard and his "Gazette." See PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1631.

1631.—Treaty and negotiations with Gustavus Adolphus. See GERMANY: 1631 (January); 1631-1632; 1632-1634.

1632-1641.—War in Lorraine.—Occupation and possession of the duchy. See LORRAINE: 1624-1663.

1635.—Founding of French Academy by Richelieu. See ACADEMY, FRENCH.

1635-1639.—Active participation in the Thirty Years' War.—Treaties with the Germans, Swedes, and Dutch.—Campaigns of Duke Bernhard in Lorraine, Alsace and Franche-Comté.—Fruit gathered by Richelieu.—Alsace secured. See GERMANY: 1634-1639.

1635-1642.—War in northern Italy. See ITALY: 1635-1659.

1637-1642.—War in Spain.—Revolt of Catalonia.—Siege and capture of Perpignan.—Conquest of Roussillon. See SPAIN: 1637-1640; 1640-1642.

1640-1645.—Campaigns in Germany. See GERMANY: 1640-1645; 1643-1644.

1641-1642.—Conspiracies of Count de Soissons and Cinq Mars.—Extinction of the principality of Sedan.—“There were revolts in various quarters to resist [the yoke of Richelieu], but they were quelled with uniform success. Once, and once only, the fate of the Cardinal seemed finally sealed. The Count de Soissons, a prince of the blood, headed the discontented gentry in open war in 1641, and established the headquarters of revolt in the town of Sedan. The Empire and Spain came to his support with promises and money. Twelve thousand men were under his orders, all influenced with rage against Richelieu, and determined to deliver the king from his degrading tutelage. Richelieu was taken unprepared; but delay would have been ruin. He sent the Marshal Chatillon to the borders of Sedan, to watch the proceedings of the confederates, and requested the king to summon fresh troops and go down to the scene of war. While his obedient Majesty was busied in the commission, Chatillon advanced too far. Soissons assaulted him near the banks of the Meuse, at a place called Marfée, and gave him a total and irremediable overthrow. The cavalry on the royalist side retreated at an early part of the fight, and forced their way through the infantry, not without strong suspicions of collusion with their opponents. Paris itself was in dismay. The King and Cardinal expected to hear every hour of the advance of the rebels; but no step was taken. It was found, when the hurry of battle was over, that Soissons was among the slain. The force of the expedition was in that one man; and the defeat was as useful to the Cardinal as a victory would have been. The malcontents had no leaders of sufficient rank and authority to keep the inferiors in check; for the scaffold had thinned the ranks of the great hereditary chiefs, and no man could take his first open move against the Court without imminent risk to his head. Great men, indeed, were rising into fame, but of a totally different character from their predecessors. Their minds were cast in a monarchical mould from their earliest years. . . . From this time subserviency to the king became a sign of noble birth. . . . Richelieu has the boast, if boast it can be called, of having crushed out the last spark of popular independence and patrician pride. . . . One more effort was made [1642] to shake off the trammels of the hated Cardinal. A conspiracy was entered into to deliver the land by the old Roman method of putting the tyrant to death; and the curious part of the design is, that it was formed almost in presence of the king. His favourite friend, young Cinq Mars, son of the Marshal d'Effiat, his brother Gaston of Orleans, and his kinsman the Duke de Bouillon, who were round his person at all hours of the day, were the chief agents of the perilous undertaking. Others, and with them de Thou, the son of the great French historian, entered into the plan, but wished the assassination to be left out. They would arrest and imprison him; but this was evidently not enough. While Richelieu lived, no man could be safe, though the Cardinal were in the deepest dungeon of the Bastille. Death, however, was busy with their victim, without their aid. He was sinking under some deep but partially-concealed illness when the threads of the plot came into his skilful hands. He made the last use of his strength and intelligence in unravelling [it] and punishing the rebels, as he called them, against the king's authority. The paltry and perfidious Gaston was as usual penitent and pardoned, but on Cinq Mars and de Thou the vengeance of the law and the Car-

dinal had its full force. The triumphant but failing minister reclined in a state barge upon the Rhone, towing his prisoners behind him to certain death. On their arrival at Lyons the process was short and fatal. The young men were executed together, and the account of their behaviour at the block is one of the most affecting narratives in the annals of France.”—J. White, *History of France*, ch. 12.—The duke de Bouillon, implicated in both these conspiracies—that of the count de Soissons and that of Cinq Mars—saved his life on the latter occasion by surrendering to the crown the sovereignty of Sedan, which belonged to him, and which had been the headquarters of the Soissons revolt. This small independent principality—the town and a little territory around it—had formerly been in the possession of the powerful and troublesome family of La Marck, the last heiress of whom brought it, together with the duchy of Bouillon, into the family of La Tour d'Auvergne. The prince and duke who lost it was the second of that family who bore the titles. He was the elder brother of the great soldier, Turenne. The principality of Sedan was extinguished from that time.—T. O. Cockayne, *Life of Turenne*.

ALSO IN: W. Robson, *Life of Richelieu*, ch. 11-12.—M. W. Freer, *Married life of Anne of Austria*, v. 2, ch. 3.—J. Pardoe, *Life of Marie de Medicis*, v. 3, bk. 3, ch. 13.

1642-1643.—Death of Richelieu and of Louis XIII.—Regency of Anne of Austria.—Cardinal Mazarin and the party of the Importants.—Victory at Rocroi.—Cardinal Richelieu died December 4, 1642. “He was dead, but his work survived him. On the very evening of the 3d of December, Louis XIII. called to his council Cardinal Mazarin [whom Richelieu had commended to him]. . . . Scarcely had the most powerful kings yielded up their last breath when their wishes had been at once forgotten: Cardinal Richelieu still governed in his grave.” But now, after two and a half centuries, “the castle of Richelieu is well-nigh destroyed; his family, after falling into poverty, is extinct; [the Palais-Cardinal [his splendid residence, which he built, and which he gave to the crown] has assumed the name of the Palais-Royal; and pure monarchy, the aim of all his efforts and the work of his whole life, has been swept away by the blast of revolution. Of the cardinal there remains nothing but the great memory of his power and of the services he rendered his country. . . . Richelieu had no conception of that noblest ambition on which a human soul can feed, that of governing a free country, but he was one of the greatest, the most effective, and the boldest, as well as the most prudent servants that France ever had.” Louis XIII survived his great minister less than half a year, dying May 14, 1643. He had never had confidence in Anne of Austria, his wife, and had provided, by a declaration which she had signed and sworn to, for a council (which included Mazarin) to control the queen's regency during the minority of their son, Louis XIV. But the queen contrived very soon to break from this obligation, and she made Cardinal Mazarin her one counsellor and supreme minister. “Continuing to humor all parties, and displaying foresight and prudence, the new minister was even now master. Louis XIII., without any personal liking, had been faithful to Richelieu to the death. With different feelings, Anne of Austria was to testify the same constancy towards Mazarin. A stroke of fortune came at the very first to strengthen the regent's position. Since the death of Cardinal Richelieu, the Spaniards, but recently overwhelmed

at the close of 1642, had recovered courage and boldness; new counsels prevailed at the court of Philip IV., who had dismissed Olivarez; the House of Austria vigorously resumed the offensive; at the moment of Louis XIII.'s death, Don Francisco de Mello, governor of the Low Countries, had just invaded French territory by way of the Ardennes, and laid siege to Rocroi, on the 12th of May [1643]. The French army was commanded by the young Duke of Enghien [afterwards known as the Great Condé], the prince of Condé's son, scarcely 22 years old; Louis XIII. had given him as his lieutenant and director the veteran Marshal de l'Hôpital; and the latter feared to give battle. The Duke of Enghien, who 'was dying with impatience to enter the enemy's country, resolved to accomplish by address what he could not carry by authority. He opened his heart to Gassion alone. As he [Gassion, one of the boldest of Condé's officers] was a man who saw nothing but what was easy even in the most dangerous deeds, he had very soon brought matters to the point that the prince desired. Marshal de l'Hôpital found himself imperceptibly so near the Spaniards that it was impossible for him any longer to hinder an engagement.' . . . The army was in front of Rocroi, and out of the dangerous defile which led to the place, without any idea on the part of the marshal and the army that Louis XIII. was dead. The Duke of Enghien, who had received the news, had kept it secret. He had merely said in the tone of a master 'that he meant to fight, and would answer for the issue.'" The battle, which was fought May 19, 1643, resulted in the destruction, almost total, of the Spanish army. Of 18,000 men who formed its infantry, nearly 9,000 were killed and 7,000 were made prisoners. The whole of the Spanish artillery and 300 of their standards fell into the hands of the victors, who lost, according to their own reports, only 2,000 men, killed and wounded. "The prince was a horn captain," said Cardinal de Retz. And all France said so with him on hearing of the victory of Rocroi. The delight was all the keener in the queen's circle, because the house of Condé openly supported Cardinal Mazarin, bitterly attacked as he was by the Importants [a court faction or party so called, which was made up of 'those meddlers of the court at whose head marched the duke of Beaufort, all puffed up with the confidence lately shown to him by her Majesty,' and all expecting to count importantly among the queen's favorites], who accused him of reviving the tyranny of Richelieu. . . . And, indeed, on pretext offered by a feminine quarrel [August, 1643] between the young Duchess of Longueville, daughter of the prince of Condé, and the Duchess of Monthazon, the Duke of Beaufort and some of his friends resolved to assassinate the cardinal. The attempt was a failure, but the Duke of Beaufort, who was arrested on the 2d of September, was taken to the castle of Vincennes. Madame de Chevreuse, recently returned [after being exiled by Richelieu] to court, where she would fain have exacted from the queen the reward for her services and her past sufferings, was sent into exile, as well as the Duke of Vendôme. Madame d'Hautefort, but lately summoned by Anne of Austria to be near her, was soon involved in the same disgrace. . . . The party of the Importants was dead, and the power of Cardinal Mazarin seemed to be firmly established. 'It was not the thing just then for any decent man to be on bad terms with the court,' says Cardinal de Retz."—F. P. Guizot, *Popular history of France*, ch. 41-43.—"Cardinal Richelieu was

not so much a minister, in the precise sense of the word, as a person invested with the whole power of the crown. His preponderating influence in the council suspended the exercise of the hereditary power, without which the monarchy must cease to exist; and it seems as if that may have taken place in order that the social progress, violently arrested since the last reign, might resume its course at the instigation of a kind of dictator, whose spirit was free from the influences which the interest of family and dynasty exercises over the characters of kings. By a strange concurrence of circumstances, it happened that the weak prince, whose destiny it was to lend his name to the reign of the great minister, had in his character, his instincts, his good or bad qualities, all that could supply the requirements of such a post. Louis XIII., who had a mind without energy but not without intelligence, could not live without a master; after having possessed and lost many, he took and kept the one, who he found was capable of conducting France to the point, which he himself had a faint glimpse of, and to which he vaguely aspired in his melancholy reveries. . . . In his attempts at innovation, Richelieu, as simple minister, much surpassed the great king who had preceded him, in boldness. He undertook to accelerate the movement towards civil unity and equality so much, and to carry it so far, that hereafter it should be impossible to recede. . . . The work of Louis XI. had been nearly lost in the depth of the troubles of the sixteenth century; and that of Henry IV. was compromised by fifteen years of disorder and weakness. To save it from perishing, three things were necessary: that the high nobility should be constrained to obedience to the king and to the law; that Protestantism should cease to be an armed party in the State; that France should be able to choose her allies freely in behalf of her own interest and in that of European independence. On this triple object the king-minister employed his powerful intellect, his indefatigable activity, ardent passions, and an heroic strength of mind. His daily life was a desperate struggle against the nobles, the royal family, the supreme courts, against all that existed of high institutions, and corporations established in the country. For the purpose of reducing all to the same level of submission and order, he raised the royal power above the ties of family and the tie of precedent; he isolated it in its sphere as a pure idea, the living idea of the public safety and the national interest. . . . He was as destitute of mercy as he was of fear, and trampled under foot the respect due to judicial forms and usages. He had sentences of death pronounced by commissioners of his own selection: at the very foot of the throne he struck the enemies of the public interest, and at the same time of his own fortune, and confounded his personal hatreds with the vengeance of the State. No one can say whether or not there was deceit in that assurance of conscience which he manifested in his last moments: God alone could look into the depth of his mind. We who have gathered the fruit of his labours and of his patriotic devotion at a distance of time—we can only bow before that man of revolution, by whom the ways which led to our present state of society were prepared. But something sad is still attached to his glory: he sacrificed everything to the success of his undertaking; he stifled within himself and crushed down in some noble spirits the eternal principles of morality and humanity. When we look at the great things which he achieved, we admire him with gratitude; we would, but we

cannot, love his character."—A. Thierry, *Formation and progress of the Tiers État or Third Estate in France*, ch. 8.

ALSO IN: L. Batiïffol, *Century of the Renaissance*.—A. Hassel, *Mazarin*.—J. Boulenger, *Seventeenth century*.—V. Cousin, *Secret history of the French court under Richelieu and Mazarin*, ch. 3-4.—Idem, *Youth of Madame de Longueville*.—Lord Mahon, *Life of Louis, prince of Condé*, ch. 1.—Cardinal de Retz, *Memoirs*, bk. 1-2.—M^{lle} de Montpensier, *Memoirs*, ch. 2-3.

1643.—Accession of Louis XIV.

1643.—Enghien's (Condé's) campaign on the Moselle.—Siege and capture of Thionville.—"On the 20th of May . . . Enghien made his triumphal entry into Rocroy. He allowed his troops to repose for two days, and then it was towards Guise that he directed his steps. He soon heard that Don Francisco de Melo had taken shelter at Philippeville, that he was trying to rally his cavalry, but that of all his infantry not above 2,000 men remained to him, and they disarmed and nearly naked. No army any longer protected Flanders, and the youthful courage of Enghien already meditated its conquest. But the Court, which had expected to sustain war in its own provinces, was not prepared to carry it into foreign countries. It became necessary to give up all idea of an invasion of Maritime Flanders and the siege of Dunkirk, with which Enghien had at first flattered himself. Then finding that the Spaniards had drawn off their troops from the fortifications on the Moselle, Enghien proposed to march thither, and take possession of them. . . . Although this project was very inferior to his first, its greatness surprised the Council of Ministers: they at first refused their consent, but the Duke insisted—and what could they refuse to the victor of Rocroy? Thionville was at that time considered to be one of the best fortresses in Europe. On arriving before its walls, after a seven days' march, Enghien . . . established his lines, erected bridges, raised redoubts, and opened a double line of trenches on the 25th of June. The French were several times repulsed, but always rallied; and everywhere the presence of Enghien either prevented or repaired the disorder. . . . The obstinate resistance of the garrison obliged the French to have recourse to mines, which, by assiduous labor, they pushed forward under the interior of the town. Then Enghien, wishing to spare bloodshed, sent a flag of truce to the governor, and allowed him a safe conduct to visit the state of the works. This visit convinced the Spaniards of the impossibility of defending themselves any longer. . . . They evacuated the town on the 22d of August. Thionville was then little more than a heap of ruins and ashes. . . . By this conquest Enghien soon became master of the whole course of the Moselle down to the gates of Trèves. Sierch alone ventured to resist him, but was reduced in 24 hours. Then, disposing his army in autumn quarters, he set off for Paris."—Lord Mahon, *Life of Louis, prince of Condé*, ch. 1.

1644.—Negotiations with Netherlands. See NETHERLANDS: 1625-1647.

1644-1646.—Campaigns in Catalonia.—Failures at Lerida. See SPAIN: 1644-1646.

1645-1648.—Campaigns in Flanders.—Capture of Dunkirk.—Loss of the Dutch alliance.—Condé's victory at Lens. See NETHERLANDS: 1625-1647; 1648; BELGIUM: 1647-1648.

1646-1648.—Last campaigns of the Thirty Years' War.—Turenne and the Swedes in Germany. See GERMANY: 1646-1648.

1646-1654.—Hostility to the pope.—Siege of Orbitello.—Attempts to take advantage of the insurrection in Naples. See ITALY: 1646-1654.

1647-1648.—Conflict between court and Parliament.—Question of the Paulette.—Events leading to the First Fronde.—"The war was conducted with alternate success and failure, but with an unintermitted waste of the public revenue; and while Guébriant, Turenne, and Condé were maintaining the military renown of France, D'Emery, the superintendent of finance, was struggling with the far severer difficulty of raising her ways and means to the level of her expenditure. The internal history of the first five years of the regency is thenceforward a record of the contest between the court and the Parliament of Paris; between the court, promulgating edicts to replenish the exhausted treasury, and the Parliament, remonstrating in angry addresses against the acceptance of them." Of the four sovereign courts which had their seat at that time in the Palais de Justice of Paris, and of which the Parliament was the most considerable—the other three being the Chamber "des Comptes," the Cour des Aides and the Grand Conseil—the counselors or stipendiary judges held their offices for life. "But, in virtue of the law called Paulette [named from Paulet, its originator, in the reign of Henry IV] . . . they also held them as an inheritance transmissible to their descendants. The Paulette . . . was a royal ordinance which imposed an annual tax on the stipend of every judge. It was usually passed for a term of nine years only. If the judge died during that term, his heir was entitled to succeed to the vacant office. But if the death of the judge happened when the Paulette was not in force, his heir had no such right. Consequently, the renewal of the tax was always welcome to the stipendiary counselors of the sovereign courts; and, by refusing or delaying to renew it, the king could always exercise a powerful influence over them. In April, 1647, the Paulette had expired, and the queen-mother proposed the revival of it. But, to relieve the necessities of the treasury, she also proposed to increase the annual per centage which it imposed on the stipends of the counselors of the Chamber 'des Comptes,' of the Cour des Aides, and of the Grand Conseil. To concert measures of resistance to the contemplated innovation, those counselors held a meeting in the Great Hall of St. Louis; and at their request the Parliament, though not personally and directly interested in the change, joined their assembly." The queen sarcastically replied to their remonstrances that the "king would not only withdraw his proposal for an increase in the rate of the annual tax on their stipends, but would even graciously relieve them from that burden altogether. . . . Exasperated by the threatened loss of the heritable tenure of their offices, and still more offended by the sarcastic terms in which that menace was conveyed, the judges assembled in the hall of St. Louis with increased zeal, and harangued there with yet more indignant eloquence. Four different times the queen interdicted their meetings, and four different times they answered her by renewed resolutions for the continuance of them. She threatened severe punishments, and they replied by remonstrances. A direct collision of authority had thus occurred, and it behooved either party to look well to their steps." The queen began to adopt a conciliatory manner. "But the associated magistrates derived new boldness from the lowered tone and apparent fears of the government. Soaring at once above the humble topic on which

they had hitherto been engaged into the region of general politics, they passed at a step from the question of the Paulette to a review of all the public grievances under which their fellow subjects were labouring. After having wrought during four successive days in this inexhaustible mine of eloquence, they at length, on the 30th of June, 1648, commenced the adoption of a series of resolutions, which, by the 24th of July, had amounted in number to 27, and which may be said to have laid the basis of a constitutional revolution. . . . Important as these resolutions were in themselves, they were still more important as the assertion, by the associated magistrates, of the right to originate laws affecting all the general interests of the commonwealth. In fact, a new power in the state had suddenly sprung into existence. . . . That was an age in which the minds of men, in every part of Europe, had been rudely awakened to the extent to which the unconstitutional encroachments of popular bodies might be carried. Charles I. was at that time a prisoner in the hands of the English Parliament. Louis XIV. was a boy, unripe for an encounter with any similar antagonists. . . . The queen-mother, therefore, resolved to spare no concessions by which the disaffected magistracy might be conciliated. D'Emery was sacrificed to their displeasure; the renewal of the Paulette on its ancient terms was offered to them; some of the grievances of which they complained were immediately redressed; and the young king appeared before them in person, to promise his assent to their other demands. In return, he stipulated only for the cessation of their combined meetings, and for their desisting from the further promulgation of arrêts, to which they ascribed the force and authority of law. But the authors of this hasty revolution were no longer masters of the spirits whom they had summoned to their aid. . . . With increasing audacity, therefore, they preserved in defying the royal power, and in requiring from all Frenchmen implicit submission to their own. Advancing from one step to another, they adopted, on the 28th of August, 1648, an arrêt in direct conflict with a recent proclamation of the king, and ordered the prosecution of three persons for the offense of presuming to lend him money. At that moment their debates were interrupted by shouts and discharges of cannon, announcing the great victory of Condé at Lens. During the four following days religious festivals and public rejoicings suspended their sittings. But in those four days, the court had arranged their measures for a coup d'état. As the Parliament retired from Notre Dame, where they had attended at a solemn thanksgiving for the triumph of the arms of France, they observed that the soldiery still stood to the posts which, in honour of that ceremonial, had been assigned to them in different quarters of the city. Under the protection of that force, one of the presidents of the Chamber 'des Enquêtes,' and De Broussel, the chief of the parliamentary agitators, were arrested and consigned to different prisons, while three of their colleagues were exiled to remote distances from the capital. At the tidings of this violence, the Parisian populace were seized with a characteristic paroxysm of fury. . . . In less than three hours, Paris had become an entrenched camp. . . . They dictated their own terms. The exiles were recalled and the prisoners released. . . . Then, at the bidding of the Parliament, the people laid aside their weapons, threw down the barricades, re-opened their shops, and resumed the common business of life as quietly as if nothing bad occurred. . . . It was, however,

a short-lived triumph. The queen, her son, and Mazarin effected their escape to St. Germain; and there, by the mediation of Condé and of Gaston, duke of Orleans, the uncle of the king, a peace was negotiated. The treaty of St. Germain was regarded by the court with shame, and by the Parliament with exultation." Fresh quarrels over it soon arose. "Condé was a great soldier, but an unskillful and impatient peacemaker. By his advice and aid, the queen-mother and the king once more retired to St. Germain, and commanded the immediate adjournment of the Parliament from Paris to Montargis. To their remonstrances against that order they could obtain no answer, except that if their obedience to it should be any longer deferred, an army of 25,000 men would immediately lay siege to the city. War was thus declared."—J. Stepben, *Lectures on the history of France*, lect. 21.

ALSO IN: Cardinal De Retz, *Memoirs*, v. 1, bk. 2.

1648.—Peace of Westphalia.—Acquisition of Alsace, etc. See WESTPHALIA, PEACE OF (1648); ALSACE-LORRAINE: 1552-1774; GERMANY: 1648; Peace of Westphalia; NETHERLANDS: 1648.

1648-1650.—Alliance with prince of Orange to attack Netherlands in 1651 and to reëstablish Charles II in England. See NETHERLANDS: 1648-1650.

1648-1705.—French influence in German empire. See GERMANY: 1648-1705; 1648-1715.

1649.—First Fronde.—Doubtful origin of name.—Siege of Paris by Condé.—Dishonorable conduct of Turenne.—Deserted by army.—Peace of Rueil.—"The very name of this movement is obscure, and it is only certain that it was adopted in jest, from a child's game. It was fitting that the struggle which became only a mischievous burlesque on a revolution should be named from the sport of gamins and school-boys. Fronde is the name of a sling, and the boys of the street used this weapon in their mimic contests. How it came to be applied to the opponents of the government is uncertain. Some claimed it was because the members of the Parliament, like the young frondeurs, hurled their weapons at Mazarin, but were ready to fly when the officers of the police appeared. Others said the term had been used by chance by some counsellor, and had been adopted by the writers of epigrams and mazarinades. However derived, it was not ill applied."—J. B. Perkins, *France under Mazarin*, v. 1, ch. 9.—"Paul de Gondi, Coadjutor of Paris [Coadjutor, that is, of the Archbishop of Paris, who was his uncle], famous afterwards under the name of Cardinal de Retz, placed himself at the head of the revolution. . . . The Prince of Conti, brother of Condé, the Duke of Longueville, the Duke of Beaufort, and the Duke of Bouillon adopted the party of the coadjutor and the parliament. Generals were chosen for an army with which to resist the court. Although taxes levied by Mazarin had been resisted, taxes were freely paid to raise troops—12,000 men were raised; Condé [commanding for the queen] had 8,000 soldiers. These he threw around Paris, and invested 100,000 burgesses, and threatened to starve the town. The citizens, adorned with feathers and ribbons, made sorties occasionally, but their manœuvres were the subject of scorn by the soldiers. . . . As Voltaire says, the tone of the civil discords which afflicted England at the same time mark well the difference between the national characters. The English had thrown into their civil war a balanced fury and a mournful determination. . . . The French on the other hand threw themselves into

their civil strife with caprice, laughter, dissolution and debauchery. Women were the leaders of factions—love made and broke cabals. The Duchess of Longueville urged Turenne, only a short time back appointed Marshal of France, to encourage his army to revolt, which he was commanding for his king. Nothing can justify Turenne's action in this matter. Had he laid down his command and taken the side of his brother [the duke de Bouillon], on account of his family grievance [the loss of the principality of Sedan—see above: 1641-1642], the feudal spirit which in those days held affection for family higher than affection for country, might have excused him; but, while in the service of a sovereign and intrusted with the command of an army, to endeavour to lead his troops over to the enemy can be regarded as nothing short of the work of a traitor. He himself pleads as his apology that Condé was starving the population of Paris by the investment. . . . As it was he sacrificed his honour, and allowed his fair fame to be tarnished for the sake of a worthless woman who secretly jeered at his passion, and cared nothing for his heart, but merely for his sword for her own worldly advantage. As it was he endeavoured to persuade his army to declare for the parliament, and purposed taking it into Champagne, and marching for the relief of the capital; but the treachery of the marshal was no match for the subtlety of the cardinal. Before Turenne issued his declaration to his troops the colonels of his regiment had already been tampered with. The cardinal's emissaries had promised them pensions, and distributed £800,000 among the officers and soldiers. This was a decisive argument for mercenaries, who taught Turenne by forsaking him that mercenary services can only be commanded by money. D'Erlach had also stood firm. The regiments of Turenne, six German regiments, called by d'Erlach, marched one night to join him at Brisach. Three regiments of infantry threw themselves under the guns of Philipsburg. Only a small force was left to Turenne, who, finding the blow he intended hopeless, sent the troops still with him to join d'Erlach at Brisach, and retired himself with fifteen or twenty of his friends to Heilbron, thence to Holland, where he awaited the termination of the civil war. The news of the abandonment of Turenne was received with despair at Paris, with wild joy at St. Germain. His banishment, however, was not long. The leaders of the parliament became aware that the princes of the Fronde were trying to obtain foreign assistance to overturn the monarchy; that their generals were negotiating a treaty with Spain. They felt that order, peace, and the independence of parliament, which would in this case become dependent upon the nobility, was in danger. They took the patriotic resolution quickly to act of their accord. A conference had been opened between the parliament and the Court. Peace was concluded at Rueil, which, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Conti [brother of Condé, the family being divided in the First Fronde], Bouillon, and the other nobles of the Fronde, was accepted by the whole parliament. Peace was proclaimed in Paris to the discontent of the populace. . . . Turenne, on the conclusion of the treaty of Reuil, embarked in Zealand, landed at Dieppe, and posted to Paris."—H. M. Hozier, *Turenne*, ch. 6.—"After the signing of the peace, the Château of St. Germain became the resort of many Frondeurs; the Duchess de Longueville, the Prince of Conti, and nearly all the other chiefs of the party, hastened to pay their respects to the Queen. She received everybody without bitterness, some even with friendship; and the Minister on his part affected much general good-will.

. . . One of the first effects of the peace between the parties was a reconciliation in the House of Condé. The Princess Dowager employed herself with zeal and success in reestablishing harmony between her children. Condé, who despised his brother too much to hate him readily, agreed to a reconciliation with him. As to his sister, he had always felt for her great affection and confidence, and she no less for him: these sentiments were revived at their very first interview at Rueil, and he not only gave her back his friendship, but began to enter into her views, and even to be guided by her counsels. The Prince's policy was to make Royalty powerful and respected, but not absolute. He said publicly that he had done what he ought in upholding Mazarin, because he had promised to do so; but for the future, if things took a different line, he should not be bound by the past. . . . A prey to a thousand conflicting feelings, and discontented with everybody, and perhaps with himself, he took the resolution of retiring for several months to his government in Burgundy. On returning from Dijon in the month of August, the Prince found the Queen and the Cardinal at Compiègne, and very much dejected. . . . He . . . pressed her to return to Paris with her Minister, answering for Mazarin's safety, at the risk of his own head. . . . Their entry into Paris took place a few days after."—Lord Mahon, *Life of Louis, prince of Condé*, ch. 3-4.

ALSO IN: G. Joli, *Memoirs*, v. 1.—Cardinal De Retz, *Memoirs*, bk. 2.—J. Pardoe, *Louis XIV*, ch. 9-11.

1650-1651.—New Fronde, or the Petits Maîtres.—Alliance with Spain and defeat at Rethel.—Revolt, siege and reduction of Bordeaux.—"Faction, laid asleep for one night, woke again fresh and vigorous next morning. There was a Parliamentary party, a De Retz party, and a Condé party, and each party plotted and schemed unceasingly to discredit the others and to evoke popular feeling against all except itself. . . . Neither of the leaders, each pretending fear of assassination, ever stirred abroad unless in the company of 400 or 500 gentlemen, thus holding the city in hourly peril of an 'émeute.' Condé's arrogance and insolence becoming at last totally unbearable, the Court proceeded to the bold measure of arresting him. New combinations: De Retz and Orleans coalesce once more; De Retz coquets with Mazarin and is promised a cardinal's hat. Wily Mazarin strongly supports De Retz's nomination in public, and privately urges every member of the council to vote against it and to beseech the Queen to refuse the dignity. It was refused; upon which De Retz turned his energies upon a general union of parties for the purpose of effecting the release of Condé and the overthrow of the minister."—*De Retz and the Fronde* (Temple Bar, v. 38, pp. 535-536).—Condé, his brother Conti, and his brother-in-law Longueville, were arrested and conducted to Vincennes on January 18, 1650. "This was the second crisis of the sedition. The old Fronde had expired; its leaders had sold themselves to the Court; but in its place sprang up the New Fronde, called also, from the affected airs of its leaders, the Petits Maîtres. The beautiful Duchess of Longueville was the soul of it, aided by her admirer, Marsillac, afterwards Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and by the Duke of Bouillon. On the arrest of her husband and her brother, the duchess had fled to Holland, and afterwards to Stenai; where she and Bouillon's brother, Turenne, who styled himself the 'King's Lieutenant-General for the liberation of the Princess,' entered into negotiations with the Archduke Leopold. Bouillon himself had retired into

Guienne, which province was alienated from the Court because Mazarine maintained as its governor the detested Epernon. In July Bouillon and his allies publicly received a Spanish envoy at Bordeaux. Condé's wife and infant son had been received in that city with enthusiasm. But on the approach of Mazarine with the royal army, the inhabitants of Guienne, alarmed for their vintage, now approaching maturity, showed signs of submission; after a short siege Bordeaux surrendered, on condition of an amnesty, in which Bouillon and Le Rochefoucauld were included; and the Princess of Condé was permitted to retire (October 1st 1650). In the north, the Frondeurs, with their Spanish allies, seemed at first more successful. In the summer Leopold had entered Champagne, penetrated to Ferté Milon, and some of his marauding parties had even reached Dammartin. Turenne tried to persuade the Archduke to march to Vincennes and liberate the princes; but while he was hesitating, Gaston transferred the captives to Marcoussis, whence they were soon after conveyed to Havre. Leopold and Turenne, after a vain attempt to rouse the Parisians, retreated to the Meuse and laid siege to Mouzon. The Cardinal himself, like his master Richelieu, now assumed the character of a general. Uniting with his troops in the north the army of Guienne, he took up his quarters at Rethel, which had been captured by Du Plessis Praslin. Hence he ordered an attack to be made on the Spaniards. In the battle which ensued, these were entirely defeated, many of their principal officers were captured, and even Turenne himself narrowly escaped the same fate (December 15th 1650). The Cardinal's elation was unbounded. It was a great thing to have defeated Turenne, and though the victory was Du Plessis', Mazarine assumed all the credit of it. His head began to turn. He forgot that he owed his success to the leaders of the old Fronde, and especially to the Coadjutor; he neglected his promises to that intriguing prelate, though Gondi plainly declared that he must either be a prince of the Church or the head of a faction. Mazarine was also imprudent enough to offend the Parliament; and he compared them with that sitting at London—which indeed was doing them too much honour. The Coadjutor went over to the party of the princes, dragging with him the feeble-minded Orléans, who had himself been insulted by the Queen. Thus was produced a third phase of this singular sedition—the union of the old Fronde with the new. The Parliament now clamoured for the liberation of the princes. As the Queen hesitated, Gaston bluntly declared that the dismissal of Mazarine was necessary to the restoration of peace; while the Parliament added to their former demand another for the Cardinal's banishment. Mazarine saw his mistake and endeavoured to rectify it. He hastened to Havre in order to liberate the princes in person, and claim the merit of a spontaneous act. But it was too late; it was plain that he was acting only by constraint. The princes were conducted back in triumph to Paris by a large retinue sent to escort them. On February 25th, 1651, their innocence was established by a royal declaration, and they were restored to all their dignities and charges. Mazarine, meanwhile, who saw that for the present the game was lost, retired into exile; first into Bouillon, and afterwards to Brühl on the Rhine, where the Elector of Cologne offered him an asylum. From this place he corresponded with the Queen, and continued to direct her counsels. The anarchy and confusion that had ensued in France were such as promised him a speedy return."—T. H. Dyer, *History of modern Europe*, v. 3, bk. 5, ch. 1.

ALSO IN: T. Wright, *History of France*, v. 2, bk. 4, ch. 4.—J. Pardoe, *Louis XIV and the court of France*, v. 1, ch. 13-15.

1651-1652.—Loss of Catalonia. See SPAIN: 1648-1652.

1651-1653.—Arrogance of Condé and renewal of civil war.—King's majority proclaimed.—General changing of sides.—Battle of Porte St. Antoine and massacre of the Hôtel de Ville.—End of the Fronde.—Condé in service of Spain.—"The liberated captives were received with every demonstration of joy by all Paris and the Frondeurs, including the Duke of Orleans. The Queen, melancholy, and perhaps really ill, lay in bed to receive their visit of cold ceremony; but the Duke of Orleans gave them a grand supper, and there was universal joy at being rid of Mazarin. . . . There was a promise to assemble the States General, while Condé thought himself governing the kingdom, and as usual his arrogance gave offence in various quarters. One article in the compact which had gained his liberty was that the Prince of Conti should marry Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, but this alliance offended the pride of the elder brother, and he broke the marriage off hastily and haughtily. Madame de Chevreuse, much offended, repented of the aid she had given, went over to the Queen's party, and took with her the coadjutor, who was devoted to the rejected daughter, and could always sway the mob of Paris. So many persons had thus come to desert the cause of the Prince that Anne of Austria thought of again arresting him." Condé, supposing himself in danger, fled from the city on July 6, and "went to his château of St. Maur, where his family and friends joined him, and he held a kind of court. Queen and Parliament both sent entreaties to him to return, but he disdain them all, and made the condition of his return the dismissal of the secretaries whom Mazarine had left. The Queen, most unwillingly, made them retire, and Condé did return for a short time; but he was haughtier than ever, and openly complained of Mazarin's influence, making every preparation for a civil war. Strangely violent scenes took place," between the prince and the coadjutor and their respective adherents; and presently the prince "quitted Paris, went to Chantilly, and decided on war. Mazarin wrote to the Queen that the most prudent course would be to ally herself with the Parliament to crush the Princes. After they should have been put down the Parliament would be easily dealt with. She acted on this advice. The elections for the States General were beginning, but in order to quash them, and cancel all her promises, the Queen decided on proclaiming the majority of the King, and thus the close of her own regency. It was of course a farce, since he had only just entered his fourteenth year, and his mother still conducted the Government; but it made a new beginning, and was an occasion for stirring up the loyalty of the people. . . . Condé was unwilling to begin a civil war, and was only driven into it by his sister's persuasions and those of his friends. 'Remember,' he said, 'if I once draw the sword, I shall be the last to return it to the scabbard.' On the other side, Anne of Austria said, 'Monsieur le Prince shall perish, or I will.' From Montrond, Condé directed his forces to take possession of the cities in Guyenne, and he afterwards proceeded to Bordeaux. On the other hand, Mazarin repaired to Sedan, and contrived to raise an army in the frontier cities, with which he marched to join the King and Queen at Poitiers. War was raging again, still as the Fronde, though there had been a general change of sides, the Parliament being now for the

Court, and the Princes against it, the Duke of Orleans in a state of selfish agitation between the two. Learning that the royal army was advancing to his own appanage of Orleans, and fearing that the city might open its gates to them, he sent off his daughter, Mademoiselle [de Montpensier], to keep the citizens to what he called their duty to himself. She went with only two ladies and her servants . . . and found the gates closed against her." The persevering mademoiselle succeeded, however, in gaining admission to the town, despite the orders of the magistrates, and she kept out of it the soldiers of both factions in the war. But her own inclinations were strongly towards Condé and his side. "She went out to a little inn to hold a council with the Dukes of Beaufort and Nemours, and had to mediate between them in a violent quarrel. . . . Indeed, Condé's party were ill-agreed; he had even quarrelled with his sister, and she had broken with De la Rochefoucauld! The Duke de Bouillon and his brother Turenne were now on the Queen's side, and the command of the royal army was conferred on the Viscount. Condé, with only eight persons, dashed across France, to take the command of the army over which Beaufort and Nemours were disputing. The very morning after he arrived, Turenne saw by the disposition of the troops who must be opposed to him. 'M. le Prince is come,' he said. They were the two greatest captains of the age, and they fought almost in sight of the King and Queen at Bleneau. But though there were skirmishes [including, at the outset, the serious defeat of a division of the royal forces under Hocquincourt], no decisive engagement took place. It was a struggle of manœuvres, and in this Condé had the disadvantage. . . . Week after week the two armies . . . watched one another, till at last Condé was driven up to the walls of Paris, and there the gates were closed against both armies. Condé was at St. Cloud, whence, on the 2nd of July [1652], he endeavoured to lead his army round to Charenton at the confluence of the Seine and the Loire; but when he came in front of the Porte St. Antoine, he found that a battle was inevitable and that he was caught in a trap, where, unless he could escape through the city, his destruction was inevitable. He barricaded the three streets that met there, heaping up his baggage as a protection, and his friends within, many of them wives of gentlemen in his army, saw the situation with despair." The only one who had energy to act was mademoiselle. She extorted from her hesitating father an order, by virtue of which she persuaded the magistrates of the city, not only to open the gates to Condé, but to send 2,000 men to the Faubourg St. Antoine. "Mademoiselle now repaired to the top of the great square tower of the Bastille, whence she could see the terrible conflict carried on in the three suburban streets which converged at the Porte St. Antoine." Seeing an opportunity to turn the cannon of the Bastille on the pursuing troops, she did so with effect. "Turenne was obliged to draw back, and at last Condé brought his army into the city, where they encamped in the open space of the *Prés des Clercs*. . . . Condé unworthily requited the hospitality wrung from the city. He was resolved to overcome the neutrality of the Parliament, and, in concert with Beaufort, instigated the mob of violence. Many soldiers were disguised as artisans, and mingled with the rabble, when, on the 4th of July, he went to the Hôtel de Ville, ostensibly to thank the magistrates, but really to demand their support against the Crown. These loyal men, however, by a majority of votes, decided on a petition to the King to return without Mazarin. On this Condé exclaimed publicly, 'These gentlemen will do

nothing for us. They are Mazarinists. Treat them as you please.' Then he retired to the Luxembourg with Gaston, while Beaufort let loose the mob. The Hôtel de Ville was stormed, the rabble poured in at doors and windows, while the disguised soldiers fired from the opposite houses, and the magistrates were threatened and pursued on all sides. They had one advantage, that they knew their way through the intricate passages and the mob did not. The first who got out rushed to the Luxembourg to entreat the Duke and Prince to stop the massacre; but Monsieur only whistled and beat his tattoo, and Condé said he knew nothing about sedition. Nor would Beaufort interfere till the disturbance had lasted many hours; but after all many more of the rabble were killed than of the magistrates. It was the last remarkable scene in the strange drama of the Fronde. The Parliament suspended its sittings, and the King transferred it to Pontoise, whither Molé and all the other Presi-



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dents proceeded, leaving Paris in disguise. This last ferocious proceeding of Condé's, though he tried to disavow it, had shocked and alienated every one, and he soon after fell sick of violent fever. Meanwhile, his castle of Montrond was taken after a year's siege, Nemours was killed in a duel by the Duke of Beaufort, and the party was falling to pieces. . . . Mazarin saw the opportunity, and again left the Court for the German frontier. This was all that was wanting to bring back the malcontents. Condé offered to make terms, but was haughtily answered that it was no time for negotiation, but for submission. Upon this, he proceeded to the Low Countries, and offered his sword to the Spaniards. The King entered Paris in state and held a bed of justice [*lit de justice*, when the king appeared in person before the parlement and commanded it by word of mouth to register some law], in which he proclaimed an amnesty, excepting from it Condé and Conti, and some others of their party, and forbidding the Parliament to interfere in State affairs. The Coadjutor, who had become a Cardinal, was arrested, and imprisoned until he made

his escape, dislocating his shoulder in his fall from the window, but finally reaching Rome, where he lived till the Fronde was forgotten, but never becoming Archbishop of Paris. . . . When all was quiet, Mazarin returned, in February, 1653, without the slightest opposition, and thus ended the Fronde, in the entire triumph of the Crown. . . . The misery, distress and disease caused by these wars of the Fronde were unspeakable. There was nothing to eat in the provinces where they had raged but roots, rotten fruit, and bread made of bran. . . . 'Le misère de la Fronde' was long a proverbial expression in France."—C. M. Yonge, *Cameos from English history*, ch. 15.

ALSO IN: Lord Mahon, *Life of Louis, prince of Condé*, ch. 8-9.—G. P. R. James, *Life and times of Louis XIV*, ch. 11-12.—Cardinal de Retz, *Memoirs*, v. 2-3, bk. 3-4.—Mlle de Montpensier, *Memoirs*, v. 1, ch. 11-17.

1652.—Loss of Gravelines and Dunkirk.—Spanish invasion of Picardy.—"In the spring of 1652, the Spanish forces, under the command of the archduke, had undertaken the siege of Gravelines, which was obliged to capitulate on the 18th of May. The archduke next undertook the siege of Dunkirk, but, at the earnest desire of the princes, he merely blockaded the place, and sent Fuensaldaña with about 14,000 men into Picardy to their assistance. . . . The court, in great alarm, sought first a retreat in Normandy, but the Duke of Longueville, who still held the government of that province, refused to receive Mazarin. The fears of the court were not lessened by this proceeding, and it was even proposed to carry the king to Lyons; but the wiser counsels of Turenne finally prevailed, and it was resolved to establish the army at Compiègne, and lodge the court at Pontoise. Fuensaldaña forced the passage of the Oise at Chauni, and then joined the duke of Lorraine at Fismes, on the 20th of July, when their joint forces amounted to full 20,000 men, while Turenne had not more than 9,000 to oppose to them. But the Spaniards were, as usual, only pursuing a selfish policy, and Fuensaldaña, in pursuance of the archduke's orders, left a body of 3,000 cavalry to reinforce the duke of Lorraine, and returned with the rest of his troops to assist in the siege of Dunkirk," which soon surrendered to his arms.—T. Wright, *History of France*, v. 2, p. 86.

1652-1653.—Last phase of the Fronde at Bordeaux.—Attempted revolution by the Society of the Ormée. See BORDEAUX: 1652-1653.

1653-1656.—Condé's campaigns against his own country, in the service of Spain.—"Condé, unfortunately for his fame, made no attempts at reconciliation, and retired to the Spaniards—an enemy of his country! He captured several small places on the [Flemish] frontier, and hoped to return in spring victorious. A few days after the entry into Paris, Turenne set out to oppose him; and, retaking some towns, had the satisfaction of compelling him to seek winter quarters beyond the limits of France. . . . Condé persuaded the Spanish to bring 30,000 men into the field for the next campaign: Turenne and La Ferté had but 13,000. To paralyze the plans of the enemy, the Viscount proposed, and his proposal was allowed, to be always threatening their rear and communications; to occupy posts they would not dare to attack, and so to avoid fighting, at the same time hindering them from all important undertakings. He began by throwing himself between two corps of their army, at the point where they expected to effect a junction; and in the eight or nine days thus gained, he recovered Rhétel, without which it would have been, as he declares himself, impossible to defend

Picardy and Champagne. Rhétel, so much an object of anxiety, was taken in three days. Baffled in their original purposes, and at a loss, the Spanish expected a large convoy from Cambray, escorted by 3,000 horse. Turenne got news of this, and, posting himself near Peronne to intercept it, drove it back to Cambray [August 11, 1653]. There Condé and Fuensaldaña turned upon him; but he took up a position, which they watched for three or four days, and there defied their attack. They refused the challenge. Thence the enemy drew off," with designs on Guise, which Turenne frustrated. "Condé then laid siege to Rocroi, where his own first glory had been gained; and this place is so hemmed in by woods and defiles, that the relief of it was impossible. But Turenne compensated for the loss of it by the equally valuable recapture of Mouson. Thus the whole year was spent in marches and countermarches, in gains and losses, which had no influence on events. By this time the malcontents were so prostrate that Condé's brother, the Prince de Conti, and his sister, the Duchesse de Longueville, made their peace with the court. . . . The year 1654 opened with the siege of Stenay by the young king in person, who was carried thither by Mazarin, to overawe Condé's governor with the royal name and majesty. That officer was more true to his trust than to his allegiance, and Stenay cost a siege. . . . Condé could do no better than imitate Turenne's policy of the previous year, and besiege Arras as an equivalent for Stenay; to which end he mustered 32,000 men. Arras was a town of some value. Condé had caught it at disadvantage; the governor, Mondejeu . . . was put on his defence with 2,500 foot and 100 horse. To reinforce this slender garrison was the first care of Turenne. . . . Mazarin was anxious for Arras, and offered Turenne to break up the siege of Stenay, for the sake of reinforcing the army of relief. This proposal the Viscount declined. He must have been very confident of his own capacity; for he could collect only 14,000 men to hover around the enemy's camp. . . . He proposed no attempt upon the intrenchments till he had the aid of the troops from Stenay; . . . but he disposed his parties around so as to prevent the enemy's convoys from reaching them." Stenay surrendered on August 6, and Turenne, with reinforcements from its besiegers, attacked the Spanish lines at Arras on the night of the 24th, with complete success. The Spaniards raised the siege and retreated to Cambray, leaving 3,000 prisoners and 63 pieces of cannon in the hands of the French. "The capture of Quesnoy and Biches filled up the rest of the year; the places were weak and the garrisons feeble. Nor did the next season, 1655, offer anything of interest. Turenne reduced Landrecies, Condé, and Guislain, while his active opponent was sometimes foiled by his precautions, and sometimes baffled by the absurd behaviour of the Spanish authorities. . . . The great event of 1656 was the siege of Valenciennes. This place . . . was invested by Turenne about the middle of June; but hardly had his camp been intrenched before he repented of his undertaking. The Scheldt flows through the town, and by reservoirs and sluices was flooded at the will of the enemy. Turenne's camp was largely inundated. . . . He had overestimated his means: so great was the circle of his circumvallation that he had not men enough to guard it adequately, when Condé and the Spanish appeared with 20,000 men to the relief of the place." They broke through his lines and forced him to retreat, with a heavy loss of prisoners taken. "The Viscount retrieved his credit by the bold stand he made after the defeat."—T. O. Cockayne, *Life of Marshal Turenne*, pp. 58-69.

ALSO IN: Lord Mahon, *Life of Louis, prince of Condé*, ch. 10.—J. B. Perkins, *France under Mazarin*, v. 2, ch. 16-17.

1653-1660.—First persecution of the Jansenists. See PORT ROYAL AND THE JANSENISTS: 1602-1700.

1655.—Second persecution and massacre of the Waldenses. See WALDENSES: 1655.

1655-1658.—Alliance with the English Commonwealth against Spain.—Taking of Dunkirk for England and Gravelines for France.—End of the war.—“Mazarin was now bent upon an enterprise which, if successful, must finish the war. A deadly blow would be struck at the strength of Spain if Dunkirk, Mardyck, and Gravelines—the possession of which was of vital importance to her communication with Flanders, as well as enabling her to ruin French commerce on that coast—could be wrested from her. For this the coöperation of some maritime power was necessary, and Mazarin determined at all costs to secure England. With Cromwell, the only diplomatist by whose astuteness he confessed himself baffled, he had been negotiating since 1651. . . . At length on November 3, 1655, a treaty was signed at Westminster, based upon freedom of commerce and an engagement that neither country should assist the enemies or rebels of the other; Mazarin consented to expel Charles II., James, and twenty named royalists from France. Cromwell similarly agreed to dismiss from England the emissaries of Condé. But Mazarin was soon anxious for a more effectual bond. . . . Cromwell had equally good reasons for drawing closer to France, for Spain was preparing actively to assist Charles II. French and English interests thus coinciding, an alliance was signed at Paris on March 23, 1657 [see ENGLAND: 1655-1658]. Gravelines and Dunkirk were to be at once besieged both by land and sea. England was to send 6,000 men to assist the French army. Gravelines was to become French and Dunkirk English; should the former fall first it was to be held by England until Dunkirk too was taken. . . . The alliance was not a moment too soon. The campaign of 1657 had opened disastrously. The tide was however turned by the arrival of the English contingent. Montmédy was immediately besieged, and capitulated on August 4. The effect was again to make Mazarin hang back from further effort, since it seemed possible now to make peace with Spain, and thereby avoid an English occupation of Dunkirk. But Cromwell would stand no trifling, and his threats were so clear that Mazarin determined to act loyally and without delay. On September 30, Turenne laid siege to Mardyck, which protected Dunkirk, and took it in four days. It was at once handed over to the English.” In the spring of 1658 the siege of Dunkirk was begun. The Spaniards, under Don John of Austria and Condé, attempting to relieve the place, were defeated (June 13) in the battle of the Dunes, by Turenne and Cromwell’s Ironsides (see ENGLAND: 1655-1658). “Dunkirk immediately surrendered, and on the 25th was in Cromwell’s possession. Two months later Gravelines also fell. A short and brilliant campaign followed, in which Don John and Condé, shut up in Brussels and Tournai respectively, were compelled to remain inactive while fortress after fortress fell into French hands. A few days after the fall of Gravelines Cromwell died; but Mazarin was now near his goal. Utterly defeated on her own soil, beaten, too, by the Portuguese at Elvas, and threatened in Milan, her army ruined, her treasury bankrupt, without a single ally in Europe, Spain stood at last powerless before him.”—O. Airy, *English Restoration and Louis XIV.*, ch. 6.

1657.—Candidacy of Louis XIV for the imperial crown. See GERMANY: 1648-1705

1659-1661.—Treaty of the Pyrenees.—Marriage of Louis XIV to the Spanish infanta.—“The Spaniards could struggle no longer: they sued for peace. Things were prepared for it on every hand: Spain was desperate; matters far from settled or safe in France; in England the Protector’s death had come very opportunely for Mazarin; the strong man was no longer there to hold the balance between the European powers. Questions as to a Spanish marriage and the Spanish succession had been before men since 1648; the Spaniards had disliked the match, thinking that in the end it must subject them to France. But things were changed; Philip IV. now had an heir, so that the nations might hope to remain under two distinct crowns; moreover, the needs of Spain were far greater than in 1648, while the demands of France were less. So negotiation between Mazarin and Louis de Haro on the little Isle of Pheasants in the Bidassoa, under the very shadow of the Pyrenees, went on prosperously; even the proposal that Louis XIV. should espouse the Infanta of Spain, Maria Theresa, was at last agreed to at Madrid. The only remaining difficulty arose from” the fact that the young king, Louis XIV., had fallen in love with Maria Mancini, Cardinal Mazarin’s niece, and wished to marry her. “The King at last abandoned his youthful and pure passion, and signed the Treaty of the Pyrenees [concluded November 7, 1659], condemning himself to a marriage of state, which exalted high the dignity of the French Crown, only to plunge it in the end into the troubles and disasters of the Succession War [1702-1713]. The treaty of peace begins with articles on trade and navigation: then follow cessions, restitutions, and exchanges of territories. 1. On the Northern frontier Spain ceded all she had in Artois, with exception of Aire and S. Omer; in Flanders itself France got Gravelines and its outer defences. In Hainault she became mistress of the important towns, Landrecies, Quesnoy, and Avesnes, and also strengthened her position by some exchanges; in Luxemburg she retained Thionville, Montmédy, and several lesser places; so that over her whole northern border France advanced her frontier along a line answering to her old limits. . . . In return she restored to Spain several of her latest conquests in Flanders: Ypres, Oudenarde, Dixmüden, Furnes, and other cities. In Condé’s country France recovered Rocroy, Le Câtelet and Linchamp, occupied by the Prince’s soldiers; and so secured the safety and defences of Champagne and Paris. 2. More to the East, the Duke of Lorraine, having submitted with such good grace as might be, was reinstated in his Duchy. . . . But France received her price here also, the Duchy of Bar, the County of Clermont on the edge of Champagne, Stenay, Dun, Jametz, Moyenvic, became hers. The fortifications of Nancy were to be raised for ever; the Duke of Lorraine bound himself to peace, and agreed to give France free passage to the Bishoppicks and Alsace. This was the more necessary, because Franche-Comté, the other highway into Alsace, was left to the Spaniards, and such places in it as were in the King’s hands were restored to them. Far out in Germany Louis XIV. replaced Jülich in the hands of the Duke of Neuberg; and that element of controversy, the germ or pretext of these long wars, was extinct for ever. On the Savoyard border France retained Pinerolo, with all the means and temptations of offence which it involved: she restored to the Duke her other conquests within his territories, and to the Spaniards whatever she held in Lombardy; she also honour-

ably obtained an amnesty for those subjects of Spain, Neapolitans or Catalans, who had sided with France. Lastly, the Pyrenees became the final, as it was the natural, boundary between the two Latin kingdoms. . . . Roussillon and Conflans became French: all French conquests to the south of the Pyrenees were restored to Spain. The Spanish King renounced all claims on Alsace or Breisach: on the other hand the submission of the great Condé was accepted; he was restored to all his domains; his son, the young Duke of Enghien, being made Grand Master of France, and he himself appointed Governor of Burgundy and Bresse: his friends and followers were included in the amnesty. Some lesser stipulations, with a view to the peace of Europe, for the settlement of the differences between Spain and Portugal, between the Dukes of Savoy and Mantua, between the Catholic and the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, and an agreement to help forward peace between the Northern Courts, worthily close this great document, this weighty appendix to the Treaties of Westphalia. A separate act, as was fitting, regulated all questions bearing on the great marriage. It contains a solemn renunciation, intended to bar for ever the union of the two Crowns under one sceptre, or the absorption into France of Flanders, Burgundy, or Charolais. It was a renunciation which, as Mazarin foresaw long before, would never hold firm against the temptations and exigencies of time. The King's marriage with the Infanta Maria Theresa of Spain did not take place till the next year, by which time Mazarin's work in life seemed well nigh over; racked with gout, he had little enjoyment of his triumphs. . . . He betook himself to the arrangement of his own affairs: his physicians giving him, early in 1661, no hopes of recovery. . . . These things arranged, the Cardinal resigned himself to die 'with a serenity more philosophic than Christian'; and passed away on the 8th of March, 1661.—G. W. Kitchin, *History of France*, v. 3, bk. 4, ch. 8.—'The Treaty of the Pyrenees, which completed the great work of pacification that had commenced at Münster, is justly celebrated as having put an end to such bitter and useless animosities. But, it is more famous, as having introduced a new era in European politics. In its provisions all the leading events of a century to come had their origin—the wars which terminated with the Treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimeguen, and Ryswick, and that concerning the Spanish succession. So great an epoch in history has the Pyrenean Treaty been accounted by politicians, that Lord Bolingbroke was of opinion, 'That the only part of history necessary to be thoroughly studied, goes no farther back than this treaty, since, from that period, a new set of motives and principles have prevailed all over Europe.'—J. Dunlop, *Memoirs of Spain during the reigns of Philip IV and Charles II*, v. 1, ch. 11.

1660-1688.—Footing gained in Newfoundland. See NEWFOUNDLAND: 1660-1688.

1661.—Personal assumption of government by Louis XIV.—Extraordinary characteristics of reign of the Grand Monarch.—'On the death of Mazarin in 1661 Louis [XIV] had already reigned eighteen years. He was now in his twenty-third year, and up to this time had been content to let the Cardinal rule. Under the *régime* of Mazarin and Anne of Austria the King had been little more than a cipher to his subjects. Men were now to realise that a new epoch had been reached in the history of France, and that in the development in store for this country the personality of their sovereign would be an important factor. . . . He had all the kingly gifts necessary for the rôle. He was

dignified, reserved, calm, and courteous. Majestic in person, his manners and carriage were above criticism. . . . His gravity of manner and habitual discretion impressed favourably those with whom he came in contact. 'He would have been every inch a king,' Saint-Simon tells us, 'even if he had been born under the roof of a beggar,' and Bolingbroke, writing from personal observation, declared that, 'if he was not the greatest king he was the best actor of majesty, at least, that ever filled a throne.' . . . Though the Jesuits had superintended his religious training he was in reality ignorant of the rudiments of Christianity, and his general education had been scandalously neglected owing to the incapacity of Villeroi and Péréfixe. . . . As long as Colbert lived, the influences brought to bear on Louis were on the whole beneficial, but towards the end of his reign Louis allowed himself to be guided at times by the judgment of Madame de Maintenon, who herself was influenced by certain priests, whose opinions often lacked wisdom and discernment. Freed from Colbert's advice, Louis tended to promote to the highest offices of state men often incapable or untrustworthy. . . . When Chamillard was allowed to rule at Versailles, and Villeroi, Tallard, and Marsin were preferred to Catinat, Vendôme, and Villars, it was evident that Louis' successes in the early portion of his reign were due in great measure to his good fortune in finding round him a number of able men, trained under Mazarin's *régime*. It must, however, be remembered, in extenuation of Louis' later appointments, that he was always led to believe that the genius of Colbert, Louvois, and Lionne was but a reflection of his own, and that he was the moving spirit in all departments of government. Accordingly, when a minister died, Louis, convinced that all his subordinates were equal in talent and looked to him for the initiative, simply handed on the vacant office to a relative of its last occupant. What aggravated the faults engendered by Louis' bad education was his pride. This feature in his character rapidly became very prominent, and early developed into the worst form of arrogance. . . . As he grew older, the flaws in his character, pardonable as they might be in his earlier years, degenerated into very serious faults. His ignorance grew into something like stupidity, his firmness developed into obstinacy, his pride became mere arrogance and selfishness. Hence he considered himself to be under the special care of Providence, to be above all other men; to be a privileged King among kings. Caprice at time seems to have dictated many of his actions. . . . The only justification for Louis is to be found (1) in his early education and surroundings,—even at an early age it was instilled in him that kings might do as they pleased; (2) in the attitude of the clergy, who from Bossuet downwards vied with each other in the most abject flattery of the King; (3) in the atmosphere of the corrupt Court where adulation of Louis grew into one might almost say idolatry. He was assured that all his wars were justifiable; the real condition of his kingdom was never brought to his notice; he was always ignorant of the state of public opinion; he had no friend in whom he could confide and from whom he could learn the truth. . . . His strength lay in his firm belief in himself, in his conviction of the divine origin of royalty, in his determination to be in reality a King, in his energy and honest desire to do his duty. Only a few of those about him had any idea of his true character, of his sense of responsibility, of his resolve to carry out conscientiously the duties of kingship. . . . The theory of the divine origin of kingship was firmly held by

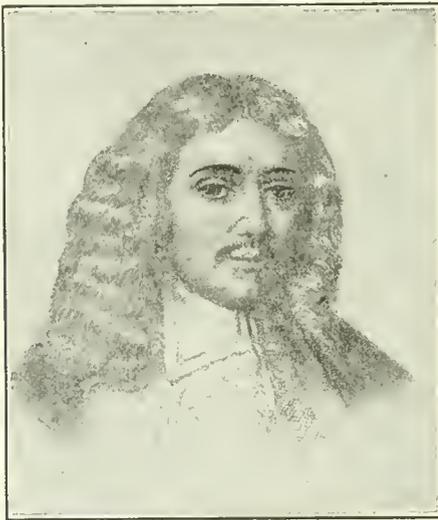
Louis and generally accepted in France. In his memoirs Louis lays it down that kings are God's lieutenants, answerable to him alone. The King represents the nation, and all authority lies in the hands of the King. 'L'état, c'est moi' represents accurately Louis' conviction that in him were centered all the threads of internal government as well as of foreign policy, and that all Frenchmen were merely instruments for carrying out his wishes. . . . He was convinced that a divine instinct would lead him to make right decisions. An absolute unlimited monarchy was especially agreeable to God. Thus Louis' policy both at home and abroad can be shown to have a distinctly religious basis. His wars of aggrandisement were excused on the ground that the victories of the French arms would lead to the advance of religion. In his attacks on the Protestants, Jansenists, and Quietists, he was merely carrying to its logical conclusion his theory of absolutism. But he only arrived at a decision in religious matters after very careful consideration. Painfully and laboriously he came to his conclusions, and unfortunately in each case—in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in the exile of Fénelon from the Court, in the demolition of Port Royal, and in the introduction of the Bull Unigenitus into the kingdom—Louis made a wrong decision, and inflicted in rapid succession a series of severe blows on the unity and prosperity of France. In his view of the divine origin of the royal power Louis was supported by the Church. Bossuet's celebrated declaration of the theory of divine right is well known. He asserted that kings were gods, that they carried on their brows the stamp of divine authority, and that they had to render an account of their actions to no man. The adoption of this theory of divine right, when joined to a consciousness of unlimited power, brought Louis to believe in his own infallibility. On these principles then France was governed for nearly a century and a half. . . . Louis XIV. was not content merely to accept the theory of absolute power; he was resolved to be King in fact, and carried out his determination during the whole of his long reign. The first half of the eighteenth century saw the government of France directed by two prelates, Dubois and Fleury, while in the seventeenth century till 1661, Richelieu and Mazarin to the rise of Dubois, Louis governed by himself. Under him the absolute monarchy became definitely a distinct form of government with its own institutions, organs, and agents responsible to the King alone. All rival authorities and jurisdictions were suppressed. The States-General were never summoned. A government of divine origin had no need to consult the people, and Louis himself tells us in his memoirs that it is certain that the necessity of accepting the law from the people is the worst calamity that can fall on a man of kingly rank."—A. Hassall, *Louis XIV (Heroes of the nations, pp. 82-86, 88-90)*.—Louis XIV's reign "marks one of the most memorable epochs in the annals of mankind. It stretches across history like a great mountain-range, separating ancient France from the France of modern times. On the farther slope are Catholicism and feudalism in their various stages of splendour and decay—the France of crusades and chivalry, of St. Louis and Bayard. On the hither side are free-thought, industry, and centralization—the France of Voltaire, Turgot and Condorcet. When Louis came to the throne, the 'Thirty Years' War still wanted six years of its end, and the heat of theological strife was at its intensest glow. When he died, the religious temperature had cooled nearly to freezing-point, and a new vegetation of science and positive inquiry was overspreading the world.

. . . The reign of Louis XIV . . . was the great turning-point in the history of the French people. The triumph of the Monarchical principle was so complete under him, independence and self-reliance were so effectually crushed, both in localities and individuals, that a permanent bent was given to the national mind—a habit of looking to the Government for all action and initiative permanently established. . . . Spontaneity in the population at large was extinct, and whatever there was to do must be done by the central authority. As long as the Government could correct abuses it was well; if it ceased to be equal to this task they must go uncorrected. When at last the reform of secular and gigantic abuses presented itself with imperious urgency, the alternative before the Monarchy was either to carry the reform with a high hand, or perish in the failure to do so. . . . And through having placed the Monarchy between these alternatives, it is no paradox to say that Louis XIV was one of the most direct ancestors of the Great Revolution."—J. C. Morison, *Reign of Louis XIV (Fortnightly Review, Mar., 1874)*.

Also in: J. I. von Döllinger, *Policy of Louis XIV (Studies in European history, ch. 11)*.

1661-1680.—Revived and growing persecution of the Huguenots.—"One of the King's first acts, on assuming the supreme control of affairs at the death of Mazarin, was significant of his future policy with regard to the Huguenots. Among the representatives of the various public bodies who came to tender him their congratulations, there appeared a deputation of Protestant ministers, headed by their president Vignole; but the King refused to receive them, and directed that they should be ordered to leave Paris forthwith. Louis was not slow to follow up this intimation by measures of a more positive kind, for he had been carefully taught to hate Protestantism; and, now that he possessed unrestrained power, he flattered himself with the idea of compelling the Huguenots to abandon their convictions and adopt his own. His minister Louvois wrote to the governors throughout the provinces that 'his majesty will not suffer any person in his kingdom but those who are of his religion.' . . . A series of edicts was accordingly published with the object of carrying the King's purposes into effect. The conferences of the Protestants were declared to be suppressed. Though worship was still permitted in their churches, the singing of psalms in private dwelling was declared to be forbidden. . . . Protestant children were invited to declare themselves against the religion of their parents. Boys of fourteen and girls of twelve years old might, on embracing Roman Catholicism, become enfranchised and entirely free from parental control. . . . The Huguenots were again debarred from holding public offices, though a few, such as Marshal Turenne and Admiral Duquesne, who were Protestants, broke through this barrier by the splendor of their services to the state. In some provinces, the exclusion was so severe that a profession of the Roman Catholic faith was required from simple artisans. . . . Colbert, while he lived, endeavored to restrain the King, and to abate these intolerable persecutions. . . . He took the opportunity of cautioning the King lest the measures he was enforcing might tend, if carried out, to the impoverishment of France and the aggrandizement of her rivals. . . . But all Colbert's expostulations were in vain; the Jesuits were stronger than he was, and the King was in their hands; besides, Colbert's power was on the decline. . . . In 1666 the queen-mother died, leaving to her son, as her last bequest, that he should suppress and exterminate heresy within his dominions. . . . The Bishop of

Meaux exhorted him to press on in the path his sainted mother had pointed out to him. . . . The Huguenots had already taken alarm at the renewal of the persecution, and such of them as could readily dispose of their property and goods were beginning to leave the kingdom in considerable numbers for the purpose of establishing themselves in foreign countries. To prevent this, the King issued an edict forbidding French subjects from proceeding abroad without express permission, under penalty of confiscation of their goods and property. This was followed by a succession of severe measures for the conversion or extirpation of such of the Protestants—in numbers about a million and a half—as had not by this time contrived to make their escape from the kingdom. The kidnapping of Protestant children was actively set on foot by the agents of the Roman Catholic priests, and their parents were subjected to heavy penalties if they ventured to complain. Orders were issued to pull down the Protestant places of worship, and as many as eighty were shortly destroyed in one dio-



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cese. . . . Protestants were forbidden to print books without the authority of magistrates of the Romish communion. Protestant teachers were interdicted from teaching children any thing more than reading, writing, and arithmetic. . . . Protestants were only allowed to bury their dead at daybreak or at nightfall. They were prohibited from singing psalms on land or on water, in workshops or in dwellings. If a priestly procession passed one of their churches while the psalms were being sung, they must stop instantly on pain of the fine or imprisonment of the officiating minister. In short, from the pettiest annoyance to the most exasperating cruelty, nothing was wanting on the part of the 'Most Christian King' and his abettors."—S. Smiles, *Huguenots*, ch. 7.

ALSO IN: A. Maury, *Memoirs of a Huguenot family* (Fontaine), ch. 4-7.—W. S. Browning, *History of the Huguenots*, ch. 59-60.

1661-1683.—Administration of Colbert.—Plan for the upbuilding of industry and commerce.—Organization of the East and West India companies.—Other companies.—Results.—“At Mazarin's death Colbert [1619-1683] was at first made intendant of finance (March 16, 1661). He rapidly rose in the king's favour. In January, 1664,

he was made *surintendant des bâtiments et manufactures*, in 1665, controller-general, and finally, in 1669, minister of the marine, thus uniting in his hands all the important branches of administration except that of war. But from the first he exerted a large influence upon the direction of affairs. For the first three years of his service to the king his time was largely absorbed by the prosecution of the 'affair Fouquet' [who had incurred Colbert's hostility by the misappropriation of state funds] and by the reorganization of the finances of the kingdom. It was not until 1664 that he had worked out a large plan for the upbuilding of industry and the establishment of commerce. . . . He organized the *conseil de commerce*; he framed the high protective tariff of 1664 [and the tariff of 1667 which led to the Dutch and English wars]; he developed a comprehensive plan to restore industry and create manufactures, to build up a strong navy and merchant marine; and he organized the East and West India Companies. . . . The development of over-sea commerce occupied the most important place in the great minister's plan for the regeneration of France. . . . The success of the Dutch with their wealth and power upon the sea exerted a large influence upon his mind. He attributed their success to trade, asserting that the Dutch East India Company had assets amounting to no less than 800,000,000 livres; that Holland had become the entrepôt in Europe for the rich trade with the Indies; and furthermore that the Dutch had made themselves masters of the trade with the ports of the Baltic, with the French West Indies, and of the carrying trade of Europe. Colbert decided to organize two large companies which would at least dispute with them the trade with the two Indies. There is something stupendous in the way in which he projected the East and West India Companies. To the one he assigned, as the field for its activity, the vast expanse from the Cape of Good Hope eastward even to the straits of Magellan, including all the East Indies, China, Japan, and all the oriental seas; to the other, he granted immense territories in the three continents of North America, South America and Africa, and many prosperous islands in the West Indies. . . . Of the two companies, Colbert considered the East India Company of greater importance. Its organization became a matter of great moment. . . . The king, the queen, the queen-mother, the princes of royal blood, noblemen, officials of high rank, subscribed for varying sums. A veritable campaign was pursued by Colbert to persuade or force judges, revenue-farmers, intendants and merchants throughout the kingdom to subscribe to the funds of the company. Everything was done to make the enterprise appear attractive as an investment. National pride was appealed to by pointing out the success and superiority of the Dutch in the oriental trade. Special rights were offered to subscribers of 10,000 and 20,000 livres. In short, the organization of the company [East India] was made an affair of state. The organization of the West India Company was not regarded as a matter of such importance. . . . This point is of some importance, because it shows clearly that Colbert expended much more effort in the organization of the former company and expected much larger results from it. In this he was destined to be disappointed, for the West India Company yielded much larger results. . . . The problems of the two companies were quite different. . . . One of the chief tasks imposed upon the West India Company at its creation was to maintain its monopoly of trade to the exclusion of all foreigners. The outbreak

of the war with the English, however, forced the company to expend so much of its energy in the defense of the islands and in carrying on war against the enemy, that it was forced to forego its monopoly by admitting both private French traders and the Dutch to the commerce of the islands. The necessity for this is proved by the fact that the directors of the company in France and the administrators in the islands, acting independently of one another, took the step almost simultaneously. But in spite of the fact that the admission of foreign traders during the war was made necessary by the inability of the West India Company to supply the islands with food, the practice of admitting them did not cease at the close of the war in July, 1667. For over a year after that date the Dutch continued their efforts to draw the commerce of the French islands back into their control and they were so successful that Colbert was forced to begin a long and difficult campaign to drive them from the French possessions. An *arrêt* of the *conseil d'état* of September 10, 1668, formally forbade the West India Company "to grant permission to foreigners to trade within its concession, under penalty of being deprived of the privileges which the king had granted it. . . . In addition to these two companies, Colbert, during the course of his ministry, organized for various purposes five other commercial companies, namely, the Company of the North, the Company of the Levant, the Company of the Pyrenees, the first and second companies of Senegal. The Company of the North was organized in 1669 with the purpose of building up a trade with the ports of Northern Europe, especially with those of the Baltic, and thus of making France independent of the Dutch trader. It was granted a monopoly of trade with Holland, the coasts of Germany, Sweden, Norway, Muscovy, and other countries of the North. De Lagny, who was later to become director of commerce, and Colbert de Terron, intendant at Brouage, were especially charged with the direction of the enterprise. Premiums were offered for the exportation and importation of cargoes to and from the North. The king agreed to take on liberal terms, masts, lumber, tar, and other articles necessary for his navy. It was in this same year that Colbert formed the plan of organizing a new company to re-establish commerce with the Levant. . . . Letters-patent were issued to the Company of the Levant in July, 1670. Its capital was fixed at 3,000,000 livres and the king agreed to furnish one-fourth of it. The Company of the Pyrenees was organized in 1671, in preparation for the war with the Dutch, in order that the royal marine might not lack masts and lumber, supplied ordinarily by trade with the North, which might be interrupted during the war. Finally, in 1673, a company was organized for the exploitation of Senegal and another for the same purpose in 1679 and 1681. . . . All of these companies received the attention of Colbert and were organized to do a very definite work in the fulfillment of his larger plans. Their history is interesting, not so much for what they actually accomplished, as for the insight which they give into what he wished to accomplish and attempted to do. It reveals the vast importance which Colbert attached to foreign and colonial commerce. . . . There are some obvious, but at the same time fundamental principles which underlay the whole of Colbert's colonial commercial policy. First of all, he considered the chief end of establishing colonies to build up trade. . . . In the second place, he considered colonies as the exclusive property of the mother country. . . .

Finally, the interests of the colonies should be subjected to those of the mother country. Wherever they came into conflict, the former should always be sacrificed to the latter. . . . One redeeming feature of Colbert's whole commercial policy, which makes one pardon many a fault, was the fact that it was eminently patriotic. Colbert worked indefatigably for the interests of France and of her people. Personal interests, the interests of commercial companies and of the colonies were all subjected to sacrifices which would insure the realization of his larger plan to increase the wealth of the nation and to lift France to a position of real and abiding power. . . . Colbert had found the French in 1661, at the beginning of his ministry, in possession of some rich West India colonies, but he saw their whole profit going to enrich the enterprising traders of Holland. Only a few struggling French vessels, three or four in 1662, out of a total of 150, he said, were finding their way to these colonies. At his death in 1683, he had driven the Dutch from the field and more than 200 French vessels were trading annually at Martinique, Guadeloupe and St. Domingo. He had awakened the ports of La Rochelle, Bordeaux and Nantes, especially, to new life, and the West India trade became henceforth a source of much profit to their merchants and traders and served as a base of their whole commercial development in the eighteenth century."—S. L. Mims, *Colbert's West India policy*, pp. 7-11, 182-184, 12-13, 332, 338-339.—In Colbert's efforts to establish financial equilibrium he had to contend, on the losing side, with the despotic Louvois who played on the vanity of Louis XIV and engaged him in wars big and little; and all of Colbert's strict economy could stay but for a limited time the approach of national distress.—See also INDIA: 1605-1743; MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 16; TAILLE AND GABELLE; TARIFF: 1664-1667.

Also in: H. Martin, *History of France: Age of Louis XIV*.—E. Lavisse, *Histoire de France*.—J. B. Perkins, *France under the regency*.

1662.—Purchase of Dunkirk from Charles II. See ENGLAND: 1662.

1663-1674.—New France made royal province.—French West India Company. See CANADA: 1663-1664; 1664-1674.

1664.—Capture of Montserrat. See MONT-SERRAT.

1664.—Threatened Roman invasion. See ROME: Modern city: 1664.

1664.—Aid given Austria against the Turks.—Victory of St. Gothard. See HUNGARY: 1600-1664.

1664-1666.—War with the piratical Barbary States.—Jijeli expedition.—Treaties with Tunis and Algiers. See BARBARY STATES: 1664-1684.

1664-1690.—Building of Versailles. See VERSAILLES.

1665.—Great Days of Auvergne.—"We must read the curious account of the Great Days of Auvergne, written by Fléchier in his youth, if we would form an idea of the barbarism in which certain provinces of France were still plunged, in the midst of the brilliant civilization of the 17th century, and would know how a large number of those seigniors, who showed themselves so gallant and tender in the boudoirs of Paris, lived on their estates, in the midst of their subjects; we might imagine ourselves in the midst of feudalism. A moment bewildered by the hammer of the great demolisher [Richelieu], which had battered down so many Châteaux, the mountains squires of Auvergne, Limousin, Marche and Forez had resumed their habits under the feeble government of Maz-

arin. Protected by their remoteness from Paris and the parliament, and by the nature of the country they inhabited, they intimidated or gained over the subaltern judges, and committed with impunity every species of violence and exaction. A single feature will enable us to comprehend the state of these provinces. There were still, in the remoter parts of Auvergne, seigniors who claimed to use the wedding right (*droit de jangage*), or, at the least, to sell exemption from this right at a high price to bridegrooms. Serfhood of the glebe still existed in some districts. August 31, 1665, a royal declaration, for which ample and noble reasons were given, ordered the holding of a jurisdiction or court 'commonly called the Great Days,' in the city of Clermont, for Auvergne, Bourbonnais, Nivernais, Forez, Beaujolais, Lyonnais, Combrailles, Marche, and Berry. A president of parliament, a master of requests, sixteen councillors, an attorney-general, and a deputy procurator-general, were designated to hold these extraordinary assizes. Their powers were almost absolute. They were to judge without appeal all civil and criminal cases, to punish the 'abuses and delinquencies of officers of the said districts,' to reform bad usages, as well in the style of procedure as in the preparation and expedition of trials, and to try all criminal cases first. It was enjoined on bailiffs, seneschals, their lieutenants and all other judges, to give constant information of all kinds of crimes, in order to prepare matter for the Great Days. A second declaration ordered that a posse should be put into the houses of the contumacious, that the châteaux where the least resistance was made to the law should be razed; and forbade, under penalty of death, the contumacious to be received or assisted. The publication of the royal edicts, and the prompt arrival of Messieurs of the Great Days at Clermont, produced an extraordinary commotion in all those regions. The people welcomed the Parisian magistrates as liberators, and a remarkable monument of their joy has been preserved, the popular song or Christmas hymn of the Great Days. Terror, on the contrary, hovered over the châteaux; a multitude of noblemen left the province and France, or concealed themselves in the mountains; others endeavored to conciliate their peasants. . . . The Great Days at least did with vigor what it was their mission to do; neither dignities, nor titles, nor high connections preserved the guilty. . . . The Court of Great Days was not content with punishing evil; it undertook to prevent its return by wise regulations: first, against the abuses of seigniorial courts; second, against the vexations of seigniors on account of feudal service due them; third, concerning the mode and abbreviation of trials; and lastly, concerning the reformation of the clergy, who had no less need of being reformed than the nobility. The Great Days were brought to a close after three months of assizes (end of October, 1665—end of January, 1666), and their recollection was consecrated by a medal."—H. Martin, *History of France: Age of Louis XIV*, v. 1, ch. 2.

1665-1670.—First voyages of East India Company.—Pondicherry settlement. See INDIA: 1665-1743.

1666.—Alliance with Holland against England. See NETHERLANDS: 1665-1666.

1667.—War of the Queen's Rights.—Conquests in the Spanish Netherlands. See BELGIUM: 1667.

1668.—King's conquests in Flanders checked by the Triple Alliance. See NETHERLANDS: 1668.

1668.—Nova Scotia returned by English. See NOVA SCOTIA: 1621-1668.

1668-1680.—Military reforms of Louvois. See MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 16.

1670.—Secret Treaty of Dover.—Buying of the English king. See ENGLAND: 1668-1670.

1671.—Claims to Wisconsin. See WISCONSIN: 1671-1685.

1672-1678.—War with Holland and the Austro-Spanish coalition. See AUSTRIA: 1672-1714; NETHERLANDS: 1672-1674; 1674-1678.

1673-1682.—Discovery and exploration of the Mississippi by Marquette and La Salle.—Possession taken of Louisiana. See CANADA: 1634-1673; 1669-1687; 1700-1735.

1674.—Control over Virgin islands. See VIRGIN ISLANDS: Discovery and settlement.

1674-1675.—War with Brandenburg. See BRANDENBURG: 1640-1688.

1678-1679.—Peace of Nimeguen. See NIMEGUEN, PEACE OF.

1679-1681.—Complete absorption of Les Trois-Evêchés and Alsace.—Assumption of entire sovereignty by Louis XIV.—Encroachments of the Chambers of Reannexion.—Seizure of Strasburg.—"The Lorraine Trois-Evêchés, recovered by France from the Holy Roman Empire, had remained in an equivocal position, as to public law, during nearly a century, between their old and new ties: the treaty of Westphalia had cut the knot by the formal renunciation of the Empire to all rights over these countries; difficulties nevertheless still subsisted relative to the fiefs and the pendencies of Trois-Evêchés possessed by members of the Empire. Alsace, in its turn, from the treaty of Westphalia to the peace of Nimeguen, had offered analogous and still greater difficulties, this province of Teutonic tongue not having accepted the annexation to France as easily as the Walloon province of Trois-Evêchés, and the treaty of Westphalia presenting two contradictory clauses, one of which ceded to France all the rights of the Emperor and the Empire, and the other of which reserved the 'immediateness' of the lords and the ten cities of the prefecture of Alsace towards the Empire [see GERMANY: 1648]. . . . At last, on the complaints carried to the Germanic Diet by the ten Alsacian cities, joined by the German feudatories of Trois-Evêchés, Louis, who was then very conciliatory towards the Diet, consented to take for arbiters the King of Sweden and some princes and towns of Germany (1665). The arbitration was protracted for more than six years. In the beginning of 1672, the arbiters rendered an ambiguous decision which decided nothing and satisfied no one. War with Holland broke out meanwhile and changed all the relations of France with Germany. . . . Louis XIV. disarmed or took military occupation of the ten cities and silenced all opposition. . . . In the conferences of Nimeguen, the representatives of the Emperor and the Empire endeavored to return to the 'immediateness,' but the King would not listen to a renewal of the arbitration, and declared all debate superfluous. 'Not only,' said the French plenipotentiaries, 'ought the King to exercise, as in fact he does exercise, sovereign dominion over the ten cities, but he might also extend it over Strasburg, for the treaty of Münster furnishes to this city no special title guaranteeing its independence better than that of the other cities.' It was the first time that Louis had disclosed this bold claim, resting on an inaccurate assertion. The Imperialists, terrified, yielded as regarded the ten cities, and Alsace was not called in question in the treaty of Nimeguen. Only the Imperialists protested, by a separate act, against the conclusions which might be drawn from this omission. The ten cities submitted and took to the King an oath of fidelity, without reservation towards the Empire; their submission was celebrated by a medal

bearing the device: 'Alsatia in provinciam reducta' (1680). The treaty of Nimeguen was followed by divers measures destined to win the Alsacian population. . . . This wise policy bore its fruits, and Alsace, tranquilized, gave no more cause of anxiety to the French government. France was thenceforth complete mistress of the possessions which had been ceded to her by the Empire; this was only the first part of the work; the point in question now was, to complete these possessions by joining to them their natural appendages which the Empire had not alienated. The boundaries of Lower Alsace and the Messin district were ill defined, encroached upon, entangled, on the Rhine, on the Sarre, and in the Vosges, by the fiefs of a host of petty princes and German nobles. This could not be called a frontier. Besides, in the very heart of Alsace, the great city of Strasburg preserved its independence towards France and its connection with the Empire. A pacific method was invented to proceed to aggrandizements which it would seem could only be demanded by arms; a pacific method, provided that France could count on the weakness and irresolution of her neighbors; this was to investigate and revendicate everything which, by any title and at any epoch whatsoever, had been dependent on Alsace and Trois-Evêchés. We may comprehend whether this would lead, thanks to the complications of the feudal epoch; and it was not even designed to stop at the feudal system, but to go back to the times of the Frankish kings! Chambers of 'reannexation' were therefore instituted, in 1679, in the Parliament of Metz, and in the sovereign council of Alsace, with a mission which their title sufficiently indicated. . . . Among the nobles summoned, figured the Elector of Treves, for Oberstein, Falkenburg, etc.; the Landgrave of Hesse, for divers fiefs; the Elector Palatin, for Seltz and the canton situated between the Lauter and the Keich (Hogenbach, Germersheim, etc.); another prince palatine for the county of Veldentz; the Bishop of Speyer, for a part of his bishopric; the city of Strasburg, for the domains which it possessed beyond the Rhine (Wasselonne and Marlenheim); lastly, the King of Sweden, for the duchy of Deux-Ponts or Zweibrücken, a territory of considerable extent and of irregular form, which intersected the cis-Rhenish Palatinate. . . . By divers decrees rendered in March, August, and October, 1680, the sovereign council of Alsace adjudged to the King the sovereignty of all the Alsacian seigniories. The nobles and inhabitants were summoned to swear fidelity to the King, and the nobles were required to recognize the sovereign council as judge in last resort. The chamber of Metz acted on a still larger scale than the chamber of Breisach. April 12, 1680, it united to Trois-Evêchés more than 80 fiefs, the Lorraine marquisate of Pont-à-Mousson, the principality of Salm, the counties of Saarbrück and Veldentz, the seigniories of Sarrebourg, Bitche, Homburg, etc. The foundation of the new town of Sarre-Louis and the fortification of Bitche consolidated this new frontier; and not only was the course of the Sarre secured to France, but France, crossing the Sarre, encroached deeply on the Palatinate and the Electorate of Treves, posted herself on the Nabe and the Blies, and threw, as an advance-guard, on a peninsula of the Moselle, the fortress of Mont-Royal, half-way from Treves to Coblenz, on the territories of the county of Veldentz. The parliament of Franche-Comté, newly French as it was, zealously followed the example of the two neighboring courts. There was also a frontier to round towards the Jura. . . . The Duke of Wurtemberg was required to swear allegiance to the King for his county of

Montbéliard. . . . The acquisitions made were trifling compared with those which remained to be made. He [Louis XIV] was not sure of the Rhine, not sure of Alsace, so long as he had not Strasburg, the great city always ready to throw upon the French bank of the river the armies of the Empire. France had long aimed at this conquest. As soon as she possessed Metz she had dreamed of Strasburg. . . . Though the King and Louvois had prevented Créqui from besieging the place during the war, it was because they counted on surprising it after peace. This great enterprise was most ably manœuvred." The members of the regency of the city were gained over, one by one. "The Imperial troops had evacuated the city pursuant to the treaty of Nimeguen; the magistrates dismissed 1,200 Swiss which the city had in its pay; then, on the threatening demands of the French, they demolished anew Fort Kehl, which they had rebuilt since its destruction by Créqui. When the fruit seemed ripe, Louis stretched out his hand to gather it. In the latter part of September, 1681, the garrisons of Lorraine, Franche-Comté, and Alsace put themselves in motion. . . . The 28th, 35,000 men were found assembled before the city; Baron de Montclar, who commanded this army, informed the magistrates that 'the sovereign chamber of Breisach having adjudged to the king the sovereignty of all Alsace, of which Strasburg was a member, his Majesty desired that they should recognize him as their sovereign lord, and receive a garrison.'" On September 30 the capitulation of the city was signed; on October 23 the king was received as its sovereign."—H. Martin, *History of France: Age of Louis XIV* (tr. by M. L. Booth), v. 1, ch. 7.—See also GERMANY: 1648-1715; NETHERLANDS: 1674-1678.

1680.—Imprisonment of the "Man in the Iron Mask." See IRON MASK, MAN IN THE.

1681-1684.—Threatening relations with the Turks.—War with the Barbary states.—Destructive bombardment of Algiers. See BARBARY STATES: 1664-1684.

1681-1698.—Climax of persecution of Huguenots.—Dragonnades.—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.—Great exodus of French Protestants and consequent national loss.—"Love and war suspended for a considerable time" the ambition of the king to extinguish heresy in his dominions and establish uniformity of religious worship; "but when Louis became satiated at once with glory and pleasure, and when Madame de Maintenon, the Duke de Beauvilliers, the Duke de Montausier, Bossuet, the Archbishop of Rheims, the Chancellor Letellier, and all the religious portion of the court, began to direct his now unoccupied and scrupulous mind to the interests of religion, Louis XIV. returned to his plans with renewed ardor. From bribery they proceeded to compulsion. Missionaries, escorted by dragoons, spread themselves at the instigation of Bossuet, and even of Fénelon, over the western, southern and eastern provinces, and particularly in those districts throughout which Protestantism, more firmly rooted among a more tenacious people, had as yet resisted all attempts at conversion by preaching. . . . Children from above seven years of age were authorized to abjure legally the religion of their fathers. The houses of those parents who refused to deliver up their sons and daughters were invaded and laid under contributions by the royal troops. The expropriation of their homes, and the tearing asunder of families, compelled the people to fly from persecution. The king, uneasy at this growing depopulation, pro-

nounced the punishment of the galleys against those who sought liberty in flight; he also ordered the confiscation of all the lands and houses which were sold by those proprietors who were preparing to quit the kingdom. . . . Very soon the proscription was organized en masse: all the cavalry in the kingdom, who, on account of the peace, were unemployed, were placed at the disposal of the preachers and bishops, to uphold their missions [known as the dragonnades] with the sabre. . . . Bossuet approved of these persecutions. Religious and political faith, in his eyes, justified their necessity. His correspondence is full of evidence, while his actions prove that he was an accomplice: even his eloquence . . . overflowed with approbation of, and enthusiasm for, these oppressions of the soul and terrors of heresy."—A. de Lamartine, *Memoirs of celebrated characters*, v. 3: *Bossuet*.—"The heroism of conviction, it has been truly said, was now displayed, not in resistance, but, if the paradox may be admitted, in flight. The outflow was for the moment arrested at the remonstrance of Colbert, now for the last time listened to in the royal councils, and by reason of the sympathy aroused by the fugitives in England; but not before 3,000 families had left the country. The retirement and death of the great minister were the signal for revived action, wherever an assembly of huguenots larger than usual might warrant or colour a suspicion of rebellion. In such excuses, not as yet an avowed crusade, the troopers of the duke de Noailles were called in at Grenoble, Bourdeaux, and Nimes. Full forty churches were demolished in 1683, more than a hundred in 1684. But the system of military missions was not organized until in 1685 the defence of the Spanish frontier offered the opportunity for a final subjugation of the huguenots of Béarn. The dragonnade passed through the land like a pestilence. From Guienne to Dauphiné, from Poitou to Upper Languedoc, no place was spared. Then it pervaded the south-east country, about the Cevennes and Provence, and ravaged Lyons and the Pays de Gex. In the end, the whole of the north was assailed, and the failing edict of Nantes was annulled on the 1st of October. The sombre mind of Madame de Maintenon had postulated the Recall as a preliminary to the marriage which the king had already conceded. On the 21st of the month the great church at Charenton was doomed; and on the 22nd the 'unadvised and precipitate' Edict of Revocation was registered in the Chambre des Vacations. . . . The year 1685 is fitly identified with the depopulation of France. And yet, with a blindness that appears to us incredible, the government refused to believe in the desire or the possibility of escape. The penalties attached to capture on the road,—the galleys or the nunnery,—the vigilant watch at the frontier, the frigates cruising by every coast, all these difficulties seem to have persuaded Louvois that few would persist in risking flight. What these measures actually effected was doubtless to diminish the exodus, but in no marked degree. At length, it came to be thought that the emigration was due to its prohibition, as though the huguenots must do a thing from mere perverseness. The watch was relaxed, and a result unlooked for issued. It was the signal of the greatest of the emigrations, that of 1688. . . . In the statistical question [as to the total number of the Huguenot exiles from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes] it is impossible to arrive at a certain result; and the range which calculation or conjecture has allowed to successive historians may make one

pause before attempting a dogmatic solution. Basnage, a year after the Recall, reckoned the emigrants above 150,000: next year Jurieu raised the total above 200,000. Writing later Basnage found between 300,000 and 400,000; and the estimate has been accepted by Sismondi. Lastly Voltaire, followed in our own day by Hase, counted 500,000. These are a few of the sober calculations, and their mean will perhaps supply the ultimate figure. I need only mention, among impossible guesses, that of Limiers, which raises the account to 800,000, because it has been taken up by the Prussian statesman Von Dohm. . . . The only historian who professes to have pursued the enquiry in exact detail is Capefigue; and from his minute scrutiny of the cartons des généralités, as prepared in the closing years of the 17th century, he obtains a computation of 225,000 or 230,000. Such a result must be accepted as the absolute minimum; for it was the plain interest of the intendants who drew up the returns, to put all the facts which revealed the folly of the king's action at the lowest cipher. And allowing the accuracy of Capefigue's work, there are other reasons for increasing his total. . . . We cannot set the emigration at a lower fraction than one-fifth of the total huguenot society. If the body numbered two millions, the outflow will be 400,000. If this appear an extreme estimate, it must be remembered that one-fifth is also extreme on the other side. Reducing the former aggregate to 1,500,000, it will be clearly within the bounds of moderation to leave the total exodus a range between 300,000 and 350,000. How are we to distribute this immense aggregation? Holland certainly claims near 100,000; England, with Ireland and America, probably 80,000. Switzerland must have received 25,000; and Germany, including Brandenburg, thrice that number. The remainder will be made up from the north of Europe, and from the exiles whom commerce or other causes carried in isolated households elsewhere, and of whom no record is preserved to us. . . . The tale then of the emigrants was above 300,000. It follows to ask what was the material loss involved in their exodus. Caveirac is again the lowest in his estimate: he will not grant the export of more than 250,000 livres. He might have learnt from Count d'Avaux himself, that those least likely to magnify the sum confessed that by the very year of the Recall twenty million livres had gone out of the country; and it is certain that the wealthier merchants deferred their departure in order to carry as much as they could with them. Two hundred and fifty traders are said to have quitted Rouen in 1687 and 1688. Probably the actual amount was very far in excess of these twenty millions: and a calculation is cited by Macpherson which even affirms that every individual refugee in England brought with him on an average money or effects to the value of £60. . . . It will be needless to add many statistics of the injury caused by their withdrawal from France. Two great instances are typical of the rest. Lyons which had employed 18,000 silkloms had but 4,000 remaining by the end of the century. Tours with the same interest had had 800 mills, 80,000 looms, and perhaps 4,000 workpeople. Of its 3,000 ribbon-factories only sixty remained. Equally significant was the ruin of the woollen trade of Poitou. Little was left of the druggut-manufacture of Coulonges and Châtaigneraie, or of the industry in serges and bombazines at Thouars; and the export traffic between Châtaigneraie and Canada, by way of La Rochelle, was in the last year of the century absolutely extinct."—R. L.

Poole, *History of the Huguenots of the dispersion*, ch. 3, 15.

ALSO IN: C. Weiss, *History of the French Protestant refugees*.—N. Peyrat, *Pastors in the wilderness*, v. 1, ch. 5-7.—J. I. von Döllinger, *Studies in European history*, ch. 11-12.—C. W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot emigration to America*, v. 1-2, ch. 4-8.

1682.—Union with Hungary, Transylvania and Wallachia against Austria. See HUNGARY: 1668-1683.

1682-1693.—Contest with the papacy. See PACY: 1682-1693.

1686.—Claims upon the Palatinate. See GERMANY: 1686.

1689-1690.—War of the League of Augsburg.—Second devastation of the Palatinate.—“The interference of Lewis in Ireland on behalf of James [the Second, the de throne d Stuart king] caused William [prince of Orange, now king of England] to mature his plans for a great Continental confederacy against France. On May 12, 1689, William, as Stadtholder of the United Provinces, had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Emperor against Lewis. On May 17, as King of England, he declared war against France; and on December 30 joined the alliance between the Emperor and the Dutch. His example was followed on June 6, 1690, by the King of Spain, and on October 20 of the same year by Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy. This confederation was called the ‘Grand Alliance.’ Its main object was declared to be to curb the power and ambition of Lewis XIV.; to force him to surrender his conquests, and to confine his territories to the limits agreed upon between him and the Emperor at the treaty of Westphalia (1648), and between France and Spain at the treaty of the Pyrenees (1659). The League of Augsburg, which William had with so much trouble brought about, had now successfully developed into the Grand Alliance.”—E. Hale, *Fall of the Stuarts and Western Europe*, ch. 14, sect. 5.—“The work at which William had toiled indefatigably during many gloomy and anxious years was at length accomplished. The great coalition was formed. It was plain that a desperate conflict was at hand. The oppressor of Europe would have to defend himself against England allied with Charles the Second King of Spain, with the Emperor Leopold, and with the Germanic and Batavian federations, and was likely to have no ally except the Sultan, who was waging war against the House of Austria on the Danube. Lewis had, towards the close of the preceding year, taken his enemies at a disadvantage, and had struck the first blow before they were prepared to parry it. But that blow, though heavy, was not aimed at the part where it might have been mortal. Had hostilities been commenced on the Batavian frontier, William and his army would probably have been detained on the continent, and James might have continued to govern England. Happily, Lewis, under an infatuation which many pious Protestants confidently ascribed to the righteous judgment of God, had neglected the point on which the fate of the whole civilised world depended, and had made a great display of power, promptitude, and energy, in a quarter where the most splendid achievements could produce nothing more than an illumination and a Te Deum. A French army under the command of Marshal Duras had invaded the Palatinate and some of the neighbouring principalities. But this expedition, though it had been completely successful, and though the skill and vigour with which it had been conducted had excited general

admiration, could not perceptibly affect the event of the tremendous struggle which was approaching. France would soon be attacked on every side. It would be impossible for Duras long to retain possession of the provinces which he had surprised and overrun. An atrocious thought rose in the mind of Louvois, who, in military affairs, had the chief sway at Versailles. . . . The ironhearted statesman submitted his plan, probably with much management and with some disguise, to Lewis; and Lewis, in an evil hour for his fame, assented. Duras received orders to turn one of the fairest regions of Europe into a wilderness. Fifteen years had elapsed since Turenne had ravaged part of that fine country. But the ravages committed by Turenne, though they have left a deep stain on his glory, were mere sport in comparison with the horrors of this second devastation. The French commander announced to near half a million of human beings that he granted them three days of grace, and that, within that time, they must shift for themselves. Soon the roads and fields, which then lay deep in snow, were blackened by innumerable multitudes of men, women, and children flying from their homes. Many died of cold and hunger: but enough survived to fill the streets of all the cities of Europe with lean and squalid beggars, who had once been thriving farmers and shopkeepers. Meanwhile the work of destruction began. The flames went up from every marketplace, every hamlet, every parish church, every country seat, within the devoted provinces. The fields where the corn had been sown were ploughed up. The orchards were hewn down. No promise of a harvest was left on the fertile plains near what had once been Frankenthal. Not a vine, not an almond tree, was to be seen on the slopes of the sunny hills round what had once been Heidelberg. No respect was shown to palaces, to temples, to monasteries, to infirmaries, to beautiful works of art, to monuments of the illustrious dead. The far-famed castle of the Elector Palatine was turned into a heap of ruins. The adjoining hospital was sacked. The provisions, the medicines, the pallets on which the sick lay, were destroyed. The very stones on which Manheim had been built were flung into the Rhine. The magnificent Cathedral of Spire perished, and with it the marble sepulchres of eight Cæsars. The coffins were broken open. The ashes were scattered to the winds. Treves, with its fair bridge, its Roman baths and amphitheatre, its venerable churches, convents, and colleges, was doomed to the same fate. But, before this last crime had been perpetrated, Lewis was recalled to a better mind by the execrations of all the neighbouring nations, by the silence and confusion of his flatterers, and by the expostulations of his wife. . . . He relented; and Treves was spared. In truth he could hardly fail to perceive that he had committed a great error. The devastation of the Palatinate, while it had not in any sensible degree lessened the power of his enemies, had inflamed their animosity, and had furnished them with inexhaustible matter for invective. The cry of vengeance rose on every side. Whatever scruple either branch of the House of Austria might have felt about coalescing with Protestants was completely removed.”—T. B. Macaulay, *History of England*, ch. 11.

ALSO IN: H. Martin, *History of France: Age of Louis XIV* (tr. by M. L. Booth), v. 2, ch. 2.—S. A. Dunham, *History of the German empire*, v. 3, bk. 3, ch. 3.

1689-1690.—First inter-colonial war (King William's War). See CANADA: 1689-1690.

1689-1691.—Aid to James II in Ireland. See IRELAND: 1689.

1689-1691.—Campaigns in the Netherlands and in Savoy.—“Our limits will not permit us to describe at any length the war between Louis XIV. and the Grand Alliance, which lasted till the Peace of Ryswick, in 1697, but only to note some of the chief incidents of the different campaigns. The Imperialists had, in 1680, notwithstanding the efforts it was still necessary to make against the Turks, brought an army of 80,000 men into the field, which was divided into three bodies under the command of the Duke of Lorraine, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Elector of Brandenburg; while the Prince of Waldeck, in the Netherlands, was at the head of a large Dutch and Spanish force, composed, however, in great part of German mercenaries. In this quarter, Marshal d’Humières was opposed to Waldeck, while Duras commanded the French army on the Rhine. In the south, the Duke of Noailles maintained a French force in Catalonia. Nothing of much importance was done this year; but on the whole the war went in favour of the Imperialists, who succeeded in recovering Mentz and Bonn. 1690: This year, Marshal d’Humières was superseded by the Duke of Luxembourg, who infused more vigour into the French operations. . . . Catinat was sent this year into Dauphiné to watch the movements of the Duke of Savoy, who was suspected by the French Court, and not without reason, of favouring the Grand Alliance. The extravagant demands of Louis, who required Victor Amadeus to unite his troops with the army of Catinat, and to admit a French garrison into Vercelli, Verrua, and even the citadel of Turin itself, till a general peace should be effected, caused the Duke to enter into treaties with Spain and the Emperor, June 3d and 4th; and on October 20th, he joined the Grand Alliance by a treaty concluded at the Hague with England and the States-General. This last step was taken by Victor Amadeus in consequence of his reverses. He had sustained from Catinat in the battle of Staffarda (August 17th) a defeat which only the skill of a youthful general, his cousin the Prince Eugene, had saved from becoming a total rout. As the fruits of this victory, Catinat occupied Saluzzo, Susa, and all the country from the Alps to the Tanaro. During these operations another French division had reduced, without much resistance, the whole of Savoy, except the fortress of Montmélian. The only other event of importance during this campaign was the decisive victory gained by Luxembourg over Prince Waldeck at Fleurus, July 1st. The captured standards, more than a hundred in number, which Luxembourg sent to Paris on this occasion, obtained for him the name of the ‘Tapassier de Nôtre Dame.’ Luxembourg was, however, prevented from following up his victory by the orders of Louvois, who forbade him to lay siege to Namur or Charleroi. Thus, in this campaign, France maintained her preponderance on land as well as at sea by the victory off Beachy Head [see ENGLAND: 1690 (June)]. . . . The Imperialists had this year lost one of their best leaders by the death of the Duke of Lorraine (April). He was succeeded as commander-in-chief by Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria; but nothing of importance took place upon the Rhine. 1691: The campaign of this year was singularly barren of events, though both the French and English kings took a personal part in it. In March, Louis and Luxembourg, laid siege to Mons, the capital of Hainault, which surrendered in less than three weeks. King William, who was in the neighbour-

hood, could not muster sufficient troops to venture on its relief. Nothing further of importance was done in this quarter, and the campaign in Germany was equally a blank. On the side of Piedmont, Catinat took Nice, but, being confronted by superior numbers, was forced to evacuate Piedmont; though, by way of compensation, he completed the conquest of Savoy by the capture of Montmélian. Noailles gained some trifling successes in Spain; and the celebrated French corsair, Jean Bart, distinguished himself by his enterprises at sea. One of the most remarkable events of the year was a domestic occurrence, the death of Louvois.”—T. H. Dyer, *History of modern Europe*, v. 3, bk. 5, ch. 5.—See also SAVOY AND PIEDMONT: 1580-1713; LIÈGE: 1691.

ALSO IN: F. P. Guizot, *Popular history of France*, v. 5, ch. 44.

1692.—Taking of Namur and victory of Steinkirk, or Steenkerke.—“Never perhaps in the whole course of his unresting life were the energies of William [of Orange] more severely taxed, and never did his great moral and intellectual qualities shine forth with a brighter lustre, than in the years 1692-93. The great victory of La Hogue [see ENGLAND: 1692] and the destruction of the flower of the French fleet did, it is true, relieve England of any immediate dread either of insurrection or invasion, and so far the prospect before him acquired a slight improvement towards the summer of 1692. But this was the only gleam of light in the horizon. . . . The great coalition of Powers which he had succeeded in forming to resist the ambition of Louis was never nearer dissolution than in the spring of 1692. The Scandinavian states, who had held aloof from it from the first, were now rapidly changing the benevolence of their neutrality into something not easily distinguishable from its reverse. The new Pope Innocent XII. showed himself far less amicably disposed towards William than his two predecessors. The decrepitude of Spain and the arrogant self-will of Austria were displaying themselves more conspicuously than ever. Savoy was ruled by a duke who was more than half suspected of being a traitor. . . . William did succeed in saving the league from dissolution, and in getting their armies once more into the field. But not, unfortunately, to any purpose. The campaign of the present year was destined to repeat the errors of the last, and these errors were to be paid for at a heavier cost. . . . The French king was bent upon the capture of the great stronghold of Namur, and the enemy, as in the case of Mons, were too slow in their movements and too ineffective in their dispositions to prevent it. Marching to the assault of the doomed city, with a magnificence of courtly pageantry which had never before been witnessed in warfare, Louis sat down before Namur, and in eight days its faint-hearted governor, the nominee of the Spanish viceroy of the Netherlands, surrendered at discretion. Having accomplished, or rather having graciously condescended to witness the accomplishment of this feat of arms, Louis returned to Versailles, leaving his army under the command of Luxembourg. The fall of Namur was a severe blow to the hopes of William, but yet worse disasters were in store for him. He was now pitted against one who enjoyed the reputation of the greatest general of the age, and William, a fair but by no means brilliant strategist, was unequal to the contest with his accomplished adversary. Luxembourg lay at Steinkirk, and William approaching him from a place named Lambeque, opened his attack upon him by a well-conceived surprise which

promised at first to throw the French army into complete disorder. Luxembourg's resource and energy, however, were equal to the emergency. He rallied and steadied his troops with astonishing speed, and the nature of the ground preventing the allies from advancing as rapidly as they had expected, they found the enemy in a posture to receive them. The British forces were in the front, commanded by Count Solmes, the division of Mackay, a name now honourable for many generations in the annals of continental, no less than of Scottish, warfare, leading the way. These heroes, for so, though as yet untried soldiers, they approved themselves, were to have been supported by Count Solmes with a strong body of cavalry and infantry, but at the critical moment he failed them miserably, and his failure decided the fortunes of the day. . . . The division was practically annihilated. Its five regiments, 'Cutt's, Mackay's, Angus's, Graham's, and Leven's, all,' as Corporal Trim relates pathetically, 'cut to pieces, and so had the English Life-guards been too, had it not been for some regiments on the right, who marched up boldly to their relief, and received the enemy's fire in their faces, before any one of their own platoons discharged a musket.' Bitter was the resentment in the English army at the desertion of these gallant troops by Count de Solmes, and William gave vent to one of his rare outbursts of anger at the sight. We have it indeed on the authority above quoted—unimpeachable as first-hand tradition, for Sterne had heard the story of these wars at the knees of an eyewitness of and actor in them—that the King 'would not suffer the Count to come into his presence for many months after.' The destruction of Mackay's division had indeed decided the issue of the struggle. Luxembourg's army was being rapidly strengthened by reinforcements from that of Boufflers, and there was nothing for it but retreat. The loss on both sides had been great, but the moral effect of the victory was still greater. William's reputation for generalship, perhaps unduly raised by his recent exploits in Ireland, underwent a serious decline."—H. D. Traill, *William the Third*, ch. 10.—On the Rhine and on the Spanish frontier nothing of importance occurred during 1692. The duke of Savoy gained some advantages on his side and invaded Dauphiny, without any material result. The invasion called into action a young heroine, Mademoiselle de La Tour-du-Pin, whose portrait has a place at Saint-Denis by the side of that of Jeanne D'Arc.—H. Martin, *History of France: Age of Louis XIV* (tr. by M. L. Booth), v. 2, ch. 2.

ALSO IN: W. H. Torriano, *William the Third*, ch. 2c.

1693 (July).—Battle of Neerwinden, or Landen.—"Lewis had determined not to make any advance towards a reconciliation with the new government of England till the whole strength of his realm had been put forth in one more effort. A mighty effort in truth it was, but too exhausting to be repeated. He made an immense display of force at once on the Pyrenees and on the Alps, on the Rhine and on the Meuse, in the Atlantic and in the Mediterranean. That nothing might be wanting which could excite the martial ardour of a nation eminently high-spirited, he instituted, a few days before he left his palace for the camp, a new military order of knighthood, and placed it under the protection of his own sainted ancestor and patron. The cross of Saint Lewis shone on the breasts of the gentlemen who had been conspicuous in the trenches before Mons and Namur, and on the fields of Fleurus and Steinkirk. . . . On the 18th of May

Lewis left Versailles. Early in June he was under the walls of Namur. The Princesses, who had accompanied him, held their court within the fortress. He took under his immediate command the army of Boufflers, which was encamped at Gembloux. Little more than a mile off lay the army of Luxembourg. The force collected in that neighbourhood under the French lilies did not amount to less than 120,000 men. Lewis had flattered himself that he should be able to repeat in 1693 the stratagem by which Mons had been taken in 1601 and Namur in 1692; and he had determined that either Liege or Brussels should be his prey. But William had this year been able to assemble in good time a force, inferior indeed to that which was opposed to him, but still formidable. With this force he took his post near Louvain, on the road between the two threatened cities, and watched every movement of the enemy. . . . Just at this conjuncture Lewis announced his intention to return instantly to Versailles, and to send the Dauphin and Boufflers, with part of the army which was assembled near Namur, to join Marshal Lorges who commanded in the Palatinate. Luxembourg was thunderstruck. He expostulated boldly and earnestly. Never, he said, was such an opportunity thrown away. . . . The Marshal reasoned: he implored: he went on his knees: but all was vain; and he quitted the royal presence in the deepest dejection. Lewis left the camp a week after he had joined it, and never afterwards made war in person. . . . Though the French army in the Netherlands had been weakened by the departure of the forces commanded by the Dauphin and Boufflers, and though the allied army was daily strengthened by the arrival of fresh troops, Luxembourg still had a superiority of force; and that superiority he increased by an ardoit stratagem." He succeeded by a feint in inducing William to detach 20,000 men from his army and to send them to Liege. He then moved suddenly upon the camp of the allies, with 80,000 men, and found but 50,000 to oppose him. "It was still in the [English] King's power, by a hasty retreat, to put between his army and the enemy the narrow, but deep, waters of the Gette, which had lately been swollen by rains. But the site which he occupied was strong; and it could easily be made still stronger. He set all his troops to work. Ditches were dug, mounds thrown up, palisades fixed in the earth. In a few hours the ground wore a new aspect; and the King trusted that he should be able to repel the attack even of a force greatly outnumbering his own. . . . On the left flank, the village of Romsdorff rose close to the little stream of Landen, from which the English have named the disastrous day. On the right was the village of Neerwinden. Both villages were, after the fashion of the Low Countries, surrounded by moats and fences." Notwithstanding the strength of the position held by the allies, and the valor with which they defended it, they were driven out of Neerwinden (July 20)—but only after the shattered village had been five times taken and retaken—and across the Gette, in confusion and with heavy loss. "The French were victorious: but they had bought their victory dear. More than 10,000 of the best troops of Lewis had fallen. Neerwinden was a spectacle at which the oldest soldiers stood aghast. The streets were piled breast high with corpses. Among the slain were some great lords and some renowned warriors. . . . The region, renowned as the battle field, through many ages, of the greatest powers of Europe, has seen only two more terrible days, the day of Malplaquet and the day of Waterloo. . . . There was no pursuit, though the sun was still high in the heaven

when William crossed the Gette. The conquerors were so much exhausted by marching and fighting that they could scarcely move. . . . A very short delay was enough for William. . . . Three weeks after his defeat he held a review a few miles from Brussels. The number of men under arms was greater than on the morning of the bloody day of Landen; their appearance was soldierlike; and their spirit seemed unbroken. William now wrote to Heinsius that the worst was over. 'The crisis,' he said, 'has been a terrible one. Thank God that it has ended thus.' He did not, however, think it prudent to try at that time the event of another pitched field. He therefore suffered the French to

said to have entertained hopes of carrying the war in that one campaign to the very gates of Lyons; but the successes which inspired him with such expectations alarmed the court of France, and Louis detached in haste a large body of cavalry to reinforce Catinat. That general marched at once to fight the Duke of Savoy, who, presuming on his strength, suffered the French to pour out from the valley of Suza into the plain of Piedmont, abandoned the heights, and was consequently defeated at Marsaglia on the 4th of October. Catinat, however, could not profit by his victory; he was too ill supplied in every respect to undertake the siege of Coni, and the state of the French armies at this



BATTLE OF MARSAGLIA

(From a painting by Deveria)

besiege and take Charleroi; and this was the only advantage which they derived from the most sanguinary battle fought in Europe during the seventeenth century."—T. B. Macaulay, *History of England*, v. 4, ch. 20.

ALSO IN: G. Burnet, *History of my own time*, v. 4, bk. 5 (1693).—Duc de Saint-Simon, *Memoirs* (tr. by St. John), v. 1, ch. 4.

1693 (October).—Defeat of the duke of Savoy at Marsaglia.—"The great efforts made by Louis in the north prevented him from strengthening the army of Catinat sufficiently to act with energy against the Savoyard prince, and it was determined to restrict the campaign of 1693 to the defensive on the part of France. The forces of the duke had in the meantime been reinforced from Germany, and he opened the campaign with a brilliant and successful movement against Pignerol. . . . He is

time marks as plainly that Louvois was dead, as the state of the finances speaks the loss of Colbert."—G. P. R. James, *Life and times of Louis XIV.*, v. 2, ch. 11.

1694.—Campaigns without battles.—Operations at sea.—In 1694, King William was "in a position to keep an army afoot in the Netherlands stronger than any had hitherto been. It was reckoned at 31,800 horse, including a corps of dragoons, and 58,000 foot; so great a force had never been seen within the memory of man. All the best-known generals, who had hitherto taken part in the wars of western Europe, were gathered round him with their troops. The French army, with which the Dauphin, but not the King, was present, was not much smaller; it was once more led by Marshal Luxembourg. These two hosts lay over against one another in their camps for a couple of

months; neither offered battle to the other. . . . This campaign is notable in the annals of the art of war for the skill with which each force pursued or evaded the other; but the results were limited to the recovery by the allies of that unimportant place, Huy. William had thought himself fortunate in having come out of the previous campaign without disaster: in this campaign the French were proud to have held their lines in presence of a superior force. On the coast also the French were successful in repelling a most vehement and perilous attack. They had been warned that the English were going to fall on Brest, and Vauban was sent down there in haste to organise the defence; and in this he was thoroughly successful. When the English landed on the coast in Camaret Bay (for the fort of that name had first to be taken) they were saluted by two batteries, which they had never detected, and which were so well placed that every shot told, and the grape-shot wounded almost every man who had ventured ashore. The gallant General, Talmash, was also hit, and ere long died of his wounds. The English fleet, which had come to bombard Brest, was itself bombarded from the walls. [See BREST: 1694.] But though this great effort failed, the English fleet still held the mastery of the Channel: it also blockaded the northern coast of France. After Brest it attacked Dieppe, laying it almost entirely in ashes; thence it sailed to Havre, and St. Malo, to Calais, and Dunkirk. This was of great use in the conduct of the war. King William observes that had not the coasts been kept in a state of alarm, all the forces detained there for defensive purposes would have been thrown on the Netherlands. . . . But the most important result of the maritime war lay on another side. In May, 1694, Noailles pushed into Catalonia, supported by Tourville, who lay at anchor with the fleet in the Bay of Rosas. . . . It was of incalculable importance to Spain to be in alliance with the maritime powers. Strengthened by a Dutch fleet and some Spanish ships, Admiral Russell now appeared in the Mediterranean. He secured Barcelona from the French, who would never have been kept out of the city by the Spaniards alone. The approach of the English fleet had at this time the greatest influence in keeping the Duke of Savoy staunch to the confederation. In Germany the rise of the house of Hanover to the Electoral dignity had now caused most unpleasant complications. A shoal of German princes, headed by the King of Denmark, as a Prince of the Empire, and offended by the preference shown to Hanover, inclined, if not to alliance with France, at least to neutrality. . . . We can have no conception, and in this place we cannot possibly investigate, with what unbroken watchfulness King William, supported by Heinsius, looked after the German and the Northern courts, so as to keep their irritation from reacting on the course of the great war. . . . When the French, in June, 1694, crossed the Rhine, meaning, as they boasted with true Gallic arrogance, soon to dip their swords in the Danube, they found the Prince of Baden so well prepared, and posted so strongly near Wisloch, that they did not venture to attack him. . . . The general result is this: neither side was as yet really superior to the other; but the French power was everywhere checked and held within bounds by the arms and influence of William III."—L. von Ranke, *History of England, 17th century, v. 5, bk. 20, ch. 6.*

1694-1697.—Wars with England in Newfoundland (King William's War).—Results. See NEWFOUNDLAND: 1694-1698; CANADA: 1692-1697.

1695-1696.—End of the War of the League of Augsburg.—Loss of Namur.—Terms with Savoy.—Peace of Ryswick.—"Military and naval efforts were relaxed on all sides; on the Rhine the Prince of Baden and the Maréchal de Logres, both ill in health, did little but observe each other; and though the Duke of Savoy made himself master of Casal on the 11th July, 1695, no other military event of any consequence took place on the side of Italy, where Louis entered into negotiations with the duke, and succeeded, in the following year, in detaching him from the league of Augsburg. As the price of his defection the whole of his territories were to be restored to him, with the exception of Suza, Nice, and Montmeillan, which were promised to be delivered also on the signature of a general peace. Money was added to render the consent of a needy prince more ready. . . . The duke promised to obtain from the emperor a pledge that Italy should be considered as neutral ground, and if the allies refused such a pledge, then to join the forces of Savoy to those of France, and give a free passage to the French through his dominions. In consequence of this treaty . . . he applied to the emperor for a recognition of the neutrality of Italy, and was refused. He then hastened, with a facility which distinguished him through life, to abandon his friends and join his enemies, and within one month was generalissimo for the emperor in Italy fighting against France, and generalissimo for the King of France in Italy fighting against the emperor. Previous to this chance, however, the King of England opened the campaign of 1695 in the Netherlands by the siege of Namur. The death of Luxemburg had placed the French army of Flanders under the command of the incapable Marshal Villeroy; and William, feeling that his enemy was no longer to be much respected, assumed at once the offensive. He concealed his design upon Namur under a variety of manœuvres which kept the French generals in suspense; and, then leaving the Prince of Vaudemont to protect the principal Spanish towns in Flanders, he collected his troops suddenly; and while the Duke of Bavaria invested Namur, he covered the operations of the siege with a considerable force. Villeroy now determined to attack the Prince of Vaudemont, but twice suffered him to escape; and then, after having apparently hesitated for some time how to drive or draw the King of England from the attack upon Namur, he resolved to bombard the city of Brussels, never pretending to besiege it, but alleging as his motive for a proceeding which was merely destructive, the bombardment of the maritime towns of France by the English. During three days he continued to fire upon the city, ruining a great part thereof, and then withdrew to witness the surrender of the citadel of Namur on the 2nd September, the town itself having capitulated on the 4th of the preceding month. As some compensation, though but a poor one, for the loss of Namur, and the disgrace of the French arms in suffering such a city to be captured in the presence of 80,000 men, Montal took Dixmude and Deynse in the course of June. . . . The only after-event of any importance which occurred in Flanders during this war, was the capture of Ath by the French, in the year 1697, while negotiations for peace were going on with activity at Ryswick. . . . Regular communications regarding peace having been once established, Ryswick, near the Hague, was appointed for the meeting of plenipotentiaries; and Harlay, Torci, and Callières appeared at that place as representatives of Louis. The articles which had been formerly sketched out at Utrecht formed the base of the treaties now agreed upon; and Louis

yielded far more than could have been expected from one so proud and so successful."—G. P. R. James, *Life and times of Louis XIV.*, v. 2, ch. 11.

ALSO IN: T. H. Dyer, *History of modern Europe*, v. 3, ch. 5.—J. Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, pt. 3, v. 3, bk. 4.

1696.—Disputed election of a king in Poland. See POLAND: 1696-1698.

1697 (April).—Sacking of Cartagena. See CARTAGENA (South America): 1697.

1697.—Peace of Ryswick.—"The Congress for the treaty or series of treaties that was to terminate the great European war, which had now lasted for upwards of nine years, was held at Ryswick, a château near the Hague. The conferences were opened in May, 1697. Among the countries represented were Sweden, Austria, France, Spain, England, Holland, Denmark and the various States of the German Empire. The treaties were signed, in severalty, between the different States, except Austria, in September and October, 1697, and with the Emperor, in November. The principal features of the treaty were, as between France and Spain, that, the former country was to deliver to Spain Barcelona, and other places in Catalonia; also various places which France had taken in the Spanish Netherlands, during the war, including Luxembourg and its Duchy, Charleroi, Mons and Courtrai. Various others were excepted, to be retained by France, as dependencies of French possessions. The principal stipulations of the treaty, as between France and Great Britain, were that France formally recognized William III. as lawful king of Great Britain, and agreed not to trouble him in the possession of his dominions, and not to assist his enemies, directly or indirectly. This article had particular relation to the partisans of the exiled Stuart king, then living in France. By another article, all places taken by either country in America, during the war, were to be relinquished, and the Principality of Orange and its estates situated in the south of France were to be restored to William. In the treaty with Holland, certain possessions in the East Indies were to be restored to the Dutch East India Company; and important articles of commerce were appended, among which the principle was laid down that free ships should make free goods, not contraband of war. By the treaty with the Emperor and the German States, the Treaties of Westphalia and Nymegen were recognized as the basis of the Treaty of Ryswick, with such exceptions only as were to be provided in the latter treaty. France also was to give up all territory she had occupied or controlled before or during the war under the name of 'reunions,' outside of Alsace, but the Roman Catholic religion was to be preserved in Alsace as it then existed. This concession by France included among other places Freiburg, Brisach, and Treves; and certain restitutions were to be made by France, in favor of Spire, the Electors of Treves, and Brandenburg and the Palatinate; also, others in favor of certain of the smaller German Princes. The city of Strasburg, in return, was formally ceded to France, . . . and the important fort of Kehl was yielded to the Empire. The navigation of the Rhine was to be free to all persons. The Duke of Lorraine was to be restored to his possessions with such exceptions as were provided in the treaty. By the terms of this treaty, a more advantageous peace was given to Spain than she had any expectation of. . . . Not only were the places taken in Spain, including the numerous fortified places in Catalonia, yielded up, but also, with some exceptions, those in the Spanish Netherlands, and also the important territory of Luxembourg; some places were even yielded to

Spain that France had gained under former treaties."—J. W. Gerard, *Peace of Utrecht*, ch. 4.—"The restitutions and cessions [from France to Germany] comprised Treves, Germersheim, Deux-Ponts, Veldentz, Montbéliard, Kehl, Freiburg, Breisach, Philippsburg, the Emperor and the Empire ceding in exchange Strasbourg to the King of France in complete sovereignty. . . . Louis XIV. had consented somewhat to relax the rigor of the treaty of Nimeguen towards the heir of the Duchy of Lorraine, nephew of the Emperor by his mother; he restored to the young Duke Leopold his inheritance in the condition in which Charles IV. had possessed it before the French conquest of 1670; that is to say, he restored Nancy, allowing only the ramparts of the Old Town to remain, and razing all the rest of the fortifications without the power of restoring them; he kept Marsal, an interior place calculated to hold Lorraine in check, and also Sarre-Louis, a frontier-place which separated Lorraine from the Germanic provinces; he restored Bitche and Homburg dismantled, without power to reestablish them, and kept Longwy in exchange for a domain of similar value in one of the Trois-Evêchés; finally, he no longer demanded, as at Nimeguen, four great strategic routes through Lorraine, and consented that the passage should always be open to his troops. The House of Lorraine was thus reestablished in its estates after twenty-seven years of exile."—H. Martin, *History of France: Age of Louis XIV.* (tr. by M. L. Booth), v. 2, ch. 2.—See also AUSTRIA: 1672-1714; CANADA: 1692-1697; NEWFOUNDLAND: 1694-1697; HAITI, REPUBLIC OF: 1697-1803.

ALSO IN: L. von Ranke, *History of England*, 17th century, v. 5, bk. 20, ch. 11.

1698-1700.—Question of the Spanish succession.—Claims of the various European monarchs.—Treaties of Partition.—Will of Charles II of Spain in favor of the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis IV. See SPAIN: 1698-1700.

1698-1712.—Colonization of Louisiana.—Broad claims to the entire Mississippi valley. See LOUISIANA: 1698-1712.

1699-1763.—Trade with Indians in America. See LOUISIANA: 1699-1763.

18th century.—Physiocrat doctrine.—Contempt of commerce. See TARIFF: 18th century.

18th century.—Educational theories.—Rousseau.—The Jesuits. See EDUCATION: Modern: 18th century; Rousseau; CLASSICS: 18th-19th centuries.

18th century.—Suppression of corporations. See CAPITALISM: 18th century; France.

18th century.—Administration of colonies. See COLONIZATION: French.

18th century.—Historiography. See HISTORY: 25.

1700.—Bequest of the Spanish crown to a French royal prince. See SPAIN: 1698-1700.

1701-1702.—Provocation of the second grand alliance and War of the Spanish Succession. See SPAIN: 1701-1702; ENGLAND: 1701-1702.

1701-1715.—English and Austrian barrier treaties. See BARRIER FORTRESSES.

1702-1710.—Camisard rising of the French Protestants in the Cévennes.—"The movement known as the War of the Camisards is an episode of the history of Protestantism in France which, though rarely studied in detail and perhaps but partially understood, was not devoid of significance. When it occurred, in the summer of 1702, a period of little less than 17 years had elapsed since Louis XIV., by his edict of Fontainebleau, October, 1685, solemnly revoked the great and fundamental law enacted by his grandfather, Henry

IV., for the protection of the adherents of the Reformed faith, known in history as the Edict of Nantes. During the whole of that period the Protestants had submitted, with scarcely an attempt at armed resistance, to the proscription of their tenets. . . . The majority, unable to escape from the land of oppression, remained at home . . . nearly all of them cherishing the confident hope that the king's delusion would be short-lived, and that the edict under which they and their ancestors had lived for three generations would, before long, be restored to them with the greater part, if not the whole, of its beneficent provisions. Meanwhile, all the Protestant ministers having been expelled from France by the same law that prohibited the expatriation of any of the laity, the people of the Reformed faith found themselves destitute of the spiritual food they craved. True, the new legislation effected to regard that faith as dead, and designated all the former adherents of Protestantism, without distinction, as the 'New Converts,' 'Nouveaux Convertis.' And, in point of fact, the great majority had so far yielded to the terrible pressure of the violent measures brought to bear upon them . . . that they had consented to sign a promise to be 'reunited' to the Roman Catholic Church, or had gone at least once to mass. But they were still Protestants at heart. . . . Under these circumstances, feeling more than ever the need of religious comfort, now that remorse arose for a weak betrayal of conscientious conviction, the proscribed Protestants, especially in the south of France, began to meet clandestinely for divine worship in such retired places as seemed most likely to escape the notice of their vigilant enemies. . . . It was not strange that in so exceptional a situation, a phase of religious life and feeling equally exceptional should manifest itself. I refer to that appearance of prophetic inspiration which attracted to the province of Vivarais and to the Cévennes Mountains the attention of all Europe. . . . Historically . . . the influence of the prophets of the Cévennes was an important factor in the Protestant problem of the end of the 17th and the commencement of the 18th centuries. . . . Various methods were adopted to put an end to the prophets with their prophecies, which were for the most part denunciatory of Rome as Antichrist and foreshadowed the approaching fall of the papacy. But this form of enthusiasm had struck a deep root and it was hard to eradicate it. Imprisonment, in convent or jail, was the most common punishment, especially in the case of women. Not infrequently to imprisonment was added corporal chastisement, and the prophets, male and female, were flogged until they might be regarded as fully cured of their delusion. . . . But no utterances of prophets, however fervid and impassioned, would have sufficed to occasion an uprising of the inhabitants of the Cévennes Mountains, had it not been for the virulent persecution to which the latter found themselves exposed at the hands of the provincial authorities directly instigated thereto by the clergy of the established church. For it must be noticed that a large part of the population of the Cévennes was still Protestant, and made no concealment of the fact, even though the king's ministers affected to call them 'New Catholics,' or 'New Converts.' The region over which the Camisard war extended with more or less violence comprised six episcopal dioceses, which, in 1608, had an aggregate population of about two-thirds of a million of souls. Of these souls, though Protestantism had been dead in the eye of the law for 13 years, fully one-fourth were still Protestant. . . . The war may be said to have begun on the 24th of July, 1702, when the

Abbé du Chayla, a noted persecutor, was killed in his house, at Pont de Montvert, by a band of 40 or 50 of the 'Nouveaux Convertis,' whom he had driven to desperation by his cruelty to their fellow believers. If we regard its termination to be the submission of Jean Cavalier, the most picturesque and, in some regards, the most able of the leaders, in the month of May, 1704, the war lasted a little less than two years. But, although the French government had succeeded, rather by craft than by force, in getting rid of the most formidable of its opponents . . . it was not until five or six years later—that is, until 1709 or 1710—that . . . comparative peace was finally restored. . . . During the first months of the insurrection the exploits of the malcontents were confined to deeds of destruction accomplished by companies of venturesome men, who almost everywhere eluded the pursuit of the enemy by their superior knowledge of the intricacies of the mountain woods and paths. The track of these companies could easily be made out; for it was marked by the destruction of vicarages and rectories, by the smoke of burned churches, too often by the corpses of slain priests. The perpetrators of these acts of violence soon won for themselves some special designations, to distinguish them from the more passive Protestants who remained in their homes, taking no open part in the struggle. . . . About the close of 1702, however, or the first months of 1703, a new word was coined for the fresh emergency, and the armed Protestants received the appellation under which they have passed into history—the Camisards. Passing by all the strange and fanciful derivations of the word which seem to have no claim upon our notice, unless it be their evident absurdity, we have no difficulty in connecting it with those nocturnal expeditions which were styled 'Camisades'; because the warriors who took advantage of the darkness of the night to ride out and explore or force the enemy's entrenchments, sometimes threw over their armor a shirt that might enable them to recognize each other. Others will have it that, though the name was derived from the same article of apparel—the 'camisa' or shirt—it was applied to the Cévenol hands for another reason, namely, "that when they found opportunities, they carried off clean linen from the villages and left their soiled garments in exchange. The final overthrow of the Camisards "was not accomplished without the employment of 100,000 troops, certainly far more than ten times the total number ever brought into the field by the Camisards. . . . Not less than three officers of the highest grade in the service, marshals of France, were successively appointed to put down a revolt which it might have been expected a simple colonel could suffice to quell—M. de Broglie being succeeded by the Marshal de Montrevel, the Marshal de Montrevel by the Marshal de Villars, and the Marshal de Villars by the Marshal de Berwick."—H. M. Baird, *Camisard uprising (Papers of the American Society of Church History, v. 2, pp. 13-34)*.

ALSO IN: A. E. Bray, *Revolt of the Protestants of the Cévennes, with some account of the Huguenots of the seventeenth century*.—N. Peyrat, *Pastors in the wilderness*.—S. Smiles, *Huguenots in France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, ch. 5-8*.

1702-1711.—War of the Spanish succession in America (called Queen Anne's War). See NEW ENGLAND: 1702-1710; CANADA: 1711-1713; SOUTH CAROLINA: 1700-1706.

1702-1713.—War of the Spanish succession in Europe. See ITALY: 1701-1713; SPAIN: 1702, to 1707-1710; GERMANY: 1702, to 1706-1711; NETHERLANDS: 1702-1704, to 1710-1712.

1702-1715.—Renewed Jesuitical persecution of the Jansenists.—Odious Bull Unigenitus and its tyrannical enforcement. See PORT ROYAL AND THE JANSENISTS: 1702-1715.

1710.—War of the Spanish Succession: Misery of the nation.—Overtures for peace.—Conferences at Gertruydenberg.—“France was still reduced to extreme and abject wretchedness. Her finances were ruined. Her people were half starving. Marlborough declared that in the villages through which he passed in the summer of 1710, at least half the inhabitants had perished since the beginning of the preceding winter, and the rest looked as if they had come out of their graves. All the old dreams of French conquests in the Spanish Netherlands, in Italy, and in Germany were dispelled, and the French generals were now struggling desperately and skilfully to defend their own frontier. . . . In 1710, while the Whig ministry [in England] was still in power, but as a time when it was manifestly tottering to its fall, Lewis had made one more attempt to obtain peace by the most ample concessions. The conferences were held at the Dutch fortress of Gertruydenberg. Lewis declared himself ready to accept the conditions exacted as preliminaries of peace in the preceding year, with the exception of the article compelling Philip within two months to cede the Spanish throne. He consented, in the course of the negotiations, to grant to the Dutch nearly all the fortresses of the French and Spanish Netherlands, including among others Ypres, Tournay, Lille, Furnes, and even Valenciennes, to cede Alsace to the Duke of Lorraine, to destroy the fortifications of Dunkirk, and those on the Rhine from Bâle to Philipsburg. The main difficulty was on the question of the Spanish succession. . . . The French troops had already been recalled from Spain, and Lewis consented to recognise the Archduke [Charles of Austria, later Emperor Charles VI] as the sovereign, to engage to give no more assistance to his grandchild, to place four cautionary towns in the hands of the Dutch as a pledge for the fulfilment of the treaty, and even to pay a subsidy to the allies for the continuance of the war against Philip [grandson of Louis XIV]. The allies, however, insisted that he should join with them in driving his grandson by force of arms from Spain, and on this article the negotiations were broken off.”—W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the eighteenth century*, ch. I.—See also ENGLAND: 1710-1712.

1712.—Renunciation of the French crown by Philip V of Spain.—Refusal of Louis XIV to confirm the French renunciations. See SPAIN: 1712.

1712-1750.—North American colonies.—Control of Illinois country through efforts of La Salle.—French and Indian wars in Wisconsin.—Development of Louisiana.—Troubles with English in Nova Scotia.—Trade with Indians at Oswego. See ILLINOIS: 1700-1750; 1751; WISCONSIN: 1712-1740; LOUISIANA: 1710-1750; NOVA SCOTIA: 1713-1730; OSWEGO: 1715-1726.

1713-1714.—Ending of the War of the Spanish Succession.—Peace of Utrecht and the Treaty of Rastadt. See UTRECHT: 1712-1714; CANADA: 1713; NEWFOUNDLAND: 1713.

1713.—Commercial treaty with England. See TARIFF: 1689-1721.

1713-1715.—Barrier treaty with Holland. See NETHERLANDS: 1713-1715.

1714.—Desertion of the Catalans. See SPAIN: 1713-1714; CATALONIA: 1713-1714.

1715.—Death of Louis XIV.—Character of his reign.—Louis XIV died September 1, 1715, at the age of 77 years, having reigned 72 years. “Riche-

lieu, and after him Mazarin, governing as if they had been dictators of a republic, had extinguished, if I may use the expression, their personality in the idea and service of the state. Possessing only the exercise of authority, they both conducted themselves as responsible agents towards the sovereign and before the judgment of the country; while Louis XIV., combining the exercise with the right, considered himself exempted from all rule but that of his own will, and acknowledged no responsibility for his actions except to his own conscience. It was this conviction of his universal power, a conviction genuine and sincere, excluding both scruples and remorse, which made him upset one after the other the twofold system founded by Henry IV., of religious liberty at home, and abroad of a national preponderance resting upon a generous protection of the independence of states and European civilisation. At the personal accession of Louis XIV., more than fifty years had passed since France had pursued the work of her policy in Europe, impartial towards the various communions of Christians, the different forms of governments, and the internal revolutions of the states. Although France was catholic and monarchical, her alliances were, in the first place, with the Protestant states of Germany and with republican Holland; she had even made friendly terms with regicide England. No other interest but that of the well-understood development of the national resources had weight in her councils, and directed the internal action of her government. But all was changed by Louis XIV., and special interests, the spawn of royal personality, of the principle of the hereditary monarchy, or that of the state religion, were admitted, soon to fly upward in the scale. Thence resulted the overthrow of the system of the balance of power in Europe, which might be justly called the French system, and the abandonment of it for dreams of an universal monarchy, revived after the example of Charles V. and Philip II. Thence a succession of enterprises, formed in opposition to the policy of the country, such as the war with Holland, the factions made with a view to the Imperial crown, the support given to James II. and the counter-revolution in England, the acceptance of the throne of Spain for a son of France, preserving his rights to the Crown. These causes of misfortune, under which the kingdom was obliged to succumb, all issued from the circumstance applauded by the nation and conformable to the spirit of its tendencies, which, after royalty had attained its highest degree of power under two ministers, delivered it unlimited into the hands of a prince endowed with qualities at once brilliant and solid, an object of enthusiastic affection and legitimate admiration. When the reign, which was to crown under such auspices the ascendant march of the French monarchy, had falsified the unbounded hopes which its commencement had excited; when in the midst of fruitless victories and continually increasing reverses, the people beheld progress in all the branches of public economy changed into distress,—the ruin of the finances, industry, and agriculture—the exhaustion of all the resources of the country,—the impoverishment of all classes of the nation, the dreadful misery of the population, they were seized with a bitter disappointment of spirit, which took the place of the enthusiasm of their confidence and love.”—A. Thierry, *Formation and progress of the Tiers État or Third Estate in France*, ch. 9.

1715.—Accession of King Louis XV.

1715-1723.—State of the kingdom at the death of Louis XIV.—Minority of Louis XV and regency of the Duke of Orleans.—“Louis XIV. . . .

left France excessively exhausted. The State was ruined, and seemed to have no resource but bankruptcy. This trouble seemed especially imminent in 1715, after the war, during which the government had been obliged to borrow at 400 per cent., to create new taxes, to spend in advance the revenue of two years, and to increase the public debt to 2,400 millions. The acquisition of two provinces (Flanders, Franche-Comté) and a few cities (Strassburg, Landau, and Dunkirk) was no compensation for such terrible poverty. Succeeding generations have remembered only the numerous victories, Europe defied, France for twenty years preponderant, and the incomparable splendor of the court of Versailles, with its marvels of letters and arts, which have given to the 17th century the name of the age of Louis XIV. It is for history to show the price which France has paid for her king's vain attempts abroad to rule over Europe, and at home to enslave the wills and consciences of men. . . . The weight of the authority of Louis XIV. had been crushing during his last years. When the nation felt it lifted, it breathed more freely; the court and the city burst into disrespectful demonstrations of joy; the very coffin of the great king was insulted. The new king [Louis XV., great-grandson of Louis XIV.] was five years old. Who was to govern? Louis XIV. had indeed left a will, but he had not deceived himself with regard to the value of it. 'As soon as I am dead, it will be disregarded; I know too well what became of the will of the king, my father!' As after the death of Henry IV. and Louis XIII. there was a moment of feudal reaction; but the decline of the nobility may be measured by the successive weakening of its efforts in each case. Under Mary de' Medici it was still able to make a civil war; under Anne of Austria it produced the Fronde; after Louis XIV. it only produced memorials. The Duke of Saint-Simon desired that the first prince of the blood, Philip of Orleans, to whom the will left only a shadow of power, should demand the regency from the dukes and peers, as heirs and representatives of the ancient grand vassals. But the Duke of Orleans convoked Parliament in order to break down the posthumous despotism of the old king, feigning that the king had committed the government to his hands. The regency, with the right to appoint the council of regency as he would, was conferred upon him, and the command of the royal household was taken from the Duke of Maine [one of the bastard sons of Louis XIV.], who yielded this important prerogative only after a violent altercation. As a reward for the services of his two allies, the Duke of Orleans called the high nobility into affairs, by substituting for the ministries six councils, in which they occupied almost all the places, and accorded to Parliament the right of remonstrance. But two years had hardly passed when the ministries were re-established, and the Parliament again condemned to silence. It was plain that neither nobility nor Parliament were to be the heirs of the absolute monarchy. . . . Debauchery had, until then, kept within certain limits; cynicism of manners as well as of thought was now adopted openly. The regent set the example. There had never been seen such frivolity of conduct nor such licentious wit as that exhibited in the wild meetings of the routés of the Duke of Orleans. There had been formerly but one salon in France, that of the king; a thousand were now open to a society which, no longer occupied with religious questions, or with war, or the grave futilities of etiquette, felt that pleasure and change were necessities. . . . Louis XV. attained his majority February 13, 1723, being then 13 years old. This terminated the regency of the

Duke of Orleans. But the king was still to remain a long time under tutelage; the duke, in order to retain the power after resigning the regency, had in advance given [Cardinal] Dubois the title of prime minister. At the death of the wretched Dubois he took the office himself, but held it only four months, dying of apoplexy in December, 1723."—V. Duruy, *History of France*, ch. 52, 55.

ALSO IN: E. Lavisse, *History of France*.—J. B. Perkins, *France under the regency*.—F. Rocquain, *Revolutionary spirit preceding the French Revolution*.—I. de Saint-Amand, *Last years of Louis XV.*—W. C. Taylor, *Memoirs of the House of Orleans*.

1717-1719.—Prime Minister Dubois and his foreign policy.—Triple Alliance.—Quadruple Alliance.—"Reform and retrenchment were essential to the Regent's [Duke of Orleans] policy. So also and in even greater degree was peace. Another war would have completed the ruin which the wars of Louis XIV had begun. Orleans found himself confronted by the bitter enmity of Philip of Spain, who in spite of treaty obligations still aspired not only to the regency but also to the reversion of the crown of France in the event of Louis XV's death without heirs. A deadly struggle for this reversion between Philip V and the Regent was therefore inevitable. The Pyrenees, whose disappearance had been acclaimed so pompously by Louis XIV reappeared, as formidable a barrier as ever, before that monarch was cold in his grave. The Regent therefore had to checkmate the policy of Spain. Spain had been raised by the able administration of Alberoni from the inferior position she had occupied, and was already a menace to the maintenance of the Treaty of Utrecht. That treaty was all-important to France, and Orleans nerved himself to a great effort to avert the danger. He was fortunate in the co-operation of a really able minister. The Abbé (afterwards Cardinal), Dubois, has been roughly handled by history. He had been the tutor of Orleans and must therefore presumably share the blame for the previous vices of his pupil. If so he may also reasonably be credited with some share in that pupil's undoubted virtues. That he was a regular pander to the orgies of Orleans has never been proved, though it has been repeatedly asserted. The vitriolic St. Simon was the Abbé's special enemy, and it is from him that historians have faithfully copied the lists of his outrageous vices. He was probably no better than his age; a worldling no doubt, and a parvenu, which was much more discreditable in St. Simon's eyes: violent and ill-tempered he was still a bold diplomatist and was not afraid of novelties: never a very popular characteristic. Under the guidance of these two enlightened libertines, Orleans and Dubois, France entered on the remarkable period of eight years known as the Regency. It is possible and has been popular to denounce their policy as treacherous and shameful to France. That is a matter of opinion. And it may be urged on the other hand that by abandoning the fetish of the Spanish *entente*, which had brought nothing but ill to France in the past and was destined, in the form of the 'Family Compact,' to bring her nothing but ill in the future, they broke antiquated idols and saved their country from a disastrous war. The move by which Orleans and his minister hoped to checkmate Spain was no less than a *rapprochement* with England. The family interests of the house of Hanover and that of the house of Orleans were very similar. Both houses desired to thwart the ambitions of a claimant; and it was obviously to the interest of both that each should

agree to throw over the claimant who threatened the other, that Orleans should abandon the Stuarts and George repudiate Philip of Spain. England had already made overtures, but Orleans was extremely reluctant to sacrifice the ill-fated Stuarts. After the failure of the abortive rising in Scotland in 1715, England had less and France more incentive to come to terms with the other power. Orleans, however, was still halting between two opinions, and James III was still at Avignon when Dubois' influence brought him to a decision. The Abbé went to Hanover and had interviews with the King of England. These ended (on 4 January, 1717) in the conclusion of the Triple Alliance between England, France, and Holland. This alliance confirmed the Treaty of Utrecht: James III was to be expelled from Avignon; the Hanoverian line was acknowledged in England, and that of Orleans in France in the event of the childless death of Louis XV. The works of Mardick were to be destroyed. This treaty has been fiercely denounced by French historians. It is condemned as the one really ignominious and treasonable treaty signed by France during the Bourbon period, and it has been asserted that that country, rather than destroy the works at Mardick, should have fought for them to the last drop of her blood. But what was the alternative? Inevitable and almost certainly disastrous war, just at the moment when a period of recuperation was of the last importance to the country. The union of the crowns of France and Spain which was adumbrated was the very thing that Europe had so carefully guarded against in the terms of the Peace of Utrecht, and if it was effected it would bring the whole of Europe about the ears of France. It is all very well to say that the exclusion of Philip of Spain was the personal interest of Orleans, but it was also most certainly the interest of France. The Regent may have, in the Triple Alliance, secured his personal interest, but it is absurd to assume that in doing so he necessarily sacrificed the national interest. The most that can be said then is that he broke with tradition; but France had found before, and was to find again in the War of the Austrian Succession, that there was little profit or credit in blind adherence to tradition. Spain was completely checkmated by this move and, when in 1717 she laid hands on Sardinia and proceeded in the following year to attack Sicily, she flung the Emperor [Charles VI, the Holy Roman Emperor] into the arms of the Triple Alliance, which was thus converted into the Quadruple Alliance (2 August, 1718). The four allies immediately laid down their terms. The Emperor was to abandon his claim on Spain and the Indies, and the King of Spain his on Italy and the Netherlands. Sardinia was to be exchanged for Sicily, Savoy receiving Sardinia and the Emperor Sicily. Parma and Tuscany were to be secured for the children of Philip V by his second wife Elizabeth Farnese. The annihilation of the Spanish fleet by the English under Byng at Cape Passaro (11 August, 1718) ensured the acceptance of these terms. Alberoni plunged wildly, strove to raise a rebellion in Hungary, schemed for a Stuart restoration in England, and endeavoured to embarrass the French Government by fomenting a rising in Brittany (December, 1718, the Cellamare plot). Dubois discovered the plot by means of a somewhat discreditable intrigue. France then sent an army to ravage Spain, and Berwick threatened Madrid. Thus, as Voltaire says, 'the first war of Louis XV was against his uncle whom Louis XIV had established at such cost; was in fact civil war.' But civil war is sometimes the lesser of two evils."—J. R. M. Macdonald, *History of*

France, v. 2, pp. 294-297.—See also SPAIN: 1713-1725; ITALY: 1715-1735.

ALSO IN: A. Barine, *Madame, mother of the regent*.—C. P. Ducloux, *Secret memoirs of the regency*.—Duc de Saint-Simon, *Memoirs of Louis XV*.

1717-1720.—John Law and his Mississippi scheme.—"When the Regent Orleans assumed the government of France, he found its affairs in frightful confusion. The public debt was three hundred millions; putting the debt on one side, the expenditure was only just covered by the revenue. St. Simon advised him to declare a national bankruptcy. De Noailles, less scrupulous, proposed to debase the coinage. . . . In such desperate circumstances, it was no wonder that the regent was ready to catch eagerly at any prospect of success. A remedy was proposed to him by the famous John Law of Lauriston. This new light of finance had gambled in, and been banished from, half the courts of Europe; he had figured in the English 'Hue and Cry,' as 'a very tall, black, lean man, well-shaped, above six feet high, large pock-holes in his face, big-nosed, speaks broad and loud.' He was a big, masterful, bullying man, one of keen intellect as well; the hero of a hundred romantic stories. . . . He studied finance at Amsterdam, then the great school of commerce, and offered his services and the 'system' which he had invented, first to Godolphin, when that nobleman was at the head of affairs in England, then to Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, then to Louis XIV., who, as the story goes, refused any credit to a heretic. He invented a new combination at cards, which became the despair of all the croupiers in Europe: so successful was this last invention, that he arrived for the second time at Versailles, in the early days of the regency, with upwards of £120,000 at his disposal, and a copy of his 'system' in his pocket. . . . There was a dash of daring in the scheme which suited well with the regent's peculiar turn of mind; it was gambling on a gigantic scale. . . . Besides, the scheme was plausible and to a certain point correct. The regent, with all his faults, was too clever a man not to recognize the genius which gleamed in Law's dark eyes. Law showed that the trade and commerce of every country was crippled by the want of a circulating medium; species was not to be had in sufficient quantities; paper, backed by the credit of the state, was the grand secret. He adduced the examples of Great Britain, of Genoa, and of Amsterdam to prove the advantage of a paper currency; he proposed to institute a bank, to be called the 'Bank of France,' and to issue notes guaranteed by the government and secured on the crown lands, exchangeable at sight for specie, and receivable in payment of taxes; the bank was to be conducted in the king's name, and to be managed by commissioners appointed by the States-General. The scheme of Law was based on principles which are now admitted as economical axioms; the danger lay in the enormous extent to which it was intended to push the scheme. . . . While the bank was in the hands of Law himself, it appears to have been managed with consummate skill; the notes bore some proportion to the amount of available specie; they contained a promise to pay in silver of the same standard and weight as that which existed at the time. A large dividend was declared; then the regent stepped in. The name of the bank was changed to that of the Royal Bank of France, the promise to pay in silver of a certain weight and standard was dropped, and a promise substituted to pay 'in silver coin.' This omission, on the part of a prince who had already resorted to the expedient of debasing the currency, was ominous, and did much to shake public confi-

dence; the intelligence that in the first year of the new bank 1,000,000,000 of livres were fabricated, was not calculated to restore it. But these trifles were forgotten in the mad excitement which followed. Law had long been elaborating a scheme which is for ever associated with his name, and beside which the Bank of France sank into insignificance. In 1717, the year before the bank had been adopted by the regent, the billets d'état of 500 livres each were worth about 160 livres in the market. Law, with the assent of the regent, proposed to establish a company which should engross all the trade of the kingdom, and all the revenues of the crown, should carry on the business of merchants in every part of the world, and monopolize the farming of the taxes and the coining of money; the stock was to be divided into 200,000 shares of 500 livres each. The regent nearly marred the scheme at starting by inserting a proviso that the depreciated billets d'état were to be received at par in payment for the new stock, on which four per cent. was guaranteed by the State." Law's company was formed, under the name of the Company of the West, and obtained for the basis of its operations a monopoly of the trade of that vast territory of France in the valley of the Mississippi which bore the name of Louisiana. The same monopoly had been held for five years by one Crozat, who now resigned it because he found it unprofitable; but the fact received little attention (see LOUISIANA: 1717-1718). "Louisiana was described as a paradise. . . . Shareholders in the company were told that they would enjoy the monopoly of trade throughout French North America, and the produce of a country rich in every kind of mineral wealth. Billets d'état were restored to their nominal value; stock in the Mississippi scheme was sold at fabulous prices; ingots of gold, which were declared to have come from the mines of St. Barbe, were taken with great pomp to the mint; 6,000 of the poor of Paris were sent out as miners; and provided with tools to work in the new diggings. New issues of shares were made; first 50,000, then 50,000 more; both at an enormous premium. The jobbers of the rue Quincampoix found ordinary language inadequate to express their delight: they invented a new slang for the occasion, and called the new shares 'les filles,' and 'les petites filles,' respectively. Paris was divided between the 'Anti-system' party who opposed Law, and the Mississippians who supported him. The State borrowed from the company fifteen hundred millions; government paid its creditors in warrants on the company. To meet them, Law issued 100,000 new shares; which came out at a premium of 1,000 per cent. The Mississippians went mad with joy—they invented another new slang phrase; the 'cinq cents' eclipsed the filles and the petites filles in favour. The gates of Law's hotel had to be guarded by a detachment of archers; the cashiers were mobbed in their bureaux; applicants for shares sat in the anterooms; a select body slept for several nights on the stairs; gentlemen disguised themselves in Law's livery to obtain access to the great man. . . . By this time the charter of the company of Senegal had been merged in the bank, which also became sole farmer of the tobacco duties; the East India Company had been abolished, and the exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies, China, and the South Seas, together with all the possessions of Colbert's company were transferred to Law. The bank now assumed the style of the Company of the Indies. Before the year [1710] was out the regent had transferred to it the exclusive privilege of the mint, and the contract of all the great farms. Almost every branch

of industry in France, its trade, its revenue, its police, were now in the hands of Law. Every fresh privilege was followed by a new issue of shares. . . . The shares of 500 francs were now worth 10,000. The rue Quincampoix became impassable, and an army of stockjobbers camped in tents in the Place Vendôme. . . . The excitement spread to England [where the South Sea Bubble was inflated by the madness of the hour—see SOUTH SEA BUBBLE]. . . . Law's system and the South Sea scheme both went down together. Both were calculated to last so long, and so long only, as universal confidence existed; when it began to be whispered that those in the secret were realizing their profits and getting out of the impending ruin, the whole edifice came down with a crash. . . . No sooner was it evident that the system was about to break down, than Law, the only man who could at least have mitigated the blow, was banished."—Viscount Bury, *Exodus of the western nations*, v. 2, ch. 5.

ALSO IN: C. Mackay, *Memoirs of extraordinary popular delusions*, v. 1, ch. 1.—A. Thiers, *Mississippi Bubble*.—W. C. Taylor, *Memoirs of the House of Orleans*, v. 2, ch. 2.—C. Gayarre, *History of Louisiana, second series*, lect. 1.—Duc de Saint-Simon, *Memoirs* (abridged tr. by St. John), v. 3, ch. 25; v. 4, ch. 4, 13-15.

1720.—Fortifying of Louisburg. See CAPE BRETON ISLAND: 1720-1745.

1723.—End of newspaper monopoly. See PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1723.

1723-1774.—Character and reign of Louis XV. —King's mistresses and their courtiers who conducted the government.—State and feeling of the nation.—After the death of the Duke of Orleans, "a short period of about two years and a-half comprehends the administration of the Duke of Bourbon, or rather of his mistress, la Marquise de Prie. Fleury [Cardinal] then appears on the stage, and dies in 1743. He was, therefore, minister of France for seventeen years. On his death, the king (Louis XV.) undertook to be his own prime minister; an unpromising experiment for a country at any time. In this instance the result was only that the king's mistress, Madame de Chateauroux, became the ruler of France, and soon after Madame de Pompadour, another mistress, whose reign was prolonged from 1745 to 1763. Different courtiers and prelates were seen to hold the first offices of the state during this apparent premiership of the monarch. The ladies seem to have chosen or tolerated Cardinal Tencin, Argençon, Orsy, Mauirpoux, and Amelot, who, with the Dukes Noailles and Richelieu, succeeded to Fleury. Afterwards, we have Argençon and Machault, and then come the most celebrated of the ministers or favourites of Madame de Pompadour, the Abbé de Bernis and the Duc de Choiseul. The last is the most distinguished minister after Fleury. He continued in favour from 1758, not only to 1763, when Madame de Pompadour died, but for a few years after. He was at length disgraced by la Comtesse Dubarri, who had become the king's mistress soon after the death of Madame de Pompadour, and remained so, nearly to the death of the monarch himself, in 1774."—W. Smyth, *Lectures on the history of the French Revolution*, lect. 3.—"The regency of the Duke of Orleans lasted only eight years, but it was not without a considerable effect upon the destinies of the country. It was a break in the political and the religious traditions of the reign of Louis XIV. The new activity imparted to business during this period was an event of equal importance. Nothing is more erroneous than to suppose that constantly increasing misery at last excited revolt against

the government and the institutions of the old régime. . . . The influence of literature in France during the eighteenth century was important, yet it is possible to overestimate it. The seed of political and social change was shown by the writers of the period, but the soil was already prepared to receive it. . . . The course of events, the conduct of their rulers, prepared the minds of the French people for political change, and accounted for the influence which literature acquired. The doctrines of philosophers found easy access to the hearts of a people with whom reverence for royalty and a tranquil acceptance of an established government had been succeeded by contempt for the king and hatred for the régime under which they lived. We can trace this change of sentiment during the reign of Louis XV. The popular affection which encircled his cradle accompanied him when he had grown to be a man. . . . Few events are more noticeable in the history of the age than the extraordinary expressions of grief and affection that were excited by the illness of Louis XV. in 1744. . . . A preacher hailed him as Louis the well beloved, and all the nation adopted the title. 'What have I done to be so loved?' the king himself asked. Certainly he had done nothing, but the explanation was correctly given. 'Louis XV. is dear to his people, without having done anything for them, because the French are, of all nations, most inclined to love their king.' This affection, the result of centuries of fidelity and zeal for monarchical institutions, and for the sovereigns by whom they were personified, was wholly destroyed by Louis's subsequent career. The vices to which he became addicted were those which arouse feelings not only of reprehension, but of loathing. They excited both aversion and contempt. The administration of the country was as despicable as the character of the sovereign. Under Louis XIV. there had been suffering and there had been disaster, but France had always preserved a commanding position in Europe. . . . But now defeat and dishonor were the fate of a people alike powerful and proud. . . . The low profligacy into which the king had sunk, the nullity of his character, the turpitude of his mistress, the weakness of his administration, the failure of all his plans, went far toward destroying the feelings of loyalty that had so long existed in the hearts of the French people. Some curious figures mark the decline in the estimation in which the king was held. In 1744, six thousand masses were said at Notre Dame for the restoration of Louis XV. to health; in 1757, after the attempted assassination by Damiens, there were six hundred; when the king actually lay dying, in 1774, there were only three. The fall from six thousand to three measures the decline in the affection and respect of the French people for their sovereign. It was with a public whose sentiments had thus altered that the new philosophy found acceptance."—J. B. Perkins, *France under the regency*, ch. 1.

ALSO IN: F. Rocquain, *Revolutionary spirit preceding the French Revolution*, ch. 2-8.—J. Murray, *French finance and financiers under Louis XV.*—E. J. Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution.*—H. A. Taine, *Ancient régime.*

1725.—Alliance of Hanover. See SPAIN: 1713-1725.

1727-1731.—Ineffectual congress at Soissons.—Treaty of Seville, with Spain and England.—Second Treaty of Vienna. See SPAIN: 1726-1731.

1733.—First family compact of the Bourbons (France and Spain).—"The two lines of the house of Bourbon [in France and in Spain] once more became in the highest degree prominent. . . .

As early as November 1733 a Family Compact (the first of the series) was concluded between them, in which they contemplated the possibility of a war against England, but without waiting for it entered into an agreement against the maritime supremacy of that power. . . . The commercial privileges granted to the English in the Peace of Utrecht seemed to both courts to be intolerable."—L. von Ranke, *History of England*, v. 5, bk. 22, ch. 4.—"It is hardly too much to say that the Family Compact of 1733 . . . is the most important document of the middle period of the 18th century and the most indispensable to history. If that period seems to us confused, if we lose ourselves in the medley of its wars—war of the Polish election, war of Jenkins' ear, war of the Austrian succession, colonial war of 1756—the simple reason is that we do not know this treaty, which furnishes the clue. From it we may learn that in this period, as in that of Louis XIV. and in that of Napoleon, Europe struggled against the ambitious and deliberately laid design of an ascendant power, with this difference, that those aggressors were manifest to all the world and their aims not difficult to understand, whereas this aggression proceeded by ambush, and, being the aggression not of a single state but of an alliance, and a secret alliance, did not become clearly manifest to Europe even when it had to a considerable extent attained its objects. . . . The first two articles define the nature of the alliance, that it involves a mutual guarantee of all possessions, and has for its object, first, the honour, glory, and interests of both powers, and, secondly, their defence against all damage, vexation, and prejudice that may threaten them." The first declared object of the Compact is to secure the position of Don Carlos, the Infant of Spain, afterwards Charles III., in Italy, and "to obtain for him the succession in Tuscany, protecting him against any attack that may be attempted by the Emperor or by England. Next, France undertakes to 'aid Spain with all her forces by land or sea, if Spain should suspend England's enjoyment of commerce and her other advantages, and England out of revenge should resort to hostilities and insults in the dominions and states of the crown of Spain, whether within or outside of Europe.'" Further articles provide for the making of efforts to induce Great Britain to restore Gibraltar to Spain; set forth "that the foreign policy of both states is to be guided exclusively by the interests of the house"; denounce the Austrian Pragmatic as "opposed to the security of the house of Bourbon." "The King of France engages to send 32,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry into Italy, and to maintain other armies on his other frontiers; also to have a squadron ready at Toulon, either to join the Spanish fleet or to act separately, and another squadron at Brest, 'to keep the English in fear and jealousy'; also, in case of war with England breaking out, to commission the largest possible number of privateers. Spain also promises a fixed number of troops. The 11th and 12th articles lay the foundation of a close commercial alliance to be formed between France and Spain. Article 13 runs as follows:—"His Catholic majesty, recognising all the abuses which have been introduced into commerce, chiefly by the British nation, in the eradication of which the French and Spanish nations are equally interested, has determined to bring everything back within rule and into agreement with the letter of treaties"—to which end the two kings make common cause. "Finally the 14th article provides that the present treaty shall remain profoundly secret as long as the contracting parties shall judge it agreeable to their interests, and shall

be regarded from this day as an eternal and irrevocable Family Compact. . . . Here is the explanation of the war which furnished the immediate occasion of the first Compact, a war most misleadingly named from the Polish election which afforded an ostensible pretext for it, and deserving better to be called the Bourbon invasion of Italy. Here too is sketched out the course which was afterwards taken by the Bourbon courts in the matter of the Pragmatic Sanction. Thirdly, here most manifestly is the explanation of that war of Jenkins' ear, which we have a habit of representing as forced upon Spain by English commercial cupidity, but which appears here as deliberately planned in concert by the Bourbon courts in order to eradicate the 'abuses which have been allowed to creep into trade.'—J. R. Seeley, *House of Bourbon*, (*English Historical Review*, January, 1886).

ALSO IN: J. McCarthy, *History of the four Georges*, v. 2, ch. 22.

1733-1735.—War with Austria, in Germany and Italy.—Final acquisition of Lorraine.—Naples and Sicily transferred to Spain.—In the war with Austria which was brought about by the question of the Polish succession (see POLAND: 1732-1733), the French "struck at the Rhine and at Italy, while the other powers looked on unmoved; Spain watching her moment, at which she might safely interfere for her own interests in Italy. The army of the Rhine, which reached Strasburg in autumn 1733, was commanded by Marshal Berwick, who had been called away from eight years of happy and charming leisure at Fitz-James. With him served for the first time in the French army their one great general of the coming age, and he too a foreigner, Maurice, son of Augustus II. of Poland and the lovely Countess of Königsmark. . . . He is best known to us as Marshal Saxe. It was too late to accomplish much in 1733, and the French had to content themselves with the capture of Kehl: in the winter the Imperialists constructed strong lines at Ettlingen, a little place not far from Carlsruhe, between Kehl, which the French held, and Philipsburg, at which they were aiming. In the spring of 1734 French preparations were slow and feeble: a new power had sprung up at Paris in the person of Belle-Isle, Fouquet's grandson, who had much of the persuasive ambition of his grandfather. He was full of schemes, and induced the aged Fleury to believe him to be the coming genius of French generalship; the careful views of Marshal Berwick suited ill his soaring spirit; he wanted to march headlong into Saxony and Bohemia. Berwick would not allow so reckless a scheme to be adopted; still Belle-Isle, as lieutenant-general with an almost independent command, was sent to besiege Trarbach on the Moselle, an operation which delayed the French advance on the Rhine. At last, however, Berwick moved forwards. By skilful arrangements he neutralised the Ettlingen lines, and without a battle forced the Germans to abandon them. Their army withdrew to Heilbronn, where it was joined by Prince Eugene. Berwick, freed from their immediate presence, and having a great preponderance in force, at once sat down before Philipsburg. There, on the 12th of June, as he visited the trenches, he was struck by a ball and fell dead. So passed away the last but one of the great generals of Louis XIV.: France never again saw his like till the genius of the Revolution evoked a new race of heroes. It was thought at first that Berwick's death, like Turenne's, would end the campaign, and that the French army must get back across the Rhine. The position seemed critical,

Philipsburg in front, and Prince Eugene watching without. The Princes of the Empire, however, had not put out any strength in this war, regarding it chiefly as an Austrian affair; and the Marquis d'Asfeld, who took the command of the French forces, was able to hold on, and in July to reduce the great fortress of Philipsburg. Therewith the campaign of the Rhine closed. In Italy things had been carried on with more vigour and variety. The veteran Villars, now 81 years old, was in command, under Charles-Emmanuel, King of Sardinia. . . . Villars found it quite easy to occupy all the Milanese: farther he could not go; for Charles-Emmanuel, after the manner of his family, at once began to deal behind his back with the Imperialists and the campaign dragged. The old Marshal, little brooking interference and delay, for he still was full of fire, threw up his command, and started for France: on the way he was seized with illness at Turin, and died there five days after Berwick had been killed at Philipsburg. With them the long series of the generals of Louis XIV. comes to an end. Coigny and the Duke de Broglie succeeded to the command. Not far from Parma they fought a murderous battle with the Austrians, hotly contested, and a Cadmean victory for the French: it arrested their forward movement, and two months were spent in enforced idleness. In September, 1734, the Imperialists inflicted a heavy check on the French at the Secchia; afterwards however emboldened by this success, they fought a pitched battle at Guastalla, in which, after a fierce struggle, the French remained masters of the field. Their losses, the advanced time of the year, and the uncertainty as to the King of Sardinia's movements and intentions, rendered the rest of the campaign unimportant. As however the Imperialists, in order to make head against the French in the valley of the Po, had drawn all their available force out of the Neapolitan territory, the Spaniards were able to slip in behind them, and to secure that great prize. Don Carlos landed at Naples and was received with transports of joy: the Austrians were defeated at Bitonto; the Spaniards then crossed into Sicily, which also welcomed them gladly; the two kingdoms passed willingly under the rule of the Spaniards. In 1735 Austria made advances in the direction of peace; for the French had stirred up their old friend the Turk, who, in order to save Poland, proposed to invade Hungary. Fleury, no lover of war, and aware that England's neutrality could not last forever, was not unwilling to treat: a Congress at Vienna followed, and before the end of 1735 peace again reigned in Europe. The terms of the Treaty of Vienna (3 Oct. 1735) were very favourable to France. Austria ceded Naples and Sicily, Elba, and the States degli Presidii to Spain, to be erected into a separate kingdom for Don Carlos: France obtained Lorraine and Bar, which were given to Stanislaus Leczinski on condition that he should renounce all claim to the Polish Crown; they were to be governed by him under French administration: Francis Stephen, the former Duke, obtained, as an indemnity, the reversion of Tuscany, which fell to him in the following year. Parma and Piacenza returned to the Emperor, who also obtained from France a guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction. Thus France at last got firm hold of the much-desired Lorraine country, though it was not absolutely united to her till the death of Stanislaus in 1766."—G. W. Kitchin, *History of France*, bk. 6, ch. 2.

ALSO IN: F. P. Guizot, *Popular history of France*, v. 6, ch. 52.

1738-1740.—Question of the Austrian succes-

sion.—Guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction. See AUSTRIA: 1718-1738; 1740.

1738-1770.—Fatal policy in Europe which lost to the French their opportunity for colonial aggrandizement.—“Louis XIV. had made France odious to her neighbors and suspected by all Europe. Those who succeeded him required much prudence and wisdom to diminish the feelings of fear and jealousy which this long reign of wars and conquests had inspired. They were fortunate in that the moderation demanded of them was for France the most skilful and advantageous policy. France kept Alsace, Franche-Comté, Flanders, Roussillon, and beyond this enlarged frontier she was no longer menaced by the same enemies. The treaty of Utrecht had modified the entire balance of power. There was henceforward no house of Austria excepting in Germany. . . . Spain was no longer to be feared; she was weakened, she was becoming dependent. A cadet of France, a Bourbon, reigned at Madrid. . . . It seemed that henceforward France had only to conserve on the continent. She presented to it the most compact power. Her principal enemy in it was greatly reduced. She was surrounded by states, weaker than she, who deferred to her and feared her; she could resume that fine rôle of moderator and guardian of the peace of Europe which Richelieu had prepared for her, and bear elsewhere, into the other hemisphere, the superabundance of her forces and that excess of vigor which in great nations is precisely the condition of health. The future of her grandeur was henceforward in the colonies. There she would encounter England. Upon this new stage their rivalry would be revived, more ardent than in the days of the hundred years' war. To maintain this struggle which extended over the entire world, France would not be too strong with all her resources. When she was engaged in Canada and the Indies at the same time, she would not need to carry her armies across the Rhine. Peace on the continent was the condition necessary to the magnificent fortune which awaited her in America and Asia. If she wished to obtain it she must renounce continental ambitions. She could do it; her defense was formidable. No one about her would dare to fire a gun without her permission. But, alas! she was far removed from this wisdom, and, in attempting to establish colonies, and make changes in the kingdoms of Europe at the same time, she compromised her power in both worlds at once. The French desired colonial conquests, but they could not abstain from European conquests, and England profited by it. Austria became her natural ally against France. These powerful diversions kept the French on the ground. However, they could have yet curbed Austria: they had Prussia, Savoy, Poland and Turkey if necessary. Diplomacy was sufficient for this game; but this game was not sufficient for the French politicians. The hatred of the house of Austria survived the causes of rivalry. This house seemed always ‘the monster’ of which Balzac spoke. One was not satisfied to have chained it; one could cease only after having annihilated it. ‘There is always,’ writes Argenson, ‘for politicians a fundamental rule of reducing this power to the point where the Emperor will not be a greater landholder than the richest elector. Charles VI. died in 1740; he left only a daughter; the opportunity seemed favorable, and noisily sounding the death-cry (l'hallali) they took the field at the head of all the hunters by inheritance [see AUSTRIA: 1740-1741, and after; ITALY: 1741-1743 to 1746-1747; NETHERLANDS: 1746; 1747-1795; also BELGIUM:

1745; 1756-1747; BOHEMIA: 1631-1757]. They went ‘to make an emperor, to conquer kingdoms!’ The Bavarian whom they crowned was a stage emperor, and, as for conquests, they were considered only too fortunate that Maurice of Saxe preserved to France those of Louis XIV. The coalition had no other result than to enlarge Prussia [see AIX-LA-CHAPELLE: Congresses: 2; NEW ENGLAND: 1745-1748]. Meanwhile France was beaten on the sea and abandoned solely to the resources of his genius Duplexis, who with a handful of men was founding an empire [see INDIA: 1743-1752]. There was besides another small matter; after having exposed Canada [see NEW ENGLAND: 1744; 1745] in order to conquer Silesia for the king of Prussia, it was lost in order to have the pleasure of giving back that province to the queen of Hungary. France had played the game of England in the war of the succession of Austria, she played that of Austria in the seven years' war [see GERMANY: 1755-1756, and after; ENGLAND: 1754-1755]. Frederick was the most equivocal of allies. In 1755, he deserted cynically and passed over to the English, who had just recommenced war against France. England having Prussia, it was important, in order to maintain the equilibrium, that France have Austria. Maria Theresa offered her alliance and France accepted it. Thus was concluded the famous treaty of May 1, 1756. The object of this alliance was entirely defensive. This was what France did not understand, and she did not cease to be a dupe for having changed partners. Louis XV. made himself the defender of Austria with the same blindness as he had made himself her adversary. The continental war which was only the accessory became the principal. From a ruling power, France fell to the rank of a subordinate. She did not even attain the indirect result to which she sacrificed her most precious interests. Frederick kept Silesia. France lost Canada and abandoned Louisiana; the empire of the Indies passed to the English [see CANADA: 1750-1753 to 1760; NOVA SCOTIA: 1749-1755; 1755; OHIO (Valley): 1748-1754, and after; U. S. A.: 1748-1754; CAPE BRETON ISLAND: 1758-1760; INDIA: 1758-1761]. Louis XV. had thus directed a policy the sole reason for which was the defeat of England, in such a way as to assure the triumph of that country. ‘Above all,’ wrote Bernis to Choiseul, then ambassador at Vienna, ‘arrange matters in such a way that the king will not remain in servile dependence on his allies. That state would be the worst of all.’ It was the state of France during the last years of the reign of Louis XV. The alliance of 1756, which had been at its beginning and under its first form, a skilful expedient, became a political system, and the most disastrous of all. Without gaining anything in territory, France lost her consideration in Europe. She had formerly grouped around her all those who were disturbed by the power of Austria; forced to chose between them and Austria, she allowed the Austrians to do as they chose. To crown the humiliation, immediately after a war in which she had lost everything to serve the hatred of Maria Theresa for Frederick, she saw those unreconcilable Germans draw together without her knowledge, come to an understanding at her expense, and, in concert with Russia, divide the spoil of one of the oldest clients of the French monarchy, Poland. There remained to France but one ally, Spain. They were united in 1761 by the Family Pact, the only beneficial work which had been accomplished in these years of disaster. . . . To the anger of having felt herself made

use of during the war, to the rancor of having seen herself duped during the peace, was joined the fear of being despoiled one day by an ally so greedy and so little scrupulous. 'I foresee,' said Mably some years later, 'that the Emperor will demand of us again Lorraine, Alsace and everything which may please him.'—'Who can guaranty France, if she should experience a complicated and unfortunate war,' said one of the ministers of Louis XVI., 'that the Emperor would not reclaim Alsace and even other provinces?' It was in this way that the abuse made by Austria of the alliance revived all the traditions of rivalry. Add that Maria Theresa was devout, that she was known to be a friend of the Jesuits, an enemy of the philosophers, and that at the King's court, the favorites were accounted as acquired from Austria: everything thus contributed to render odious to public opinion the alliance which, in itself, already seemed detestable. At the time when they were beginning to style the partisans of new ideas 'patriots,' they were in the habit of confounding all the adversaries of these ideas with the 'Austrian party.' . . . The marriage of Marie Antoinette with the Dauphin was destined to seal forever the alliance of 1756. The unfortunate princess accumulated on her head the hatreds and prejudices heaped up by three centuries of rivalry and excessively stimulated by the still smarting impression of recent wrongs. Even the cause of her coming to France rendered her suspected by the French; they imputed to her as a crime her attachment to the alliance which was, notwithstanding, the very reason of her marriage. To understand the prodigious unpopularity which pursued her in France, it is necessary to measure the violence of the passions raised up against her mother and her country; it was summed up, long before the Revolution, in that word which became for Marie Antoinette a decree of forfeiture and of death; the Austrian."—A. Sorel, *L'Europe et la révolution française* (tr. from the French), pt. I, pp. 288-297.

1743 (October).—Second family compact of the Bourbon kings.—"France and Spain signed a secret treaty of perpetual alliance at Fontainebleau, October 25th, 1743. The treaty is remarkable as the precursor of the celebrated Family Compact between the French and Spanish Bourbons. The Spaniards, indeed, call it the Second Family Compact, the first being the Treaty of November 7th, 1733, of which, with regard to colonial affairs, it was a renewal. But this treaty had a more special reference to Italy. Louis XV., engaged to declare war against Sardinia, and to aid Spain in conquering the Milanese. Philip V. transferred his claims to that duchy to his son, the Infant Don Philip, who was also to be put in possession of Parma and Piacenza. All the possessions ceded by France to the King of Sardinia, by the Treaty of Utrecht, were to be again wrested from him. A public alliance was to be formed, to which the Emperor Charles VII. was to accede; whose states, and even something more, were to be recovered for him. Under certain circumstances war was to be declared against England; in which case France was to assist in the recovery of Gibraltar, and also, if possible, of Minorca. The new colony of Georgia was to be destroyed, the Asiento withdrawn from England, &c."—T. H. Dyer, *History of modern Europe*, v. 3, bk. 6, ch. 4.

1745-1763.—Madame de Pompadour as a political force.—Patron of the arts and letters.—"The life of a left-handed queen is always invested with a certain degree of interest, for it is

safe to assume that, in order to arouse something more than an ephemeral passion in the heart of a monarch, a woman must have been the possessor of exceptional qualities. But in all the long roll of *reines de la main gauche* it is open to question whether there is one whose career affords anything approaching the attraction for the student of history or for the general reader as does that of the subject of the present volume. For Madame de Pompadour was no ordinary king's mistress; she was a great political force. She made and unmade Ministers, she selected Ambassadors, she appointed generals, she conferred pensions and places. Upon her rests the responsibility for that sudden change in the traditional policy of France towards the House of Hapsburg which enabled the vindictive Maria Theresa to fan the ashes of the War of the Austrian Succession [1756-1763] into the devouring flame which ravaged Europe for seven long years; and to her influence must be ascribed, in a great measure, the suppression of the Jesuits in France. Nor was her activity by any means confined to politics. It is to her that France is indebted for the world-famous manufactory of Sèvres; while the establishment of the *École Militaire*, which in the twenty-seven years of its existence gave to the country so many distinguished officers, Napoleon among the number, was mainly due to her efforts. Men of letters and artists, too, found in her a generous and appreciative friend. She protected Voltaire and Montesquieu, rescued the elder Crébillon from poverty and neglect, encouraged Diderot and d'Alembert in their herculean labours, and made the fortune of Marmontel; while it was she who introduced Boucher and his work to the Court of Louis XV., placed his *Forges de Vulcain* in the monarch's private apartments at Marly, purchased the famous *Lever du Soleil* and *Coucher du Soleil* (now in the Wallace Collection in London), and promoted his interests and those of his fellow-artists in every way. In short, almost from the day on which she was installed at Versailles as *maîtresse déclarée* till her death in 1764, the influence of Madame de Pompadour was paramount in all matters, from politics to porcelain, and it is not too much to say that, during that period, it was she, rather than Louis XV., who was the real ruler of France and the fountain of honour. For a woman of middle-class origin, the daughter of a man who had once been compelled to fly the country to escape being broken on the wheel, to attain to a post which had hitherto been regarded as the peculiar appanage of the nobility was, as may be imagined, no easy task; to retain it for nineteen years was one which taxed her resources to the utmost. Her elevation, indeed, was the signal for an outburst of hostility before which a less resolute woman must inevitably have succumbed. She was called upon to face the enmity of the Royal Family, of powerful Ministers, of the ladies of the Court—most bitter antagonists of all—of the Jesuits, and of the rabble of Paris, who, strange as it may seem, resented their sovereign's departure from the custom observed by his predecessors almost as much as the *noblesse*. But never for a moment did she flinch. With an unrivalled skill, which compels the reluctant admiration even of those who find in her life but scant cause for eulogy, she contrived to make herself absolutely indispensable to the happiness of her royal lover, and that accomplished, proceeded to crush her enemies. One by one they were met, out-manœuvred, and driven from the field or forced to sue for quarter; and though on more than one

occasion, notably at the time of Damiens's attempt upon the life of Louis XV., her fall seemed inevitable, the only result of the machinations of her foes was to leave her more powerful than ever. She died at the early age of forty-two, worn out by the storm and stress of a life which she once described as 'like that of a Christian, a perpetual combat,' a prey to wounded vanity and disappointed ambition. Wearying of the petty triumphs of Versailles, she had sought to associate her name with triumphs of another kind, and did not long survive the humiliating termination of the war into which she had so recklessly dragged her country."—H. N. Williams, *Madame de Pompadour*, pp. v-vii.

ALSO IN: Malassis, *Correspondence de Madame de Pompadour avec son père M. Poisson et son frère M. de Vandieres*.—I. de Saint-Amand, *Court of Louis XV.*—Idem, *Famous women of the French court*.—J. L. Sonlavie, *Madame de Pompadour*.—E. de Goncourt, *Confidantes of a king*.—C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Memoirs and letters of Cardinal de Bernis*.

1750-1753.—Attitude of American colonists preceding war with England. See U. S. A.: 1750-1753.

1754-1756.—Seven Years' War.—Causes and provocations. See GERMANY: 1755-1756; ENGLAND: 1754-1755.

1756 (May).—Seven Years' War: Minorca wrested from England. See MINORCA: 1756.

1756-1759. — Jansenism. — Beaumont, archbishop of Paris.—Banished by Louis XV.—Bed of justice.—Various mandates.—Beaumont recalled.—Exiled a second time.—"The interminable strife between the secular jurisdiction and ecclesiastical discipline had all the relentless bitterness of a civil war. A society which was at once unbelieving and bigoted went mad over theological questions worthy of the deliberations of a Council of Byzantium; and at the very height of the Seven Years' War there were in Paris, as Voltaire remarked, fifty thousand ranters who could not tell you what countries the Danube or the Elbe flowed through, and who thought that the world was turned topsy-turvy by the contradictory propositions of the adepts of Jansenius and the disciples of Molina. After all, the question was more serious than one is inclined to think at first blush. Jansenism, 'the third estate of religion,' as it has been aptly called, was in effect only a preparatory step in the direction of republican doctrines. . . . Jansenism in France was characterized by the same sublime indifference to suffering, untamable curiosity, and the same revolutionary spirit which marked English Protestantism. Louis XIV., jealously guarding his royal prerogative, was not slow to perceive it. He felt that discipline was no less indispensable in the Church than in the barracks, and he understood that the throne was built upon the same foundation as the altar. The Bull *Unigenitus*, of 1713, was designed to re-establish unity of doctrine; and when the Jansenists refused to bow to the decree of the sovereign pontiff, the great king said to himself that that rebellion against the authority of the pope would prove to be the signal for attack upon monarchical principles. He was not mistaken. When Parliament showed itself favorable to Jansenism, it was not so much because of any particular opinions upon free-will or salvation as from an instinctive leaning toward the spirit of revolution, the germs of which existed in the new sect. Religious controversy gradually led to political controversy. Parliament led the way to parliamentarism. They began by refusing to rec-

ognize the episcopal jurisdiction of an archbishop, to end by defying the authority of a king. Christophe de Beaumont, priest with decided convictions, austere and unbending churchman, so strong in his contempt for the temptations of rank and title that Louis was obliged to summon him three times before he could induce him to leave his see of Vienne in Dauphiné to accept the archbishopric of Paris.—Christophe de Beaumont was faithful to the traditions of the Church when he denied that the Parliament of Paris was competent to deal with matters purely religious, such as the administration of the sacraments. His doctrine, after all, was only that of a separation of the two powers. Louis [XV] inclined toward the doctrines of the archbishop, whose virtue he knew and appreciated. Like Louis XIV, he recognized the authority of the Bull *Unigenitus*, and treated Jansenism as heresy. Like Louis XIV, he distrusted, not without good reason, the Parliament and populace of Paris. 'I know the people of Paris,' he said; 'they must have remonstrances and shows, and some day perhaps something worse than that.' Madame de Pompadour would have done as the king wished to do, and have espoused the cause of the archbishop, if the archbishop had been a courtier; but Christophe de Beaumont . . . could not conceive of such a thing as a churchman bending the knee to a royal favorite, and the bare idea of soliciting favors from a Pompadour would have brought a flush of shame to his brow. He would have preferred exile twice over. . . . The king admired the archbishop, but did not sustain him. D'Argenson wrote on the 6th of March, 1756: 'The personal government of Louis XV, might well adopt the device,—*Dividatur*. It is a method of doing business which he learned from Cardinal de Fleury. All his strength is directed to that end. Thus it is that while he does only about half right, he does only about half wrong, which produces chaos and other deplorable results.' By this system the monarch failed to satisfy either magistrates or clergy. First he exiled the Parliament, then the archbishop. The curés continued to refuse to administer the sacraments to Jansenists. The magistrates sent their bailiffs, and the sick people partook of communion under the protection of bayonets. The Eucharist became an object of derision through the strife of faction. The court wavered between the two sides; after having sent the archbishop of Paris to Conflans, Louis [XV], leaving him in disgrace, gave judgment in his favor. In a bed of justice held on the 13th of December, 1756, the king forbade Parliament to decree that the sacraments should be administered, or that a general assembly should be convened, or that the course of justice should be interfered with, or the registration of edicts suspended. He suppressed the Chambers of Inquiry (*Enquêtes*) and announced that whoever did not obey would be punished. One hundred and fifty members of Parliament resigned. All Paris was in commotion. An *émeute* was thought to be imminent. Curses and anathemas were heard on all sides. The diatribes of the Jansenists and the parliamentary faction served to excite Damiens to the madness of fanaticism. He believed that in striking down Louis XV, he was acting for the service of God and the good of the people. Madame de Pompadour, even more fickle than the king, was at odds with the Parliament at this time. Nevertheless, the archbishop remained in exile because he would not, at any price, bend his knee to the favorite. The mandate which he sent from Conflans to Paris offended the marquise deeply. 'Let us search our hearts,

dear brethren,' he said, 'and see if the errors of our minds and hearts have not merited this terrible demonstration of the wrath of God. Let us inquire, without prejudice, what is the meet reward for the false doctrines with which men's minds are filled,—such license in speech, such blasphemy against God and his Christ, such wicked arguments against revealed truth, such scandalous conduct among all sorts and conditions of men; let us notice especially whether, since the degeneration of faith among us, there has not crept into men's minds and their writings a multitude of principles of thought which lead to disobedience and even to rebellion against the king and his laws. It would be easy for us to remind you of the maxims of the blessed teachers, who never cease to inculcate a true sense of the fidelity which is due to the princes of the earth; the decisions of the councils, which have called down the curse of Heaven upon every doctrine tending to incite nations to rebellion against their sovereigns; and the continued teaching of the spiritual pastors, who have always said with the great apostle: "Obey in all things your temporal masters." What ought we to think of the execrable crime which was conceived in the heart of our country and perpetrated under our eyes? What should be our righteous anger at the thought of so foul an attempt treasonably committed with deliberate premeditation, and in the very palace, where everything proclaims the majesty of our sovereign lord?' This saintly language aroused the admiration of the queen and dauphin and all pious people. But it seemed a satire to the protecting genius of the philosophers, the friend of Voltaire and Quesnay, the patroness of the Encyclopedists. Louis XV. at heart agreed with the archbishop. He recalled him in October, 1757. But always true to his system of counterpoises, he permitted the resigning members of Parliament to resume their duties. The archbishop, unrelentingly pursued by the ill-will of the favorite, was exiled a second time, from January, 1758, to October, 1759. The inflexible prelate would never yield a jot in the matter of doctrine. 'Let them prepare a scaffold in the sight of the court,' he cried; 'I will gladly mount it to maintain my rights, fulfil my duties, and obey the dictates of my conscience.' The disputes concerning the Bull *Unigenitus* were at last adjusted; but religious authority was weakened at the same time and in the same degree as the power of the throne. Emboldened by their polemical writers, the members of the Parliament of Paris gradually set themselves up as guardians of the public liberties and critics of absolute monarchy. Some nobles, D'Argenson, for example, and Choiseul, and other disciples of Voltaire, fondly fancied that the aristocracy might retain its privileges if the clergy lost theirs. Louis XV., catching a glimpse of the cataclysm of the future, had no such illusion; he was, in the depths of his soul, the foe of Parliament and the friend of the Church. If the Very Christian king seemed sometimes to deal gently with the philosophers, it was only because they toadied to his mistress, and sought to lighten his own burden by lulling his remorse to sleep."—I. de Saint-Amand, *Women of the court of Louis XV.*, pp. 205-212.—See also PORT ROYAL AND THE JANSENISTS.

ALSO IN: E. Lavisse, *Histoire de France*.—C. Striensi, *Eighteenth century in France*.

1756-1763.—Seven Years' War: Campaigns, etc. See GERMANY: 1756 to 1761-1762; SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

1759.—Government of New France. See CAN-

ADA: 1759: New France at the time of the conquest.

1759.—Attempt to form alliance with Spain, in opposition to England. See SPAIN: 1759-1788.

1761 (August).—Third family compact of the Bourbon kings.—"On the 15th of August [1761] . . . Grimaldi [Spanish ambassador at the French court] and Choiseul [the ruling minister, at the time, in France] signed the celebrated Family Compact. By this treaty the Kings of France and Spain agreed for the future to consider every Power, as their enemy which might become the enemy of either, and to guarantee the respective dominions in all parts of the world which they might possess at the next conclusion of peace. Mutual succours by sea and land were stipulated, and no proposal of peace to their common enemies was to be made, nor negotiation entered upon, unless by common consent. The subjects of each residing in the European dominions of the other were to enjoy the same commercial privileges as the natives. Moreover, the King of Spain stipulated the accession of his son, the King of Naples, to this alliance; but it was agreed that no prince or potentate, except of the House of Bourbon, should ever be admitted to its participation. Besides this treaty, which in its words at least applied only to future and contingent wars, and which was intended to be ultimately published, there was also signed on the same day a special and secret convention. This imported, that in case England and France should still be engaged in hostilities on the 1st of May 1762 Spain should on that day declare war against England, and that France should at the same period restore Minorca to Spain. . . . Not only the terms but the existence of a Family Compact were for some time kept scrupulously secret. Mr. Stanley, however, gleaned some information from the scattered hints of the Duke de Choiseul, and these were confirmed to Pitt from several other quarters." As the result of the Family Compact, England declared war against Spain on the 4th of January, 1762. Pitt had gone out of office in October because his colleagues and the King would not then consent to a declaration of war against the Spanish Bourbons (see ENGLAND: 1760-1763). The force of circumstances soon brought them to the measure.—Lord Mahon, *History of England*, v. 4, ch. 37.—See also SPAIN: 1761-1763.

1761-1764.—Proceedings against the Jesuits.—Expulsion from the kingdom. See JESUITS: 1761-1769.

1761-1773.—Turgot as intendant.—His administration.—Efforts to establish the *taille* and *corvée* on a more equitable basis.—"For ten thousand who are well informed about Marat or Robespierre, there is perhaps one to whom the name of Turgot suggests a clear and definite idea. Yet it would be difficult to name many men of either ancient or modern times who deserve better than Turgot to be held in loving and reverent remembrance, not merely in his own country, but in every country that professes to admire great powers steadily applied to great purposes, and intellectual eminence ennobled by benevolence of heart and purity of life. That he signally failed to accomplish much of the good at which he aimed so earnestly reflects dishonour on others rather than on him. . . . Anne Robert Jacques Turgot was the youngest of the three sons of Michael Etienne Turgot, Provost of the Merchants of Paris under Louis XV., and was born at Paris in the year 1727. . . . The youngest of three sons, Turgot . . . was destined to the Church. From the College of Louis le Grand and the College de

Plessis he advanced to the seminary of St. Sulpice, and thence, as bachelor of theology, to the Sorbonne, in order to be licensed. . . . At the Sorbonne, Turgot spent two years, devoted by no means mainly to theology. His studies were very various, and included ancient and modern languages, literature, law, geography, and mathematics. . . . Having been elected, in 1749, Prior of the Sorbonne, he was required, as a consequence of this nominal dignity, which was conferred by the doctors on the bachelor of the most distinguished family, to deliver two Latin discourses, one at the opening, the other at the close, of the theological theses. He chose as the subject of the first, 'The benefits which the establishment of Christianity has conferred upon mankind;' and for the second, 'The successive development of the human intelligence.' Of the latter it may be remarked, in passing, that it contains one memorable passage: 'Colonies are like fruits, which cling to the parent tree only till they are ripe; when the Greek colonies became sufficient for themselves, they did what Carthage did, and what one day America will do.' This was written twenty-six years before the declaration of American independence. . . . In 1753 he obtained the title of Master of Requests, having in the previous year held successively two offices preliminary to this. . . . His spare time he still devoted to science, literature, and philosophy. Mathematics, physics, chemistry, metaphysics, and history, as well as philosophy, he continued to study; and to his knowledge of Greek and of Latin he added that of Hebrew. . . . In 1761 . . . he was named Intendant of the 'generality' of Limoges. There he was to spend the next thirteen years of his life in efforts, much less successful than laborious, to improve a state of things that had gone far beyond the possibility of peaceful improvement or of gradual change. Voltaire, on hearing of his appointment, wrote to him thus: 'One of your colleagues has told me that an intendant is fit only to do mischief. I hope you will prove that he can do much good.' Assuredly, will was not wanting, or wisdom; but, as it has been well said, 'in the heart of a poor province he consumed the most valuable portion of a man's life in struggling with a prodigious expenditure of intelligence and energy against the prejudices of the very people whom he wished to aid, against the avidity of a grasping government, in the hope of slightly bettering the condition of poor peasants. We ought not, however, to regret this long sacrifice, seemingly barren as it was. His administration prepared the way for his ministry, and his ministry smoothed the way for the Revolution.' . . . On assuming office, Turgot's first, as it was his constant, endeavour was to lighten the load of taxation, and to distribute it more justly. It was inevitable that there should be large arrears of taxes that could not be paid. Limoges was a million of francs (£40,000) behindhand, and three years were needed to raise even the annual contribution. The *taille* was raised not only with exemption of the lands of nobles, but, in at least a third of the districts, on the utterly untrustworthy declarations of those taxed, and, in the other two-thirds, on a survey made twenty-two years before, hurriedly, by one surveyor, often a stranger to the country, without discussion, without appeal, without note of changes by death, or sale, or succession during all the years that followed. For five years Turgot devoted himself to the task of obtaining an accurate survey and census, or *cadastre*. In 1762, he wrote to the Controller-General:—'The work which I have

done is already vast, and almost beyond my strength. I look forward with fear, but not wholly without hope, to what of my task remains.' When offered the more lucrative post of Intendant of Lyons, he declined the promotion, in the hope that he might succeed in establishing the *taille* on a more equitable basis within the district of Limoges. Unaided by the Government, however, he could not complete the work; and the abuses continued, abated only in individual cases by the Intendant's decisions, which, of necessity, were often given without due knowledge of the facts. In the *corvée*, or compulsory work upon the roads, from which, as usual, both clergy and nobility were exempt, a beneficial change was made by the substitution of a payment in money for the actual labour, and by the extension of the tax to all the peasants of the district, instead of merely those in the parishes bordering on the roads. Still more oppressive was the *corvée* for the transport of military equipages, the peasants who lived near the high roads being forced to furnish lodging to the soldiers, and cattle to draw the wagons. Turgot himself describes some of the scenes that resulted from this exaction. 'Often,' he says, 'on the road, soldiers mount upon the vehicles already overloaded; impatient of the slowness of the oxen, they goad them with their swords, and, if the peasant remonstrates, he invariably gets the worst, and returns soundly beaten.' This, too, was replaced by a money-tax, spread over a wider area; and the whole province paid an official to take entire charge of the military transport. The raising of the militia was another grievance. Some evaded the decision of the ballot, and fled into the woods; while others, in arms, pursued them to compel them to share the common hardship. Fighting ensued. Substitutes had been forbidden by law, but in Limoges, as elsewhere, breaches of the law had been connived at, and Turgot established peace by venturing to authorise the practice of substitution. Turgot encouraged, and personally aided, the construction of roads; he built barracks in towns for the soldiers who had been before quartered on the peasants. He promoted agriculture, and became the president of a society to the prizes given by which he contributed; he encouraged the growth of the potato, and established a veterinary college. In 1770 and 1771, a terrible famine laid waste the province. 'One cannot think without a shudder,' he writes, 'of the fate which threatens the inhabitants. On what can the people live who have sold their furniture, their cattle, their clothes, for food? What help can they get from proprietors who have reaped no crop, who have no funds to buy seed, and who last year spent more than their income in support of their children and dependants? How are the proprietors themselves to live? Large tracts of country have not been sown from want of means. How can the inhabitants pay taxes? How can they avoid death by hunger?' At such a crisis it was not enough to insist on freedom of trade, which, as we have seen, did not exist even between province and province. Energetic means of various kinds were adopted. The parliament of Bordeaux empowered him to levy a contribution on all the richer persons without distinction, in aid of the sufferers; temporary employment was provided, and, by these and other devices, the worst of the affliction was avoided; but a debt of 20,000 livres had been contracted. After these two years of scarcity, the arrears of taxation rose in 1773 to four millions of francs, as was natural when the government claimed, in one or other form, more

than half, and nearly two-thirds, of the net revenue. Well might Turgot tell the Controller-General, the Abbé Terray (to whom afterwards he succeeded in his office): 'It is physically impossible to extort the current taxes and the enormous arrears without—aye, even with—ruin to the taxed.' No redress, however, no alleviation, was to be obtained; the claim for money that could not be raised could not be abandoned. If Turgot left his province worse than he found it, the reason was the same as that which made the Revolution an inevitable necessity. The grand evil in the small scale, as on the large, was, it has been truly said, 'the existence of classes iniquitously privileged, who not only threw on the plebeians, that is, the people, all the burdens of the state, but devoured the national substance by their exactions: and, further, the numerous trammels which crippled trade and industry, loaded production with useless and injurious costs, isolated the consumer, paralysed intelligence by robbing it of its rightful reward, and doomed labour to sterility. To restore to France its natural fertility, it was indispensable to clear the soil of that parasitic vegetation.'—W. B. Hodgson, *A. R. J. Turgot, his life, times, and opinions*, pp. 1, 3, 8, 11-12, 14, 20-23.

ALSO IN: R. P. Shepherd, *Turgot and the six edicts*.

1763.—End and results of the Seven Years' War.—Peace of Paris.—America lost, nothing gained. See SEVEN YEARS' WAR: Treaties which ended the war.

1764-1850.—Explorations in the Pacific. See PACIFIC OCEAN: 1764-1850.

1766.—Control of Lorraine acquired. See ALSACE-LORRAINE: 1552-1774.

1768.—Acquisition of Corsica. See CORSICA: 1720-1769.

1769.—Loss of Louisiana to Spain. See LOUISIANA: 1766-1768; 1769.

1774-1788.—Court and government of Louis XVI.—His vacillations.—Parlement of Paris.—Turgot, Necker, Calonne, Brienne.—Assembly of Notables.—'On the 10th of May, 1774, Louis XVI. ascended the throne, the cynosure of the high hopes of the Nation. . . . The minds of men had been so greatly agitated during a long period of years, and public opinion so much misled by conflicting theories, that there had come to be more diversity than unanimity of thought in regard to the changes necessary to be introduced into the political system. But the general public, at least, had in mind some definite ideas of reform. The dismissal of ministers whom they detested, the recall of the ancient Parliament, prompt reconstruction of the finances, and a speedy termination of the famine, were the first satisfactions that they demanded of the young King. Louis XVI. was, at heart, fully disposed to walk in the way of reform. But, though he was a good and honest man, he possessed a limited intelligence and an undecided will. The first Edict of his reign revealed his true sentiments. It remitted all 'accession dues,' which amounted to 24,000,000 livres, and cost the tax-payers some 40,000,000 livres. . . . Some astonishment was felt that, in spite of the assurances of reform, contained in the Royal Edict, the Maupeou Parliament was allowed to remain in office and to congratulate the King upon his accession. . . . Louis XVI. sent away some of the ministers, whose dismissal was desired—notably the Duc d'Aiguillon—but he allowed Maupeou [chancellor of France] and the Abbé Terray to remain in power. . . . The Archbishop of Paris [Christophe de Beaumont], and

other prelates, represented to the King that, if he recalled the former Parliament, Religion in France would be completely done for. Mistrusting the influence of Marie Antoinette, to whom it attributed the dismissal of the Duc d'Aiguillon, the clerical party tried to alienate from her the King's affections. . . . On the evening of the day on which he had dismissed the two hated ministers, he nominated Turgot—one of the most prominent chiefs of the Economist party—Comptroller-General. His choice was much applauded, for Turgot was well known to be a man of great honesty, if something of an innovator. In Limousin, where he had held the post of Intendant, he was adored by the inhabitants."—F. Rocquain, *Revolutionary spirit preceding the French Revolution*, pp. 120, 121, 124.—"Turgot was not entrusted with the ministry of finance till the situation had become so desperate, that only the most drastic measures could prevent a speedy collapse of the monarchical fabric. Thoroughly instructed by his memorable administration of Limousin, Turgot was fully aware of the circumstances under which he entered office. No man of his day knew better the strength of traditional institutions, and the intimate connection of the present with the past. He, at any rate, is free from the blame so often imputed to unsuccessful reformers, the reproach of hasty, ill-considered innovation. With calm instructed vision he contemplated the evils which afflicted France. Following the conclusions of the economical school which he adorned, he drew up, in conjunction with Malherbes, the only possible scheme for saving the country. The plan in its entire form comprised nearly every change, which, after years of turmoil, produced modern France. Among the projects of this reforming ministry were provincial self-government, popular education, freedom of the press, and the admission of the burgher class to all public offices; the abolition of the road *corvée*, and of guilds, and hindrances to agriculture; the equitable distribution of taxation, the liberation of trade, and the reorganization of justice, police, and finance; the commutation of feudal burdens and seigniorial rights; reduction of the royal expenditure; disuse of *lettres de cachet*; and through the minister of war, St. Germain, improvement of discipline, and the recognition of merit in the army. . . . There was in truth no reason to discredit the ability of Turgot's ministry to save the state, far on the road to destruction as that state had gone. The means employed would certainly have amounted to a revolution; but they would have been applied with judgment, and with prudent consideration for the sacrifices and derangements necessarily involved in such a process. The trite assertion that France was not to be purged by anything short of a consuming fever is nothing but the commonplace of a careless historical optimism. . . . The changes contemplated by Turgot would have rendered needless a series of spasmodic revolutions, following no fixed principle, owning no guides, and submitting to no laws of politics or morality. To execute them, however, power was required to control the influential, the ignorant, and the base. . . . The power was not available. Though Turgot won the entire approval of the king for his plans of removing hardship and abuse, and the good Louis was persuaded that only he and his minister cared for the people, the contemplated reforms were hardly commenced when it became evident that the royal authority would shrink from engaging with the furious opposition aroused in all conservative quarters. . . . Louis had no sense for the arbitrary element in personal

government. He could not comprehend that pure monarchies possess the essential disadvantage of wittingly or unwittingly nurturing anachronisms and abuses, and that to redress the social balance the discretionary power of despotism must occasionally be exercised. . . . On the decree of the first and most urgent reform, namely, the emancipation of the corn trade from absurd regulations, he displayed an entire lack of firmness to withstand the uproar which interested and prejudiced opponents excited by vulgar fallacy and suborning arts. And though he was induced to overcome the resistance of the parliament of Paris to following edicts of great moment by the recognized act of a *lit de justice*, his reluctance to support his ministers in their policy became so embarrassing that it was evident that they soon would have no alternative but resignation. Moreover, Louis became as suspicious of his servants as they of him. While anxious to adopt their suggestions for the purification of the state, he shrank from their schemes for reconstructing it. Turgot, staunch monarchist though he was, hesitated not to lay before him demands for fundamental changes in the French constitution. That Louis was wrong in supposing that France might be saved by mere amendments is certain; that Turgot, perhaps impatient to sound at once the full depth of the king's confidence, submitted too abruptly a revolutionary project, seems equally clear. Possibly further intercourse with one another might have brought king and minister into accord if at this juncture the enmity of the court to the ministry had not culminated in a personal intrigue against Turgot and Vergennes."—A. Weir, *Introduction to the history of modern Europe*, pp. 51-53.—"The men, with whose interests or prejudices these changes clashed, soon roused themselves. The financiers, the hangers-on of the Court, all those whose existences depended upon the old abuses, arrayed themselves against Turgot; and the clergy, on their side, neglected their former foes to attack the minister. The Parliament, itself, took part against him. The long exile that the magistrates had endured had damped their patriotism and enfeebled their views. Re-established under conditions that deprived them of their old ascendancy, they had experienced a profound feeling of bitterness, and seemed to have but one care, that of preserving their own privileges. . . . The entire Parliament was stirred up against Turgot; his person, ideas, and administration, were all turned into ridicule. . . . Excited by the idea that all feudal dues were to be abolished, the peasants, in different localities, rebelled against their lords. In view of these troubles the Parliament issued a Decree, by which it enjoined 'all subjects of the King, copyholders and vassals of lords to continue, as in the past, to pay—whether to the King or to the said lords—all dues and obligations according to the statutes of the kingdom.' Besides this, the Decree expressly forbade anyone 'to promote, whether by unguarded remarks or by indiscreet writings, any alteration of the said dues and usages, under penalty of the offenders being proceeded against as rebels to the laws, and disturbers of the public peace, and punished with an exemplary punishment.' This Decree, posted throughout Paris, was looked upon as a sort of embargo put upon the projects of the Ministry. . . . All this time clouds were gathering against Turgot at Court. The Queen, whose conduct already exhibited marks of that frivolity, of which she subsequently gave such lamentable proofs, was most impatient with the Comptroller-General's plans of economy."—F. Rocquain, *Revolutionary*

spirit preceding the French Revolution, pp. 133, 130.—"The king came to the conclusion that the ministerial policy was dangerous, and that the discontent it aroused was unendurable. Reproached by queen and court for parsimony towards their favorites; summoned by clergy, nobility, and lawyers to prevent the disturbance of feudal institutions, Louis XVI. made up his mind to discard all heroic measures. Turgot, Malesherbes, and St. Germain were dismissed from his service, and France resumed the road to blind revolution."—A. Weir, *Introduction to the history of modern Europe*, p. 54.—"His successor, Necker, a skilful banker rather than a far-seeing statesman, did his best to promote economy, establish the credit of the State, and postpone burning social questions. He warned Louis that bankruptcy would follow an open alliance with the American colonists against England. Yet such was his financial skill and personal credit with bankers that he was able to raise loans and tide over the financial strain of that war; but success in borrowing enhances financial difficulties in the future. Moreover, Lafayette and the French soldiers returned from the United States inflamed with a love of liberty and self-government. 'The American revolution (wrote Young) has laid the foundation of another in France, if Government does not take care of itself.' Yet at the time when the proposed American Constitution was the general topic of conversation in the *salons* of Paris, Louis was weak enough to decree that only those whose families had been noble for four generations could attain high offices in the French army. Necker was brought by the financial needs of the State to demand that the privileged classes should be taxed. Feeling his fall to be near, he published (Jan. 1781) his 'Account of the finances,' laying bare for the first time the expenses of the Court, which were nearly one-third of the cost of maintaining the whole army. Bankruptcy was soon brought nearer by the spendthrift policy of the frivolous Calonne—'Whoever wishes for credit must cultivate luxury'; and when in his much ridiculed Assembly of Notables he ventured to suggest the equalisation of taxation as the inevitable cure, he was dismissed (1787). His successor, Loménie de Brienne, the Archbishop of Toulouse, sought to carry out the aims of the Encyclopædists [see below 1789: Survey of France on the eve of revolution: Literary forerunners] by the methods of Richelieu, to establish liberty and equality by royal decree. He extended to all the provinces the plan, conceived by Turgot, and commenced by Necker in Berri and Guienne, of provincial and parochial assemblies. He also permitted the redemption of the *corvée* by a money payment [see below 1789], abolished the provincial customs dues, and sought to impose a general land tax and a stamp tax. These last were resisted by the Paris Parliament, which declared itself incapable of registering a perpetual tax; but the king overbore their opposition by a *lit de justice* and for a time exiled them from Paris. Finally, Brienne in May 1788 suppressed nearly all the powers of the Parlements, and tried to substitute a Plenary Court, composed of dignitaries nominated for life by the king, as the sole authority for registering laws for all France. This *coup d'état* enraged all classes and interests—the privileged orders, who saw themselves thenceforth taxable at the will of the sovereign; the provincial patriots, menaced with a complete subjection to the capital; and the democrats, who longed for a complete representation of the nation. All rallied round the Parlements as the chief barriers against a central despotism: Mirabeau ex-

pressed the ideas of all friends of freedom when he wrote, 'I will never make war on the Parlements save in presence of the nation.' The people of Rennes and Grenoble rose in defence of their Parlements. Louis bowed before the storm, dismissed the Minister who had raised it, recalled Necker, and finally convoked for 1789 the States General of France, representing the three orders—Nobles, Clergy, and Commons.—J. H. Rose, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic era, 1789-1815*, pp. 33-35.—Lafayette demanded, and he alone signed the demand, that the king convoked the States-General.—"There is no doubt that the French administrative body, at the time when Louis XVI began to reign, was corrupt and self-seeking. In the management of the finances and of the army, illegitimate profits were made. But this was not the worst evil from which the public service was suffering. France was in fact governed by what in modern times is called 'a ring.' The members of such an organization pretend to serve the sovereign, or the public, and in some measure actually do so; but their rewards are determined by intrigue and favor, and are entirely disproportionate to their services. They generally prefer jobbery to direct stealing, and will spend a million of the state's money in a needless undertaking, in order to divert a few thousands into their own pockets. They hold together against all the world, while trying to circumvent each other. Such a ring in old France was the court. By such a ring will every country be governed, where the sovereign who possesses the political power is weak in moral character or careless of the public interest; whether that sovereign be a monarch, a chamber, or the mass of the people. Louis XVI, king of France and of Navarre, was more dull than stupid, and weaker in will than in intellect. . . . He was . . . thoroughly conscientious, and had a high sense of the responsibility of his great calling. He was not indolent, although heavy, and his courage, which was sorely tested, was never broken. With these virtues he might have made a good king, had he possessed firmness of will enough to support a good minister, or to adhere to a good policy. But such strength had not been given him. Totally incapable of standing by himself, he leant successively, or simultaneously, on his aunt, his wife, his ministers, his courtiers, as ready to change his policy as his adviser. Yet it was part of his weakness to be unwilling to believe himself under the guidance of any particular person; he set a high value on his own authority, and was inordinately jealous of it. No one, therefore, could acquire a permanent influence. Thus a well-meaning man became the worst of sovereigns. . . . Louis XV. had been led by his mistresses; Louis XVI. was turned about by the last person who happened to speak to him. The courtiers, in their turn, were swayed by their feelings, or their interests. They formed parties and combinations, and intrigued for or against each other. They made bargains, they gave and took bribes. In all these intrigues, bribes, and bargains, the court ladies had a great share. They were as corrupt as the men, and as frivolous. It is probable that in no government did women ever exercise so great an influence. The factions into which the court was divided tended to group themselves round certain rich and influential families. Such were the Noailles, an ambitious and powerful house, with which Lafayette was connected by marriage; the Broglies, one of whom had held the thread of the secret diplomacy which Louis XV. had carried on behind the backs of his acknowledged ministers; the Polignacs, new people,

creatures of Queen Marie Antoinette; the Rohans, through the influence of whose great name an unworthy member of the family was to rise to high dignity in the church and the state, and then to cast a deep shadow on the darkening popularity of that ill-starred princess. Such families as these formed an upper class among nobles. . . . It is not easy, in looking at the French government in the eighteenth century, to decide where the working administration ended, and where the useless court that answered no real purpose began. . . . There was the department of hunting and that of buildings, a separate one for royal journeys, one for the guard, another for police, yet another for ceremonies. There were five hundred officers 'of the mouth,' table-bearers distinct from chair-bearers. There were tradesmen, from apothecaries and armorers at one end of the list to saddle-makers, tailors and violinists at the other. . . . The military and civil households of the king and of the royal family are said to have consisted of about fifteen thousand souls, and to have cost forty-five million francs per annum. The holders of many of the places served but three months apiece out of every year, so that four officers and four salaries were required, instead of one. With such a system as this we cannot wonder that the men who administered the French government were generally incapable and self-seeking. Most of them were politicians rather than administrators, and cared more for their places than for their country. Of the few conscientious and patriotic men who obtained power, the greater number lost it very speedily."—E. J. Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*, ch. 2.

ALSO IN: A. Aulard, *French Revolution*.—L. Barthou, *Mirabeau*.—H. Belloc, *Last days of the French monarchy*.—Condorcet, *Life of Turgot*.—A. Fournier, *Napoleon the First*.—E. Lavisse, *Histoire de France*.—C. H. C. Jackson, *French court and society, reign of Louis XVI*.—H. Martin, *Decline of the French monarchy*.—J. Necker, *On the French Revolution*.—F. Rocquain, *Revolutionary spirit*.—L. Say, *Turgot*.—Mme. de Stael, *Considerations on the principal events of the French Revolution*.—C. Stryenski, *Eighteenth century in France*.

1775-1776.—Relations with England.—"The attitude of France toward Great Britain in the years 1775 and 1776 was one of extremely delicate adjustment. She was under the jealous and watchful eye of Lord Stormont, the British Ambassador, whom not the slightest movement escaped; who was ready at any moment to charge her Government with bad faith, or to call the ministry to account for breach of international contracts. There was a decided sympathy on the part of the French Cabinet toward the American Colonists, through which aid had already begun to go out secretly to them from France; though the appearance of neutrality was carefully maintained, and peace continued with Great Britain. But it did not suit the plans of the Comte de Vergennes, the Secretary of State in France, to have a young French nobleman like the Marquis de La Fayette make a demonstration before the world in favor of the people whom the English nation at that time called *insurgents*, and the English Government *rebels*. . . . La Fayette discovered this very quickly, and it greatly retarded his progress, though it did not defeat the ultimate fulfilment of his purpose."—C. Tower, *Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution*, p. 20.

ALSO IN: M. Crow, *Lafayette*.—J. M. Hollowell, *Spirit of Lafayette*.—A. B. Hart, *Lafayette*.—G. Morgan, *The true Lafayette*.—*Lafayette mem-*

ois.—O. Roberts, *With Lafayette in America*.—A. J. Walker, *Lafayette*.

1776-1778.—Attitude towards Americans.—American embassy to the French court.—Silas Deane and Beaumarchais. See U. S. A.: 1776-1778.

1777.—First daily newspaper. See PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1777.

1778.—French fleet and army and their undertakings. See U. S. A.: 1778 (July-November); 1779 (September-October).

1778 (February).—Treaty with the United States. See U. S. A.: 1776-1778; 1778 (February); 1778-1779; "MOST FAVORED NATION" CLAUSE.

1779-1783.—Allied with Spain in war against England. See SPAIN: 1779-1783.

1780-1781.—French aid to the United States. See U. S. A.: 1780 (July); 1781 (January-May); (May-October).

1780-1783.—War against England in Hindustan. See INDIA: 1780-1783; ENGLAND: 1780-1782.

1781.—War with Holland. See NETHERLANDS: 1747-1795.

1782.—Disastrous naval defeat by English.—Unsuccessful siege of Gibraltar. See ENGLAND: 1780-1782; SPAIN: 1779-1783.

1782.—Negotiation of peace between Great Britain and the United States.—Dissatisfaction of the French minister. See U. S. A.: 1782 (September); (September-November).

1782-1853.—Development of armored warships. See WARSHIPS: 1782-1860.

1786.—Commercial treaty with England. See TARIFF: 1784-1786.

1787-1789.—Struggle of the Crown with the Parlement of Paris.—Demand yielded to for a meeting of the States-General.—Double representation of the third estate conceded.—Elections.—Cahiers.—Banished to Troyes (August, 1787), in consequence of its refusal to register two edicts relating to the stamp-duty and the land-tax, the Parlement of Paris "grew weary of exile, and the minister recalled it on condition that the two edicts should be passed. But this was only a suspension of hostilities; the necessities of the crown soon rendered the struggle more obstinate and violent. The minister had to make fresh applications for money; his existence depended on the issue of several successive loans to the amount of 440,000,000. It was necessary to obtain the enrolment of them. Brienne, expecting opposition from the parliament, procured the enrolment of this edict, by a 'bed of justice,' and to conciliate the magistracy and public opinion, the protestants were restored to their rights in the same sitting, and Louis XVI. promised an annual publication of the state of finances, and the convocation of the states-general before the end of five years. But these concessions were no longer sufficient: parliament refused the enrolment, and rose against the ministerial tyranny. Some of its members, among others the duke of Orleans, were banished. Parliament protested by a decree against 'lettres de cachet,' [sealed orders issued by the king for the arrest and arbitrary imprisonment of a person for an indefinite period without trial or explanation] and required the recall of its members. This decree was annulled by the king, and confirmed by parliament. The warfare increased. The magistracy of Paris was supported by all the magistracy of France, and encouraged by public opinion. It proclaimed the rights of the nation, and its own incompetence in matters of taxation; and, become liberal from interest, and rendered generous by oppression, it exclaimed against arbitrary imprisonment, and demanded regularly convoked states-general. After

this act of courage, it decreed the irremovability of its members, and the incompetence of any who might usurp their functions. This bold manifesto was followed by the arrest of two members, d'Epréménil and Goisard, by the reform of the body, and the establishment of a plenary court. Brienne understood that the opposition of the parliament was systematic, that it would be renewed on every fresh demand for subsidies, or on the authorization of every loan. Exile was but a momentary remedy, which suspended opposition, without destroying it. He then projected the reduction of this body to judicial functions. . . . All the magistracy of France was exiled on the same day, in order that the new judicial organization might take place. The keeper of the seals deprived the Parlement of Paris of its political attributes, to invest with them a plenary court, ministerially composed, and reduced its judicial competence in favour of bailiwicks, the jurisdiction of which he extended. Public opinion was indignant; the Châtelet protested, the provinces rose, and the plenary court could neither be formed nor act. Disturbances broke out in Dauphiné, Brittany, Provence, Flanders, Languedoc, and Béarn; the ministry, instead of the regular opposition of parliament, had to encounter one much more animated and factious. The nobility, the third estate, the provincial states, and even the clergy, took part in it. Brienne, pressed for money, had called together an extraordinary assembly of the clergy, who immediately made an address to the king, demanding the abolition of his plenary court, and the recall of the states-general: they alone could thenceforth repair the disordered state of the finances, secure the national debt, and terminate these disputes for power. . . . Obtaining neither taxes nor loans, unable to make use of the plenary court, and not wishing to recall the parliaments, Brienne, as a last resource, promised the convocation of the states-general. By this means he hastened his ruin. . . . He succumbed on the 25th August, 1788. The cause of his fall was a suspension of the payment of the interest on the debt, which was the commencement of bankruptcy. This minister has been the most blamed because he came last. Inheriting the faults, the embarrassments of past times, he had to struggle with the difficulties of his position with inefficient means. He tried intrigue and oppression; he banished, suspended, disorganized parliament; everything was an obstacle to him, nothing aided him. . . . The states-general had become the only means of government, and the last resource of the throne. They had been eagerly demanded by parliament and the peers of the kingdom, on the 13th of July, 1787; by the states of Dauphiné, in the assembly of Vizille; by the clergy in its assembly at Paris. The provincial states had prepared the public mind for them; and the notables were their precursors. The king after having, on the 18th of December, 1787, promised their convocation in five years, on the 8th of August, 1788, fixed the opening for the 1st of May, 1789. Necker was recalled, parliament re-established, the plenary court abolished, the bailiwicks destroyed, and the provinces satisfied; and the new minister prepared everything for the election of deputies and the holding of the states. At this epoch a great change took place in the opposition, which till then had been unanimous. Under Brienne, the ministry had encountered opposition from all the various bodies of the state, because it had sought to oppress them. Under Necker, it met with resistance from the same bodies, which desired power for themselves and oppression for the people. From being despotic, it had become national, and it still had them all equally against

it. Parliament had maintained a struggle for authority, and not for the public welfare; and the nobility had united with the third estate, rather against the government than in favour of the people. Each of these bodies had demanded the states-general: the parliament, in the hope of ruling them as it had done in 1614; and the nobility, in the hope of regaining its lost influence. Accordingly, the magistracy proposed as a model for the states-general of 1789, the form of that of 1614, and public opinion abandoned it; the nobility refused its consent to the double representation of the third estate, and a division broke out between these two orders. This double representation was required by the intellect of the age, the necessity of reform, and by the importance which the third estate had acquired. It had already been admitted into the provincial assemblies. . . . Opinion became daily more decided, and Necker wishing, yet fearing, to satisfy it, and desirous of conciliating all orders, of obtaining general approbation, convoked a second assembly of notables on the 6th of November, 1788, to deliberate on the composition of the states-general, and the election of its members. . . . Necker, having been unable to make the notables adopt the [double] representation of the third estate, caused it to be adopted by the council. The royal declaration of the 27th of November decreed, that the deputies in the states-general should amount to at least a thousand, and that the deputies of the third estate should be equal in number to the deputies of the nobility and clergy together. Necker moreover obtained the admission of the curés into the order of the clergy, and of protestants into that of the third estate."—F. A. Mignet, *History of the French Revolution, introduction*.—"The order provided also that the unity of election should be the *bailliage*, or county, and that each *bailliage* should elect a number of deputies to the States General proportionate to its population. A system of election was devised more complicated than that by which American citizens elect their President. When one recalls that this was laid upon a nation ignorant of the most rudimentary process of representative government, that in addition to the regular deputies alternates had also to be chosen, and that at each stage of the electoral body, the wonder is that the elections could have been conducted at all. As it was, all the provinces were by no means content to adopt the prescribed plan, and in some cases, notably that of Brittany, were so vehement in their opposition that special decrees had to be issued in their behalf. It is indeed hard to see how the electoral process could have been carried through had it not been for the invaluable advice given all parts of France by the Assembly of Dauphiné, of which Jean Joseph Mounier was president."—S. Mathews, *French Revolution*, pp. 115-116.—"At the Parish Assemblies the Third Estate is admitted almost without exception, under a slight property restriction, to fulfil the condition of being 'included in the roll of taxpayers.' This is very nearly universal suffrage. Had royalty established this suffrage, so contrary to the ideas of the century, for the very reasons that induced the philosophers and the writers in favour of reform to reject it? Did the King hope, in the poor and ignorant masses, to find an element of resistance against the new and revolutionary ideas of the middle classes? . . . If such a calculation did really exist, it was disproved by the event. To be sure, the *cahiers* [lists of grievances drawn up by the nation at the suggestion of the king to serve as instructions for the delegates to the Estates-General] are more timid than the books and pamphlets of the time; but as

a general thing they demand a Constitution, and a Constitution is the end of absolutism—it is, to some extent, the Revolution. . . . We must note how the misunderstanding between the *bourgeoisie* and the people was dissipated or diminished on the occasion of convocation and the drawing up of the *cahiers*. Collaboration took place between the *bourgeoisie* and the people in the drafting of the *cahiers* of the first degree, or the parish *cahiers*; and in general we must not, in the case of rural communities, regard these *cahiers* as the personal work of peasants. It was usually a man of the middle classes who held the pen, and in most localities, even in the most rustic, there were a few educated men. The majority of the parish *cahiers* that we possess testify to a considerable amount of culture—a culture higher than that of the provincial middle classes of to-day. If the *cahier* is not dictated by peasants, it is at least read to and approved by them. There is an assembly at which peasants and middle classes mingle together, chat with one another, and publicly discuss and debate. It is the first time such a colloquy has taken place; the occasion is a fraternal one and the classes are quickly in agreement. The middle-class man sees that the peasant is more intelligent or less imbecile than he supposed; that—by what obscure channels who knows?—the spirit of the times has touched him. The peasants, once they have met together, soon rise to the idea of a common interest; they have the sense that they are many and powerful, and they obtain, from the middle classes, a perception of their rights. For them this Parish Assembly is a civic apprenticeship. We must not picture the whole peasantry rising at once to the revolutionary idea of the mother-country. . . . To them, it appears in deadly earnest that the King is going to concern himself with the cure of the ills which afflict them; it is in earnest that they recount these ills, or, rather, accept the account of them that the gentlemen of the village write for them. . . . We have here no longer the vile populace, slighted and feared by Mably, Rousseau, and Condorcet. But it is not as yet the sovereign people. . . . It is true that men will still declaim against the populace, and the middle class will even establish itself as a caste politically privileged. But enlightened Frenchmen will no longer, after this royal experiment in universal suffrage, be unanimous in declaring the unlettered to be incapable of exercising political rights. A democratic party is about to declare itself, and will soon be fully formed. The method of convening the Third Estate at the Estates-General allows us almost to foretell the advent of universal suffrage, and, as a consequence, the establishment of the Republic, the national form of Democracy."—A. Aulard, *French Revolution*, v. 1, pp. 128-132.

1787-1891.—Beginning of French influence in Indo-China. See INDO-CHINA: 1787-1891.

1788.—Break-up of old Breton states because of insurrection. See BRITANNY: 1788.

1789.—Survey of France on the eve of revolution: Literary forerunners.—Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Diderot, D'Alembert, Marquis d'Argenson, and others.—"One day some one cited in presence of Louis XV. the example of Frederick the Great, who admitted the philosophers in vogue and famous men of letters to his intimate acquaintance. 'That is not the way in France,' said the King, 'and as there are a few more wits and great noblemen here than there are in Prussia, I should want a very big table to gather them all around it.' And then he counted on his fingers: 'Maupertuis, Fontenelle, La Motte, Voltaire, Piron, Destouches, Montesquieu, Cardinal de

Polignac.' His attention was called to the fact that he had forgotten D'Alembert and Clairant.—'And Crébillon,' said he, 'and La Chaussée!'—'And Crébillon the younger,' cried some one; 'he ought to be more amiable than his father; and then there are the Abbé Prevost, the Abbé d'Olivet.'—'Very well,' replied Louis XV., 'for twenty-five years all of that crowd would have dined or supped with me.'—J. de Saint-Amand, *Court of Louis XV.*, p. 214.—'There is no given set of practical maxims agreed to by all members of the revolutionary schools for achieving the work of release from the pressure of an antiquated social condition, any more than there is one set of doctrines and one kind of discipline accepted by all Protestants. Voltaire was a revolutionist in one sense, Diderot in another, and Rousseau in a third, just as in the practical order, Lafayette, Danton, Robespierre, represented three different aspirations and as many methods. Rousseau was the most directly revolutionary of all the speculative precursors, and he was the first to apply his mind boldly to those of the social conditions which the revolution is concerned by one solution or another to modify. How far his direct influence was disastrous in consequence of a mischievous method, we shall have to examine. It was so various that no single answer can comprehend an exhaustive judgment. His writings produced that glow of enthusiastic feeling in France, which led to the all-important assistance rendered by that country to the American colonists in a struggle so momentous for mankind. . . . It was his work more than that of any other one man, that France arose from the deadly decay which had laid hold of her whole social and political system, and found that irresistible energy which warded off dissolution within and partition from without. We shall see, further, that besides being the first immediately revolutionary thinker in politics, he was the most stirring of reactionists in religion. His influence formed not only Robespierre and Paine, but Chateaubriand, not only Jacobinism, but the Catholicism of the Restoration. Thus he did more than any one else at once to give direction to the first episodes of revolution, and force to the first episode of reaction.'—J. Morley, *Rousseau*, pp. 2-3.—'In his *Contrat Social* Rousseau postulated the essential equality of the governor and the governed. But his sentimental attitude towards man involved a corresponding one towards the Deity; unable to accept Catholicism or even Christianity, he sought refuge from atheism in the arms of the *Être Suprême*. It was this Supreme Being of Rousseau that was to become the official deity of France during the last days of the Reign of Terror.'—R. M. Johnston, *French Revolution*, p. 20.—'The glories of the age of Louis XIV were the climax of a set of ideas that instantly afterwards lost alike their grace, their usefulness, and firmness of their hold on the intelligence of men. A dignified and venerable hierarchy, an august and powerful monarch, a court of gay and luxurious nobles, all lost their grace, because the eyes of men were suddenly caught and appalled by the awful phantom, . . . of a perishing nation. . . . The material misery caused by the wars of the great Louis deepened the dark side, and the lustre of genius consecrated to the glorification of traditional authority . . . heightened the brightness of the brightness of the bright side, until the contrast was suddenly seen by a few startled eyes, and the new and deepest problem, destined to strain our civilization . . . came slowly into pale outline. There is no reason to think that Voltaire ever saw this gaunt and tremendous spectacle. Rousseau was its first voice. . . . Voltaire's task was different and

preparatory. It was to make popular the genius and authority of reason. The foundations of the social fabric were in such a condition that the touch of reason was fatal to the whole structure, which instantly began to crumble. Authority and use oppose a steadfast and invincible resistance to reason, so long as the institutions which they protect are of fair practical service to a society. But after the death of Louis XIV, not only the grace and pomp, but also the social utility of spiritual and political absolutism passed obviously away. Spiritual absolutism was unable to maintain even a decent semblance of unity and theological order. Political absolutism by its material costliness, its argumenting tendency to repress the application of individual energy and thought to public concerns, and its pursuit of a policy in Europe which was futile and essentially meaningless as to its ends, and disastrous and incapable in its choice of means, was rapidly exhausting the resources of national well-being and viciously severing the tap-root of national life. To bring reason into an atmosphere so charged, was, as the old figure goes, to admit air to the chamber of the mummy. And reason was exactly what Voltaire [the critic, historian, and philosopher] brought. . . . Voltaire's universal talents made one of the most powerful instruments for conveying bold and inquisitive notions among many sorts and conditions of men, including both the multitude of common readers and playgoers in the towns, and the narrower multitudes of nobles and sovereigns. More than this, the brilliance and variety of his gifts attracted, stimulated, and directed the majority of the men of letters of his time. . . . The effect of all this was to turn a vast number of personages who were officially inimical to free-criticism, to be at heart abettors and fellow-conspirators in the great plot. . . . There are times when the inhumanity of a system stands out so red and foul, when the burden of its iniquity weighs so heavy, and the contagion of its hypocrisy is so laden with mortal plague, that no awe of dilettante condemnation nor minute scruple . . . can stay the hand of the man whose direct sight and moral energy have pierced the veil of use, and revealed the shrine of the infamous thing. . . . Voltaire had no calm breadth of vision. . . . There are moments which need not this calm breadth of wisdom, but a two-edged sword, and when the deliverers of mankind are they who 'come to send fire on earth.'—J. Morley, *Voltaire*, pp. 21, 24-28, 30, 41-42.—'A new Rabelais with an 18th century lisp, Montesquieu, by seasoning his *Lettres Persanes* with a sauce piquante compounded of indecency and style, succeeded in making the public swallow some incendiary morsels. The King of France, he declared, drew his power from the vanity of his subjects, while the Pope was 'an old idol to whom incense is offered from sheer habit'; nothing stronger has been said to this day. A few years later, in his *Esprit des Loix*, he produced a work of European reputation which eventually proved one of the main channels for the conveyance of English constitutional ideas to the thinking classes of France.'—R. M. Johnston, *French Revolution*, p. 16.—'The English superiority, proclaimed first by Voltaire, was further demonstrated by Montesquieu. For England had recently created a government which was stronger than the institutions that had stood on antiquity. Founded upon fraud and treason, it had yet established the security of law more firmly than it had ever existed under the system of legitimacy, of prolonged inheritance, and of religious sanction. It flourished on the unaccustomed belief that theological dissensions need not detract from the power of the State, while political dissen-

sions are the very secret of its prosperity. The men of questionable character who accomplished the change and had governed for the better part of sixty years, had successfully maintained public order, in spite of conspiracy and rebellion; they had built up an enormous system of national credit, and had been victorious in continental war. The Jacobite doctrine, which was the basis of European monarchy, had been backed by the arms of France, and had failed to shake the newly planted throne. A great experiment had been crowned by a great discovery. A novelty that defied the wisdom of centuries had made good its footing, and revolution had become a principle of stability more sure than tradition. Montesquieu undertook to make the disturbing fact avail in political science. He valued it because it reconciled him with monarchy. He had started with the belief that kings are an evil, and that their time was running short. His visit to Walpolean England taught him a plan by which they might be reprimed. He still confessed that a republic is the reign of virtue; and by virtue he meant love of equality and renunciation of self. But he had seen a monarchy that thrived by corruption. He said that the distinctive principle of monarchy is not virtue but honour, which he once described as a contrivance to enable men of the world to commit almost every offence with impunity. The praise of England was made less injurious to French patriotism by the famous theory that explains institutions and character by the barometer and the latitude. Montesquieu looked about him, and abroad, but not far ahead. . . . The motto of his work, *Prolem sine matre creatam*, was intended to signify that the one thing wanting was liberty; and he had views on taxation, equality, and the division of powers that gave him a momentary influence in 1780. His warning that a legislature may be more dangerous than the executive remained unheard."—J. E. E. Dalberg-Acton, *Lectures on the French Revolution*, pp. 6-8.

"If prudence kept Voltaire from scattering broadcast the new theories, because, as he once said, he did not wish to be murdered by his own valet, no such scruples or fears held back the two most outspoken champions of the intellectual revolution, Diderot [who launched the prospectus of the fourth volume of the *Encyclopédie*, a veritable arsenal of impiety] and d'Alembert [chief of the encyclopedists]. Morality is only relative to the senses of the individual: 'Pain and pleasure are the only springs of the moral universe.' 'Would you see man free and happy, do not meddle with his affairs.' 'Man is wicked, not because he is wicked, but because he has been made so.' Such are some of their assertions, implying that the individual is the supreme judge of his own conduct—a teaching which naturally led to moral, social, and political anarchy. All the old institutions and beliefs were vehemently assailed; and Diderot's destructive aims find their most ferocious expression in the wish that the last king might be strangled with the entrails of the last priest. These two men, aided by many other 'philosophers,' compiled the famous *Encyclopédie* (1766), a complete circle of education framed on the basis of the new scientific and philosophic research. It was designed to combat or tacitly exclude the older system of thought resting on authority or tradition. [This great reference work penetrated into every intellectual circle and brought with it the doctrines of materialism and atheism.] The Encyclopedists, as they were called, systematized the intellectual revolution,—the effort to emancipate and perfect mankind by means of human reason and knowledge.—J. H. Rose, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic era*, p. 25.—"Voltaire,

Diderot, d'Alembert, were at heart essentially aristocrats; for them the common man was an untrustworthy brute of low instincts, and their revolution would have meant the displacement of an aristocracy of the sword by an aristocracy of the intellect. Rousseau stood for the opposite view. To him it was only despotism that degraded man. Remove the evil conditions and the common man would quickly display his inherent goodness and amiability; tenderness to our fellows, or fraternity, was therefore the distinctive trait of manhood"—R. M. Johnston, *French Revolution*, p. 19.—"The editors of the Encyclopædia had not neglected economic questions, and had given much employment to a number of writers who ranked as Economists or as Physiocrats. Among the men most interested in such questions were Quesnay, the physician of Madame de Pompadour; Turgot, the ablest minister of Louis XVI, and the Marquis de Mirabeau, father of a more famous son. They concerned themselves, among other things, with theories of agriculture largely based on the condi-



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tions of their country. With her large population France could with difficulty produce sufficient food for her people. The wheat which she did produce was brought to market under extremely bad conditions of distribution and of payment. The century witnessed what appeared to be an endless succession of short crops and consequent famine. Viewing these conditions as a whole, the economic thinkers concluded that the foundations of the State must repose on agriculture, and they quickly voiced a demand that there should be encouragement for the production of wheat and free circulation."—*Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.—"[The] prophecies of the coming Revolution are incessantly renewed in the writings of one of the ministers of Louis XV., the Marquis d'Argenson. It is he who writes in January, 1750: 'Republicanism is every day gaining on philosophic minds. People take an aversion to monarchism through demonstration. In fact, it is only slaves and eunuchs who aid monarchism by their false wisdom.' And on December 20 of the same year: 'See how many philosophic writers there are at present. The wind from England blows over this stuff. It is combustible. Look at the style in which Parliament remonstrances are written. These

procureurs general of Parliaments, these State syndics, would at need become great men. All the nation would take fire; the nobility would gain the clergy, and then the third estate. And if necessity should arise for assembling the States-General of the realm to regulate the demands for money, these States would not assemble in vain. One should be careful; all this is very serious.' It must be owned that D'Argenson is a true prophet. Every day he accentuates his sinister predictions. September 11, 1751, he writes: 'We have not, like the Romans, any Visigoths or Saracens who might invade us; but the Government may experience a revolution. Consider that it is no longer either esteemed or respected, and, which is worse, that it is doing all that is needed to ruin itself. The clergy, the army, the Parliaments, the people high and low, are all murmuring, all detaching themselves from the Government, and rightly. Things are going from bad to worse.' He returns to the charge September 9, 1752: 'The bad effects of our government by absolute monarchy are resulting in persuading France and all Europe that it is the worst of governments. . . . A mild but inactive prince allows the abuses to grow which were commenced by pride of Louis XIV.; no reform when it is necessary, no amelioration, appointments blindly made, prejudices without inquiry; everything shows an increasing tendency toward national ruin. Everything is falling into tatters, and private passions are working underhand to ruin and destroy us.' Is it not a curious thing to hear, forty years beforehand, the first mutterings of the formidable tempest which was to engulf everything,—nobility, clergy, Parliaments, monarchy? We are in the year 1750."—I. de Saint-Amand, *Court of Louis XV*, pp. 218-219.—"It was hope which made the Revolution, beckoning on those disciples of the new gospel, St. Just and Robespierre, far into the Reign of Terror. It was despair which finally laid France at the feet of Bonaparte."—J. H. Rose, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic era*, p. 26.—See also EUROPE: Modern: Revolutionary period; French Revolution; FRENCH LITERATURE: 1700-1794; 1700-1800; 1700-1814; 1750-1785.

1789.—Survey of France on the eve of revolution: Résumé of causes.—"The movement which took the form of revolution in France was the movement, common to all Europe, of the transformation of feudal institutions into those of the modern State: at the end of the eighteenth century it had proceeded far in England; it had been started in Austria; but in France no step had been made: yet in no other country was there greater need of change, and, what is more important, in no other country was the need so keenly felt: a public opinion had been created which was at once acutely critical of the actual and absurdly credulous of the ideal; which perceived with inexorable lucidity not only that grievances existed, both material and sentimental, but that these grievances depended directly on the political and social organisation; and which yet, having access to no machinery by which it could make itself felt as reform, was compelled, by defect of experience and power, to distort its vision and waste its force over imaginary constructions in the air: it is the conjunction of these two conditions—grievances dependent on political organisation, and opinion indignant but powerless for action—that explains at once the fact and the character of the Revolution of 1789."—G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France*, pp. 4-5.—"To trace the causes of the French Revolution necessitates a study of the history of France from the beginning of the feudal system as well as a

careful study of the qualities, the characteristics, the laws, the moral, social, political, physical, and racial features of the French. After the fall of the Roman Empire the Gauls, who had been in possession of France, were conquered by the Franks under Clovis, and the latter laid the foundations of the French monarchy and established the most severe and rigorous system of feudalism known throughout Europe. The Franks exacted from the conquered people all the dues of feudal superiors, and built up a system of separate states that took centuries to weld into one realm. . . . A combination of a few powerful barons would often interfere with the purposes of an ambitious king and in many ways curtail his power and influence. Allegiance to the crown sat lightly upon these haughty lords, who were absolute in their own manors or domains and brooked no insolence from any superior, in fact, often defying in open rebellion even the king himself. . . . The civil wars of the Fronde helped to break the independence of the barons and, at last, under the vigorous administration of Richelieu, the crown was made absolute. 'In a word,' says Mignet, 'power had become more and more concentrated, and as it had passed from the many to the few, it came at last, from the few to be invested in one alone.' No longer did the king have to depend upon the feudal lords for his army, for now he had means to support his own and was able to wage war against a foreign enemy or compel obedience from a rebellious vassal. The church was another enemy to the absolutism of the crown, it was an 'imperium in imperio,' and its first allegiance was due to Rome. Its power was not confined within the limits of any state, it was world wide. It was ever jealous of its rights, and always ready to resent any attempt made by the state to encroach upon its jurisdiction. It had built up a system that was based upon divine creation and authority. Its wealth, its vast possessions and privileges, its influence over the minds and consciences of men gave it an immense power in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. It had no standing army, but it had, instead, that terrible weapon of excommunication that made the most defiant monarch tremble and do penance. When it fulminated its decree from Rome, the king who defied its authority became an outcast, a social pariah; he was shorn of his power and his people absolved from their allegiance. . . . A struggle for supremacy with so mighty a power as this required all the intelligence, courage, and force the state could bring to bear. The contest in France continued uninterruptedly for centuries; it was long and bitter and was waged with all the arts and methods of intrigue and subtle diplomacy known to crafty churchmen and resourceful politicians, but gradually the state gained the ascendancy, and the pope in the reign of Francis I. granted to the crown the power of nomination to ecclesiastical dignities. . . . The encroachment, however, upon the power of the church was gradual but sure; her wealth was not diminished, nor were her estates confiscated, nor her privileges and exemption from taxation abolished, but she was deprived of her temporal power, and her right of appointment to ecclesiastical offices was greatly curtailed. This long conflict between the state and the church, however, had not estranged the loyalty of the people from the latter. No people were ever more devoted or more closely wedded to their religious faith than the French, and yet no nation was ever so overwhelmed, at last, by irreligion and infidelity. . . . Louis XIV. subdued the nobility and the church, restrained Parliament, and made them all

dependent upon his royal will. He quelled opposition whenever and in whatever form it manifested itself, and revoked the Edict of Nantes because it allowed a religious freedom not in consonance with his royal desire. Its revocation was both a crime and a blunder. It revived the old spirit of intolerance and persecution. . . . The Edict of Nantes was for the protection of the Huguenots and to call home from exile the descendants of those who had fled from the horrors of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Its revocation revived intolerance and persecution and assured the dominancy of one creed, one church. In France the Huguenots were among the most industrious, prosperous, and enlightened of all the king's subjects. They were devoutly religious, were loyal to government, peace-loving, and tolerant of the opinions of others. . . . The loss to France, by the exile of these useful citizens, the Huguenots, was irreparable; many of them were the flower of their race and they were scattered by a brutal bigotry to the four corners of the earth, carrying with them, however, all their skill and talents to enrich the peoples among whom they settled. . . . The massacre resulted not only in depriving France of many of her best citizens, but left in the mind and heart of the nation the memory of a great wrong done in the name of religion. Men were breaking away from the restraints of the church and were beginning, without bigotry, to criticise and denounce injustice wherever and by whomsoever practised. . . . The controversy between the Jesuits and the Jansenists was an important event in the history of the emancipation of the minds of men from the severe and uncompromising rule of mere doctrine. All France was inflamed by the angry discussion. Bulls and denunciations thundered from the Vatican, but they only surcharged the already heated air and increased the bitterness of the contention. Both sides struggled to gain the favor of the court, but at last the Jansenists were proscribed by the king, and their cloister at Port Royal was levelled to the ground. The influence of their liberalism, however, spread in every direction and planted the seeds of revolution."—C. F. Warwick, *Mirabeau and the French Revolution*, pp. 16-18, 20-21, 28-30, 32.—"Nothing, on the contrary, is more certain than that American principles profoundly influenced France, and determined the course of the Revolution. It is from America that Lafayette derived the saying that created a commotion at the time, that resistance is the most sacred of duties. There also was the theory that political power comes from those over whom it is exercised, and depends upon their will; that every authority not so constituted is illegitimate and precarious; that the past is more a warning than an example; that the earth belongs to those who are upon it, not to those who are underneath. These are characteristics common to both Revolutions. At one time also the French adopted and acclaimed the American notion that the end of government is liberty, not happiness, or prosperity, or power, or the preservation of an historic inheritance, or the adaption of national law to national character, or the progress of enlightenment and the promotion of virtue; that the private individual should not feel the pressure of public authority, and should direct his life by the influences that are within him, not around him. And there was another political doctrine which the Americans transmitted to the French. In old colonial days the executive and the judicial powers were derived from a foreign source, and the common purpose was to diminish them. The assemblies were popular in origin and character, and everything that added to their power

seemed to add security to rights. . . . Now, although France was deeply touched by the American Revolution, it was not affected by the American Constitution. It underwent the disturbing influence, not the conservative. The Constitution, framed in the summer of 1787, came into operation in March 1789, and nobody knew how it worked, when the crisis came in France. . . . Moreover, the Constitution has become something more than the original printed paper. Besides amendments, it has been interpreted by the courts, modified by opinion, developed in some directions, and tacitly altered in others. Some of its most valued provisions have been acquired in this way, and were not yet visible when the French so greatly needed the guiding lessons of other men's experience. . . . At the Revolution there were many Frenchmen who saw in federalism the only way to reconcile liberty and democracy, to establish government on contract, and to rescue the country from the crushing preponderance of Paris and the Parisian populace. I do not mean the Girondins, but men of opinions different from theirs, and, above all, Mirabeau. He planned to save the throne by detaching the provinces from the frenzy of the capital, and he declared that the federal system is alone capable of preserving freedom in any great empire. The idea did not grow up under American influence; for no man was more opposed to it than Lafayette; and the American witness of the Revolution, Morris, denounced federalism as a danger to France. Apart from the Constitution, the political thought of America influenced the French next to their own. And it was not all speculation, but a system for which men died, which had proved entirely practical, and strong enough to conquer all resistance, with the sanction and encouragement of Europe. It displayed to France a finished model of revolution, both in thought and action, and showed that what seemed extreme and subversive in the old world, was compatible with good and wise government, with respect for social order, and the preservation of national character and custom."—J. E. Dalberg-Acton, *Lectures on the French Revolution*, pp. 32-33, 35, 37-38.

Also in: A. Aulard, *French Revolution*.—H. Belloc, *French Revolution*.—Dickenson, *Revolution and reaction*.—R. M. Johnston, *French Revolution*.—L. Madelin, *French Revolution*.—H. M. Stephens, *History of the French Revolution*.

1789.—Survey of France on the eve of revolution: Condition of the people.—"In 1780 three classes of persons, the Clergy, the Nobles, and the King occupied the most prominent position in the State, with all the advantages which it comports; namely, authority, property, honors, or, at the very least, privileges, immunities, favors, pensions, preferences, and the like. . . . The privileged classes number about 270,000 persons, comprising of the nobility 140,000 and of the clergy 130,000. This makes from 25,000 to 30,000 noble families; 23,000 monks in 2,500 monasteries, and 37,000 nuns in 1,500 convents, and 60,000 curates and vicars in as many churches and chapels. Should the reader desire a more distinct impression of them, he may imagine on each square league of territory, and to each thousand of inhabitants, one noble family in its weathercock mansion, in each village a curate and his church, and, every six or seven leagues, a conventual body of men or of women. . . . A fifth of the soil belongs to the crown and the communes, a fifth to the third estate, a fifth to the rural population, a fifth to the nobles and a fifth to the clergy. Accordingly, if we deduct the public lands, the privileged classes own one half of the kingdom. This large portion, moreover, is at the same time

the richest, for it comprises almost all the large and handsome buildings, the palaces, castles, convents, and cathedrals, and almost all the valuable movable property. . . . Such is the total or partial exemption from taxation. The tax-collectors halt in their presence, because the king well knows that feudal property has the same origin as his own; if royalty is one privilege seignior is another; the king himself is simply the most privileged among the privileged. . . . After the assaults of 450 years, taxation, the first of fiscal instrumentalities, the most burdensome of all, leaves feudal property almost intact. . . . The privileged person avoids or repels taxation, not merely because it despoils him, but because it belittles him; it is a mark of plebeian condition, that is to say, of former servitude, and he resists the fisc as much through pride as through interest. . . . La Bruyère wrote, just a century before 1789, 'Certain savage-looking beings, male and female, are seen in the country, black, livid and sunburnt, and belonging to the soil which they dig and grub with invincible stubbornness. They seem capable of articulation, and, when they stand erect they display human lineaments. They are, in fact, men. They retire at night into their dens, where they live on black bread, water and roots. They spare other human beings the trouble of sowing, ploughing and harvesting, and thus should not be in want of the bread they have planted.' They continue in want of it during 25 years after this, and die in herds. I estimate that in 1715 more than one-third of the population, six millions, perish with hunger and of destitution. The picture, accordingly, for the first quarter of the century preceding the Revolution, far from being overdrawn, is the reverse; we shall see that, during more than half a century, up to the death of Louis XV, it is exact; perhaps, instead of weakening any of its points, they should be strengthened. . . . Undoubtedly the government under Louis XVI. is milder; the intendants are more humane, the administration is less rigid, the 'taille' becomes less unequal, and the 'corvée' is less onerous through its transformation, in short, misery has diminished, and yet this is greater than human nature can bear. Examine administrative correspondence for the last thirty years preceding the Revolution. Countless statements reveal excessive suffering, even when not terminating in fury. Life to a man of the lower class, to an artisan, or workman, subsisting on the labor of his own hands, is evidently precarious; he obtains simply enough to keep him from starvation and he does not always get that. Here, in four districts, 'the inhabitants live only on buckwheat,' and for five years, the apple crop having failed, they drink only water. There, in a country of vineyards, 'the vine-dressers each year are reduced, for the most part, to begging their bread during the dull season.' . . . In a remote canton the peasants cut the grain still green and dry it in the oven, because they are too hungry to wait. . . . Between 1750 and 1760, the idlers who eat suppers begin to regard with compassion and alarm the laborers who go without dinners. Why are the latter so impoverished, and by what chance, on a soil as rich as that of France, do those lack bread who grow the grain? In the first place, many farms remain uncultivated, and, what is worse, many are deserted. According to the best observers 'one-quarter of the soil is absolutely lying waste. . . . Hundreds and hundreds of arpents of heath and moor form extensive deserts.' . . . This is not sterility but decadence. The régime invented by Louis XIV. has produced its effect; the soil for a century past is reverting back to a wild state. . . . In the second place, cultivation, when it

does take place, is carried on according to mediæval modes. Arthur Young, in 1789, considers that French agriculture has not progressed beyond that of the 10th century. Except in Flanders and on the plains of Alsace, the fields lie fallow one year out of three and oftentimes one year out of two. The implements are poor; there are no ploughs made of iron; in many places the plough of Virgil's time is still in use. . . . Arthur Young shows that in France those who lived on field labor, and they constituted the great majority, are 76 per cent. less comfortable than the same laborers in England, while they are 76 per cent. less well fed and well clothed, besides being worse treated in sickness and in health. The result is that, in seven-eighths of the kingdom, there are no farmers but simply métayers. ['The poor people,' says Arthur Young, 'who cultivate the soil here are métayers, that is, men who hire the land without ability to stock it; the proprietor is forced to provide cattle and seed, and he and his tenants divide the product.'] . . . Misery begets bitterness in a man; but ownership coupled with misery renders him still more bitter"; and, strange as it appears, the acquisition of land by the French peasants, in small holdings, went on steadily during the eighteenth century, despite the want and suffering which were so universal. "The fact is almost incredible, but it is nevertheless true. We can only explain it by the character of the French peasant, by his sobriety, his tenacity, his rigor with himself, his dissimulation, his hereditary passion for property and especially for that of the soil. He had lived on privations and economized sou after sou. . . . Towards 1760, one-quarter of the soil is said to have already passed into the hands of agriculturists. . . . The small cultivator, however, in becoming a possessor of the soil assumed its charges. Simply as day-laborer, and with his arms alone, he was only partially affected by the taxes; 'where there is nothing the king loses his dues.' But now, vainly is he poor and declaring himself still poorer; the fisc has a hold on him and on every portion of his new possessions. . . . In 1715, the 'taille' [see TAILLE AND GABELLE] and the poll-tax, which he alone pays, or nearly alone, amounts to 66,000,000 livres, the amount is 93,000,000 in 1759 and 110,000,000 in 1789. . . . 'I am miserable because too much is taken from me. Too much is taken from me because not enough is taken from the privileged. Not only do the privileged force me to pay in their place, but, again, they previously deduct from my earnings their ecclesiastical and feudal dues. When, out of my income of 100 francs, I have parted with 53 francs, and more, to the collector, I am obliged again to give 14 francs to the seignior, also more than 14 for tithes, and, out of the remaining 18 and 19 francs, I have additionally to satisfy the excisemen. I alone, a poor man, pay two governments, one, the old government [the seigniorial government of the feudal régime], local and now absent, useless, inconvenient and humiliating, and active only through annoyances, exemptions and taxes; and the other [the royal government], recent, centralized, everywhere present, which, taking upon itself all functions, has vast needs and makes my meagre shoulders support its enormous weight.' These, in precise terms, are the vague ideas beginning to ferment in the popular brain and encountered on every page of the records of the States-General. . . . The privileged wrought their own destruction. . . . At their head, the king, creating France by devoting himself to her as if his own property, ended by sacrificing her as if his own property; the public purse is his private purse, while passions, vanities, personal weaknesses, lux-

urious habits, family solitudes, the intrigues of a mistress and the caprices of a wife, govern a state of 26,000,000 men with an arbitrariness, a heedlessness, a prodigality, an unskilfulness, an absence of consistency, that would scarcely be overlooked in the management of a private domain. The king and the privileged excel in one direction, in good-breeding, in good taste, in fashion, in the talent for self-display and in entertaining, in the gift of graceful conversation, in finesse and in gayety, in the art of converting life into a brilliant and ingenious festivity. . . . Through the habit, perfection and sway of polished intercourse they stamped on the French intellect a classic form, which, combined with recent scientific acquisitions, produced the philosophy of the 18th century, the ill-repute of tradition, the ambition of recasting all human institutions according to the sole dictates of reason, the appliance of mathematical methods to politics and morals, the catechism of the rights of man, and other dogmas of anarchical and despotic character in the 'Contrat Social.'—Once this chimera is born they welcome it as a drawing-room fancy; they use the little monster as a plaything, as yet innocent and decked with ribbons like a pastoral lambkin; they never dream of it becoming a raging, formidable brute; they nourish it, and caress it, and then, opening their doors, they let it descend into the streets.—Here, amongst a middle class which the government has rendered ill-disposed by compromising its fortunes, which the privileged have offended by restricting its ambition, which is wounded by inequality through injured self-esteem, the revolutionary theory gains rapid accessions, a sudden asperity, and, in a few years, it finds itself undisputed master of public opinion.—At this moment, and at its summons, another colossal monster rises up, a monster with millions of heads, a blind, startled animal, an entire people pressed down, exasperated and suddenly loosed against the government whose exactions have despoiled it, against the privileged whose rights have reduced it to starvation."—H. A. Taine, *Ancient régime*, bk. 1, ch. 1, 2, and bk. 5, ch. 1, 2, 5.—"When the facts of history are fully and impartially set forth, the wonder is rather that sane men put up with the chaotic imbecility, the hideous injustices, the shameless scandals, of the 'Ancien Régime,' in the earlier half of the century, many years before the political 'Philosophes' wrote a line,—why the Revolution did not break out in 1754 or 1757, as it was on the brink of doing, instead of being delayed, by the patient endurance of the people, for another generation. It can hardly be doubted that the Revolution of '89 owed many of its worst features to the violence of a populace degraded to the level of the beasts by the effect of the institutions under which they herded together and starved; and that the work of reconstruction which it attempted was to carry into practice the speculations of Mably and of Rousseau. But, just as little, does it seem open to question that, neither the writhings of the dregs of the populace in their misery, nor the speculative demonstrations of the Philosophes, would have come to much, except for the revolutionary movement which had been going on ever since the beginning of the century. The deeper source of this lay in the just and profound griefs of at least 95 per cent. of the population, comprising all its most valuable elements, from the agricultural peasants to the merchants and the men of letters and science, against the system by which they were crushed, or annoyed, whichever way they turned. But the surface current was impelled by the official defenders of the 'Ancien Régime' themselves. It was the Court, the Church, the Parliaments, and,

above all, the Jesuits, acting in the interests of the despotism of the Papacy, who, in the first half of the 18th century, effectually undermined all respect for authority, whether civil or religious, and justified the worst that was or could be said by the 'Philosophes' later on."—T. H. Huxley, *Introduction to F. Rocquain's Revolutionary spirit preceding the French Revolution.*—"I took part in the opening of the States-General, and, in spite of the pomp with which the royal power was still surrounded, I there saw the passing away of the old régime. The régime which preceded '89, should, it seems to me, be considered from a twofold aspect: the one, the general condition of the country, and the other, the relations existing between the government and the country. With regard to the former, I firmly believe that, from the earliest days of the monarchy, France had at no period been happier than she was then. She had not felt the effects of any great misfortune since the crash which followed Law's system. The long lasting ministry of Cardinal de Fleury, doubtless inglorious, but wise and circumspect, had made good the losses and lightened the burdens imposed at the end of the reign of Louis XV. If, since that time, several wars undertaken with little skill, and waged with still less, had compromised the honor of her arms and the reputation of her government; if they had even thrown her finances into a somewhat alarming state of disorder, it is but fair to say that the confusion resulting therefrom had merely affected the fortune of a few creditors, and had not tapped the sources of public prosperity; on the contrary, what is styled the public administration had made constant progress. [See also ADMINISTRATIVE LAW: In France.] If, on the one hand, the state had not been able to boast of any great ministers, on the other, the provinces could show many highly enlightened and clever intendants. Roads had been opened connecting numerous points, and had been greatly improved in all directions. It should not be forgotten that these benefits are principally due to the reign of Louis XV. Their most important result had been a progressive improvement in the condition of agriculture. The reign of Louis XVI. had continued favoring this wise policy, which had not been interrupted by the maritime war undertaken on behalf of American independence. Many cotton-mills had sprung up, while considerable progress had been made in the manufacture of printed cotton fabrics, and of steel, and in the preparing of skins. . . . I saw the splendors of the Empire. Since the Restoration I see daily new fortunes spring up and consolidate themselves; still nothing so far has, in my eyes, equalled the splendor of Paris during the years which elapsed between 1783 and 1780. . . . Far be it from me to shut my eyes to the reality of the public prosperity which we are now [1822] enjoying."—Chancellor Pasquier, *Memoirs*, pp. 44-47.—"The history of the revolution can no more be understood without understanding the part played in it by Paris, than one can conceive of the tragedy of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out; and to understand the part played by Paris in the revolution is equally impossible. . . . Let us commence at the bottom with the nobodies. . . . Since the days of Henry III (1574-80) the forcing of all industrial pursuits into the strait-jacket of guildships had been carried to the extreme of utter absurdity. Here, too, the chronic financial distress had been the principal cause. At first the handicrafts, which everybody had been at liberty to practice, were withdrawn from free competition and sold as a privilege, and then, when nothing was left to be sold, the old guilds were split up into a

number of guildlets, merely to have again something to put on the counter. And it was not only left pretty much to the masters whom they would admit to the freedom of the guild, but besides the charges for it were so high that it was often absolutely out of the reach even of the most skillful journeyman. Even a blood-aristocracy was not lacking. In a number of guilds only the sons of masters and the second husbands of masters' widows could become masters. Thus an immense proletariat was gradually formed, which to a great extent was a proletariat only because the law irresistibly forced it into this position. And the city proletariat proper received constant and ever-increasing additions from the country. There such distress prevailed, that the paupers flocked in crowds to the cities. . . . In 1791, long before the inauguration of the Reign of Terror, there were in a population of 650,000, 118,000 paupers (indigents). Under the 'ancien régime' the immigrant proletariat from the country was by the law barred out from all ways of earning a livelihood except as common day-laborers, and the wages of these were in 1788, on an average, 26 cents for men and 15 for women, while the price of bread was higher than in our times. What a gigantic heap of ferment!"—H. von Holst, *French Revolution*, lect. 2.—"The Revolution in France at the close of the eighteenth century was possible, not because the condition of the people had grown worse, but because it had become better. The material development of that country, during the fifty years that preceded the convocation of the States General, had no parallel in its past history. Neither the weight of taxation, nor the extravagance of the court, nor the bankruptcy of the government, checked an increase in wealth that made France in 1789 seem like a different land from France in 1715. The lot of large classes was still miserable, the burden of taxation upon a large part of the population was still grievous, there were sections where Arthur Young could truly say that he found only poverty and privileges, but the country as a whole was more prosperous than Germany or Spain; it was far more prosperous than it had been under Louis XIV. . . . Such an improvement in material conditions necessitated both social and political changes. In the most disastrous periods of French history, an alteration in the form of government, effected by the community at large, would have been impossible. Hunger and despair might excite a Jacquerie, bands of starving savages might burn the castle of a gentleman and murder his family, but such excesses had no permanent result. A revolution like that of 1789 was impossible until the condition of the people, both materially and mentally, was far removed from what it had been in the Hundred Years' War, or even during the era of the Fronde. Dense ignorance was still widespread in France in the latter part of the eighteenth century, but the intellectual condition of the middle classes had been largely, and that of the lower classes somewhat modified. The proportion of the peasantry capable of mental action more varied than providing for physical needs was larger under Louis XVI than under Louis XIV. In the cities, and among the middle and upper classes, increased activity and freedom of thought were among the most striking features of the age. The wealthy merchant no longer viewed society as did the bourgeois who kept a little shop on the Pont Neuf under the Valois kings. 'The merchants have discarded their former dress,' said Voltaire, 'politeness has gained the shop.' Even this change in manners was symbolical. But while social conditions had altered, political institutions remained

unchanged. New wine had been poured in, but the old bottles were still used. Tailles and corvées were no more severe in the eighteenth than in the fifteenth century, but they were more odious. A feudal privilege, which had then been accepted as a part of the law of nature, was now regarded as contrary to nature. The pre-eminence of birth, which had been freely accorded by the merchant and the member of Parliament of the seventeenth century, was galling to their descendants. The member of the third estate, who felt that in wealth and intelligence he was the equal of a social superior, chafed at distinctions which were the more strenuously insisted upon as they began to be questioned. Thus a demand for social equality, for the abolition of privileges and immunities by which any class profited at the expense of others, was fostered by economical changes. It received an additional impetus from the writings of theorists, philosophers, and political reformers."—J. B. Perkins, *France under the regency*, pp. 3-6.—See also EUROPE: Modern; FRENCH Revolution; GUILDS: Modern times; CENSORSHIP: France.

ALSO IN: A. de Tocqueville, *State of society in France before the Revolution*.—A. Young, *Travels in France, 1787-1789*.—R. H. Dabney, *Causes of the French Revolution*.—E. J. Lowell, *Eve of the French Revolution*.—C. D. Hazen, *French Revolution and Napoleon*, ch. 1.

1789.—Survey of France on the eve of revolution: The Church.—In the century preceding the revolution the long conflict between Church and state had helped to stultify the spiritual sense and engendered the spirit of criticism; in addition to these difficulties the institution that had absorbed a large portion of the community wealth was exempt from bearing its share of the public burdens.—See also above: 1761-1764; 1774-1778; 1789; JESUITS: 1761-1769; PORT ROYAL AND THE JANSENISTS: 1702-1715.

1789.—Survey of France on the eve of revolution: Influence in Alsace-Lorraine. See ALSACE-LORRAINE: 1789-1794.

1789.—Survey of France on the eve of revolution: Colonial policy.—"It was not only the internal development of France that made the eighteenth century a critical era in political and social progress. The conflict between that country and England decided the fate of untold millions in India and America. . . . [See CANADA: 1750-1753 to 1760; NOVA-SCOTIA: 1749-1755; OHIO (Valley): 1748-1754, and after; U. S. A.: 1748-1754; CAPE BRETON ISLAND: 1758-1760; INDIA: 1758-1761.] A century and a half ago, it seemed possible, and even probable, that India and a great part of America would remain under French control. In Canada, an enterprising colony, though it had suffered from injudicious government, still bade fair to establish the power of the Bourbons over enormous tracts of fertile land which were traversed by hardy pioneers and explorers. The title of the French crown to the valley of the Mississippi was practically uncontested. . . . A nominal suzerainty could easily have been transformed into an undisturbed possession. In India, the genius of such men as La Bourdonnais and Duplex had fair to do for the Louis what Clive and Hastings were actually to do for the Georges. . . . Of all the evils which France suffered from misrule, none was more serious than the overthrow of her hopes of colonial development from the Bay of Bengal to the waters of the Great Lakes. The results of this contest for foreign supremacy were of an importance that can hardly be overestimated. . . . The position of England was assured as the greatest colonizing power since Rome. In the purposeless continental wars of

Louis XV., the blood and the money of the French people were freely expended, with little glory and less gain. The maritime contest with England . . . was lost for France, almost by default, through the inefficiency of her rulers."—J. B. Perkins, *France under the regency*, pp. 13-16.—See also COLONIZATION: French.

1789.—Nootka Sound controversy. See NOOTKA SOUND CONTROVERSY.

1789 (May).—Meeting of the States-General.—Conflict between the three estates.—Question of three Houses or one.—"The opening of the States-general was fixed for the 5th of May, 1789, and Versailles was chosen as the place of their meetings. On the 4th, half Paris poured into that town to see the court and the deputies marching in procession to the solemn religious ceremony, which was to inaugurate the important epoch. . . . On the following day, the States-General, to the number of 1,200 persons, assembled in the spacious and richly decorated 'salle des menus plaisirs.' The King appeared surrounded by his family, with all the magnificence of the ancient court, and was greeted by the enthusiastic applause of the deputies and spectators." The king made a speech, followed by Barentin, the keeper of the great seal, and by Necker, who, owing to his popularity among the third estate, had been recalled. The latter "could not prevail upon himself to avow to the Assembly the real state of affairs. He announced an annual deficit of 56,000,000 francs, and thereby confused the mind of the public, which since the meeting of the Notables, had always been discussing a deficit of from 120,000,000 to 140,000,000. He was quite right in assuming that those 56,000,000 might be covered by economy in the expenditure; but it was both irritating and untrue, when he, on this ground, denied the necessity of summoning the States-General, and called their convening a free act of royal favour. . . . The balance of income and expenditure might, indeed, easily be restored in the future, but the deficit of former years had been heedlessly allowed to accumulate, and by no one more than by Necker himself. A floating debt of 550,000,000 had to be faced—in other words, therefore, more than a whole year's income had been expended in advance. . . . The real deficit of the year, therefore, at the lowest calculation, amounted to more than 200,000,000, or nearly half the annual income. . . . These facts, then, were concealed, and thus the ministry was necessarily placed in a false position towards the States-General; the continuance of the former abuses was perpetuated, or a violent catastrophe made inevitable. . . . For the moment the matter was not discussed. Everything yielded to the importance of the constitutional question—whether the three orders should deliberate in common or apart—whether there should be one single representative body, or independent corporations. This point was mooted at once in its full extent on the question, whether the validity of the elections should be scrutinised by each order separately, or by the whole Assembly."—H. von Sybel, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 2.—"It is impossible to give the exact number there present, but the most likely figures are these: The clergy, 308; the noblesse, 285, and the Third Estate, 621. It will be seen, therefore, that the number of the Third Estate was greater than that of the other two combined. The temper of the Assembly was, on the whole, liberal. Of the 308 clergy, though the bishops were well represented, 205 were curates. Two shades of political faith were represented in the ranks of the nobility; there was the liberalism of La Fayette, and the obstinate conservatism of 'Barrell' Mirabeau, the brother of

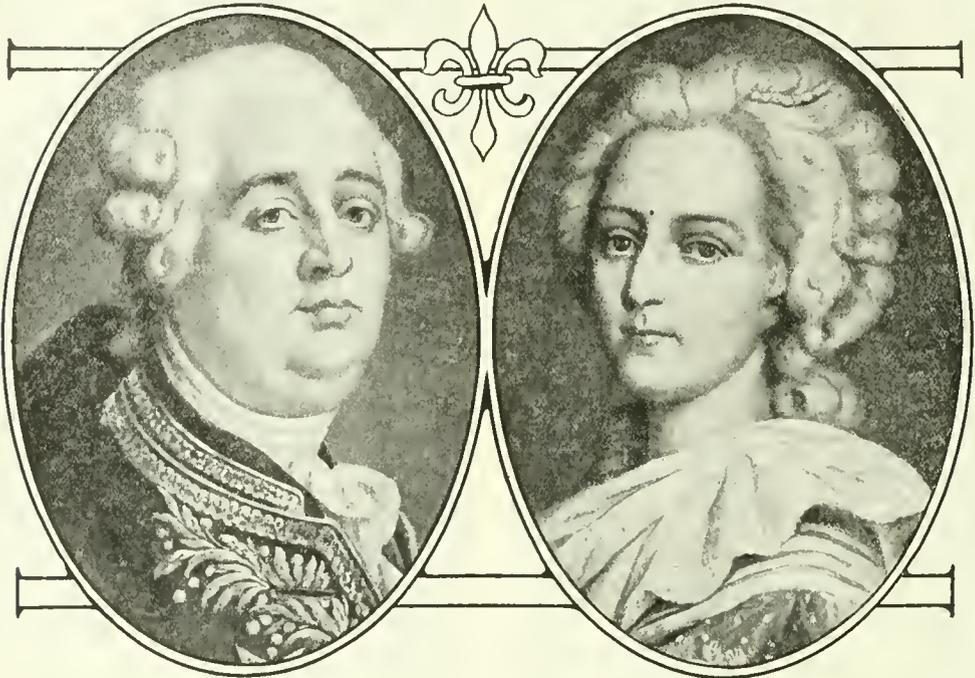
the count. Of the 621 delegates who composed the Third Estate, two-thirds were lawyers or legal officials—a most important fact; many of them, also were scholars. Only ten of them can possibly be considered as belonging to the lower classes. It will be seen, therefore, as a whole that the States General represented the well-to-do classes. It was not in the least an uncultured rabble, but was made up of the best blood in France. The desires of this highly intelligent body are to be found in overwhelming detail in the *cahiers*, or instructions, which their constituencies had given them. From these it appears that, on the whole, each of the three orders was anxious to give the state reforms, and may very fairly be considered as desirous of embodying in some form of constitution the spirit which had forced Louis and his ministers to summon the body. So far as revolution is concerned, it is evident from many facts that the States General regarded a revolution as already in progress, and considered itself as its product rather than its first step. Mirabeau has left the statement that 'there was not one commoner who did not come with very moderate sentiments to the National Assembly.' In nothing was the incompetence of Necker more clearly shown than in his refusal to decide in advance whether the new body should vote, as in 1614, by order or by member. The question was more than parliamentary. To vote by order (*par ordre*) was to maintain only a sort of corporate representation, in which the doubled membership of the Third Estate would have but one vote to the privileged orders' two; to vote by member (*par tête*) was to establish true representation and to give France a genuine national assembly, in which the Third Estate might outvote the other two. . . . When the States General assembled on May 6th to hold its first business session, it was at once confronted by the question as to whether the voting was to be *par ordre* or *par tête*. The difficulty first appeared in the necessity of verifying the delegates' credentials. The nobles proceeded at once to verify as a separate chamber, the vote standing 188 to 47; while the clergy, though voting 133 to 114 to verify as an order, did not proceed to organize as such. This attitude of the two orders was a legitimate outcome of the Old Régime. The fraction of a great people which had enjoyed where others had lost privileges, was now endeavoring to block all reform by continuing to oppose itself to the nation. It was the last ditch in which monopoly could fight. But the Third Estate refused even to verify credentials until it had been decided that the three estates were to meet in one indivisible assembly. May 11th it declared itself simply a collection of citizens without organization, without credentials, without legal existence. For weeks both sides obstinately sought to win over the other, and compromise became every day the more impossible. Business evidently was out of the question under such conditions, and May 28th the king interfered, commanding the three estates to verify separately. But matters had gone too far for such command to be obeyed. Mirabeau moved to invite the clergy 'in the name of the God of Peace' to join the commons. The curates wavered. Introduced by Mirabeau, Siéyès, the framer of nearly every constitution that France had during his life, on June 10th, moved that a committee inform the clergy and the nobles that the Third Estate summoned them for the last time; that on the next day its members would begin to verify not as an estate, but as *the representatives of the nation*. The clergy wavered still more. On June 11th the process of verification of these self-styled representatives of the nation began. Two

days later the curates began to come over. On June 17th, the slowly swelling company of commoners and curates adopted the name *National Assembly*, and France, if only Frenchmen would recognize it, ceased to be under the control of absolutism."—S. Mathews, *French Revolution*, pp. 116-120.—See also EUROPE: Modern: French Revolution.

ALSO IN: R. M. Johnston, *French Revolution*.—W. Smyth, *Lectures on the history of the French Revolution*, v. 1, lect. 8.—Prince de Talleyrand, *Memoirs*, v. 1, pt. 1.

1789 (June).—Third Estate seizes the reins, proclaims itself the National Assembly.—Tennis court oath.—Withdrawal of nobles and clergy from meeting of States-General.—National Assembly assumes sovereign powers.—Mobilization of troops.—Queen's plot.—Dismissal of Necker. "At last . . . on the proposal of Siyès [the Abbé,

a royal session on June 22, and he summoned the three orders to meet him. It was his design to direct them to unite in order to deliberate in common on matters of common interest, and to regain the royal initiative by laying down the lines of a new constitution. . . . On Saturday, the 20th, however, the course of events was interrupted by the famous scene in the tennis court. Troops had lately been pouring to an alarming extent into Paris, and exciting much suspicion in the popular party, and the Government very injudiciously selected for the royal session on the following Monday the hall in which the Third Order assembled. The hall was being prepared for the occasion, and therefore no meeting could be held. The members, ignorant of the fact, went to their chamber and were repelled by soldiers. Furious at the insult, they adjourned to the neighbourhood tennis court [Jeu-de-Paume]. A suspicion that the King meant



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deputy for Paris] and amid a storm of frantic excitement, the Third Estate alone voted themselves 'the National Assembly,' invited the other two orders to join them, and pushing their pretensions to sovereignty to the highest point, declared that the existing taxes, not having been consented to by the nation, were all illegal. The National Assembly, however, allowed them to be levied till its separation, after which they were to cease if not formally regranted. This great revolution was effected on June 17, and it at once placed the Third Order in a totally new relation both to the other orders and to the Crown. There were speedy signs of yielding among some members of the privileged orders, and a fierce wave of excitement supported the change. Malouet strongly urged that the proper course was to dissolve the Assembly and to appeal to the constituencies, but Necker declined, and a feeble and ineffectual effort of the King to accomplish a reunion, and at the same time to overawe the Third Order, precipitated the Revolution. The King announced his intention of holding

to dissolve them was abroad, and they resolved to resist such an attempt. With lifted hands and in a transport of genuine, if somewhat theatrical enthusiasm, they swore that they would never separate 'till the constitution of the kingdom and the regeneration of public order were established on a solid basis.' . . . One single member, Martin d'Auche, refused his assent. The Third Estate had thus virtually assumed the sole legislative authority in France, and like the Long Parliament in England had denied the King's power to dissolve them. . . . Owing to the dissension that had arisen, the royal session was postponed till the 23rd, but on the preceding day the National Assembly met in a church, and its session was a very important one, for on this occasion a great body of the clergy formally joined it. One hundred and forty-eight members of the clergy, of whom 134 were curés, had now given their adhesion. Two of the nobles, separating from their colleagues, took the same course. Next day the royal session was held. The project adopted in the

council differed so much from that of Necker that this minister refused to give it the sanction of his presence. Instead of commanding the three orders to deliberate together in the common interest, it was determined in the revised project that the King should merely invite them to do so. . . . It was . . . determined to withdraw altogether from the common deliberation, 'the form of the constitution to be given to the coming States-General,' and to recognise fully the essential distinction of the three orders as political bodies, though they might, with the approval of the Sovereign, deliberate in common. Necker had proposed . . . that the King should decisively, and of his own authority, abolish all privileges of taxation, but in the amended article the King only undertook to give his sanction to this measure on condition of the two orders renouncing their privileges. On the other hand, the King announced to the Assembly a long series of articles of reform which would have made France a thoroughly constitutional country, and have swept away nearly all the great abuses in its government. . . . He annulled the proceedings of June 17, by which the Third Estate alone declared itself the Legislature of France. He reminded the Assembly that none of its proceedings could acquire the force of law without his assent, and he asserted his sole right as French Sovereign to the command of the army and police. He concluded by directing the three orders to withdraw and to meet next day to consider his proposals."—W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the eighteenth century*, v. 5, ch. 20.—"The King . . . and . . . Queen . . . followed by their train . . . left the hall. . . . The Nobles rose in their turn and left the building: the Bishops preceded them, but of the lower clergy many—half, perhaps—lingered. The body of the Commons refused to move. They sat massed, in silence, at the far end of the great gaudy shed. . . . This curious and dire silence, a silence of revolt, lasted perhaps half an hour, when there entered into it the Master of the Ceremonies, young Dreux Brézé. . . . In [a] slightly irritable but well-bred drawl . . . he muttered something as though ashamed. They cried 'Speak up!' . . . He repeated the phrase. Various cries and exclamations arose. Then Mirabeau, standing forward, said—What did he say? It is uncertain, and will always be debated, but it was something like this: 'We are here by the will of the people and only death can dismiss us.' Dreux Brézé walked out with due ceremony, backward. All the last days of June the great roads sounded with . . . marching from every neighbouring garrison. . . . Of nearly all the troop so gathering one little portion, the half-irregular militia body (militia, but permanently armed) called 'the French Guards,' was other than foreign. . . . The rest were for the most part German-speaking mercenaries, the solid weapon of the Crown: and still they gathered. Neck to neck with the advance of that mobilisation the Assembly raced for power; for every brigade appearing you may count a new claim. In the first hours of their revolt, when Dreux Brézé had just retired, they proclaimed themselves 'inviolable'—that is, in their new sovereignty, they declared an armed offence to that sovereignty to be treason. . . . So, as the first week of July went by, everything was preparing: the Electoral College of Paris had met and continued in session, forming spontaneously a local executive for the capital: certain of the French Guard in Paris had sworn to obey the Assembly only, had been imprisoned . . . and released by popular force . . . and pardoned. The last troops had come in; the Assembly was finally formed. On the day when it named its first committee to discuss the new Con-

stitution, the Queen and those about the Queen had completed their plan, and the Crown was ready to re-arise and to scatter its enemies. . . . Necker, the symbol of the new claims, was to go—booted out at a moment's notice and over the frontier as well. A man of the Queen's, a man who had been ambassador at Vienna, a very trusted servant of over fifty years continually with the Monarchy, a man of energy, strong-stepping, loud, Breteuil was in one sharp moment to take his place. Old Broglio, brave and renowned, was to grasp the army—and the thing was done: the Assembly gone to smoke: the debating over: silence and ancient right restored. And as for the dependence on opinion and on a parliamentary majority for money! . . . why, a bold bankruptcy and begin again. So the Queen saw the sharp issue, now that all the regiments were assembled. A corps of German mercenaries were in the Park, encamped; their officers were cherished in the rooms of the Polignacs: they were a symbol of what was toward. Paris might or might not rise. If it rose, there would be action; if not, none. In either case victory and a prize worth all the miserable cajoling and submission to which the Court had been compelled while the soldiers were still unready. They were ready now. So the Queen. On Saturday the 11th of July, at three in the afternoon, Necker was sitting down with his wife and a certain friend to dinner: the excellent dinner of a man worth four millions of money—doubtfully acquired. Ten thousand men lay in arms within an hour of Versailles; at all the issues of Paris were troops amounting to at least two divisions more—mainly German cavalry: one regiment at Charente, Samade; one regiment at Ivry, one, of German hussars, at the Champ de Mars; one, of Swiss infantry, with a battery, at the Etoile (where is now the Arc de Triomphe). Two more, a German, south of the river; a whole camp at the northern gate—and many others. No food could enter the city save by leave of that circle of arms. . . . To Necker . . . was brought a note from the King; he opened it: it told him he was ordered out of office and ordered out of the kingdom too. . . . There followed three days which very much resembled, to the Queen and the General Staff of the Resistance, those days during which a general action is proceeding at the front. . . . 'Paris had risen.'—H. Belloc, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 278-282.—Marie Antoinette "framed a definite scheme for the coercion of the French people by the Governments of Europe; it was she who betrayed to foreign chanceries the French plan of campaign when war had become inevitable; finally, it was she who inspired the declaration of Brunswick which accompanied the invasion of French territory, and she was in particular the author of the famous threat therein contained to give over Paris to military execution and to hold all the popular authorities responsible with their lives for the restoration of the pre-revolutionary state of affairs."—H. Belloc, *French Revolution*, pp. 40-50.

Also in: H. Belloc, *Marie Antoinette*.—A. L. Bicknell, *Story of Marie Antoinette*.—E. D. Bradley, *Life of Barnave*.—M. Carnegy, *A queen's knight*.—A. Fournier, *Napoleon the First*.—M. T. L. Lamballe, *Secret memoirs of Princess Lamballe*.

1789 (July).—The mob in arms.—Anarchy in Paris.—Taking of the Bastille.—"When, on the evening of July 11, the news reached Paris that Necker and his ministry had been dismissed, it was received with incredulity followed by dismay. The weakness of the court and the vanity of its dependence on the army were so well known that men believed with difficulty that an act of such folly could have been committed. Every one

awaited the result with consternation. The conflict between the crown and the Assembly had reached a crisis; victory for one must mean the destruction of the other. The court had challenged the people to a trial of strength, and the attitude of the populace left no doubt as to its determination. In this emergency the Assembly declared itself permanent, sat day and night, and elected Lafayette its vice-president. This choice was dictated by the probability of an armed struggle. Lafayette was the one man who so combined military knowledge with liberal opinions and public confidence as to fit him to command troops in the popular interest. The Assembly, in making him their vice-president,

heaviest expenditures. . . . 'During this fearful night, the bourgeoisie kept themselves shut up, each trembling at home for himself and those belonging to him.' On the following day, the 13th, the capital appears to be given up to bandits and the lowest of the low. . . . During these two days and nights, says Bailly, 'Paris ran the risk of being pillaged, and was only saved from the marauders by the national guard.' . . . Fortunately the militia organized itself, and the principal inhabitants and gentlemen enrol themselves; 48,000 men are formed into battalions and companies; the bourgeoisie buy guns of the vagabonds for three livres apiece, and sabres or pistols for twelve sous. At last, some of



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pointed him out as their choice for military command. Although Paris was in a state of violent commotion, and daily conflicts were occurring between De Broglie's troops and a mob armed with weapons pillaged in the public buildings; although the Assembly considered the situation too serious to adjourn overnight,—the court remained in a condition of such blind security that a grand ball was given at the palace the night of July 13."—B. Tuckerman, *Life of General Lafayette*, v. 1, pp. 222-223.—"During the night between the 12th and 13th of July, 'all the barriers, from the Faubourg Saint-Antoine to the Faubourg Saint-Honoré, besides those of the Faubourgs Saint-Marcel and Saint-Jacques, are forced and set on fire.' There is no longer an 'octroi'; the city is without a revenue just at the moment when it is obliged to make the

offenders are hung on the spot, and other disarmed, and the insurrection again becomes political. But, whatever its object, it remains always wild, because it is in the hands of the populace. . . . There is no leader, no management. The electors who have converted themselves into the representatives of Paris seem to command the crowd, but it is the crowd which commands them. One of them, Legrand, to save the Hôtel-de-Ville, has no other resource but to send for six barrels of gun-powder, and to declare to the assailants that he is about to blow everything into the air. The commandant whom they themselves have chosen, M. de Salles, has twenty bayonets at his breast during a quarter of an hour, and, more than once, the whole committee is near being massacred. Let the reader imagine, on the premises where the discussions are

going on, and petitions are being made, 'a concourse of 1,500 men pressed by 100,000 others who are forcing an entrance,' the wainscoting cracking, the benches upset one over another . . . a tumult such as to bring to mind 'the day of judgment,' the death-shrieks, songs, yells, and 'people beside themselves, for the most part not knowing where they are nor what they want.' Each district is also a petty centre, while the Palais-Royal is the main centre. . . . One wave gathers here and another there, their strategy consists in pushing and in being pushed. Yet, their entrance is effected only because they are let in. If they get into the Invalides it is owing to the connivance of the soldiers"—H. A. Taine, *French Revolution*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 2.—"The 13th, . . . a day wasted by Government, [was] spent by Paris in busy preparation. Men talked wildly of destroying the Bastille, as a sign that would be understood. . . . The Bastille not only overshadowed the capital, but it darkened the hearts of men, for it had been notorious for centuries as the instrument and the emblem of tyranny. The captives behind its bars were few and uninteresting, but the wide world knew the horror of its history, the blighted lives, the ruined families, the three thousand dishonoured graves within the precincts, and the common voice called for its destruction as the sign of deliverance. At the elections both nobles and commons demanded that it should be levelled with the ground."—J. E. E. Dalberg-Acton, *Lectures on the French Revolution*, p. 84.—"The storming of that fortress which had stood so long as the instrument and sign of absolute power, the furious rage and bloodthirsty violence of the assailing mob, proclaimed the answer of the people to the threatening measures of the court. It was intended to strike terror into the hearts of the king, the queen, and their counsellors, to convince them that force would be met by force. In the fall of the Bastille was typified the fall of arbitrary power and feudalism. It was a blow, the purport of which none could mistake. The Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt went out to Versailles, entered the king's bed-chamber, and announced the event to him. 'Why,' said Louis XVI., 'this is a revolt.'—'No, sire,' was replied, 'it is a revolution.'"—B. Tuckerman, *Life of General Lafayette*, v. 1, p. 223.—"At the Bastille, firearms are discharged from ten in the morning to five in the evening against walls 40 feet high and 30 feet thick, and it is by chance that one of their shots reaches an 'invalid' on the towers. . . . The governor, on the first summons to surrender, orders the cannon to be withdrawn from the embrasures; he make the garrison swear not to fire if it is not attacked. . . . he receives several discharges without returning them, and lets the first bridge be carried without firing a shot. When, at length, he does fire, it is at the last extremity, to defend the second bridge, and after having notified the assailants that he is going to do so. . . . The people, in turn, are infatuated with the novel sensations of attack and resistance, with the smell of gunpowder, with the excitement of the contest; all they can think of doing is to rush against the mass of stone, their expedients being on a level with their tactics. . . . 'The Bastille was not taken by main force,' says the brave Elie, one of the combatants; 'it was surrendered before even it was attacked,' by capitulation, on the promise that no harm should be done to anybody. The garrison, being perfectly secure, had no longer the heart to fire on human beings while themselves risking nothing, and, on the other hand, they were unnerved by the sight of the immense crowd. Eight or nine hundred men only were concerned in the attack, most of them work-

men or shopkeepers belonging to the faubourg, tailors, wheelwrights, mercers, and wine-dealers, mixed with the French Guards. The Place de la Bastille, however, and all the streets in the vicinity, were crowded with the curious who came to witness the sight; 'among them,' says a witness, 'were a number of fashionable women of very good appearance, who had left their carriages at some distance. To the 120 men of the garrison, looking down from their parapets, it seemed as though all Paris had come out against them. It is they, also, who lower the drawbridge and introduce the enemy; everybody has lost his bead, the besieged as well as the besiegers, the latter more completely because they are intoxicated with the sense of victory. Scarcely have they entered when they begin the work of destruction, and the latest arrivals shoot at random those that come earlier; 'each one fires without heeding where or on whom his shot tells.' Sudden omnipotence and the liberty to kill are a wine too strong for human nature. . . . Elie, who is the first to enter the fortress, Cholat, Hulin, the brave fellows who are in advance, the French Guards who are cognizant of the laws of war, try to keep their word of honour; but the crowd pressing on behind them know not whom to strike, and they strike at random. They spare the Swiss soldiers who have fired on them, and who, in their blue smocks, seem to them to be prisoners; on the other hand, by way of compensation, they fall furiously on the 'invalides' who opened the gates to them; the man who prevented the governor from blowing up the fortress has his wrist severed by the blow of a sabre, is twice pierced with a sword and is hung, and the band which had saved one of the districts of Paris is promenaded through the streets in triumph. The officers are dragged along and five of them are killed, with three soldiers, on the spot, or on the way." M. de Launay, the governor, after receiving many wounds, while being dragged to the Hotel-de-Ville, was finally killed by bayonet thrusts, and his head, cut from his body, was placarded and borne through the streets upon a pitchfork.—H. A. Taine, *French Revolution*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 2.—"I was present at the taking of the Bastille. What has been styled the fight was not serious, for there was absolutely no resistance shown. Within the hold's walls were neither provisions nor ammunition. It was not even necessary to invest it. The regiment of gardes francaises which had led the attack, presented itself under the walls on the rue Saint Antoine side, opposite the main entrance, which was barred by a drawbridge. There was a discharge of a few musket shots, to which no reply was made, and then four or five discharges from the cannon. It has been claimed that the latter broke the chains of the drawbridge. I did not notice this, and yet I was standing close to the point of attack. What I did see plainly was the action of the soldiers, invalides, or others, grouped on the platform of the high tower, holding their muskets stock in the air, and expressing by all means employed under similar circumstances their desire of surrendering. The result of this so-called victory, which brought down so many favors on the heads of the so-called victors, is well-known. The truth is, that this great fight did not for a moment frighten the numerous spectators who had flocked to witness its result. Among them were many women of fashion, who, in order to be closer to the scene, had left their carriages some distance away."—Chancellor Pasquier, *Memoirs*, pp. 55-56.

ALSO IN: D. Bingham, *Bastille*, v. 2, ch. 0-12.—R. A. Davenport, *History of the Bastille*, ch. 12.—J. Claretie, *Camille Desmoulins and his wife*, ch.

1. sect. 4.—F. Ravaillon, *Les Archives de la Bastille*.

1789 (July).—Surrender of authority by the king.—Organization of the National Guard with Lafayette in command.—Disorder and riot in the provinces.—Hunger in the capital.—Murder of Foulon and Berthier.—“The next morning the taking of the Bastille bore its intended fruit. Marshal de Broglie, who had found, instead of a loyal army, only disaffected regiments which had joined or were preparing to join the mob, sent in his resignation. . . . The king, deserted by his army, his authority now quite gone, had no means of restoring order except through the Assembly. He begged that body to undertake the work, promising to recall the dismissed ministers. . . . The power of the king had now passed from him to the National Assembly. But that numerous body of men, absorbed in interminable discussions on abstract ideas, was totally incapable of applying its power to the government of the country. The electors at the Hotel de Ville, on the 15th of July, resolved that there must be a mayor to direct the affairs of Paris, and a National Guard to preserve order. Dangers threatened from every quarter. When the question arose as to who should fill these offices, Moreau de Saint Méry, the president of the electors, pointed to the bust of Lafayette, which had been sent as a gift to the city of Paris by the State of Virginia, in 1784. The gesture was immediately understood, and Lafayette was chosen by acclamation. Not less unanimous was the choice of Bailly for mayor. Lafayette was now taken from the Assembly to assume the more active employment of commanding the National Guard. While the Assembly pursued the destruction of the old order and the erection of a new, Lafayette, at the age of 32, became the chief depositary of executive power. . . . Throughout France, the deepest interest was exhibited in passing events. . . . The victory of the Assembly over the king and aristocracy led the people of the provinces to believe that their cause was already won. A general demoralization ensued.” After the taking of the Bastille, “the example of rebellion thus set was speedily followed. Rioting and lawlessness soon prevailed everywhere, increased and imbibed by the scarcity of food. In the towns, bread riots became continual, and the custom-houses, the means of collecting the exorbitant taxes, were destroyed. In the rural districts, châteaux were to be seen burning on all sides. The towers in which were preserved the titles and documents which gave to the nobleman his oppressive rights were carried by storm and their contents scattered. Law and authority were fast becoming synonymous with tyranny; the word ‘liberty,’ now in every mouth, had no other signification than license. Into Paris slunk hordes of gaunt foot-pads from all over France, attracted by the prospect of disorder and pillage. . . . From such circumstances naturally arose the National Guard.” The king had been asked, on the 13th, by a deputation from the Assembly, “to confide the care of the city to a militia,” and had declined. The military organization of citizens was then undertaken by the electors at the Hotel de Ville, without his consent, and its commander designated without his appointment. “The king was obliged to confirm this choice, and he was thus deprived even of the merit of naming the chief officer of the guard whose existence had been forced upon him.” On the 17th the king was persuaded to visit the city, for the effect which his personal presence would have, it was thought, upon the anxious and excited public mind. Lafayette had worked with energy to prepare his National Guard for the difficult duty of preserving order and

protecting the royal visitor on the occasion. “So intense was the excitement and the insurrectionary spirit of the time, so uncertain were the boundaries between rascality and revolutionary zeal, that it was difficult to establish the fact that the new guard was created to preserve order and not to fight the king and pillage the aristocracy. The great armed mob, now in process of organization, had to be treated with great tact, lest it should refuse to submit to authority in any shape.” But short as the time was, Lafayette succeeded in giving to the powerless monarch a safe and orderly reception. “The king made his will and took the sacraments before leaving Versailles, for . . . doubts were entertained that he would live to return.” He was met at the gates of Paris by the new mayor, Bailly, and escorted through a double line of National Guards to the Hotel de Ville. There he was obliged to fix on his hat the national cockade, just brought into use, and to confirm the appointments of Lafayette and Bailly. “Louis XVI. then returned to Versailles, on the whole pleased, as the day had been less unpleasant than had been expected. But the compulsory acceptance of the cockade and the nominations meant nothing less than the extinction of his authority. . . . Lafayette recruited his army from the bourgeois class, for the good reason that, in the fever than raging for uncontrolled freedom, that class was the only one from which the proper material could be taken. The importance of order was impressed on the bourgeois by the fact that they had shops and houses which they did not wish to see pillaged. . . . The necessity for strict police measures was soon to be terribly illustrated. For a week past a large crowd composed of starving workmen, country beggars, and army deserters, had thronged the streets, angrily demanding food. The city was extremely short of provisions, and it was impossible to satisfy the demands made upon it. . . . On July 22, an old man named Foulon, a member of the late ministry, who had long been the object of public dislike, and was now detested because it was rumored that he said that ‘the people might eat grass,’ was arrested in the country, and brought to the Hotel de Ville, followed by a mob who demanded his immediate judgment.” Lafayette exerted vainly his whole influence and his whole authority to protect the wretched old man until he could be lodged in prison. The mob tore its victim from his very hands and destroyed him on the spot. The next day, Foulon’s son-in-law, Berthier, the Intendant of Paris, was arrested in the country, and the tragedy was re-enacted. “Shocked by these murders and disgusted by his own inability to prevent them, Lafayette sent his resignation to the electors, and for some time persisted in his refusal to resume his office. But no other man could be found in Paris equally fitted for the place; so that on the personal solicitation of the electors and a deputation from the 60 districts of the city, he again took command.”—B. Tuckerman, *Life of General Lafayette*, v. 1, ch. 9-10.—See also NATIONAL GUARD; MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 18.

ALSO IN: M. Crow, *Lafayette*.—J. M. Hallowell, *Spirit of Lafayette*.—A. B. Hart, *Lafayette*.—Lafayette, *Memoirs*.—J. Michelet, *Historical view of the French Revolution*.—G. Morgan, *The true Lafayette*.—O. Roberts, *With Lafayette in America*.—C. Tower, *Marquis de La Fayette*.—A. J. Walker, *Lafayette*.

1789 (July-August).—Cause and character of the “Emigration.”—“Everything, or nearly everything, was done by the party opposed to the Revolution in the excitement of the moment; nothing was the result of reasoning. Who, for instance,

reasoned out the emigration? It has oftentimes been asked how so extraordinary a resolution came to be taken; how it had entered the minds of men gifted with a certain amount of sense that there was any advantage to be derived from abandoning all the posts where they could still exercise power; of giving over to the enemy the regiments they commanded, the localities over which they had control; of delivering up completely to the teachings of the opposite party the peasantry, over whom, in a goodly number of provinces, a valuable influence might be exerted, and among whom they still had many friends; and all this, to return for the purpose of conquering, at the sword's point, positions, a number of which at least could be held without a fight. No doubt it has been offered as an objection, that the peasantry set fire to châteaux, that soldiers mutinied against their officers. This was not the case at the time of what has been called the first emigration, and, at any rate, such doings were not general; but does danger constitute sufficient cause for abandoning an important post? . . . What is the answer to all this? Merely what follows. The voluntary going into exile of nearly the whole nobility of France, of many magistrates who were never to unsheathe a sword, and lastly, of a large number of women and children,—this resolve, without a precedent in history, was not conceived and determined upon as a State measure; chance brought it about. A few, in the first instance, followed the princes who had been obliged, on the 14th of July, to seek safety out of France, and others followed them. At first, it was merely in the nature of a pleasant excursion. Outside of France, they might freely enjoy saying and believing anything and everything. . . . It occurred to the minds of a few men in the entourage of the Comte d'Artois, and whose moving spirit was M. de Calonne, that it would be an easy matter for them to create a kingdom for their sovereign outside of France, and that if they could not in this fashion succeed in giving him provinces to reign over, he would at least reign over subjects, and that this would serve to give him a standing in the eyes of foreign powers, and determine them to espouse his cause. . . . Thus in '89, '90, and '91, there were a few who were compelled to fly from actual danger; a small number were led away by a genuine feeling of enthusiasm; many felt themselves bound to leave, owing to a point of honor which they obeyed without reasoning it out; the mass thought it was the fashion, and that it looked well; all, or almost all, were carried away by expectations encouraged by the wildest of letters, and by the plotting of a few ambitious folk, who were under the impression that they were building up their fortunes."—Chancellor Pasquier, *Memoirs*, pp. 64-66.

1789 (August).—Night of sacrifices.—Sweeping out of feudalism.—"What was the Assembly doing at this period, when Paris was waiting in expectation, and the capture of the Bastille was being imitated all over France; when châteaux were burning, and nobles flying into exile; when there was positive civil war in many a district, and anarchy in every province? Why, the Assembly was discussing whether or not the new constitution of France should be prefaced by a Declaration of the Rights of Man. In the discussion of this extremely important question were wasted the precious days which followed July 17. . . . The complacency of these theorists was rudely shaken on August 4, when Salomon read to the Assembly the report of the Comité des Recherches, or Committee of Researches, on the state of France. A terrible report it was. Châteaux burning here and there; millers

hung; tax-gatherers drowned; the warehouses and depôts of the gabelle burnt; everywhere rioting, and nowhere peace. . . . Among those who listened to the clear and forcible report of Salomon were certain of the young liberal noblesse who had just been dining with the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, a wise and unlightened nobleman. At their head was the Vicomte de Noailles, a young man of thirty-three, who had distinguished himself at the head of his regiment under his cousin, Lafayette, in America. . . . The Vicomte de Noailles was the first to rush to the tribune. 'What is the cause of the evil which is agitating the provinces?' he cried; and then he showed that it arose from the uncertainty under which the people dwelt, as to whether or not the old feudal bonds under which they had so long lived and laboured were to be perpetuated or abolished, and concluded an impassioned speech by proposing to abolish them at once. One after another the young liberal noblemen, and then certain deputies of the tiers état, followed him with fresh sacrifices. First the old feudal rights were abolished; then the rights of the dovecote and the game laws; then the old copyhold services; then the tithes paid to the Church, in spite of a protest from Siéyès; then the rights of certain cities over their immediate suburbs and rural districts were sacrificed; and the contention during that feverish night was rather to remember something or other to sacrifice than to suggest the expediency of maintaining anything which was established. In its generosity the Assembly even gave away what did not belong to it. The old dues paid to the pope were abolished, and it was even declared that the territory of Avignon, which had belonged to the pope since the Middle Ages, should be united to France if it liked; and the sitting closed with a unanimous decree that a statue should be erected to Louis XVI, 'the restorer of French liberty.' Well might Mirabeau define the night of August 4 as a mere 'orgie.' . . . Noble indeed were the intentions of the deputies. . . . Yet the results of this night of sacrifices were bad rather than good. As Mirabeau pointed out, the people of France were told that all the feudal rights, dues, and tithes had been abolished that evening, but they were not told at the same time that there must be taxes and other burdens to take their place. It was of no use to issue a provisional order that all rights, dues and taxes remained in force for the present, because the poor peasant would refuse to pay what was illegal, and would not understand the political necessity of supporting the revenue. . . . This ill-considered mass of resolutions was what was thrown in the face of France in a state of anarchy to restore it to a state of order."—H. M. Stephens, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 1, ch. 5.

ALSO IN: A. Thiers, *History of the French Revolution* (American ed.), v. 1, pp. 81-84.

1789 (August).—Constitution-making and the Rights of Man.—"The constitution was now proceeded with in earnest. In the early days of July a preliminary committee had issued its first report. It regarded it as an essential that a Declaration of the Rights of Man—in other words, of the individual citizen—should precede the principles of government, a suggestion made in many of the cahiers, as a second committee appointed for the purpose of examining them very soon discovered. This important document, . . . was accepted on the 27th August 1780. It runs as follows:—"The representatives of the French people, organised as a National Assembly, believing that the ignorance, neglect, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole causes of public calamities, and of the corruption of governments, have determined to set forth in a solemn

declaration, the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of man, in order that this declaration, being constantly before all the members of the social body, shall remind them continually of their rights and duties; in order that the acts of the legislative power, as well as those of the executive power, may be compared at any moment with the ends of all political institutions and may thus be more respected; and, lastly, in order that the grievances of the citizens, based hereafter upon simple and incontestable principles, shall tend to the maintenance of the constitution and redound to the happiness of all. Therefore, the National Assembly recognises and proclaims in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being the following rights of man and of the citizen: Article 1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may only be founded upon the general good. 2. The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. 3. The essence of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation. 4. Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law. 5. Law can only prohibit such actions as are hurtful to society. Nothing may be prevented which is not forbidden by law, and no one may be forced to do anything not provided for by law. 6. Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally, or through his representative, in its enactment. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally eligible to all dignities and to all public positions and occupations, according to their abilities and without distinction, except that of their virtues and talents. 7. No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law. Any one soliciting, transmitting, executing, or causing to be executed any arbitrary order shall be punished. But any citizen summoned or arrested in virtue of the law shall submit without delay, as resistance constitutes an offence. 8. The law shall provide for such punishments only as are strictly and obviously necessary, and no one shall suffer punishment except it be legally inflicted in virtue of a law, passed and promulgated before the commission of the offence. 9. As all persons are held innocent until they shall have been declared guilty, if arrest shall be deemed indispensable, all severity not essential to the securing of the prisoner's person shall be severely repressed by law. 10. No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law. 11. The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write, and print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law. 12. The security of the rights of man and of the citizen requires public military force. These forces, are, therefore, established for the good of all, and not for the personal advantage of those to whom they shall be entrusted. 13. A common contribution is essential for the maintenance of the public forces and for the cost of administration. This should be equitably distributed among all

the citizens in proportion to their means. 14. All citizens have a right to decide, either personally or through their representative, as to the necessity of the public contribution; to grant this freely; to know to what uses it is put; and to fix the amount, the mode of assessment and of collection, and the duration of the taxes. 15. Society has the right to require of every public agent an account of his administration. 16. A society in which the observance of the law is not assured, nor the separation of powers defined, has no constitution at all. 17. Since property is an inviolable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except in cases where public necessity, legally determined, shall clearly require it, and then only on condition that the owner shall have been previously and equitably indemnified.

"Various opinions have been expressed by modern historians on the Declaration of Rights. Professor Montague calls it 'a curious mixture of law, morals, and philosophy.' Dr. J. Holland Rose admits that the "'Rights of Man' seemed to summon all peoples to a new political life.' Professor Paul Violet particularly emphasises the fact that articles 1 and 10 were 'directly inspired' by America, the first by the Declaration of the Rights of Massachusetts (1770-80), and in a minor degree by documents having a similar purport and issued by Pennsylvania (1776) and Virginia (1776), the second by the Bill of Rights of New Hampshire (1784). 'Do not these "principles of 1780" represent the most commonplace assumptions of European Governments to-day?' asks Professor James Harvey Robinson. 'And yet every one of them was neglected by every European Government in the eighteenth century, if we except England. M. Seignobos reminds us that "when a Frenchman turned his attention to political questions in the eighteenth century, most of the institutions in the midst of which he lived appeared to him to be *abusés* contrary to reason and humanity.'" Now, if we are not prejudiced against the Declaration of the Rights of Man by careless and hostile critics, and by the suggestions made during the debates by Siéyès and others—which certainly reached a degree of fatuity rarely exceeded in the most futile of parliamentary discussions—and if we neglect one or two oratorical flourishes, do we not find it to be, after all, simply a dignified and succinct repudiation of *les abus*? Is it not a concrete and positive, although general, statement of the practical reforms which the Assembly was in duty bound to realise? Was there not back of each article some crying evil of long standing, in view of which the nation might expect a comprehensive constitutional guaranty?' Having enunciated certain principles, the next item on the programme, and assuredly the more difficult, was to embody them in a constitution. Weeks were spent in discussions, oftentimes carried on in an uproar, but eventually several preliminary matters were decided. The legislative body should be permanent and consist of a single chamber only, and the King should not have the right of absolute veto as hitherto. He could use his prerogative for two sessions, but no longer—a compromise engineered by Necker."—H. F. B. Wheeler, *French Revolution*, pp. 238-242.—See also CONSTITUTIONS: 1783-1848.

ALSO IN: J. H. Robinson, *New history*, ch. 7.—C. D. Hazen, *French Revolution and Napoleon*, ch. 3.

1789 (October).—Famine in Paris.—Insurrection of women.—Their march to Versailles.—Meantime, in Paris, "vast and incalculable was the misery: crowds of peruke-makers, tailors, and shoemakers, were wont to assemble at the Louvre and

in the Champs Elysées, demanding things impossible to be granted; demanding that the old regulations should be maintained, and that new ones should be made; demanding that the rate of daily wages should be fixed; demanding . . . that all the Savoyards in the country should be sent away, and only Frenchmen employed. The bakers' shops were besieged, as early as five o'clock in the morning, by hungry crowds who had to stand 'en queue'; happy when they had money to purchase miserable bread, even in this uncomfortable manner. . . . Paris was living at the mercy of chance: its subsistence dependent on some arrival or other: dependent on a convoy from Beauce, or a boat from Corbeuil. The city, at immense sacrifices, was obliged to lower the price of bread: the consequence was that the population for more than ten leagues round came to procure provisions at Paris. The uncertainty of the morrow augmented the difficulties. Everybody stored up, and concealed provisions. The administration sent in every direction, and bought up flour, by fair means, or by foul. It often happened that at midnight there was but half the flour necessary for the morning market. Provisioning Paris was a kind of war. The National Guard was sent to protect each arrival; or to secure certain purchases by force of arms. Speculators were afraid; farmers would not thrash any longer; neither would the miller grind. 'I used to see,' says Bailly, 'good tradesmen, mercers and goldsmiths, praying to be admitted among the beggars employed at Montmartre, in digging the ground.' Then came fearful whispers of the King's intention to fly to Metz. What will become of us if the King should fly? He must not fly; we will have him here; here amongst us in Paris! This produced the famous insurrection of women . . . on the 5th October."—G. H. Lewes, *Life of Robespierre*, ch. 9.—H. von Sybel, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 3-4.—"A thought, or dim raw-material of a thought, was fermenting all night [October 4-5], universally in the female head, and might explode. In squalid garret, on Monday morning Maternity awakes, to hear children weeping for bread. Maternity must forth to the streets, to the herb-markets and Bakers'-queues; meets there with hunger-stricken Maternity, sympathetic, exasperative. O we unhappy women! But, instead of Bakers'-queues, why not to Aristocrats' palaces, the root of the matter? Allons! Let us assemble. To the Hôtel-de-Ville; to Versailles; to the Lanterne! In one of the Guard houses of the Quartier Saint-Eustache, 'a young woman' seizes a drum,—for how shall National Guards give fire on women, on a young woman? The young woman seizes the drum; sets forth, beating it, 'uttering cries relative to the dearth of grains.' Descend, O mothers; descend, ye Judiths, to food and revenge!—All women gather and go; crowds storm all stairs, force out all women: the female Insurrectionary Force, according to Camille, resembles the English Naval one; there is a universal 'Press of women.' Robust Dames of the Halle, slim Mantua-makers, assiduous, risen with the dawn; ancient Virginity tripping to matins; the Housemaid, with early broom; all must go. Rouse ye, O, women; the laggard men will not act; they say, we ourselves may act! And so, like snowbreak from the mountains, for every staircase is a melted brook, it storms; tumultuous, wild-shrilling, towards the Hôtel-de-Ville. Tumultuous; with or without drum-music: for the Faubourg Saint-Antoine also has tucked-up its gown; and with besom-staves, fire-irons, and even rusty pistols (void of ammunition), is flowing on. Sound of it flies, with a velocity of sound, to the utmost Barriers. By seven o'clock, on this raw

October morning, fifth of the month, the Townhall will see wonders. . . . The National Guards form on the outer stairs, with levelled bayonets; the ten thousand Judiths press up, resistless; with obstinations, with outspread hands.—merely to speak to the Mayor. The rear forces them; nay from male hands in the rear, stones already fly: the National Guard must do one of two things; sweep the Place de Grève with cannon, or else open to right and left. They open: the living deluge rushes in. Through all rooms and cabinets, upwards to the topmost belfry: ravenous; seeking arms, seeking Mayors, seeking justice;—while, again, the better-dressed speak kindly to the Clerks; point out the misery of these poor women; also their ailments, some even of an interesting sort. Poor M. de Gouvion is shiftless in this extremity;—a man shiftless, perturbed: who will one day commit suicide. How happy for him that Usher Maillard the shifty was there, at the moment, though making representations! Fly back, thou shifty Maillard; seek the Bastille Company; and O return fast with it; above all, with thy own shifty head! For, behold, the Judiths can find no Mayor or Municipal; scarcely, in the topmost belfry, can they find poor Abbé Lefèvre the Powder-distributor. Him, for want of a better, they suspend there: in the pale morning light; over the top of all Paris, which swims in one's failing eyes:—a horrible end? Nay the rope broke, as French ropes often did; or else an Amazon cut it. Abbé Lefèvre falls, some twenty feet, rattling among the leads; and lives long years after, though always with 'a trembling in the limbs.' And now doors fly under hatchets; the Judiths have broken the Armory; have seized guns and cannons, three money-bags, paper-heaps; torches flare: in few minutes, our brave Hôtel-de-Ville, which dates from the Fourth Henry, will, with all that it holds, be in flames! In flames, truly,—were it not that Usher Maillard, swift of foot, shifty of head, has returned! Maillard, of his own motion,—for Gouvion or the rest would not even sanction him,—snatches a drum: descends the Porch-stairs, rantan, beating sharp, with loud rolls, his Rogues'-march: To Versailles! Allons; à Versailles! As men beat on kettle or warming-pan, when angry she-bees, or say, flying desperate wasps, are to be hived; and the desperate insects hear it, and cluster round it,—simply as round a guidance, where there was none: so now these Menads round shifty Maillard, Riding-Usher of the Châtelet. The axe pauses uplifted; Abbé Lefèvre is left half-hanged: from the belfry downwards all vomits itself. What rub-adub is that? Stanislas Maillard, Bastille hero, will lead us to Versailles? Joy to thee, Maillard; blessed art thou above Riding-Ushers! Away, then, away! The seized cannon are yoked with seized cart-horses: brown-locked Demoiselle Théroigne, with pike and helmet, sits there as gunneress. . . . Maillard (for his drum still rolls) is, by heaven-rending acclamation, admitted General. Maillard hastens the languid march. . . . And now Maillard has his Menads in the Champs Elysées (Fields Tartarean rather); and the Hôtel-de-Ville has suffered comparatively nothing. . . . Great Maillard! A small nucleus of Order is round his drum; but his outskirts fluctuate like the mad Ocean: for Rascality male and female is flowing in on him, from the four winds: guidance there is none but in his single head and two drum-sticks. . . . On the Elysian Fields there is pause and fluctuation; but for Maillard, no return. He persuades his Menads, clamorous for arms and the Arsenal, that no arms are in the Arsenal; that an unarmed attitude, and petition to a National Assembly, will be the best: he hastily nominates or

sanctions generaleesses, captains of tens and fifties;—and so, in loosest-flowing order, to the rhythm of some 'eight drums' (having laid aside his own), with the Bastille Volunteers bringing up his rear, once more takes the road. Chaillot, which will promptly yield baked loaves, is not plundered; nor are the Sèvres Potteries broken. . . . The press of women still continues, for it is the cause of all Eve's Daughters, mothers that are, or that ought to be. No carriage-lady, were it with never such hysterics, but must dismount, in the mud roads, in her silk shoes, and walk. In this manner, amid wild October weather, they, a wild unwinged stork-flight, through the astonished country wend their way."—T. Carlyle, *French Revolution*, v. 1, bk. 7, ch. 4-5.

1789 (October).—Mob of men at Versailles, with Lafayette and the national guard.—King and royal family brought to Paris.—Before the memorable October 5 closed, the movement of the women upon Versailles was followed by an outpouring, in the same direction, of the masculine mob of Paris, headed by the National Guard. "A modern city would have dispersed it in short order, but when La Fayette succeeded in gathering the National Guard, he found his troops were bent upon bringing the king to Paris. Either sincerely or for the sake of appearances, La Fayette endeavored to procrastinate; the soldiers were polite but determined, and at last the general, probably not quite unwillingly, put himself at the head of another procession and also marched to Versailles. It is a good eight miles from Paris to Versailles, and when the crowd of hungry women reached the palace it was ready for sleep or for riot. It surged into the astonished and not altogether pleased Assembly, demanding that the price of bread be lowered by law, and then, after sending a deputation to the king, found its way into the great court of the palace. For a few hours the situation, if critical, was not hopeless. Some of the crowd were drunk, and others attempted to satisfy hunger by roasting a horse that had chanced to be shot. At last La Fayette arrived with his troops, and after disposing them in churches for the night, thinking all was quiet, retired to get a few hours' rest after twenty-four of constant exertion. His fatigue can hardly excuse his negligence, for as day broke, under what provocation it is not known, the mob broke into the palace, and made for the queen's apartment, apparently bent on murder. Two of the Life Guards were thrown out of the windows to the greater mob below, where in a second their heads were off and on pikes. The queen was aroused just in time. Heroic guards, at the risk of their lives, kept the inner doors of the palace closed until she went by a private staircase to the apartments of the king. This violence, however, was of but short duration, for La Fayette was able to bring about a return of order by means of his troops, and the wild night came to something like a peaceful morning. When morning came, the king appeared on the balcony, and was enthusiastically cheered when he promised to go to Paris. La Fayette led the queen and the dauphin upon the balcony, that the crowd might see her with a cockade in her hand. 'No children!' howled the crowd, and the queen bravely stood out alone with the general. La Fayette gave her the tricolor cockade, bent and in the most chivalrous way kissed her hand. The crowd was pleased, and in a way subdued, and a few hours later Louis, with the queen and the children, started for the capital, never again to return to the grand palace of Louis XIV. It was a third and wildest of all the processions of these two days—women, men, body-

guards, troops, La Fayette on his white horse, and the people from the slums surrounding the royal carriage, howling, 'we have got the baker, and the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy. Now we shall have bread.' And so they came to Paris and the shabby palace of the Tuileries. The Assembly at Versailles, instead of acting like men, and punishing the authors of this shameful affair, yielded to mob law, voted that the king and the Assembly were inseparable, and in its turn went to Paris. Quarters were prepared for it in one of the great riding-schools of the town, close by the royal palace of the Tuileries, and at last the capital had the king and the National Assembly in its own control. It was the guarantee that the Old Régime should not be restored. La Fayette and the *bourgeois* government of Paris (Commune) were the immediate gainers by the transfer of the Assembly to Paris. The Duke of Orleans was driven to England, the Commune repressed popular uprisings, and La Fayette, for the moment the most powerful man in France, with the aid of the National Guard, brought something like quiet into the excited capital. But the more sinister fact cannot be overlooked. Whether willingly or not, the municipal government of Paris, the commander-in-chief of the National Guard, the National Assembly, the king, had all been for the moment conquered by the proletarian mob, directed by demagogues."—S. Mathews, *French Revolution*, pp. 147-149.

ALSO IN: A. B. Hart, *Lafayette*.—C. Tower, *Marquis de La Fayette*.

1789-1790.—Political parties.—Power of the bourgeoisie.—"It is now that definite parties begin to form in the Assembly. The Right, so called because its members sat on the right hand of the President's chair, was the party of reaction and obstruction, supporters of the throne and of the Church, such as Cazalès and the Abbé Maury. The ultra-conservative amongst them were known as the Extreme Right, and included D'Espréménil and Mirabeau's brother, while the Right Centre was a half-way house which had as guests Malouet, Bergasse, Lally-Tollendal, and Clermont-Tonnerre. Those opposite to them represented radicalism, and were known as the Left. The Extreme Left comprised Robespierre, Buzot, Pétion, and Dubois-Crancé, the Left proper Duport, Barnave, Alexandre Lameth, Talleyrand, and the Abbé Grégoire."—H. F. B. Wheeler, *French Revolution*, pp. 242-243.—"A democratic party is already becoming visible, especially in the journals. . . . Its programme is to obtain the suppression of the property requirements in general, this being the aim of the more advanced; or at least (and this is the aim of the practical politicians) the suppression of the qualification as regards eligibility, and an amelioration of the more anti-popular results of the *bourgeois* system which has just been established. . . . The democratic party had its origin neither among the peasantry nor among the workers. The rural masses, all joy at the destruction of the feudal system, wasted no thought on demanding the right to vote—a right which they seemed to regard rather as a burden, a service, or a danger, than as a desirable privilege. The workers, less numerous than now, were more sensible of their exclusion from the body politic; but . . . would, if left to their own instincts, have resigned themselves to the fact. It took the solicitations of certain middle-class reformers, and the fiery appeals of Marat, to make universal suffrage a popular subject; but for a long time it was not possible, even in Paris, to provoke any threatening movement of the 'passives' against the 'actives.' Anti-aristocrats and patriots: such were the Parisian

workers. They had no idea of democracy until the middle classes forced them to think of it; and as for the word 'republic,' it would seem to have been so far unknown in the poorer districts. It was, then, among the middle classes that a democratic party first grew up; badly organised, it is true, as were all the parties of those days, but with its tendencies sufficiently clear, and even clamorous. The leaders of the party in the Assembly were Robespierre, Buzot, Petion, Grégoire; outside the Assembly, the vehement Marat, the eloquent Lous-talot, the cautious Condorcet. The claims of the democrats increased unceasingly during the whole of the year 1790. This extraordinary year has been upheld as a year of national concord, as the best year of the Revolution, the year of fraternity. This may be: but it was also the period in which the whole state politic was taken possession of by the middle class at the expense of the people, and the period when the very unfraternal idea came into being that the middle class was itself the nation. With the applause which saluted the fall of the *ancien régime*, the old despotism, the old aristocracy, there mingled (to be heard plainly enough by the alert listener) a subdued hissing from the democrats hostile to the property suffrage and the *bourgeoisie*. . . . That this democratic party, composed of the cream of the middle class, ever succeeded in becoming a popular party, was due to the fact that the very trend of events was tending to make France become unconsciously a democratic country; and it was this year of 1790 that saw the spread of the great movement of municipal emancipation and of national agglomeration. The new France was becoming unified by a gigantic labour of organisation and construction, in which we seem to distinguish two very different movements; the one reasoned, and, as it were, artificial, the other spontaneous, popular, and instinctive. From the brains of the members of the great Assembly there issued reasoned institutions, meditated in the silence of the study; in which, it is true, the history of the people and their desires were always kept in mind; yet institutions which the people themselves did not help to elaborate; such as the division of France by departments, the organisation of the judiciary, and the civil constitution of the clergy. All this was no spontaneous growth of the soil, but was planted there by industrious hands, there to prosper more or less."—A. Aulard, *French Revolution*, v. 1, pp. 211-215.

1789-1791.—New constitution.—Appropriation and sale of Church property.—Issue of Assignats.—Abolition of titles of honor.—Civil constitution of the clergy.—Feast of the Federation.—Émigrés on the border and their conduct.—"Meanwhile, the Assembly was busy with further schemes of revolution and desperate finance. [See MONEY AND BANKING: Modern: 1789-1796.] France was divided into departments: the property of the Church was appropriated to meet the urgent necessities of the State: the disastrous assignats were issued: the subjection of the clergy to the civil power was decreed: the Parliaments were superseded, and the judicature of the country was reconstituted, upon a popular basis: titles of honour, orders of knighthood, armorial bearings—even liveries—were abolished: the army was reorganised, and the privileges of birth were made to yield to service and seniority. All Frenchmen were henceforth equal, as 'citoyens': and their new privileges were wildly celebrated by the planting of trees of liberty. The monarchy was still recognised, but it stood alone, in the midst of revolution."—T. E. May, *Democracy in Europe*, v. 2, ch. 13.—"The monarchy was continued and liberally

endowed; but it was shorn of most of its ancient prerogatives, and reduced to a very feeble Executive; and while it obtained a perilous veto on the resolutions and acts of the Legislature, it was separated from that power, and placed in opposition to it, by the exclusion of the Ministers of the Crown from seats and votes in the National Assembly. The Legislature was composed of a Legislative Assembly, formed of a single Chamber alone, in theory supreme, and almost absolute: but as we have seen, it was liable to come in conflict with the Crown, and it had less authority than might be supposed, for it was elected by a vote not truly popular, and subordinate powers were allowed to possess a very large part of the rights of Sovereignty which it ought to have divided with the King. This last portion of the scheme was very striking, and was the one, too, that most caused alarm among distant political observers. Too great centralization having been one of the chief complaints against the ancient Monarchy, this evil was met with a radical reform. . . . The towns received extraordinary powers; their municipalities had complete control over the National Guards to be elected in them, and possessed many other functions of Government; and Paris, by these means, became almost a separate Commonwealth, independent of the State, and directing a vast military force. The same system was applied to the country; every Department was formed into petty divisions, each with its National Guards, and a considerable share of what is usually the power of the government. . . . Burke's saying was strictly correct, 'that France was split into thousands of Republics, with Paris predominating and queen of all.' With respect to other institutions of the State, the appointment of nearly all civil functionaries, judicial and otherwise, was taken from the Crown, and abandoned to a like popular election; and the same principle was also applied to the great and venerable institution of the Church, already deprived of its vast estates, though the election of bishops and priests by their flocks interfered directly with Roman Catholic discipline, and probably, too, with religious dogma. . . . Notwithstanding the opposition of Necker, who, though hardly a statesman, understood finance, it was resolved to sell the lands of the Church to procure funds for the necessities of the State; and the deficit, which was increasing rapidly, was met by an inconvertible currency of paper, secured on the lands to be sold. This expedient . . . was carried out with injudicious recklessness. The Assignats, as the new notes were called, seemed a mine of inexhaustible wealth, and they were issued in quantities which, from the first moment, disturbed the relations of life and commerce, though they created a show of brisk trade for a time. In matters of taxation the Assembly, too, exceeded the bounds of reason and justice; exemptions previously enjoyed by the rich were now indirectly extended to the poor; wealthy owners of land were too heavily burdened, while the populace of the towns went scot free. . . . Very large sums, also, belonging to the State, were advanced to the Commune of Paris, now rising into formidable power. . . . The funds so obtained were lavishly squandered in giving relief to the poor of the capital in the most improvident ways—in buying bread dear and reselling it cheap, and in finding fanciful employment for artisans out of work. The result, of course, was to attract to Paris many thousands of the lowest class of rabble and to add them to the scum of the city. . . . On the first anniversary [July 14, 1790] of the fall of the Bastille, and before the Constitution had been finished . . .

a great national holiday [called the Feast of the Federation] was kept; and, amidst multitudes of applauding spectators, deputations from every Department in France, headed by the authorities of the thronging capital, defiled in procession to the broad space known as the Field of Mars, along the banks of the Seine. An immense amphitheatre had been constructed [converting the plain into a valley, by the labor of many thousands, in a single week], and decorated with extraordinary pomp; and here, in the presence of a splendid Court, of the National Assembly, and of the municipalities of the realm, and in the sight of a great assemblage surging to and fro with throbbing excitement, the King took an oath that he would faithfully respect the order of things that was being established, while incense streamed from high-raised altars, and the ranks of 70,000 National Guards burst into loud cheers and triumphant music; and even the Queen, sharing in the passion of the hour, and radiant with beauty, lifted up in her arms the young child who was to be the future chief of a disenthralled and regenerate people. . . . The following week was gay with those brilliant displays which Paris knows how to arrange so well. . . . The work, however, of the National Assembly developed some of its effects ere long. . . . The emigration of the Nobles, which had become very general from the 5th and 6th of October, went on in daily augmenting numbers; and, in a short time, the frontiers were edged with bands of exiles breathing vengeance and hatred." To all the many destructive and revolutionary influences at work was now added "the pitiful conduct of those best known by the still dishonorable name of 'Émigrés.' In a few months the great majority of the aristocracy of France had fled the kingdom."—W. O'C. Morris, *French Revolution and first empire*, ch. 3.—See also CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY.

ALSO IN: H. von Sybel, *History of the French Revolution*, bk. 1, ch. 5, bk. 2, ch. 3-5.—Mme. de Staël, *Considerations on the French Revolution*, v. 1, pt. 2, ch. 12-19.—E. Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*.—A. F. B. de Moleville, *Annals of the French Revolution*, v. 2, 3, pt. 1, ch. 22-35.—Duchess de Tourzell, *Memoirs*, v. 1, ch. 3-11.—W. H. Jervis, *Gallican Church and the Revolution*, ch. 1-4.

1790.—Rise of the clubs.—Jacobins, Cordeliers, Feuillants, Club Monarchique, and Club of '89.—"Every party sought to gain the people; it was courted as sovereign. After attempting to influence it by religion, another means was employed, that of the clubs. At that period, clubs were private assemblies, in which the measures of governments, the business of the state, and the decrees of the assembly, were discussed; their deliberations had no authority, but they exercised a certain influence. The first club owed its origin to the Breton deputies, who already met together at Versailles to consider the course of proceeding they should take. When the national representatives were transferred from Versailles to Paris, the Breton deputies and those of the assembly who were of their views held their sittings in the old convent of the Jacobins, which subsequently gave its name to their meetings. It did not at first cease to be a preparatory assembly, but as all things increase in time, the Jacobin Club did not confine itself to influencing the assembly; it sought also to influence the municipality and the people, and received as associates members of the municipality and common citizens. Its organization became more regular, its action more powerful; its sittings were regularly reported in the papers; it created branch clubs in the provinces, and raised

by the side of legal power another power which first counselled and then conducted it. The Jacobin Club, as it lost its primitive character and became a popular assembly, had been forsaken by part of its founders. The latter established another society on the plan of the old one, under the name of the Club of '89. Siéyès, Chapelier, Lafayette, La Rochefoucauld, directed it, as Lameth and Barnave directed that of the Jacobins. Mirabeau belonged to both, and by both was equally courted. These clubs, of which the one prevailed in the assembly, and the other amongst the people, were attached to the new order of things, though in different degrees. The aristocracy sought to attack the revolution with its own arms: it opened royalist clubs to oppose the popular clubs. That first established, under the name of the Club des Impartiaux, could not last because it addressed itself to no class opinion. Reappearing under the name of the Club Monarchique, it included among its members all those whose views it represented. It sought to render itself popular with the lower classes, and distributed bread; but, far from accepting its overtures, the people considered such establishments as a counter-revolutionary movement. It disturbed their sittings, and obliged them several times to change their place of meeting. At length, the municipal authority found itself obliged, in January, 1791, to close this club, which had been the cause of several riots."—F. A. Mignet, *History of the French Revolution*, ch. 3.—"At the end of 1790 the number of Jacobin Clubs was 200, many of which—like the one in Marseilles—contained more than a thousand members. Their organization extended through the whole kingdom, and every impulse given at the centre in Paris was felt at the extremities. . . . It was far indeed from embracing the majority of adult Frenchmen, but even at that time it had undoubtedly become—by means of its strict unity—the greatest power in the kingdom."—H. von Sybel, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 5.—"This Jacobin Club soon divided itself into three other clubs: first, that party which looked upon the Jacobins as lukewarm patriots left it, and constituted themselves into the Club of the Cordeliers, where Danton's voice of thunder made the halls ring; and Camille Desmoulins' light, glancing wit played with momentous subjects. The other party, which looked upon the Jacobins as too fierce, constituted itself into the 'Club of 1789; friends of the monarchic constitution'; and afterwards named Feuillant's Club, because it met in the Feuillant Convent. Lafayette was their chief; supported by the 'respectable' patriots. These clubs generated many others, and the provinces imitated them."—G. H. Lewes, *Life of Robespierre*, ch. 10.—"The Cordeliers were a Parisian club; the Jacobins an immense association extending throughout France. But Paris would stir and rise at the fury of the Cordeliers; and Paris being once in motion, the political revolutionists were absolutely obliged to follow. Individuality was very powerful among the Cordeliers. Their journalists, Marat, Desmoulins, Fréron, Robert, Hebert and Fabre l'Églantine, wrote each for himself. Danton, the omnipotent orator, would never write; but, by way of compensation, Marat and Desmoulins, who stammered or lisped, used principally to write, and seldom spoke. . . . The Cordeliers formed a sort of tribe, all living in the neighbourhood of the club."—J. Michelet, *Historical view of the French Revolution*, bk. 4, ch. 7, 5.

ALSO IN: T. Carlyle, *French Revolution*, v. 2, bk. 1, ch. 5.—H. A. Taine, *French Revolution*, v. 2, bk. 4.

1790 (May).—Law requiring sale of small tracts of land.—Agricultural conditions.—“The continental country in which the liberation of agriculture first took place upon a considerable scale was France. There, as elsewhere, the development presents three principal phases: (1) the emancipation of the rural labourer in respect to his person; (2) the release of agricultural technique from the fetters imposed by law and custom; and (3) the liberation of the land, similarly, from ancient legal and customary fetters, and the opening of it to the possession of large numbers of people. One of the capital achievements of the Revolution was the abolition of all survivals of feudalism and serfdom. The number of serfs remaining to be set free in 1789 was not large. None the less, the liberation of such as there were, together with the cancellation of an intricate mass of surviving feudal and manorial obligations, was a step necessary to be taken before the French agricultural classes could be put in the way of the largest prosperity. By it the French people were guaranteed for the first time a universal status of personal, legal freedom. The liberation of technique, involving especially the abandonment of the three-field system and the introduction of machinery and of new methods of cultivation, came gradually and did not reach full fruition before the second half of the nineteenth century. In some of its aspects, at least, it was promoted, as well as accompanied, by a development which must be considered much the most important of all, i. e., the conversion of tenants, dependent cultivators, and ordinary labourers into independent, self-sustaining landholders; and attention must first be directed in some detail to this fundamental matter. Formerly it was supposed that the multiplicity of small proprietorships which is the distinguishing feature of rural France to-day was wholly a consequence of the Revolution. Research has shown that this is not true—that, on the contrary, the breaking up of the agricultural lands of France into little holdings was already under way long before 1789. Some students of the subject have gone so far as to maintain, indeed, that the number of landed proprietorships in France was scarcely smaller before 1789 than it is to-day. This is an extreme view, but it is nearer the truth than is the assertion of the historian Michelet that the class of peasant proprietors sprang entirely from the land sales of the Revolutionary period. During his travels in France in 1787-1789 Arthur Young was struck by the large number of instances in which the lord possessed the chateau and some seigniorial land while most of the area of the old manor was divided among peasants who owned their bits of ground subject only to the rendering of certain seigniorial payments. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries impoverished seigneurs in increasing numbers had been obliged to sell land to their tenants; while the number of small holdings had been increased steadily by the redemption of waste land and by the enclosure and division of common land. No reliable statistics of French landholding prior to 1789 exist. Arthur Young, however, says that in 1787 a third of the land was tilled by peasant owners; and it has been estimated that at the outbreak of the Revolution the total number of proprietors was about three millions, of whom three-fifths would be classified to-day as small proprietors. Both Young and Malthus expressed the opinion that, as matters were going, France would become as badly overpopulated as was China. As late as 1823 McCulloch predicted that the land must certainly become, within fifty years, ‘the greatest pauper warren in

the world’ and share with Ireland the dubious honour of furnishing hewers of wood and drawers of water to other countries. After full allowance has been made for the growth of small holdings before the Revolution, the fact remains that the development was much accelerated by the Revolution itself. In the first place, the improvement of the conditions of landholding, through the suppression of manorial obligations, stimulated the desire of larger numbers of men to become proprietors. In the second place, the Revolution emphasised the principle and Napoleon sought to enforce it in the *Code*—of egalitarian inheritance, in accordance with which the bulk of a testator’s property was required to be divided equally among all of his children, without distinction of age or sex. Already before 1789 this policy was in common use among the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. And while in practise a rule of this kind must under any condition be subject to some evasions and limitations, there can be no question that the sanction lent the ‘partible succession’ by the Revolutionary assemblies and by the *Code* enhanced decidedly the principle’s effectiveness. More important than these influences, however, was the extensive sale of lands confiscated from the crown, from the émigrés, and from the Church. Through the years 1700-05 large areas were placed upon the market. Prices were low, payment was spread over a period of twelve or more years, a clear title was given, and no complicating obligations were imposed. The law of May 14, 1790, specifically enjoined that the lands should be sold in small portions, the large estates being broken up for the purpose, to the end that the number of ‘happy proprietors’ might be increased. Until 1793, when the practise was prohibited, peasants frequently combined to purchase large tracts which they forthwith divided among themselves.”—F. A. Ogg, *Economic development of modern Europe*, pp. 188-190.—See also AGRICULTURE: Modern: General survey; also France: Development since the Revolution.

1790-1791.—Revolution at Avignon.—Reunion of old papal province with France decreed.—“The old residence of the Popes [Avignon] remained until the year 1789 under the papal government, which, from its distance, exercised its authority with great mildness, and left the towns and villages of the country in the enjoyment of a great degree of independence. The general condition of the population was, however, much the same as in the neighbouring districts of France—agitation in the towns and misery in the country. It is not surprising, therefore, that the commotion of August 4th should extend itself among the subjects of the Holy see. Here, too, castles were burned, black mail levied on the monasteries, tithes and feudal rights abolished. The city of Avignon soon became the centre of a political agitation, whose first object was to throw off the papal yoke, and then to unite the country with France. . . . In June, 1790, the people of Avignon tore down the papal arms, and the Town Council sent a message to Paris that Avignon wished to be united to France.” Some French regiments were sent to the city to maintain order; but “the greater part of them deserted, and marched out with the Democrats of the town to take and sack the little town of Cavillon, which remained faithful to the Pope. From this time forward civil war raged without intermission. . . . The Constituent Assembly, on the 14th of September, 1791, decreed the reunion of the country with France. Before the new government could assert its authority, fresh and more dreadful atrocities had taken place,” ending with the fiendish massacre of 110 prisoners, held by a band of

ruffians who had taken possession of the papal castle.—H. von Sybel, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 1, bk. 3, ch. 2.

1790-1791.—Oath of the clergy.—Rise of the Jacobins.—Mirabeau.—King's flight to Varennes.—“On July 12th, 1790, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was decreed. The sees of the bishops were made coterminous with the recently formed departments, and the bishops were elected by the secondary electors. Every parish was to have one priest, who was also elected and whose income was increased as that of the bishop was decreased. The State was responsible for the salaries, and residence was made obligatory. All the clergy must take the oath to the (yet unborn) Constitution. The Pope was to receive only a formal notice of election. It was inevitable that the Assembly should take some steps to deal with so important a part of the fabric of old France. . . . It was partly the ideal of an independent Gallican Church, and the tradition of the Jansenists, of whom there were a number in the Assembly, which decided the treatment



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of the question. The King was induced to accept the new Constitution on August 26th. The result was a schism between the 'Constitutional' clergy and those who refused to take the oath. Gradually the area of conflict widened and the execution of the law was merged in a general persecution of the Church. The seizure of Church property had been largely caused by the necessity of raising funds. . . . The members of the Assembly are not to be despised. . . . By means of a Constitution they hoped to accomplish much, and although it was not the 'stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty,' as described by Charles James Fox, yet it was equally undeserving of the title bestowed upon it by Marie Antoinette, who called it 'a tissue of absurdities.' . . . The spirit of unrest was merging into the more dangerous spirit of disorder. At Nimes and Montaubon there was such serious agitation that it amounted almost to civil war. At Lyons and at Marseilles there were exciting scenes of bitter conflict; while everywhere there was a general feeling of insecurity. . . . The rise of the Jacobins was entirely due to marvellous organization, and it stands out on the pages of history as a famous ex-

ample of such methods. The leading Jacobins were not members of the lower class, but were for the most part professional men like Robespierre, Danton, and Camille Desmoulins. Nor was the club originally composed of extremists. But the admission of the public to debates gave authority to the more violent speakers, and the moderates seceded. In the autumn of 1790 the Jacobin Club of Paris published a newspaper which had immense effect, and, before the winter, was able to report the existence of 120 provincial clubs affiliated to the central society in the capital. Within two years it was calculated that there were no fewer than 26,000 of these clubs scattered through the numerous communes of France. In the face of so many dangers, disaster seemed inevitable. Its delay may justly be attributed in part to the marvellous personality of the Comte de Mirabeau. He had been born in 1749, and during the early part of his life had more than once been obliged to fly from his country. Four years before the outbreak of the Revolution he had been in England, where he was the friend of most of the leading Whigs of the day, and imbibed a lasting reverence for the English Constitution. During the preliminary meetings in Provence in 1788, Mirabeau had been rejected by the noblesse, so that in the spring of the following year, having offered himself to the Third Estate, he was elected for both Marseilles and Aix, and sat in the States-General for the latter. Much to the annoyance of Mounier, an acute observer and one who played an important part in the early scenes of the Revolution, Mirabeau became still more conspicuous, and soon took the lead, believing firmly and wisely in the necessity of a strong and capable executive in touch with the popular desires. He it was who consolidated the National Assembly and pointed out the futility of abstract declarations. He saw that the hopes of France lay in the King's choice of a minister, and he did his best to win the confidence of his Sovereign. He failed, however, because of the bitter opposition of the Queen, the arrogance of Lafayette, and the pusillanimous conduct of Necker. He was, besides, suspected of complicity with Orleans in the events of October 5th and 6th. . . . Throughout he was working strenuously for the good of his country, and he felt very strongly that, if only the King could be removed from Paris to some place a short distance away, a Constitutional Monarchy might then be established, firmly based upon the affections of the nation and the idea that the King and the people of France were one and indivisible. Mirabeau's schemes were destined to be ruined by the hostility of the Queen, prolonged until the critical moment was passed; and by the decree of November 7th, which kept the executive and legislature entirely apart. Even after this last event he continued to have hope, and was in constant communication with the Court. He boldly pointed out to the King that his plan of a counter-revolution was 'dangerous, criminal, and chimerical.' He told him very plainly that his only hope was to act in cordial co-operation with a still existing body of loyalists who were ready to carry out reform. He urged the King to withdraw from Paris, but not beyond the border. He saw that it would be fatal to appeal to the allies against France, but he believed that the royal provinces would rally to the King. As late as December, 1790, he presented to the Court the most complete and weighty of his memoranda, in which he urged it to concentrate its efforts on two objects: the discrediting of the existing Assembly and the election of another which should have full powers to reform the Constitution. Carlyle says 'had Mirabeau lived the history of

France and the world had been different'; but it is idle to speculate now whether his busy schemes would have succeeded, for he was cut off before they could be fulfilled. The golden opportunity for action was lost, and with Mirabeau's death on April 4th, 1791, the last hope for the ancient Monarchy of France was extinguished, for, as he himself said, 'When I am gone they will know what the value of me was. The miseries I have held back will burst from all sides on France. I carry in my heart the funeral pall of the French Monarchy; the dead remains of it will now be the sport of factions.' France did indeed become 'the sport of factions,' and Mirabeau's death opened the way for Robespierre and the Jacobins [and Duport, Barnave, and Lameth reigned supreme in the Assembly]. By the summer of 1791, Robespierre, at one time a lawyer and judge in Arras, became a person of great influence in the Assembly. The powerless King had lost his one supporter, and by June 20th, unable to bear the strain any longer, he made an attempt to reach the frontier.—R. W. Jeffery, *New Europe*, pp. 12-17.—“On Monday night, the Twentieth of June, 1791, about eleven o'clock, there is many a hackney-coach, and glass-coach (*carrosse de remise*), still rumbling, or at rest, on the streets of Paris. But of all glass-coaches, we recommend this to thee, O Reader, which stands drawn up in the Rue de l'Echelle, hard by the Carrousel and outgate of the Tuileries; in the Rue de l'Echelle that then was; 'opposite Ronsin the saddler's door,' as if waiting for a fare there! Not long does it wait: a hooded Dame, with two hooded Children has issued from Villequier's door, where no sentry walks, into the Tuileries Court-of-Princes; into the Carrousel; into the Rue de l'Echelle; where the Glass-coachman readily admits them; and again waits. Not long; another Dame, likewise hooded or shrouded, leaning on a servant, issues in the same manner; bids the servant good-night; and is, in the same manner, by the Glass-coachman, cheerfully admitted. Whither go so many Dames? 'Tis his Majesty's *Couchée*, Majesty just gone to bed, and all the Palace-world is retiring home. But the Glass-coachman still waits; his fare seemingly incomplete. By and by, we note a thickest Individual, in round hat and peruke, arm-and-arm with some servant, seemingly of the Runner or Courier sort; he also issues through Villequier's door; starts a shoebuckle as he passes one of the sentries, stoops down to clasp it again; is however, by the Glass-coachman, still more cheerfully admitted. And *now*, is his fare complete? Not yet; the Glass-coachman still waits.—Alas! and the false Chambermaid has warned Gouvion that she thinks the Royal Family will fly this very night; and Gouvion, distrusting his own glazed eyes, has sent express for Lafayette; and Lafayette's Carriage, flaring with lights, rolls this moment through the inner Arch of the Carrousel,—where a Lady shaded in broad gypsy-hat, and leaning on the arm of a servant, also of the Runner or Courier sort, stands aside to let it pass, and has even the whim to touch a spoke of it with her *badine*,—light little magic rod which she calls *badine*, such as the Beautiful then wore. The flare of Lafayette's Carriage rolls past; all is found quiet in the Court-of-Princes; sentries at their post; Majesties' Apartments closed in smooth rest. Your false Chambermaid must have been mistaken? Watch thou, Gouvion, with Argus' vigilance; for, of a truth, treachery is within these walls. But where is the Lady that stood aside in gypsy-hat, and touched the wheel-spoke with her *badine*? O Reader, that Lady that touched the wheel-spoke was the Queen of France! She has issued safe

through that inner Arch, into the Carrousel itself; but not into the Rue de l'Echelle. Flurried by the rattle and rencounter, she took the right hand not the left; neither she nor her Courier knows Paris; he indeed is no Courier, but a loyal stupid *ci-devant* Bodyguard disguised as one. They are off, quite wrong, over the Pont Royal and River; roaming disconsolate in the Rue du Bac; far from the Glass-coachman, who still waits. Waits, with flutter of heart; with thoughts—which he must button close up, under his jarvie-surtout! Midnight clangs from all the City-steeple; one precious hour has been spent so; most mortals are asleep. The Glass-coachman waits; and in what mood! A brother jarvie drives up, enters into conversation; is answered cheerfully in jarvie-dialect: the brothers of the whip exchange a pinch of snuff; decline drinking together; and part with good-night. Be the Heavens blest! here at length is the Queen-lady, in gypsy-hat; safe after perils; who has had to inquire her way. She too is admitted; her Courier jumps aloft, as the other, who is also a disguised Bodyguard, has done: and now, O Glass-coachman of a thousand,—Count Fersen, for the Reader sees it is thou,—drive! Dust shall not stick to the hoofs of Fersen: crack! crack! the Glass-coach rattles, and every soul breathes lighter. But is Fersen on the right road? North-eastward, to the Barrier of Saint-Martin and Metz Highway, thither were we bound: and lo, he drives right Northward! The royal Individual, in round hat and peruke, sits astonished; but right or wrong, there is no remedy. Crack, crack, we go incessant, through the slumbering City. Seldom, since Paris rose out of mud, or the Longhaired Kings went in Bullock-carts, was there such a drive. Mortals on each hand of you, close by, stretched out horizontal, dormant; and we alive and quaking! Crack, crack, through the Rue de Grammont; across the Boulevard; up the Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin,—these windows, all silent, of Number 42, were Mirabeau's. Towards the Barrier not of Saint-Martin, but of Clichy on the utmost North! Patience, ye royal Individuals; Fersen understands what he is about. Passing up the Rue de Clichy, he alights for one moment at Madame Sullivan's: 'Did Count Fersen's Coachman get the Baroness de Korff's new Berline?'—'Gone with it an hour-and-half ago,' grumbles responsive the drowsy Porter.—'*C'est bien*.' Yes, it is well;—though had not such hour-and-half been *lost*, it were still better. Forth therefore, O Fersen, fast, by the Barrier de Clichy; then Eastward along the Outer Boulevard, what horses and whipcord can do! Thus Fersen drives, through the ambrosial night. Sleeping Paris is now all on the right-hand of him; silent except for some snoring hum; and now he is Eastward as far as the Barrier de Saint-Martin; looking earnestly for Baroness de Korff's Berline. This Heaven's Berline he at length does descry, drawn up with its six horses, his own German Coachman waiting on the box. Right, thou good German: now haste, whither thou knowest!—And as for us of the Glass-coach, haste too, O haste; much time is already lost! The august Glass-coach fare, six Insides, hastily packs itself into the new Berline; two Bodyguard Couriers behind. The Glass-coach itself is turned adrift, its head towards the City; to wander whither it lists,—and be found next morning tumbled in a ditch. But Fersen is on the new box, with its brave new hammer-cloths; flourishing his whip; he bolts forward towards Bondy. There a third and final Bodyguard Courier of ours ought surely to be, with post-horses ready-ordered. There likewise ought that purchased Chaise, with the two Waiting-maids and their handboxes, to be; whom also her

Majesty could not travel without. Swift, thou deft Fersen, and may the Heavens turn it well! Once more, by Heaven's blessing, it is all well. Here is the sleeping Hamlet of Bondy; Chaise with Waiting-women; horses all ready, and postillions with their churn-boots, impatient in the dewy dawn. Brief harnessing done, the postillions with their churn-boots vault into the saddles; and brandish circularly their little noisy whips. Fersen, under his jarvie-surtout, bends in lowly silent reverence of adieu; royal hands wave speechless inexpressible response; Baroness de Korff's Berline, with the Royalty of France, bounds off; forever, as it proved. Deft Fersen dashes obliquely Northward, through the country, towards Bougret; gains Bougret, finds his German Coachman and chariot waiting there; cracks off, and drives undiscovered into unknown space. A deft active man, we say; what he undertook to do is nimbly and successfully done. And so the Royalty of France is actually fled? This precious night, the shortest of the year, it flies, and drives! *Baroness de Korff* is, at bottom, *Dame de Tourzel*, Governess of the Royal Children: she who came hooded with the two hooded little ones; little Dauphin; little Madame Royale, known long afterwards as *Duchesse d'Angoulême*. *Baroness de Korff's Waiting-maid* is the Queen in gypsy-hat. The royal Individual in round hat and peruke, he is *Valet* for the time being. The other hooded Dame, styled *Travelling-companion*, is kind Sister Elizabeth; she had sworn, long since, when the Insurrection of Women was, that only death should part her and them. And so they rush there, not too impetuously, through the Wood of Bondy:—over a Rubicon in their own and France's History. Great; though the future is all vague! If we reach Bouillé? If we do not reach him? O Louis! and this all round thee is the great slumbering Earth (and overhead, the great watchful Heaven); the slumbering Wood of Bondy,—where Longhaired Childeric Donothing was struck through with iron; not unreasonably, in a world like ours. These peaked stone-towers are Raincy; towers of wicked D'Orléans. All slumbers save the multiplex rustle of our new Berline. Loose-skirted scarecrow of an Herb-merchant, with his ass and early greens, toilsomely plodding, seems the only creature we meet. But right ahead the great Northeast sends up evermore his gray brindled dawn: from dewy branch, birds here and there, with short deep warble, salute the coming Sun. Stars fade out, and Galaxies; Street-lamps of the City of God. The Universe, O my brothers, is flinging wide its portals for the Levee of the GREAT HIGH KING. Thou, poor King Louis, fareest nevertheless, as mortals do, towards Orient lands of Hope; and the Tuileries with its Levees, and France and the Earth itself, is but a larger kind of doghutch,—occasionally going rabid."—T. Carlyle, *French Revolution*, pp. 382-386.—They reached Menehould in safety "but here the King was recognised by Drouet, the son of the post-master, who mounting his horse, pursued the royal fugitives to Varennes, raised an alarm, and caused them to be captured. . . . In consequence of their being rather later than was expected, the military preparations that had been made for their protection entirely failed. . . . The news of the flight filled Paris with consternation. The Assembly assumed all the executive power of the Government, and when the news of the King's arrest arrived, they dispatched Barnave, Latour, Maubourg and Pétion to conduct him and his family back to Paris. . . . The King's brother, the Count of Provence, who fled at the same time by a different route, escaped safely to Brussels. . . . The King after his return,

was provisionally suspended from his functions by a decree of the Assembly, June 25th."—T. H. Dyer, *History of modern Europe*, bk. 7.

ALSO IN: J. E. E. Dalberg-Acton, *Lectures on the French Revolution*.—L. Barthou, *Mirabeau*.—H. Belloc, *Marie Antoinette*.—Marquis de Bouillé, *Memoirs*.—O. Browning, *Flight to Varennes*.—Mme. Campan, *Memoirs of Marie Antoinette*.—A. B. Cochran, *Francis I, and other historical studies*.—J. Michelet, *Historical view of the French Revolution*.

1790-1791.—First movements toward the European coalition.—Rise of a republican party.—"The injuries inflicted by the decrees of the Assembly on August 4th, 1789, on several princes of the Empire, through their possessions in Alsace, Franche Comté, and Lorraine, might afford a pretext for a rupture between the German Confederation and France. . . . The German prelates, injured by the Civil Constitution of the clergy, were among the first to complain. By this act the Elector of Mentz was deprived of his metropolitan rights over the bishoprics of Strasburg and Spire; the Elector of Trèves of those over Metz, Toul, Verdun, Nancy and St. Diez. The Bishops of Strasburg and Bâle lost their diocesan rights in Alsace. Some of these princes and nobles had called upon the Emperor and the German body in January 1790, for protection against the arbitrary acts of the National Assembly. This appeal had been favourably entertained, both by the Emperor Joseph II. and by the King of Prussia; and though the Assembly offered suitable indemnities, they were haughtily refused. . . . The Spanish and Italian Bourbons were naturally inclined to support their relative, Louis XVI. . . . The King of Sardinia, connected by intermarriages with the French Bourbons, had also family interests to maintain. Catherine II. of Russia had witnessed, with humiliation and alarm, the fruits of the philosophy which she had patronised, and was opposed to the new order of things in France. . . . All the materials existed for an extensive coalition against French democracy. In this posture of affairs the Count d'Artois, accompanied by Calonne, who served him as a sort of minister, and by the Count de Durfort, who had been despatched from the French Court, had a conference with the Emperor, now Leopold II., at Mantua, in May 1791, in which it was agreed that, towards the following July, Austria should march 35,000 men towards the frontiers of Flanders; the German Circles 15,000 towards Alsace; the Swiss 15,000 towards the Lyonnais; the King of Sardinia 15,000 towards Dauphiné; while Spain was to hold 20,000 in readiness in Catalonia. This agreement, for there was not, as some writers have supposed, any formal treaty, was drawn up by Calonne, and amended with the Emperor's own hand. But the large force to be thus assembled was intended only as a threatening demonstration, and hostilities were not to be actually commenced without the sanction of a congress. [See also PADUA, DECLARATION OF.] . . . From the period of the King's flight to Varennes must be dated the first decided appearance of a republican party in France. During his absence the Assembly had been virtually sovereign, and hence men took occasion to say, 'You see the public peace has been maintained, affairs have gone on in the usual way in the King's absence.' The chief advocates of a republic were Brissot, Condorcet, and the recently-established club of the Cordeliers. . . . The arch-democrat, Thomas Payne, who was now at Paris, also endeavoured to excite the populace against the King. The Jacobin Club had not yet gone this length; they were for bringing Louis XVI. to trial

and deposing him, but for maintaining the monarchy."—T. H. Dyer, *History of modern Europe*, v. 4, bk. 7, ch. 2-3.—See also AUSTRIA: 1790-1797-1791 (July-September).—Attitude of foreign powers.—Coolness of Austria towards the émigrés.—Declaration of Pillnitz.—Completion of the constitution.—Restoration of the king.—Tumult in Champs de Mars.—Dissolution of the Constituent National Assembly.—"On the 27th of July, Prince Reuss presented a memorial [from the Court of Austria] to the Court of Berlin, in which the Emperor explained at length his views of a European Concert. It was drawn up, throughout, in Leopold's usual cautions and circumspect manner. . . . In case an armed intervention should appear necessary—they would take into consideration the future constitution of France; but in doing so they were to renounce, in honour of the great cause in which they were engaged, all views of selfish aggrandizement. We see what a small part the desire for war played in the drawing up of this far-seeing plan. The document repeatedly urged that no step ought to be taken without the concurrence of all the Powers, and especially of England; and as England's decided aversion to every kind of interference was well known, this stipulation alone was sufficient to stamp upon the whole scheme, the character of a harmless demonstration." At the same time Catharine II of Russia, released from war with the Turks, and bent upon the destruction of Poland, desired "to implicate the Emperor as inextricably as possible in the French quarrel, in order to deprive Poland of its most powerful protector; she therefore entered with the greatest zeal into the negotiations for the support of Louis XVI. Her old opponent, the brilliant King Gustavus of Sweden, declared his readiness—on receipt of a large subsidy from Russia—to conduct a Swedish army by sea to the coast of Flanders, and thence, under the guidance of Bouillé, against Paris. . . . But, of course, every word he uttered was only an additional warning to Leopold to keep the peace. . . . Under these circumstances he [the emperor] was most disagreeably surprised on the 20th of August, a few days before his departure for Pillnitz, by the sudden and entirely unannounced and unexpected arrival in Vienna of the Count d'Artois. It was not possible to refuse to see him, but Leopold made no secret to him of the real position of affairs. . . . He asked permission to accompany the Emperor to Pillnitz, which the latter, with cool politeness, said that he had no scruple in granting, but that even there no chance of policy would take place. . . . Filled with such sentiments, the Emperor Leopold set out for the conference with his new ally; and the King of Prussia came to meet him with entirely accordant views. . . . The representations of d'Artois, therefore, made just as little impression at Pillnitz, as they had done, a week before, at Vienna. . . . On the 27th, d'Artois received the joint answer of the two Sovereigns, the tone and purport of which clearly testified to the sentiments of its authors. . . . The Emperor and King gave their sanction to the peaceable residence of individual Emigrés in their States, but declared that no armed preparations would be allowed before the conclusion of an agreement between the European Powers. To this rejection the two Monarchs added a proposal of their own—contained in a joint declaration—in which they spoke of the restoration of order and monarchy in France as a question of the greatest importance to the whole of Europe. They signified their intention of inviting the coöperation of all the European Powers. [See also PILLNITZ, DECLARATION OF.] . . . But as it was well ascertained

that England would take no part, the expressions they chose were really equivalent to a declaration of non-intervention, and were evidently made use of by Leopold solely to intimidate the Parisian democrats. . . . Thus ended the conference of Pillnitz, after the two Monarchs had agreed to protect the constitution of the Empire, to encourage the Elector of Saxony to accept the crown of Poland, and to afford each other friendly aid in every quarter. The statement, therefore, which has been a thousand times repeated, that the first coalition for an attack on the French Revolution was formed on this occasion, has been shown to be utterly without foundation. As soon as the faintest gleam of a reconciliation between Louis and the National Assembly appeared, the cause of the Emigrés was abandoned by the German Courts."—H. von Sybel, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 1, bk. 2, ch. 6.—At Paris, meantime, "the commissioners charged to make their report on the affair of Varennes presented it on the 16th of July. In the journey, they said, there was nothing culpable; and even if there were, the King was inviolable. Dethronement could not result from it, since the King had not staid away long enough, and had not resisted the summons of the legislative body. Robespierre, Buzot, and Pétion repeated all the well known arguments against the inviolability. Duport, Barnave, and Salles answered them, and it was at length resolved that the King could not be brought to trial on account of his flight. . . . No sooner was this resolution passed than Robespierre rose, and protested strongly against it, in the name of humanity. On the evening preceding this decision, a great tumult had taken place at the Jacobins. A petition to the Assembly was there drawn up, praying it to declare that the King was deposed as a perfidious traitor to his oaths, and that it would seek to supply his place by all the constitutional means. It was resolved that this petition should be carried on the following day to the Champ de Mars, where every one might sign it on the altar of the country. Next day, it was accordingly carried to the place agreed upon, and the crowd of the seditious was reinforced by that of the curious, who wished to be spectators of the event. At this moment the decree was passed, so that it was now too late to petition. Lafayette arrived, broke down the barricades already erected, was threatened and even fired at, but . . . at length prevailed on the populace to retire. . . . But the tumult was soon renewed. Two invalids, who happened to be, nobody knows for what purpose, under the altar of the country, were murdered, and then the uproar became unbounded. The Assembly sent for the municipality, and charged it to preserve public order. Bailly repaired to the Champ de Mars, ordered the red flag to be unfurled, and, by virtue of martial law, summoned the seditious to retire. . . . Lafayette at first ordered a few shots to be fired in the air: the crowd quitted the altar of the country, but soon rallied. Thus driven to extremity, he gave the word, 'Fire!' The first discharge killed some of the rioters. Their number has been exaggerated. Some have reduced it to 30, others have raised it to 400, and others to several thousand. The last statement was believed at the moment, and the consternation became general. . . . Lafayette and Bailly were vehemently reproached for the proceedings in the Champ de Mars; but both of them, considering it their duty to observe the law, and to risk popularity and life in its execution, felt neither regret nor fear for what they had done. The factions were overawed by the energy which they displayed. . . . About this time the Assembly came to a determination which has

since been censured, but the result of which did not prove so mischievous as it has been supposed. It decreed that none of its members should be re-elected. Robespierre was the proposer of this resolution, and it was attributed to the envy which he felt against his colleagues, among whom he had not shone. . . . The new Assembly was thus deprived of men whose enthusiasm was somewhat abated, and whose legislative science was matured by an experience of three years. . . . The constitution was . . . completed with some haste, and submitted to the King for his acceptance. From that moment his freedom was restored to him; or, if that expression be objected to, the strict watch kept over the palace ceased. . . . After a certain number of days he declared that he accepted the constitution. . . . He repaired to the Assembly, where he was received as in the most brilliant times. Lafayette, who never forgot to repair the inevitable evils of political troubles, proposed a general amnesty for all acts connected with the Revolution, which was proclaimed amidst shouts of joy, and the prisons were instantly thrown open. At length, on the 30th of September [1791], Thouret, the last president, declared that the Constituent Assembly had terminated its sittings."—A. Thiers, *History of the French Revolution* (Amer. ed.), v. 1, pp. 186-193.

ALSO IN: Mme de Stael, *Considerations on the French Revolution*, pt. 2, ch. 22-23; pt. 3, ch. 1-2.—H. C. Lockwood, *Constitutional history of France*, ch. 1, and app. 1.

1791 (August).—Insurrection of slaves in Santo Domingo. See HAITI, REPUBLIC OF: 1632-1803.

1791 (September).—Removal of all disabilities from the Jews. See JEWS: France: 1791.

1791 (October).—Meeting of the legislative assembly.—Party divisions.—Girondists and their leaders.—The Mountain.—"The most glorious destiny was predicted for the Constitution, yet it did not live a twelve month; the Assembly that was to apply it was but a transition between the Constitutional Monarchy and the Republic. It was because the Revolution partook much more of a social than of a political overthrow. The Constitution had done all it could for the political part, but the social fabric remained to be reformed; the ancient privileged classes had been scotched, but not killed. . . . The new Legislative Assembly [which met October 1, its members having been elected before the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly] was composed of 745 deputies, mostly chosen from the middle classes and devoted to the Revolution; those of the Right and Extreme Right going by the name of Feuillants, those of the Left and Extreme Left by the name of Jacobins. The Right was composed of Constitutionals, who counted on the support of the National Guard and departmental authorities. Their ideas of the Revolution were embodied in the Constitution. . . . They kept up some relations with the Court by means of Barnave and the Lameths, but their pillar outside the Assembly, their trusty counsellor, seems to have been Lafayette. . . . The Left was composed of men resolved at all risks to further the Revolution, even at the expense of the Constitution. They intended to go as far as a Republic, only they lacked common unity of views, and did not form a compact body. . . . They reckoned among their numbers Vergniaud, Guadet, and Gensonné, deputies of the Gironde [the Bordeaux region, on the Garonne], powerful and vehement orators, and from whom their party afterwards took the name of 'Girondins'; also Brissot [de Warville] (born 1754), a talented journalist, who had drawn up the petition for the King's

deposition; and Condorcet (born 1743), an ultra-liberal, but a brilliant philosopher. Their leader outside the Assembly was Pétion (born 1753), a cold, calculating, and dissembling Republican, enjoying great popularity with the masses. The Extreme Left, occupying in small numbers the raised seats in the Assembly, from which circumstances they afterwards took the name of 'the Mountain,' were auxiliaries of the 'Girondins' in their attempts to further a Revolution which should be entirely in the interest of the people. Their inspirers outside the Assembly were Robespierre (born 1759), who controlled the club of the Jacobins by his dogmatic rigorism and fame for integrity; and Danton (born 1759), surnamed the Mirabeau of the 'Breechless' (Sansculottes), a bold and daring spirit, who swayed the new club of the Cordeliers. The Centre was composed of nonentities, their moderation was inspired by fear, hence they nearly always voted with the Left."—H. Van Laun, *French Revolutionary epoch*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 2, sect. 3.—"The department of the Gironde had given birth to a new political party in the twelve citizens who formed its deputies. . . . The names (obscure and unknown up to this period), of Ducos, Guadet, Lafond-Ladebat, Grangeneuve, Gensonné, Vergniaud, were about to rise into notice and renown with the storms and disasters of their country; they were the men who were destined to give that impulse to the Revolution that had hitherto remained in doubt and indecision, before which it still trembled with apprehension, and which was to precipitate it into a republic. Why was this impulse fated to have birth in the department of the Gironde and not in Paris? Nought but conjectures can be offered on this subject. . . . Bordeaux was a commercial city, and commerce, which requires liberty through interest, at last desires it through a love of freedom. Bordeaux was the great commercial link between America and France, and their constant intercourse with America had communicated to the Gironde their love for free institutions. Moreover Bordeaux . . . was the birthplace of Montaigne and Montesquieu, those two great republicans of the French school."—A. de Lamartine, *History of the Girondists*, v. 1, bk. 4, sect. 1.—"In the new National Assembly there was only one powerful and active party—that of the Gironde. . . . When we use the term 'parties' in reference to this Assembly, nothing more is meant by it than small groups of from 12 to 20 persons, who bore the sway in the rostra and in the Committees, and who alternately carried with them the aimless crowd of Deputies. It is true, indeed, that at the commencement of their session, 130 Deputies entered their names among the Jacobins, and about 200 among the Feuillants, but this had no lasting influence on the divisions, and the majority wavered under the influence of temporary motives. The party which was regarded as the 'Right' had no opportunity for action, but saw themselves, from the very first, obliged to assume an attitude of defence. . . . Outside the Chamber the beau idéal of this party,—General Lafayette,—declared himself in favour of an American Senate, but without any of the energy of real conviction. As he had defended the Monarchy solely from a sense of duty, while all the feelings of his heart were inclined towards a Republic, so now, though he acknowledged the necessity of an upper Chamber, the existing Constitution appeared to him to possess a more ideal beauty. He never attained, on this point, either to clear ideas or decided actions; and it was at this period that he resigned his command of the National guard in Paris, and retired for a while to his estate in Auvergne. . . .

The Girondist Deputies . . . were distinguished among the new members of the Assembly by personal dignity, regular education, and natural ability; and were, moreover, as ardent in their radicalism as any Parisian demagogue. They consequently soon became the darlings of all those zealous patriots for whom the Cordeliers were too dirty and the Feuillants too luke warm. External advantages are not without their weight, even in the most terrible political crises, and the Girondists owe to the magic of their eloquence, and especially to that of Vergniaud, an enduring fame, which neither their principles nor their deeds would have earned for them. . . . The representatives of Bordeaux had never occupied a leading position in the Girondist party, to which they had given its name. The real leadership of the Gironde fell singularly enough into the hands of an obscure writer, a political lady, and a priest who carried on his operations behind the scenes. It was their hands that overthrew the throne of the Capets, and spread revolution over Europe. . . . The writer in this trio was Brissot, who on the 16th of July had wished to proclaim the Republic, and who now represented the capital in the National Assembly, as a constitutional member. . . . While Brissot shaped the foreign policy of the Girondist party, its home affairs were directed by Marie Jeanne Roland, wife of the quondam Inspector of Factories at Lyons, with whom she had come the year before to Paris, and immediately thrown herself into the whirlpool of political life. As early as the year 1789, she had written to a friend, that the National Assembly must demand two illustrious heads, or all would be lost. . . . She was . . . 36 years old, not beautiful, but interesting, enthusiastic and indefatigable; with noble aims, but incapable of discerning the narrow line which separates right from wrong. . . . When warned by a friend of the unruly nature of the Parisian mob, she replied, that bloodhounds were after all indispensable for starting the game. . . . A less conspicuous, but not less important, part in this association, was played by the Abbé Siéyès. He did what neither Brissot nor Madame Roland could have done by furnishing his party with a comprehensive and prospective plan of operations. . . . Their only clearly defined objects were to possess themselves of the reins of government, to carry on the Revolution, and to destroy the Monarchy by every weapon within their reach."—H. von Sybel, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 1, bk. 3, ch. 1.—See also below: 1791-1792.

ALSO IN: H. A. Taine, *French Revolution*, v. 2, bk. 4.

1791-1792.—Growth and spread of anarchy and civil war.—Activity of the émigrés and the ejected priests.—Decrees against them vetoed by the king.—Girondists in control of the government.—War with the German powers forced on by them.—"It was an ominous proof of the little confidence felt by serious men in the permanence of the new Constitution, that the funds fell when the King signed it. All the chief municipal posts in Paris were passing into the hands of Republicans, and when Bailly, in November, ceased to be Mayor of Paris, he was succeeded in that great office by Pétion, a vehement and intolerant Jacobin. Lafayette had resigned the command of the National Guard, which was then divided under six commanders, and it could no longer be counted on to support the cause of order. Over a great part of France there was a total insecurity of life and property, such as had perhaps never before existed in a civilised country, except in times of foreign invasion or successful rebellion. Almost all the towns in the south—Marseilles, Toulon, Nîmes,

Arles, Avignon, Montpellier, Carpentras, Aix, Montauban—were centres of Republicanism, brigandage, or anarchy. The massacres of Jourdain at Avignon, in October, are conspicuous even among the horrors of the Revolution. Caen in the following month was convulsed by a savage and bloody civil war. The civil constitution of the clergy having been condemned by the Pope, produced an open schism, and crowds of ejected priests were exciting the religious fanaticism of the peasantry. In some districts in the south, the war between Catholic and Protestant was raging as fiercely as in the 17th century, while in Brittany, and especially in La Vendée, there were all the signs of a great popular insurrection against the new Government. Society seemed almost in dissolution, and there was scarcely a department in which law was observed and property secure. The price of corn, at the same time, was rising fast under the influence of a bad harvest in the south, aggravated by the want of specie, the depreciation of paper money, and the enormously increased difficulties of transport. The peasantry were combining to refuse the paper money. It was falling rapidly in value. . . . In the mean time the stream of emigrants continued unabated, and it included the great body of the officers of the army who had been driven from the regiments by their own soldiers. . . . At Brussels, Worms, and Coblenz, emigrants were forming armed organisations."—W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the eighteenth century*, v. 5, ch. 21.—"The revolution was threatened by two dangerous enemies, the emigrants, who were urging on a foreign invasion, and the non-juring bishops and priests who were doing all in their power to excite domestic rebellion. The latter were really the more dangerous. . . . The Girondists clamoured for repressive measures. On the 30th October it was decreed that the count of Provence, unless he returned within two months, should forfeit all rights to the regency. On the 9th of November an edict threatened the emigrants with confiscation and death unless they returned to their allegiance before the end of the year. On the 20th of November came the attack upon the non-jurors. They were called upon to take the oath within eight days, when lists were to be drawn up of those who refused; these were then to forfeit their pensions, and if any disturbance took place in their district they were to be removed from it, or if their complicity were proved they were to be imprisoned for two years. The king accepted the decree against his brother, but he opposed his veto to the other two. The Girondists and Jacobins eagerly seized the opportunity for a new attack upon the monarchy. . . . Throughout the winter attention was devoted almost exclusively to foreign affairs. It has been seen that the emperor was really eager for peace, and that as long as he remained in that mood there was little risk of any other prince taking the initiative. At the same time it must be acknowledged that Leopold's tone towards the French government was often too haughty and menacing to be conciliatory, and also that the open preparations of the emigrants in neighbouring states constituted an insult if not a danger to France. The Girondists, the most susceptible of men, only expressed the national sentiment in dwelling upon this with bitterness, and in calling for vengeance. At the same time they had conceived the definite idea that their own supremacy could best be obtained and secured by forcing on a foreign war. This was expressly avowed by Brissot, who took the lead of the party in this matter. [See also GIRONDISMS.] Robespierre, on the other hand, partly through temperament and partly through jealousy of his

brilliant rivals, was inclined to the maintenance of peace. But on this point the Feuillants were agreed with the Gironde, and so a vast majority was formed to force the unwilling king and ministers into war. The first great step was taken when Duportail, who had charge of military affairs, was replaced by Narbonne, a Feuillant. Louis XVI. was compelled to issue a note (14 December, 1791) to the emperor and to the archbishop of Trier to the effect that if the military force of the emigrants were not disbanded by the 15th of January hostilities would be commenced against the elector. The latter at once ordered the cessation of the military preparations, but the emigrants not only refused to obey but actually insulted the French envoy. Leopold expressed his desire for peace, but at the same time declared that any attack on the electorate of Trier would be regarded as an act of hostility to the empire. These answers were unsatisfactory, and Narbonne collected three armies on the frontiers, under the command of Rochambeau, Lafayette, and Luckner, and amounting together to about 150,000 men. On the 25th of January an explicit declaration was demanded from the emperor, with a threat that war would be declared unless a satisfactory answer was received by the 4th of March. Leopold II. saw all his hopes of maintaining peace in western Europe gradually disappearing, and was compelled to bestir himself. . . . On the 7th of February he finally concluded a treaty with the king of Prussia. . . . On the 1st of March, while still hoping to avoid a quarrel, Leopold II. died of a sudden illness, and with him perished the last possibility of peace. His son and successor, Francis II., who was now 24, had neither his father's ability nor his experience, and he was naturally more easily swayed by the anti-revolutionary spirit. . . . The Girondists combined all their efforts for an attack upon the minister of foreign affairs, Delessart, whom they accused of truckling to the enemies of the nation. Delessart was committed to prison, and his colleagues at once resigned. The Gironde now came into office. The ministry of home affairs was given to Roland; of war to Servan; of finance to Clavière. Dumouriez obtained the foreign department, Duranton that of justice, and Lacoste the marine. Its enemies called it 'the ministry of the sansculottes.' . . . On the 20th of April [1792] Louis XVI. appeared in the assembly and read with trembling voice a declaration of war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia."—R. Lodge, *History of modern Europe*, ch. 22, sect. 20-21.—The sincere desire of the Emperor Leopold II. to avoid war with France, and the restraining influence over the King of Prussia which he exercised up to the time when Catherine II. of Russia overcame it by the Polish temptation, are set forth by H. von Sybel in passages quoted elsewhere.—See also GERMANY: 1791-1792.

ALSO IN: A. de Lamartine, *History of the Girondists*, v. 1, bk. 6-14.—A. F. B. de Moleville, *Annals of the French Revolution*, v. 5-6, pt. 2, ch. 1-14.—F. C. Schlosser, *History of the eighteenth century, 5th period, 2nd division*, v. 6, ch. 1.

1791-1872.—Penal codes.—Houses of correction.—Colonies pénitentiaires. See CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 1791-1872.

1792.—Legislation against Order of St. John. See HOSPITALLERS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM: 1565-1878.

1792.—Loss of settlements in India to English. See INDIA: 1785-1793.

1792 (April).—Fête to the Soldiers of Chateaufieux. See LIBERTY CAP.

1792 (April-July).—Opening of the war with Austria and Prussia.—Character of the Revolu-

tionary Army.—French reverses.—"Hostilities followed close upon the declaration of war. At this time the forces destined to come into collision were posted as follows: Austria had 40,000 men in Belgium, and 25,000 on the Rhine. These numbers might easily have been increased to 80,000, but the Emperor of Austria did no more than collect 7,000 or 8,000 around Brigau, and some 20,000 more around Rastadt. The Prussians, now bound into a close alliance with Austria, had still a great distance to traverse from their base to the theatre of war, and could not hope to undertake active operations for a long time to come. France, on the other hand, had already three strong armies in the field. The Army of the North, under General Rochambeau, nearly 50,000 strong, held the frontier from Philippeville to Dunkirk; General Lafayette commanded a second army of about the same strength in observation from Philippeville to the Lauter; and a third army of 40,000 men, under Marshal Luckner, watched the course of the Rhine from Lauterbourg to the confines of Switzerland. The French forces were strong, however, on paper only. The French army had been mined, as it seemed, by the Revolution, and had fallen almost to pieces. The wholesale emigration of the aristocrats had robbed it of its commissioned officers, the old experienced leaders whom the men were accustomed to follow and obey. Again, the passion for political discussion, and the new notions of universal equality had fostered a dangerous spirit of license in the ranks. . . . While the regular regiments of the old establishment were thus demoralised, the new levies were still but imperfectly organised, and the whole army was unfit to take the field. It was badly equipped, without transport, and without those useful administrative services which are indispensable for mobility and efficiency. Moreover, the prestige of the French arms was at its lowest ebb. A long and enervating peace had followed since the last great war, in which the French armies had endured only failure and ignominious defeat. It is not strange, then, that the foes whom France had so confidently challenged, counted upon an easy triumph over the revolutionary troops. The earliest operations fully confirmed these anticipations. . . . France after the declaration of war had at once assumed the initiative, and proceeded to invade Belgium. Here the Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, who commanded the Imperialist forces, held his forces concentrated in three principal corps: one covered the line from the sea to Tournay; the second was at Leuze; the third and weakest at Mons. The total of these troops rose to barely 40,000, and Mons, the most important point in the general line of defence, was the least strongly held. An able strategist gathering together 30,000 men from each of the French armies of the Centre and North, would have struck at Mons with all his strength, cut Duke Albert's communications with the Rhine, turned his inner flank, and rolled him up into the sea. But no great genius as yet directed the military energies of France. . . . By Dumouriez's advice, the French armies were ordered to advance against the Austrians by several lines. Four columns of invasion were to enter Belgium; one was to follow the sea coast, the second to march on Tournay, the third to move from Valenciennes on Mons, and the fourth, under Lafayette, on Givet or Namur. Each, according to the success it might achieve, was to reinforce the next nearest to it, and all, finally, were to converge on Brussels. At the very outset, however, the French encountered the most ludicrous reverses. Their columns fled in disorder directly they came within sight of the enemy. Lafayette

alone continued his march boldly towards Namur; but he was soon compelled to retire by the news of the hasty flight of the columns north of him. The French troops had proved as worthless as their leaders were incapable; whole brigades turned tail, crying that they were betrayed, casting away their weapons as they ran, and displaying the most abject cowardice and terror. Not strangely, after this pitiful exhibition, the Austrians—all Europe, indeed—held the military power of France in the utmost contempt. . . . But now the national danger stirred France to its inmost depths. French spirit was thoroughly roused. The country rose as one man, determined to offer a steadfast, stubborn front to its foes. Stout-hearted leaders, full of boundless energy and enthusiasm, summoned all the resources of the nation to stem and roll back the tide of invasion. Immediate steps were taken to put the defeated and disgraced armies of the frontier upon a new footing. Lafayette replaced Rochambeau, with charge from Longwy to the sea, his main body about Sedan; Luckner took the line from the Moselle to the Swiss mountains, with head-quarters at Metz. A third general, destined to come speedily to the front, also joined the army as Lafayette's lieutenant. This was Dumouriez, who, wearied and baffled by Parisian politics, sought the freedom of the field."—A. Griffith, *French Revolutionary generals*, ch. 1.

1792 (June-August).—King's dismissal of Girondist ministers.—Mob demonstration of June 20.—Lafayette in Paris.—His failure.—Country declared to be in danger.—Gathering of volunteers in Paris.—Brunswick's manifesto.—Mob attack on the Tuileries, August 10.—Massacre of the Swiss.—"Servan, the minister of war, proposed the formation of an armed camp for the protection of Paris. Much opposition was, however, raised to the project, and the Assembly decreed (June 6) that 20,000 volunteers, recruited in the departments, should meet at Paris to take part in the celebration of a federal festival on July 14, the third anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. The real object of those who supported the decree was to have a force at Paris with which to maintain mastery over the city should the Allies penetrate into the interior. Louis left the decree unexecuted, as he had the one directed against nonjurors. The agitators of the sections sought to get up an armed demonstration against this exercise of the King's constitutional prerogative. Though armed demonstrations were illegal, the municipality offered but a perfunctory and half-hearted resistance. . . . Louis, irritated at the pressure put on him by Roland, Clavière, and Servan, to sanction the two decrees, dismissed the three ministers from office (June 13). Dumouriez, who had quarreled with his colleagues, supported the King in taking this step, but in face of the hostility of the Assembly himself resigned office (June 15). Three days later a letter from Lafayette was read in the Assembly. The general denounced the Jacobins as the authors of all disorders, called on the Assembly to maintain the prerogatives of the crown, and intimated that his army would not submit to see the constitution violated (June 18). Possibly the dismissal of the ministers and the writing of this letter were measures concerted between the King and Lafayette. In any case the King's motive was to excite division between the constitutionalists and the Girondists, so as to weaken the national defence. The dismissal of the ministers was, however, regarded by the Girondists as a proof of the truth of their worst suspicions, and no measures were taken to prevent an execution of

the project of making an armed, and therefore illegal, demonstration against the royal policy. On June 20, thousands of persons, carrying pikes or whatever weapon came to hand, and accompanied by several battalions of the national guard, marched from St. Antoine to the hall of the Assembly. A deputation read an address demanding the recall of the ministers. Afterwards the whole of the procession, men, women and children, dancing, singing, and carrying emblems, defiled through the chamber. Instigated by their leaders they broke into the Tuileries. The King, who took his stand on a window seat, was mobbed for four hours. To please his unwelcome visitors, he put on his head a red cap, such as was now commonly worn at the Jacobins as an emblem of liberty, in imitation of that which was once worn by the emancipated Roman slave. He declared his intention to observe the constitution, but neither insult nor menace could prevail on him to promise his sanction to the two decrees. The Queen, separated from the King, sat behind a table on which she placed the Dauphin, exposed to the gaze and taunts of the crowds which slowly traversed the palace apartments. At last, but not before night, the mob left the Tuileries without doing further harm, and order was again restored. This insurrection and the slackness, if not connivance, of the municipal authorities, excited a widespread feeling of indignation amongst constitutionalists. Lafayette came to Paris, and at the bar of the Assembly demanded in person what he had before demanded by letter (June 28). With him, as with other former members of the constituent Assembly, it was a point of honour to shield the persons of the King and Queen from harm. Various projects for their removal from Paris were formed, but policy and sentiment alike forbade Marie Antoinette to take advantage of them. . . . The one gleam of light on the horizon of this unhappy Queen was the advance of the Allies. 'Better die,' she one day bitterly exclaimed, 'than be saved by Lafayette and the constitutionalists.' There was, no doubt, a possibility of the Allies reaching Paris that summer, but this enormously increased the danger of the internal situation. . . . To rouse the nation to a sense of peril the Assembly [July 11] caused public proclamation to be made in every municipality that the country was in danger. The appeal was responded to with enthusiasm, and within six weeks more than 60,000 volunteers enlisted. The Duke of Brunswick, the commander-in-chief of the allied forces, published a manifesto, drawn up by the emigrants. If the authors of this astounding proclamation had deliberately intended to serve the purpose of those Frenchmen who were bent on kindling zeal for the war, they could not have done anything more likely to serve their purpose. The powers required the country to submit unconditionally to Louis's mercy. All who offered resistance were to be treated as rebels to their King, and Paris was to suffer military execution if any harm befell the royal family. . . . Meanwhile, a second insurrection, which had for its object the King's deposition, was in preparation. The Assembly, after declaring the country in danger, had authorised the sections of Paris, as well as the administrative authorities throughout France, to meet at any moment. The sections had, in consequence, been able to render themselves entirely independent of the municipality. In each of the sectional or primary assemblies from 700 to 3,000 active citizens had the right to vote, but few cared to attend, and thus it constantly happened that a small active minority spoke and acted in the name of an apathetic constitutional majority. Thousands of volunteers

passed through Paris on their way to the frontier, some of whom were purposely retained to take part in the insurrection. The municipality of Marseilles, at the request of Barbaroux, a young friend of the Rolands, sent up a band of 500 men, who first sung in Paris the verses celebrated as the 'Marseillaise' [see MUSIC: Folk Music and Nationalism: France]. The danger was the greater since every section had its own cannon and a special body of cannoneers, who nearly to a man were on the side of the revolutionists. The terrified and oscillating Assembly made no attempt to suppress agitation, but acquitted (August 8) Lafayette, by 406 against 280 votes, of a charge of treason made against him by the left, on the ground that he had sought to intimidate the Legislature. This vote was regarded as tantamount to a refusal to pass sentence of deposition on Louis. On the following night the insurrection began. Its centre was in the Faubourg of St. Antoine, and it was organised by but a small number of men. Mandat, the commander-in-chief of the national guard, was an energetic constitutionalist, who had taken well-concerted measures for the defence of the Tuileries. But the unscrupulousness of the conspirators was more than a match for his zeal. Soon after midnight commissioners from 28 sections met together at the Hotel de Ville, and forced the Council-General of the Municipality to summon Mandat before it, and to send out orders to the officers of the guard in contradiction to those previously given. Mandat, unaware of what was passing, obeyed the summons, and on his arrival was arrested and murdered. After this the commissioners dispersed the lawful council and usurped its place. At the Tuileries were about 950 Swiss and more than 4,000 national guards. Early in the morning the first bands of insurgents appeared. On the fidelity of the national guards it was impossible to rely; and the royal family, attended by a small escort, left the palace, and sought refuge with the Assembly [which held its sessions in the old Riding-School of the Tuileries, not far from the palace, at one side of the gardens]. Before their departure orders had been given to the Swiss to repel force by force, and soon the sound of firing spread alarm through Paris. The King sent the Swiss instructions to retire, which they punctually obeyed. One column, passing through the Tuileries gardens, was shot down almost to a man. The rest reached the Assembly in safety, but several were afterwards massacred on their way to prison. For 24 hours the most frightful anarchy prevailed. Numerous murders were committed in the streets. The assailants, some hundreds of whom had perished, sacked the palace, and killed all the men whom they found there."—B. M. Gardiner, *French Revolution*, ch. 5.—"Terror and fury ruled the hour. The Swiss, pressed on from without, paralysed from within, have ceased to shoot; but not to be shot. What shall they do? Desperate is the moment. Shelter or instant death: yet How, Where? One party flies out by the Rue de l'Echelle; is destroyed utterly, 'en entier.' A second, by the other side, throws itself into the Garden; 'hurrying across a keen fusillade'; rushes suppliant into the National Assembly; finds pity and refuge in the back benches there. The third, and largest, darts out in column, 300 strong, towards the Champs Elysées: 'Ah, could we but reach Courbevoye, where other Swiss are!' Wo! see, in such fusillade the column 'soon breaks itself by diversity of opinion,' into distracted segments, this way and that:—to escape in holes, to die fighting from street to street. The firing and murdering will not cease: not yet for long. The red Porters of Hotels are shot at, be they 'Suisse' by

nature, or Suisse only in name. The very Firemen, who pump and labour on that smoking Carrousel [which the mob had fired], are shot at; why should the Carrousel not burn? Some Swiss take refuge in private houses; find that mercy too does still dwell in the heart of man. The brave Marseillaise are merciful, late so wroth; and labour to save. . . . But the most are butchered, and even mangled. Fifty (some say Fourscore) were marched as prisoners, by National Guards, to the Hôtel-de-Ville: the ferocious people bursts through on them, in the Place-de-Grève; massacres them to the last man. 'O People, envy of the universe! People, in mad Gaelic effervescence! Surely few things in the history of carnage are painfuller. What inefaceable red streak, flickering so sad in the memory, is that, of this poor column of red Swiss, 'breaking itself in the confusion of opinions'; dispersing, into blackness and death! Honour to you, brave men; honourable pity, through long times! Not martyrs were ye; and yet almost more. He was no King of yours, this Louis; and he forsook you like a King of shreds and patches: ye were but sold to him for some poor sixpence a-day; yet would ye work for your wages, keep your pledged word. The work now was to die; and ye did it. Honour to you, O Kinsmen; and may the old Deutsch 'Biederkeit' and 'Tapferkeit,' and Valour which is Worth and Truth, be they Swiss, be they Saxon, fail in no age!"—T. Carlyle, *French Revolution*, v. 2, bk. 6, ch. 7.

ALSO IN: A. Thiers, *History of the French Revolution* (American edition), v. 1, pp. 266-330.—Madame Campan, *Memoirs of Marie Antoinette*, v. 2, ch. 9-10.—J. Claretie, *Camille Desmoulins and his wife*, ch. 3, sect. 4-5.—A. F. Bertrand de Moleville, *Annals of the French Revolution*, v. 6-7, pt. 2, ch. 18-28.—Duchess de Tourzel, *Memoirs*, v. 2, ch. 8-10.—M. Dumas, *Memoirs*, v. 1, ch. 4.

1792 (August).—Power seized by insurrectionary Commune of Paris.—Danton elected minister of justice.—Dethronement and imprisonment of the king.—"While the Swiss were being murdered, the Legislative Assembly were informed that a deputation wished to enter. At the head of this deputation appeared Huguenin, who announced that a new municipality for Paris had been formed, and that the old one had resigned. This was, indeed, the fact. On the departure of Santerre the commissioners of the sections had given orders to the legitimate council-general of the municipality to resign, and the council-general, startled by the events which were passing, consented. The commissioners then called themselves the new municipality, and proceeded, as municipal officers, to send a deputation to the Assembly. The deputation almost ordered that the Assembly should immediately declare the king's dethronement, and, in the presence of the unfortunate monarch himself, Vergniaud mounted the tribune, and proposed, on behalf of the Committee of Twenty-one, that the French people should be invited to elect a National Convention to draw up a new Constitution, and that the chief of the executive power, as he called the king, should be provisionally suspended from his functions until the new Convention had pronounced what measures should be adopted to establish a new government and the reign of liberty and equality. The motion was carried, and was countersigned by one of the king's ministers, De Joly; and thus the old monarchy of the Bourbons in France came to an end. But the Assembly had not yet completed its work. The ministry was dismissed, as not having the confidence of the people, and the Minister of War, d'Abancourt, was ordered to be tried by the court at Orleans for treason, in having brought the Swiss

Guards to Paris. The Assembly then prepared to elect new ministers. Roland, Clavière, and Servan were recalled by acclamation to their former posts. . . . Danton was elected Minister of Justice by 222 votes against 60; Gaspard Monge, the great mathematician, was elected Minister of Marine, on the nomination of Condorcet; and Lebrun-Tondu, a friend of Brissot and Dumouriez, and a former abbé, to the department of Foreign Affairs."—H. M. Stephens, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 2.—"He [Danton] does not even, as do Robespierre, Mirabeau, and others, occupy the stage of the Revolution from the first. Till the nation is attacked, his rôle is of secondary importance. . . . It is only in the saving of France, when the men of action were needed, that he leaps to the front. Then, suddenly, the whole nation and its story becomes filled with his name. For thirteen months, from that 10th of August, 1792, which he made, to the early autumn of the following year, Danton, his spirit, his energy, his practical grasp of things as they were, formed the strength of France. While the theorists, from whom he so profoundly differed, were wasting themselves in a kind of political introspection, he raised the armies. When the orators could only find great phrases to lead the rage against Dumouriez' treason, he formed the Committee to be a dictator for a falling nation. All that was useful in the Terror was his work; and if we trace to their very roots the action that swept the field and left it ready for rapid organisation and defence, then at the roots we nearly always find his masterful and sure guidance. There are in the Revolution two features, one of which is almost peculiar to itself, the other of which is in common with all other great crises in history. The first of these is that it used new men and young men, and comparatively unknown men, to do its best work. If ever a nation called out men as they were, apart from family, from tradition, from wealth, and from known environment, it was France in the Revolution. The national need appears at that time like a captain in front of his men in a conscript army. He knows them each by their powers, character, and conduct. But they are in uniform; he cares nothing for their family or their youth; he makes them do that for which each is best fitted. This feature makes the period unique, and it is due to this feature that so many of the Revolutionary men have no history for us before the Revolution."—H. Belloc, *Danton*, pp. xi-xii.—"Immediately after the insurrection, a week after he had taken the oath and made the short vigorous speech to the Assembly, Danton sent out his first and almost his only act as Minister of Justice, the circular of the 18th of August, which was posted to all the tribunals in France. It is peculiar rather than important; it is the attempt to convince the magistracy and all the courts of the justice and necessity of the insurrection, and at the same time to leave upon record a declaration of his own intentions now that he had reached power. In the first attempt he necessarily fails. The old judicature, appointed by the Crown and by the moderate ministers, largely re-elected by the people, wealthy for the most part, conservative by origin and tradition, would in any case have rejected such leadership; but the matter is unimportant; this passive body, upon which the reaction had counted not a little, and which De Cicé had planned to use against the Revolution, was destined to disappear at the first demand of the new popular powers. France for weeks was practically without courts of law. Those passages, on the other hand, in which Danton makes his own apology are full of interest. They contain in a few sentences the outline of all

his domestic policy, and we find in them Danton's memories, his fears of what his past reputation might do to hurt him. 'I came in through the breach of the Tuilleries, and you can only find in me the same man who was president of the Cordeliers. . . . The only object of my thoughts has been political and individual liberty, . . . the maintenance of the laws, . . . the strict union of all the Departments, . . . the splendour of the State, and the equality, not of fortune, for that is impossible, but of rights and of well-being.'—*Ibid.*, pp. 175-176.

ALSO IN: Aulard, *Lavisse et Rambaud, Histoire générale*.—L. Barthou, *Danton*.—L. Madelin, *Danton*.

1792 (August-September).—Conflict between Girondists of the Assembly and Jacobins of the Commune.—Authority of Danton.—Causes leading to the September massacres.—Lafayette's unsuccessful resistance to the Jacobins.—His departure from France.—Robespierre and his allies, convinced that they were in a minority, . . . determined to secure themselves in power by terrorising their opponents. On August 11 the signatures of the two famous petitions of *huit-mille* and *vingt-mille* were excluded from the exercise of public functions. On the 12th reactionary journals were suppressed; and, by closing the barriers and tampering with private correspondent, the Commune created an atmosphere of uneasiness in the city. The question now arose, how far would the Assembly allow the Commune to go? The majority of the deputies were not Republicans, nor were they on the side of disorder; most of them belonged to that very class at which the Commune was striking, and thus the contest of the Commune with the *bourgeoisie* resolved itself into a struggle with the Assembly. But the Assembly was now but the shadow of its always shadowy self. Of its 745 members only about a third registered their votes, and it was by this time only too well accustomed to submit to the noisy dictation of galleries and deputations. The first struggle was over the custody of the King. The Commune was unwilling that any but itself should have the keeping of so valuable a hostage; and the Assembly on August 13 gave way, and handed over its prisoner to the Commune, by whom he was incarcerated in the Temple. After this first victory, the Commune looked round for some means of getting control of the lives of individuals. Events played into its hands. On August 11 the new police-law, long under consideration, had been passed by the Assembly. It handed over to the Commune the duty of '*recherche des crimes contre la sûreté de l'état*,' and authorised all active citizens to drag before the authorities persons suspected of such crimes. Thus the life of every individual in Paris was placed at the mercy of the Commune. The Assembly made haste to remedy the harm done by this ill-considered measure, by reviving the power of the '*Conseil du département*'; but the furious outcry provoked by this step, and the appearance of Robespierre at the bar, overawed it into restricting the power of the revived *Conseil* to the assessment of taxes. The policing of Paris was thus secured to the Commune. The next encroachment was upon the judicial authorities. Already the functions of *juges de paix* had been usurped by the Sectional Assemblies under the supervision of a '*Comité de surveillance*' of fifteen members of the Commune. Unlimited power of imprisonment had been accorded to certain Communal Commissioners, and a list of 'opponents of the Revolution' had been handed to the tribunals. But this was not enough; and the Commune set itself to extort from the Assembly a spe-

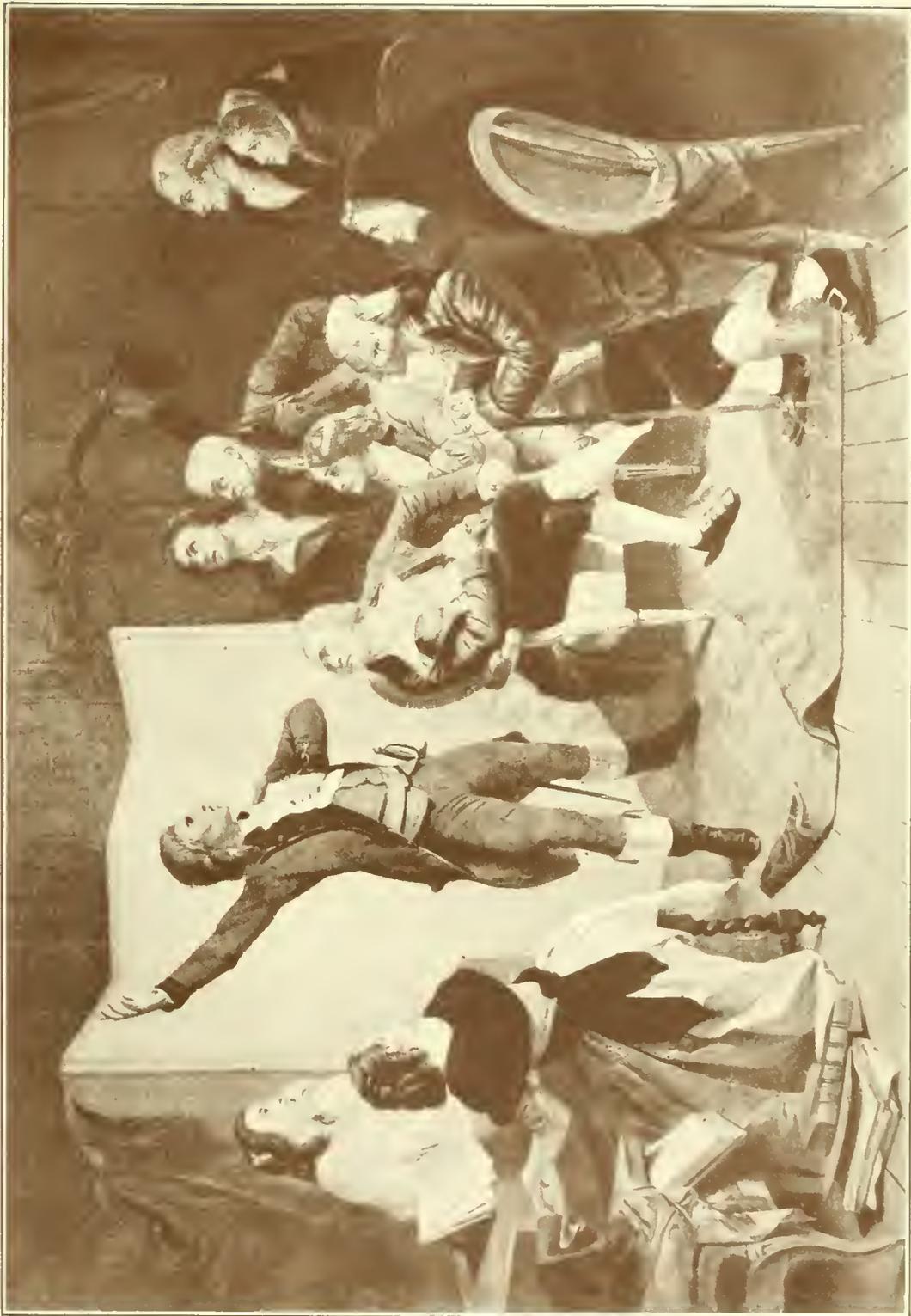
cial extraordinary tribunal. On August 11 a court-martial had been appointed to try the military prisoners of August 10; and the more important civil prisoners, including the ex-ministers, had been sent before the High Court of Orleans. At the dictation of the Commune the Assembly now abandoned the court-martial and ordered the election of new juries to try these cases in the criminal Courts. Robespierre upon this again appeared at the bar (August 15) and demanded a special tribunal, elected by the Sections, with unlimited power, from which there should be no appeal. The Assembly fought the matter point by point; but on the 17th overpowered by the threats and persistence of the Commune, they were criminal enough and weak enough to decree the creation of a special tribunal. The reason of all this revolutionary activity is not far to seek: the primary elections for the Convention, which the Assembly had decreed on August 10, were to commence on August 27, and the secondary on September 2. Aware that they were supported by but a small minority of the electors,



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the Commune employed these measures of terror simply to secure for themselves a majority at the polls; and by August 26 at any rate, not to suggest an earlier date, it had been decided that, to complete the Terror, a general massacre of the prisoners should take place to coincide with the opening of the secondary elections. Events on the frontiers played into the hands of the faction. On August 26, just at the critical moment when, on the eve of the primary elections, signs of a more determined resistance both from the Assembly itself and from some of the Sections were disclosing themselves, there arrived the news of the fall of the frontier town of Longwy. With the French armies intact this reverse was of trifling importance—so at any rate it was regarded by the generals at the front—but it was sufficient for the demagogues. On the 28th Danton, in the name of the Ministry, demanded permission for the Commune to subject the city to domiciliary visits, ostensibly in search for muskets, of which he alleged there were 80,000 in Paris, in reality to secure the arrest of all reactionaries. This was the crowning item in the great scheme for delivering over the Moderates of Paris to the faction. From the morn-

ing of the 28th to the evening of the 31st these visits were in progress; of the promised 80,000 muskets only 2000 were secured, but, in their real object, the arrest of Moderates, the result of the visits was all that could be desired; and by the evening of August 31 every prison was full to overflowing."—J. R. M. Macdonald, *Legislative Assembly (Cambridge modern history, v. 8, pp. 240-241)*.—"The 10th of August is not, in the history of the Revolution, a turning-point or a new departure merely; it is rather a cataclysm, the conditions before and after which are absolutely different. You may compare it to the rush of the Atlantic, which 'in one dreadful day and night' swept away the old civilisation in the legend. . . . There is no better test of what the monarchy was than the comparison of that which came before with which succeeded its overthrow. There is no continuity. On the far side of the insurrection, up to the 9th of August itself, you have armies (notably that of the centre) contented with monarchy; you have a strong garrison at the Tuilleries, the ministers, the departments, the mayor of Paris (even) consulting with the crown. The King and the Girondins are opposed, but they are balanced; Paris is angry and expectant, but it has expressed nothing—it is one of many powers. The moderate men, the Rolands and the rest, are the radical wing. It is a triumph for the Revolution that the Girondins should be again in nominal control. Pétion is an idol. The acute friction is between a government of idealists standing at the head of a group of professional bourgeois, and a crown supported by a resurrected nobility, expecting succour and strong enough to hazard a pitched battle. Look around you on the 11th of August and see what has happened. Between the two opponents a third has been intervened—Paris and its insurrectionary Commune have suddenly arisen. The Girondins are almost a reactionary party. The Crown and all its scaffolding have suddenly disappeared [and the king has been imprisoned]. The Assembly seems something small, the ministry has fallen back, and there appears above it one man only—Danton, called Minister of Justice, but practically the executive itself. A crowd of names which had stood for discussion, for the Jacobins, for persistent ineffective opposition, appear as masters. In a word, France had for the moment a new and terrible pretender to the vacant throne, a pretender that usurped it at last—the Commune. The nine months [which followed] . . . formed the Republic; it is they that are the introduction to the Terror and to the great wars, and from the imprisonment of the King to the fall of the Girondins the rapid course of France is set in a narrowing channel directly for the Mountain. The Commune, the body that conquered in August, is destined to capture every position, and, as one guarantee after another breaks down, it will attain, with its extreme doctrines and their concomitant persecution, to absolute power. What was Danton's attitude during this period? It may be summed up as follows: Now that the Revolution was finally established, to keep France safe in the inevitable danger. He put the nation first; he did not subordinate the theory of the Revolution; he dismissed it. The Revolution had conquered; it was there; but France, which had made it and which proposed to extend the principles of self-government to the whole world, was herself in the greatest peril. When discussion had been the method of the Revolution, Danton had been an extremist. He was Parisian and Frondeur in 1700 and 1701; it was precisely in that time that he failed. The tangible thing, the objective to which all his mind leaned,



ROUGET DE LISLE SINGING THE "MARSEILLAISE" AT STRASBURG, APRIL 25, 1792

(Painting by L. A. Pils)

appeared with the national danger; then he had something to do, and his way of doing it, his work in the trade to which he was born, showed him to be of a totally different kind from the men above whom he showed. I do not believe one could point to a single act of his in these three-quarters of a year which was not aimed at the national defence. It is a point of special moment in the appreciation of his politics that Danton was alone in this position. He was the only man who acted as one of the innumerable peasantry of France would have acted, could fate have endowed such a peasant with genius and with knowledge. The others to the left and right were soldiers, poets, or pedants every one. Heroic pedants and poets who were never afraid, but not one of them could forget his theories or his vision and take hold of the ropes. Such diplomacy as there is is Danton's; it is Danton who attempts compromise, and it is Danton who persistently recalls the debates from personalities to work. It is he who warns the Girondins, and it is he who, in the anarchy that followed defeat, produced the necessary dictatorship of the Committee. Finally, when the Committee is formed, you glance at the names, the actions, and the reports, and you see Danton moving as a man who can see moves among the blind. He had been once 'in himself the Cordeliers'—it had no great effect, for there was nothing to do but propose rights; now, after the insurrection, he became 'in himself the executive,' and later 'in himself the Committee.' So much is he the first man in France during these few months of his activity, that only by following his actions can you find the unity of this confused and anarchic period. It falls into four very distinct divisions, both from the point of view of general history and from that of Danton's own life. The first includes the six weeks intervening between the 10th of August and the meeting of the Convention; it is a time almost without authority; it moves round the terrible centre of the massacres. During this brief time the executive, barely existent, without courts or arms, had him in the Ministry of Justice as their own power—a power unfortunately checked by the anarchy in Paris. The second division stretches from the meeting of the Convention to the death of the King. It covers exactly four months, from the 20th of September, 1792, to the 21st of January, 1793. It is the time in which the danger of invasion seems lifted, and in which Danton in the Convention is working publicly to reconcile the two parties [Girondins and Jacobins], and secretly to prevent, if possible, the spread of the coalition against France. The third opens with the universal war that follows the death of Louis, and continues to a date which you may fix at the rising of the 10th of March, or at the defeat of Neerwinden on the 16th. Danton is absent with the army during the greater part of these six weeks; he returns at their close, and when things were at their worst, to create the two great instruments which he destined to govern France—the Tribunal and the Committee. Finally, for two months, from the establishment of these to the expulsion of the Girondins on the 2nd of June, he is being gradually driven from the attempt at conciliation to the necessities of the insurrection. He is organising and directing the new Government of the Public Safety, and in launching that new body, in imposing that necessary dictator, we shall see him sacrificing one by one every minor point in his policy, till at last his most persistent attempt—I mean his attempt to save the Girondins—fails in its turn. Having so secured an irresistible government, and having created the armies, the chief moment of his

life was past. It remained to him to retire, to criticise the excesses of his own creation, and to be killed by it."—H. Belloc, *Danton*, pp. 171-175.—"The news of the 10th of August was carried to Lafayette by one of his own officers who happened to be in Paris on business. He learned that the throne was overturned and the Assembly in subjection, but he could not believe that the cause of the constitutional monarchy was abandoned without a struggle. He announced to the army the events that had taken place, and conjured the men to remain true to the king and constitution. The commissioners despatched by the Commune of Paris to announce to the different armies the change of government and to exact oaths of fidelity to it soon arrived at Sedan within Lafayette's command. The general had them brought before the municipality of Sedan and interrogated regarding their mission. Convinced, from their own account, that they were the agents of a faction which had unlawfully seized upon power, he ordered their arrest and had them imprisoned. Lafayette's moral influence in the army and the country was still so great that the Jacobins knew that they must either destroy him or win him over to their side. The latter course was preferred. . . . The imprisoned commissioners, therefore, requested a private conference with Lafayette, and offered him, on the part of their superiors in Paris, whatever executive power he desired in the new government. It is needless to say that Lafayette, whose sole aim was to establish liberty in his country, refused to entertain the idea of associating himself with the despotism of the mob. He caused his own soldiers to renew their oath of fidelity to the king, and communicated with Luckner on the situation. . . . Meanwhile emissaries from the Commune were sent to Sedan to influence the soldiers by bribes and threats to renounce their loyalty to their commander. All the other armies and provinces to which commissioners had been sent had received them and taken the new oaths. Lafayette found himself alone in his resistance. His attitude acquired, every day, more the appearance of rebellion against authorities recognized by the rest of France. New commissioners arrived, bringing with them his dismissal from command. The army was wavering between attachment to their general and obedience to government. On the 10th of August, the Jacobins, seeing that they could not win him over, caused the Assembly to declare him a traitor. Lafayette had now to take an immediate resolution. France had declared for the Paris Commune. The constitutional monarchy was irretrievably destroyed. For the general to dispute with his appointed successor the command of the army was to provoke further disorders in a cause that had ceased to be that of the nation and become only his own. Three possible courses remained open to him,—to accept the Jacobin overtures and become a part of their bloody despotism; to continue his resistance and give his head to the guillotine; to leave the country. He resolved to seek an asylum in a neutral territory with the hope, as he himself somewhat naively expressed it, 'some day to be again of service to liberty and to France.' Lafayette made every preparation for the safety of his troops, placing them under the orders of Luckner until the arrival of Dumouriez, the new general in command. He publicly acknowledged responsibility for the arrest of the commissioners and the defiance of Sedan to the Commune, in order that the municipal officers who had supported him might escape punishment. He included in his party his staff-officers, whose association with him would have subjected them to the fury of the Commune, and some others who

had also been declared traitors on account of obedience to his orders. He then made his way to Bouillon, on the extreme frontier. There, dismissing the escort, and sending back final orders for the security of the army, he rode with his companions into a foreign land."—B. Tuckerman, *Life of Lafayette*, v. 2, ch. 3.

ALSO IN: G. M. Elliot, *Journal of my life during the French Revolution*.—R. M. Johnston, *French Revolution*.—G. Long, *France and its Revolution*.—G. Morris, *Life and correspondence*.—C. Tower, *Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution*.

1792 (September).—September massacres in the Paris prisons.—Attempt at general massacres throughout the provinces.—Danton's attitude in the matter.—Marat and his alleged part in the circular letter.—"Meanwhile, however, people had begun to suspect ulterior motives in this revolutionary energy of the Commune; and some of the Sections petitioned against the continued usurpations of that body. The result was that on August 30, just when its plans were reaching consummation, the Commune found itself dissolved by decree of the Assembly. Set only on preserving for a few days its existence and that of its *Comité de Surveillance*, which was superintending the actual preparations for the massacres, the Commune went the length of restoring Pétion to the chair; and he now headed a deputation to the Assembly, where a long memoir prepared by Robespierre was read, enlarging on the services of the Commune. During the whole of the 31st the Assembly stood firm, but on September 1 Thuriot, prompted by Danton, persuaded it to reinstate the Commune. The very next day was that on which the faction had decided to strike. It was hoped that the news of the fall of Verdun might arrive in time to serve as a pretext for the massacres; but it only reached Paris on September 4. The conspirators, therefore, had to make the most of the investment of that town and the probability of its fall; and Manuel proposed that, in view of the military crisis, the *tocsin* should be rung, the alarm-gun fired, the '*générale*' sounded, and all able-bodied citizens convoked to the Champ-de-Mars. The Assembly took up the cry, Vergniaud delivering an eloquent speech, and Danton the most famous of all his fiery orations. Meanwhile the *Comité de Surveillance* embarked upon the immediate preparations for the massacres. Coöpting a number of kindred spirits, it first moved the arrest of Roland, Brissot, and thirty other Brissotins—a deliberate attempt, though it proved unsuccessful, to include the Brissotins in the massacres; next it sent emissaries to some of the more violent Sections to extort a demand for the destruction of the prisoners. In two Sections (Poissonnière and Luxembourg) this was successful. Thus, when, at 2 p.m., the *tocsin* began to ring and the populace to flock to the Champ-de-Mars, the bands of assassins already gathered by the *Comité* started on their mission. The first victims were twenty-four priests who were awaiting examination in the cells of the Mairie itself. These unfortunates were bundled into carriages and conducted towards the Abbaye. On the way their escort of *fédérés* tried to provoke the populace to attack them, and, when they refused, set upon the victims themselves. On their arrival at the Abbaye the butchery was soon completed. The murderers now split up into detachments and distributed themselves among the various prisons. To give colour to the legend of 'popular justice,' no doubt also to save any friends of the assassins, informal tribunals, on which the murderers themselves sat, were established: before

these the miserable prisoners were dragged: all priests, royalists, and 'aristocrats,' were condemned at once and thrust out of the Salle de Justice on to the pikes of the murderers in the courtyard without. That no attempt at any kind of justice was made by these self-constituted tribunals is proved by the fact that many of the victims were common criminals, whose very crimes one might have thought would have commended them to such judges; 43 were boys under eighteen, and at least 35 were women. Amidst every circumstance of horror this carnage continued, with little interference from without, for four whole days. In Paris alone 1400 people perished."—J. R. M. Macdonald, *Legislative Assembly (Cambridge modern history, v. 8, pp. 241-242)*.—The tribunal was set up in the last wicket in the outer court "and around a large table—covered with papers, writing materials, the registers of the prisons, glasses, bottles, pistols, sabers, and pipes—were seated twelve judges, whose gloomy features and athletic proportions stamped them men of toil, debauch or blood. Their attire was that of the laboring classes. . . . Two or three of them attracted attention by the whiteness of their hands and the elegance of their shape; and that betrayed the presence of men of intellect, purposely mingled with these men of action to guide them. A man in a gray coat, a saber at his side, pen in his hand, . . . whose inflexible features seemed as though they were petrified, was seated at the center of the table, and presided over the tribunal. This was the Huisier Maillard, the idol of the mobs of the Faubourg Saint Marceau . . . an actor in the days of October, the 20th of June, and the 10th of August. . . . He had just returned from the Carmes, where he had organized the massacre. It was not chance that had brought him to the Abbaye at the precise moment of the arrival of the prisoners, and with the prison registers in his hand. He had received, the previous evening, the secret orders of Marat, through the members of the *Comité de Surveillance*. Danton had sent for the registers to the prison, and gone through them; and Maillard was shown those he was to acquit and condemn. If the prisoner was acquitted, Maillard said, 'Let this gentleman be set at liberty'; if condemned, a voice said, 'A la Force.' At these words the outer door opened, and the prisoner fell dead as he crossed the threshold. The massacre commenced with the Swiss, of whom there were 150 at the Abbaye, officers and soldiers. . . . They fell, one after another, like sheep in a slaughter-house. The tumbrils were not sufficient to carry away the corpses, and they were piled up on each side of the court to make room for the rest to die: their commander, Major Reding, was the last to fall. . . . After the Swiss, the king's guards, imprisoned in the Abbaye, were judged en masse. . . . Their massacre lasted a long time, for the people, excited by what they had drunk—brandy mingled with gun-powder—and intoxicated by the sight of blood, prolonged their tortures. . . . The whole night was scarcely enough to slay and strip them."—A. de Lamartine, *History of the Girondists, v. 2, bk. 25*.—"To moral intoxication is added physical intoxication, wine in profusion, bumpers at every pause, revelry over corpses. . . . They dance . . . and sing the 'carmagnole'; they arouse the people of the quarter 'to amuse them,' and that they may have their share of 'the fine fête.' Benches are arranged for 'gentlemen' and others for 'ladies': the latter, with greater curiosity, are additionally anxious to contemplate at their ease 'the aristocrats' already slain; consequently, lights are required, and one is placed on the breast of each corpse. Meanwhile,

slaughter continues, and is carried to perfection. . . . There are six days and five nights of uninterrupted butchery, 171 murders at the Abbaye, 169 at La Force, 223 at the Châtelet, 328 at the Conciergerie, 73 at the Tour-Saint-Bernard, 120 at the Carmelites, 79 at Saint-Firmin, 170 at Bicêtre, 35 at the Salpêtrière; among the dead, 250 priests, 3 bishops or archbishops, general officers, magistrates, one former minister, one royal princess, belonging to the best names in France, and, on the other side, one negro, several low class women, young scapegraces, convicts, and poor old men. . . . Fournier, Lazowski, and Bécard, the chiefs of robbers and assassins, return from Orleans with 1,500 cut-throats. On the way they kill M. de Brissac, M. de Lessart, and 42 others accused of 'lèse-nation,' whom they arrested from their judges' hands, and then, by way of surplus, 'following the example of Paris,' 21 prisoners taken from the Versailles prisons. At Paris the Minister of Justice thanks them, the Commune congratulates them, and the sections feast them and embrace them. . . . All the journals approve, palliate, or keep silent; nobody dares offer resistance. Property as well as lives belong to whoever wants to take them. . . . Like a man struck on the head with a mallet, Paris, felled to the ground, lets things go; the authors of the massacre have fully attained their ends. The faction has fast hold of power, and will maintain its hold. Neither in the Legislative Assembly nor in the Convention will the aims of the Girondists be successful against its tenacious usurpation. . . . The Jacobins, through sudden terror, have maintained their illegal authority; through a prolongation of terror they are going to establish their legal authority. A forced suffrage is going to put them in office at the Hotel-de-Ville, in the tribunals, in the National Guard, in the sections, and in the various administrations."—H. A. Taine, *French Revolution*, v. 2, bk. 4, ch. 9.—"But the massacre was not confined to Paris; on the contrary, to extend it to the Provinces, where the danger of reaction was very threatening, was one of the first objects of its promoters. Many of the most important of the State prisoners were at Orleans; and on August 30 the Assembly, on the demand of the Commune, had sent Fournier, an agent of the *Comité de Surveillance*, to fetch them—43 in number—to Paris. On September 3, seeing what would be the fate of the prisoners if they entered Paris, the Assembly ordered Fournier to take them to Saumur. He disobeyed and conducted them to Versailles, where he was met on September 9 by a detachment of the expert Paris murderers, who made short work of the prisoners. This massacre had been devised as early as August 30, but it was not until September 3 that the idea of a general massacre throughout the Provinces was developed. On that day a circular was sent by the hands of Commissioners of the Commune to all the Departments, announcing the fact that a 'portion of the fierce conspirators detained in the prisons had been put to death by the people,' and suggesting that the entire nation should hasten to adopt a measure so necessary for the public safety. Fortunately this incitement had but little effect; and the massacres at Lyons, Meaux, Rheims, Charleville, and Caen, were comparatively insignificant. This, however, in no way exonerates the authors of the atrocious manifesto. It has been suggested that the entire document was forged by Marat, who had long openly cried out for wholesale massacres; but there is nothing in the antecedents of Panes, Sergent, and the other members of the *Comité de Surveillance*, whose signatures were attached to it, to make it improbable that these signatures were genuine. The fact that

the circular went out in the official covers of the Ministry of Justice has been used as an argument to prove that Danton and Fabre d'Églantine were privy to it, though it lacked their countersign and the ministerial stamp. The suspicion against them is indeed strong; and when we remember Danton's attitude towards the Paris massacres, and the fact that he never denied, but rather took credit for, his share in both circular and massacres, it is difficult to acquit him. So much for the circular; as to the responsibility for the Paris massacres the *Comité de Surveillance* must bear the direct and chief blame, but the Commune itself must have been aware of the acts of its committee. Entrusted as it was with the control of the armed force, and responsible, therefore, for the safekeeping of the prisons, it could and should have ordered the National Guard to protect them; but the National Guard did nothing, and doubtless had its orders to do nothing. It could and should have thrown itself between the assassins and their victims; on the contrary, such of its members as entered the prisons entered them to encourage the murderers. Pétion, newly restored to power, was doubtless afraid for his own skin on account of his connexion with the Brissotins. On Thursday, the last day of the massacres, he actually went to the prison of La Force, was horrified, and remonstrated; but he regarded the ignoring of his remonstrances merely with mild surprise and went away. He certainly, however, went to Santorre and ordered him to use the National Guard; and on the whole, though his action was quite ineffective, he comes out of the matter better than the other authorities. As to the Assembly, it did little to stop the massacres; it had, it is true, half-heartedly tried to avert them, but had given way to the Commune on every point before they began; and, now that they were in progress, it was not till September 4 that it called (quite ineffectively) upon the Sections to take steps to ensure the security of life and property. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Brissotins, who after August 10 constituted the large majority of the Assembly, had themselves been threatened, and doubtless it was fear for their own lives that made them loth to interfere. With regard to the Executive Council, Danton and Roland were the Ministers directly responsible for the security of prisoners. As to the former it is impossible to believe that he was ignorant of what was being prepared by his intimates of the Commune, and circumstantial evidence accumulates round him from every side. It was he who filled the prisons, reinstated the Commune, ordered the *tocsin* to be rung. As Minister of Justice he was responsible for the life of each prisoner, and, himself the only truly strong man in Paris, he could have saved them. Yet his attitude was at best one of cynical indifference; and, if complete proof of his direct complicity in the massacres is still wanting, he is at least responsible for never having lifted a finger to stop them. Roland, the other responsible Minister, though his conduct was no whit more courageous, has at least this excuse, that his interference would almost certainly have been useless. This, however, scarcely justifies him in not interfering, and his talk of 'drawing a veil' and of 'events perhaps necessary' was as disgusting as it was cowardly; he had been directly threatened by Marat, and was doubtless afraid to move."—J. R. M. Macdonald, *Legislative Assembly (Cambridge modern history, v. 8, pp. 243-244)*.

ALSO IN: A. Dobson, *Princess de Lamballe (Four French women)*.—Idem, *Reign of Terror*.—J. B. Clery, *Journal of occurrences at the Temple*.

—R. M. Johnston, *French Revolution*.—S. Marceau, *Reminiscences of a régicide*.—A. Thiers, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 1.—*Despatches of Earl Gower*.

1792 (September–November).—Meeting of the national convention.—Abolition of royalty.—Adoption of the era of a republic.—Establishment of equality.—Losing struggle of the Girondists with the Jacobins.—‘The Legislative Assembly did not wait until all the newly elected deputies had arrived in Paris before convoking the Convention. As soon as it learned that a certain number of them were in Paris the Assembly decided to give way to the new Convention. On September 19, 1792, upon receiving from Lasource a report drawn up by its Extraordinary Commission, the Assembly decreed that ‘the archivist should convoke the deputies of the National Convention for the morrow, September 20, 1792, at half-past four in the afternoon,’ at the Tuileries, and that the Mayor of Paris should provide them with a guard. The first session of the Convention accordingly took place on September 20, 1792. It was a session behind closed doors, during which the Assembly constituted itself. It notified the presence of 371 members out of the 749 who should have been elected. It named its officials by nominal appeal and aloud. Pétion was elected president by 235 votes among 253 voters. The secretaries were Condorcet, Brissot, Rabaut Saint-Etienne, Lasource, Vergniaud, and Camus. On the evening of the 21st the officials were completed by naming Condorcet vice-president by 194 votes among 349 voters. In these first votings the Convention exhibited tendencies which were anti-Robespierriest, anti-Maratist, or, one may say, anti-Parisian. The next morning the Legislative Assembly decided to call upon the National Convention in order to conduct it to its own hall, the Salle de Manège, in which it would have to sit until quarters had been prepared for it in the Tuileries. The speeches exchanged on this occasion by the two presidents give an interesting indication as to the ideas which were then held of the powers and the functions of the Convention. François (of Neufchâteau), president of the Legislative Assembly, stated that the Convention had unlimited power to establish ‘a free and popular government.’ Pétion, president of the Convention, said that the Constitution was only rendered sacred ‘by national superstition’; that the nation wished ‘to assure its rights and its welfare upon more solid bases’; that the Convention held in its hands ‘the destinies of a great people, of the entire world, and of the races of the future’; and that it was about to ‘labour for the human species.’ The same day, speaking from the tribune, Manuel defined the Convention as ‘an assembly of philosophers, occupied with preparing the happiness of the world’; and Basire also defined it as an assembly of philosophers. The National Convention was installed in the Salle de Manège in public session on September 21, 1792. It did not immediately occupy itself with the great question of the form of government to be instituted; secondary questions were raised at the outset. Thus, Manuel demanded for the president, whom he called ‘the President of France,’ extraordinary honours and a lodging in the Tuileries. . . . In opposing it, Chabot and Couthon pronounced against royalty. Mathieu even spoke of the ‘organisation of the republic.’ Danton, consistently with his character and his polity, made directly for the matter which was troubling the public, and said that in order to destroy ‘the vain phantoms of a dictatorship, the extravagant ideas of a triumvirate, and all these absurdities invented to frighten the

people, it must be declared that the Constitution will have to be accepted by the primary assemblies.’ For what the Convention has to do is to form a Constitution: ‘Let us remember that we have to review everything, to re-create everything; that the Declaration of Rights itself is not without blemish, and must suffer revision at the hands of as truly free people.’ France, too, must be reassured, alarmed as she is by the socialist propaganda: ‘Let us here abjure all exaggeration; let us declare that all territorial properties, all individual and industrial properties, shall be perpetually maintained.’ After various observations, in which appeared the unanimous anti-socialist zeal of the Convention it was decreed: ‘Firstly, that there could be no Constitution but that accepted by the people; secondly, that persons and properties were under the protection of the nation.’ Manuel then insisted that the question of the abolition of royalty was the first object of the labours of the Convention. Philippeaux and Quinette stated that it was more urgent to decree the provisional execution of the laws not abrogated, the maintenance of powers not suspended or revoked, and the convention of the payment of the public taxes. A decree fulfilling the required object was passed. The abolition of royalty was thus adjourned. It even seemed, after the penultimate decree, that this abolition could only be effected by a plebiscite. The session was about to rise when speech was demanded by Collot d’Herbois, president of the electoral assembly of Paris, which had given a republican mandate to its deputies: ‘You have just decided a wise thing,’ he said. ‘But it is a matter that you cannot put off till to-morrow; that you cannot put off till this evening; that you cannot postpone for a moment without being unfaithful to the wishes of the nation.’ . . . Then hesitation showed itself. Quinette objected: ‘We are commissioned only to establish a positive government, and the people will then choose between the old government, in which royalty found a place, and that which we shall offer it.’ According to him, it was necessary first of all to think about punishing Louis XVI. But Grégoire improvised a virulent attack upon kings and royalty in general, spoke of destroying ‘this magic talisman,’ and provoked a scene of enthusiasm. ‘All the members of the Assembly,’ says the *procès-verbal*, ‘rising in one spontaneous movement protested, by unanimous acclamation, against a form of government which has inflicted so many ills upon the country.’ Then there was more hesitation. Basire declared that he mistrusted enthusiasm; he wanted a serious discussion. Grégoire insisted: ‘Kings are morally what monsters are in physique.’ Ducos and Billaud-Varenne spoke in favour of immediate abolition. Manuel found abolition inconsistent with the principles laid down; they must confine themselves to *declaring* that the nation wished to dispense with a monarch. Finally all objections were overcome; hesitation ceased; the deputies rallied against royalty, and the following decree was the result: ‘The National Convention decrees unanimously that royalty is abolished in France.’ It is then decided that the decree shall be despatched by special courriers to the departments, to the armies, and solemnly proclaimed in every municipality. A deputy having proposed that illuminations and salutes by cannon should be ordered, the Convention passed to the order of the day, feeling that the people needed no encouragement in order to express its joy. . . . So far, no question of a republic. Nothing shows that the Convention had the intentions of leaving the new state of things without a name. But it dared not pronounce the decisive word. It seemed to be

waiting for encouragement from without. This encouragement came that very day. The Convention heard that the people were crying '*Vive la République!*' in the streets at the moment when the decree abolishing royalty was being pronounced. Members of the administration of the department of Seine-et-Oise, municipal officers and citizens of Versailles, came to the bar to say that the volunteers of Seine-et-Oise were 'proud to come and take the oath to preserve the republic.' The convention applauded. The citizens of the section of Quatre-Nations also came, to say that they would be only too happy to pay with their blood for the 'republic' which their deputies had 'decreed.' The Executive Council also pronounced the word 'republic.' Monge, Minister of Marine, declared in the Convention that the members of the 'first executive power of the French Republic' would 'die, if need be, as worthy republicans.' On the same day still (the 21st) the Minister of the Interior, Roland, sent a circular to the administrative bodies, saying: . . . 'You are about, gentlemen, to proclaim the republic; then proclaim fraternity; they are one and the same thing.' Thus from the evening of the 21st the people and the Government took the initiative, and opened up the question of declaring that France was a republic. But the Convention waited until the next day before coming to a decision. . . . The decree of establishment of the Republic is specified thus, in the form of an extract from the *procès-verbal*: 'A member demands that we shall henceforth date all documents, &c.: *the first year of the French Republic*. Another member proposes to join to this the calendar now in use: *the fourth year of Liberty*. This amendment is defeated, and it is decreed that all public documents shall henceforth bear the date of the *first year of the French Republic*.' It is then decreed—'That the seal of the National Archives shall be changed, and shall bear the impression of a woman leaning one hand upon a fasces, holding in the other a lance surmounted by a bonnet of liberty, and for legend these words: *Archives of the French Republic*, and that this alteration shall be extended to the seals of all the administrative bodies.' . . . There was no solemn proclamation of the Republic. . . . It was merely stated, and then in an indirect manner, that since royalty was abolished a Republic existed. . . . The Executive Council made no haste to promulgate it; it waited until September 26th to apply it to the seals of State. . . . The Jacobin Club took great care not to anticipate the decree of the Convention, or to speak of the Republic immediately after the abolition of royalty, as the ministers Monge and Roland had done, the citizens of Versailles at the bar of the Convention, and various gatherings in the streets. At their evening meeting on September 21st they were invited by Gerbet the younger to take the name of *Friends of the Republic*; but the Jacobins rejected the motion, as prejudicing the constitutional operations of the Convention, and took the name of the *Society of the Jacobins, friends of liberty and equality*. Not until September 24th did they decide to date their *procès-verbal* the first year of the Republic. . . . The general council of the commune of Saint-Yrieix, in an address which is undated, but which was read at the session of November 9th, expresses itself thus: 'Citizen legislators of France, the decree which you have passed for the establishment of the French Republic has brought consolation to our hearts, because in future we shall have no despot but the laws.' A number of the members of the general council of the commune of Amiens write on September 26th: 'Citizens, the reign of

liberty still allowed royalty to strike us with its iron sceptre. Long live the Republic! Life to the strenuous men of 1792, who are making the present so fair for France! Yes, the French, proud of the glorious name of republicans, will know how to deserve this. . . .' The municipality of Lisieux, in conjunction with the district administration, writes on the 25th: 'Yes, the republican government is a fitting one for us, and the only one fitting for a free people, whatever the extent of their territory.' The municipality of Saint-Marcellin (Isère) writes on October 9th: 'You declared that France was a Republic: by that you taught all the citizens of France that they were now only a single family, a people, a nation of brothers. . . . In improving the quality of men you have, like a new sun, filled the soul with a new warmth. . . .' The rural communes themselves in some regions declaim in chorus with the cities. Thus on October 27th the district of Beauvais sent up the adhesion of the 95 municipalities of its arrondissement to the decrees 'which abolished royalty and erected France a Republic.' It might have been feared that the departmental administrations, of which a very considerable number had protested against the doings of June 20th, would oppose the Republic. Not one protested against it; and of the whole 83 no less than 42 sent addresses of support and adherence. . . . As for the administrations of the 41 departments which did not feel obliged to send addresses to the Convention, or whose addresses are lost, there is nothing to give us reason to suppose that any of them exhibited the least hesitation in accepting and proclaiming the decree establishing the Republic. . . . We have seen that France expected a constitutional reform from the Convention. One of the first decrees passed by this Assembly (September 21, 1792) declared 'that there can be no Constitution but that which is accepted by the people.' Here, at a word, that Convention condemned in principle the Constitution of 1791, which had not been submitted to a plebiscite. It also ratified the wish for the establishment of a popular *referendum*, which dated from the very beginnings of the democratic party, and had recently been expressed by several of the electoral assemblies. But the Convention was forced immediately to enter upon the opportunist and revolutionary courses which it was obliged by circumstance to follow throughout its whole career; having proclaimed principles which were suited to normal time and to peace, it had to displace them by exceptional, often dictatorial measures, suited to the conditions of warfare and the abnormal circumstances from which it was unable to extricate itself. A few minutes after declaring that no constitutional reform could be valid except it were submitted to a plebiscite, it abolished royalty without consulting the people. The next day, September 22nd, it established the Republic, again without consulting the people; proclaimed it one and indivisible on the 25th, and rejected, on October 10th, a motion of Manuel's which suggested that the establishment of the Republic should be submitted to a plebiscite. . . . On September 29th the Convention decreed the establishment of a Committee of Constitution. . . . This election was a victory for the Rolandist or Girondist party. At the Jacobins, on October 14th, some one having proposed to send an address to the Committee of Constitution, Chabot said: 'I demand the adjournment of the previous question. I know that the Committee of Constitution includes Danton, Barère, and Condorcet; but the address in question will serve as well in the hands of our three friends as if placed at the disposition of the whole Committee; for after all those in our

favour are still only three against six.' Danton himself obtained a decision that in order to counterbalance the influence of the Girondists, the Jacobin Club should itself elect an 'Auxiliary Committee of Constitution.' Although the Girondins were perhaps more anxious to establish a Constitution than were the Montagnards—the polity of the Girondins, in fact, tending to establish a normal condition of things in which the departments would have the same legal influence as Paris—yet the Committee of Constitution took great care not to be precipitate in its labours. On October 19th it obtained the decree:

"At the request of the Committee of Constitution, the National Convention invites all the friends of liberty and equality to put before it, in any language, such plans, tendencies, and means as they think it proper to give a good Constitution for the French Republic; the Convention authorises its Committee of Constitution to have such suggestions translated and printed, and submitted to the Convention.' . . . The Jacobins, again, were in no hurry to set their Auxiliary Committee to work. This Committee was first of all instructed to hold a preliminary inquiry, precisely like the Convention Committee, and to stimulate an exchange of views with and between the affiliated Jacobin Clubs. The Committee was to consist of twelve members. Only six of these were named at first (October 19th). . . . Then, at a date unknown to us, there was a fresh election in which four of these members were eliminated, and the Committee was composed of eight members: Jeanbon Saint-André, Robert, Thuriot, Bentabole, Robespierre, Billaud-Varenne, Anthoine, Saint-Just. It was not until February 18, 1793, after the Convention Committee had presented its report, that the Jacobins completed their Committee, by electing or re-electing Dubois-Crancé, Collot d'Herbois, Clotz, and Couthon. . . . As for the Committee of Constitution of the Convention, we know nothing or almost nothing of its private debates. It left neither registers nor papers of any sort. We know only that Condorcet was appointed chairman, and it is evident, not only from the style, but from the ideas, that he was the chief author of the first *Proposal for a Constitution*."—A. Aulard, *French Revolution*, v. 2, pp. 144-157, 160-164.

ALSO IN: A. Alison, *History of Europe*, v. 3.—A. de Lamartine, *History of the Girondists*.—G. H. Lewes, *Life of Robespierre*.—J. Moore, *Journal in France*.—C. D. Yonge, *History of France under the Bourbons*.

1792 (September-December).—War on the northern frontier.—Battle of Valmy.—Retreat of the invading army.—Custine in Germany and Dumouriez in the Netherlands.—Annexation of Savoy and Nice.—Decree of December 15, proclaiming a crusade to establish republican institutions in neighboring countries.—"The defence of France rested on General Dumouriez. . . . Happily for France the slow advance of the Prussian general permitted Dumouriez to occupy the difficult country of the Argennes, where, while waiting for his reinforcements, he was able for some time to hold the invaders in check. At length Brunswick made his way past the defile which Dumouriez had chosen for his first line of defence; but it was only to find the French posted in such strength on his flank that any further advance would imperil his own army. If the advance was to be continued, Dumouriez must be dislodged. Accordingly, on the 20th of September, Brunswick, facing half-round from his line of march, directed his artillery against the hills of Valmy, where Kellermann and the French left were encamped.

The cannonade continued for some hours, but it was followed by no general attack. Already, before a blow had been struck, the German forces were wasting away with disease. . . . The King of Prussia began to listen to the proposals of peace which were sent to him by Dumouriez. A week spent in negotiations served only to strengthen the French and to aggravate the scarcity and sickness within the German camp. Discensions broke out between the Prussian and Austrian commanders; a retreat was ordered; and, to the astonishment of Europe, the veteran forces of Brunswick fell back before the mutinous soldiery and unknown generals of the Revolution. . . . In the meantime the Legislative Assembly had decreed its own dissolution . . . and had ordered the election of representatives to frame a constitution for France. . . . The Girondins, who had been the party of extremes in the Legislative Assembly, were the party of moderation and order in the Convention. . . . Monarchy was abolished, and France declared a Republic (Sept. 21). Office continued in the hands of the Gironde; but the vehement, uncompromising spirit of their rivals, the so-called party of the Mountain, quickly made itself felt in all the relations of France to foreign powers. The intention of conquest might still be as sincerely disavowed as it had been five months before; but were the converts to liberty to be denied the right of uniting themselves to the French people by their own free will? . . . The scruples which had lately condemned all annexation of territory vanished in that orgy of patriotism which followed the expulsion of the invader and the discovery that the Revolution was already a power in other lands than France. . . . Along the entire frontier, from Dunkirk to the Maritime Alps, France nowhere touched a strong, united, and independent people; and along this entire frontier, except in the country opposite Alsace, the armed proselytism of the French Revolution proved a greater force than the influences on which the existing order of things depended. In the Low Countries, in the Principalities of the Rhine, in Switzerland, in Savoy, in Piedmont itself, the doctrines of the Revolution were welcomed by a more or less numerous class, and the armies of France appeared for a moment as the missionaries of liberty and right rather than as an invading enemy. No sooner had Brunswick been brought to a stand by Dumouriez at Valmy than a French division under Custine crossed the Alsatian frontier and advanced upon Spire, where Brunswick had left large stores of war. The garrison was defeated in an encounter outside the town; Spire and Worms surrendered to Custine. In the neighbouring fortress of Mainz, the key to western Germany, Custine's advance was watched with anxious satisfaction by a republican party among the inhabitants, from whom the French general learnt that he had only to appear before the city to become its master. . . . At the news of the capture of Spire, the Archbishop retired into the interior of Germany, leaving the administration to a board of ecclesiastics and officials, who published a manifesto calling upon their 'beloved brethren' the citizens to defend themselves to the last extremity, and then followed their master's example. A council of war declared the city to be untenable; and, before Custine had brought up a single siege-gun, the garrison capitulated, and the French were welcomed into Mainz by the partisans of the Republic (Oct. 20). . . . Although the mass of the inhabitants held aloof, a Republic was finally proclaimed, and incorporated with the Republic of France. The success of Custine's raid into Germany did not divert the Convention from the design of attacking Austria in

the Netherlands, which Dumouriez had from the first pressed upon the Government. It was not three years since the Netherlands had been in full revolt against the Emperor Joseph. . . . Thus the ground was everywhere prepared for a French occupation. Dumouriez crossed the frontier. The border fortresses no longer existed: and after a single battle won by the French at Jemappes on the 6th November, the Austrians, finding the population universally hostile, abandoned the Netherlands without a struggle. The victory of Jemappes, the first pitched battle won by the Republic, excited an outburst of revolutionary fervour in the Convention which deeply affected the relations of France to Great Britain, hitherto a neutral spectator of the war. A decree was passed for the publication of a manifesto in all languages, declaring that the French nation offered its alliance to all peoples who wished to recover their freedom, and charging the generals of the Republic to give their protection to all persons who had suffered or might suffer in the cause of liberty. (Nov. 10.) A week later Savoy and Nice were annexed to France, the population of Savoy having almost unanimously declared in favour of France on the outbreak of war between France and Sardinia. On the 15th December the Convention proclaimed that a system of social and political revolution was henceforth to accompany every movement of its armies on foreign soil. 'In every country that shall be occupied by the armies of the French Republic'—such was the substance of the Decree of December 15th—'the generals shall announce the abolition of all existing authorities; of nobility, of serfage, of every feudal right and every monopoly; they shall proclaim the sovereignty of the people. . . . The French nation will treat as enemies any people which, refusing liberty and equality, desires to preserve its prince and privileged castes, or to make any accommodation with them.' This singular announcement of a new crusade caused the Government of Great Britain to arm."—C. A. Fyffe, *History of modern Europe*, v. 1, ch. 2.

Also in: F. C. Schlosser, *History of the 18th century*, v. 6, div. 2, ch. 2, sect. 1.—E. Baines, *History of the wars of the French Revolution*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 3-5.

1792 (November—December). — Charges against the king.—Jacobin clamor for his condemnation.—Contest in Convention.—"There were, without a doubt, in this conjuncture, a great number of Mountaineers who, on this occasion, acted with the greatest sincerity, and only as republicans, in whose eyes Louis XVI. appeared guilty with respect to the revolution; and a dethroned king was dangerous to a young democracy. But this party would have been more clement, had it not had to ruin the Gironde at the same time with Louis XVI. . . . Party motives and popular animosities combined against this unfortunate prince. Those who, two months before, would have repelled the idea of exposing him to any other punishment than that of dethronement, were stupefied; so quickly does man lose in moments of crisis the right to defend his opinions! . . . After the 10th of August, there were found in the offices of the civil list documents which proved the secret correspondence of Louis XVI. with the discontented princes, with the emigration, and with Europe. In a report, drawn up at the command of the legislative assembly, he was accused of intending to betray the state and overthrow the revolution. He was accused of having written, on the 10th April, 1791, to the bishop of Clermont, that if he regained his power he would restore the former government, and the clergy to the state in which

they previously were; of having afterwards proposed war, merely to hasten the approach of his deliverers; . . . of having been on terms with his brothers, whom his public measures had discountenanced; and, lastly, of having constantly opposed the revolution. Fresh documents were soon brought forward in support of this accusation. In the Tuileries, behind a panel in the wainscot, there was a hole wrought in the wall, and closed by an iron door. This secret closet was pointed out by the minister, Roland, and there were discovered proofs of all the conspiracies and intrigues of the court against the revolution; projects with the popular leaders to strengthen the constitutional power of the king, to restore the ancient régime and the aristocrats; the manœuvres of Talon, the arrangements with Miraheau, the propositions accepted by Bouillé, under the constituent assembly, and some new plots under the legislative assembly. This discovery increased the exasperation against Louis XVI. Mirabeau's bust was broken by the Jacobins, and the convention covered the one which stood in the hall where it held its sittings. For some time there had been a question in the assembly as to the trial of this prince, who, having been dethroned, could no longer be proceeded against. There was no tribunal empowered to pronounce his sentence, no punishment which could be inflicted on him: accordingly, they plunged into false interpretations of the inviolability granted to Louis XVI., in order to condemn him legally. . . . The committee of legislation, commissioned to draw up a report on the question as to whether Louis XVI. could be tried, and whether he could be tried by the convention, decided in the affirmative. . . . The discussion commenced on the 13th of November, six days after the report of the committee. . . . This violent party [the Mountain], who wished to substitute a coup d'état for a sentence, to follow no law, no form, but to strike Louis XVI. like a conquered prisoner, by making hostilities even survive victory, had but a very feeble majority in the convention; but without, it was strongly supported by the Jacobins and the commune. Notwithstanding the terror which it already inspired, its murderous suggestions were repelled by the convention; and the partisans of inviolability, in their turn, courageously asserted reasons of public interest at the same time as rules of justice and humanity. They maintained that the same men could not be judges and legislators, the jury and the accusers. . . . In a political view, they showed the consequences of the king's condemnation, as it would affect the anarchical party of the kingdom, rendering it still more insolent; and with regard to Europe, whose still neutral powers it would induce to join the coalition against the republic. But Robespierre, who during this long debate displayed a daring and perseverance that presaged his power, appeared at the tribune to support Saint Just, to reproach the convention with involving in doubt what the insurrection had decided, and with restoring, by sympathy and the publicity of a defence, the fallen royalist party. 'The assembly,' said Robespierre, 'has involuntarily been led far away from the real question. Here we have nothing to do with trial: Louis is not an accused man; you are not judges, you are, and can only be, statesmen. You have no sentence to pronounce for or against a man, but you are called on to adopt a measure of public safety; to perform an act of national precaution. A dethroned king is only fit for two purposes, to disturb the tranquillity of the state, and shake its freedom, or to strengthen one or the other of them. Louis was king; the republic is founded; the famous question

you are discussing is decided in these few words. Louis cannot be tried; he is already tried, he is condemned, or the republic is not absolved.' He required that the convention should declare Louis XVI. a traitor towards the French, criminal towards humanity, and sentence him at once to death, by virtue of the insurrection. The Mountaineers, by these extreme propositions, by the popularity they attained without, rendered condemnation in a measure inevitable. By gaining an extraordinary advance on the other parties, it obliged them to follow it, though at a distance. The majority of the convention, composed in a large part of Girondists, who dared not pronounce Louis XVI. inviolable, and of the Plain, decided, on Pétion's proposition, against the opinion of the fanatical Mountaineers and against that of the partisans of inviolability, that Louis XVI. should be tried by the convention. Robert Lindet then made, in the name of the commission of the twenty-one, his report respecting Louis XVI. The arraignment, setting forth the offences imputed to him, was drawn up, and the convention summoned the prisoner to its bar."—F. A. Mignet, *History of the French Revolution*, ch. 6.

ALSO IN: G. H. Lewes, *Life of Robespierre*, ch. 17.—A. de Lamartine, *History of the Girondists*, v. 2, bk. 32-33.—A. de Beauchesne, *Louis XVII: His life, his suffering, his death*, bk. 9.

1792-1793 (December-January).—King's trial and death sentence.—"On December 11, the ill-fated monarch, taken from his prison to his former palace, appeared at the bar of his republican judges, was received in silence and with covered heads, and answered interrogatories addressed to him as 'Louis Capet,' though with an air of deference. His passive constancy touched many hearts. . . . On the 26th the advocates of the King made an eloquent defence for their discredited client, and Louis added, in a few simple words, that the 'blood of the 10th of August should not be laid to his charge.' The debates in the Assembly now began, and it soon became evident that the Jacobin faction were making the question the means to further their objects, and to hold up their opponents to popular hatred. They clamored for immediate vengeance on the tyrant, declared that the Republic could not be safe until the Court was smitten on its head, and a great example had been given to Europe, and denounced as reactionary and as concealed royalists all who resisted the demands of patriotism. These ferocious invectives were aided by the expedients so often employed with success, and the capital and its mobs were arrayed to intimidate any deputies who hesitated in the 'cause of the Nation.' The Moderates, on the other hand, were divided in mind; a majority, perhaps, condemning the King, but also wishing to spare his life; and the Gironde leaders, halting between their convictions, their feelings, their desires, and their fears, shrank from a courageous and resolute course. The result was such as usually follows when energy and will encounter indecision. On January 14 [the 15th, according to Thiers and others], 1793, the Convention declared Louis XVI guilty, and on the following day [the speaking and voting lasted through the night of the 16th and the day after it] sentence of immediate death was pronounced by a majority of one [but the minority, in this view, included 26 votes that were cast for death but in favor of a postponement of the penalty, on grounds of political expediency], proposals for a respite and an appeal to the people having been rejected at the critical moment. The votes had been taken after a solemn call of the deputies at a sitting protracted for days; and the spectacle of the vast dim hall,

of the shadowy figures of the awestruck judges meting out the fate of their former Sovereign, and tier upon tier of half-seen faces, looking, as in a theatre, on the drama below, and breaking out into discordant clamor, made a fearful impression on many eye-witnesses. One vote excited a sensation of disgust even among the most ruthless chiefs of the Mountain, though it was remarked that many of the abandoned women who crowded the galleries shrieked approbation. The Duke of Orleans, whose Jacobin professions had caused him to be returned for Paris, with a voice in which effrontery mingled with terror, pronounced for the immediate execution of his kinsman. The minister of justice—Danton had resigned—announced on the 20th the sentence to the King. The captive received the message calmly, asked for three days to get ready to die (a request, however, at once refused), and prayed that he might see his family and have a confessor."—W. O'C. Morris, *French Revolution, and first empire*, ch. 5.

ALSO IN: A. Thiers, *History of the French Revolution* (American edition), v. 2, pp. 44-72.—A. F. B. de Moleville, *Private memoirs, relative to the last year of Louis XVI*, ch. 39-40.—J. B. Cléry, *Journal of occurrences at the Temple*.—H. M. Stephens, *History of the French Revolution*, pp. 212-223.

1792-1793 (December-February).—Determination to incorporate the Austrian Netherlands and to attack Holland.—Pitt's unavailing struggle for peace.—England driven to arms.—War with the maritime powers declared by the French.—"Since the beginning of December, the French government had contracted their far-reaching schemes within definite limits. They were compelled to give up the hope of revolutionizing the German Empire and establishing a Republic in the British Islands; but they were all the more determined in the resolve to subject the countries which had hitherto been occupied in the name of freedom, to the rule of France. This object was more especially pursued in Belgium by Danton and three other deputies, who were sent as Commissioners of the Convention to that country on the 30th of November. They were directed to enquire into the condition of the Provinces, and to consider Dumouriez's complaints against Pache [the Minister at War] and the Committee formed to purchase supplies for the army." Danton became resolute in the determination to incorporate Belgium and pressed the project inexorably. "It was a matter of course that England would interpose both by word and deed directly France prepared to take possession of Belgium. . . . England had guaranteed the possession of Belgium to the Emperor in 1790—and the closing of the Scheldt to the Dutch, and its political position in Holland to the House of Orange in 1788. Under an imperative sense of her own interests, she had struggled to prevent the French from gaining a footing in Antwerp and Ostend. Prudence, fidelity to treaties, the retrospect of the past and the hopes of the future—all called loudly upon her not to allow the balance of Europe to be disturbed, and least of all in Belgium."—H. von Sybel, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 2, bk. 5, ch. 5.—"The French Government resolved to attack Holland, and ordered its generals to enforce by arms the opening of the Scheldt. To do this was to force England into war. Public opinion was already pressing every day harder upon Pitt [see ENGLAND: 1793-1796]. . . . Across the Channel his moderation was only taken for fear. . . . The rejection of his last offers indeed made a contest inevitable. Both sides ceased from diplomatic communications, and in February 1793

France issued her Declaration of War."—J. R. Green, *History of the English people*, v. 4, bk. 9, ch. 4.

ALSO IN: W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the 18th century*, v. 6, ch. 22.—Lord Mahon, *Life of Pitt*, v. 2, ch. 16.—*Despatches of Earl Gower*, pp. 250-300.

1793 (January).—Execution of the king.—“To this conclusion, then, hast thou come, O hapless Louis! The Son of Sixty Kings is to die on the Scaffold by form of law. Under Sixty Kings this same form of law, form of Society, has been fashioning itself together these thousand years; and has become, one way and other, a most strange Machine. Surely, if needful, it is also frightful, this Machine; dead, blind; not what it should be; which with swift stroke, or by cold slow torture, has wasted the lives and souls of innumerable men. And behold now a King himself or say rather Kinghood in his person, is to expire here in cruel tortures;—like a Phalaris shut in the belly of his own red-heated Brazen Bull! It is ever so; and thou shouldst know it, O haughty tyrannous man: injustice breeds injustice; curses and falsehoods do verily return ‘always home,’ wide as they may wander. Innocent Louis bears the sins of many generations: he too experiences that man’s tribunal is not in this Earth; that if he had no higher one, it were not well with him. A King dying by such violence appeals impressively to the imagination; as the like must do, and ought to do. And yet at bottom it is not the King dying, but the man! Kingship is a coat: the grand loss is of the skin. The man from whom you take his Life, to him can the whole combined world do more? . . . A Confessor has come; Abbé Edgeworth, of Irish extraction, whom the King knew by good report, has come promptly on this solemn mission. Leave the Earth alone, then, thou hapless King; it with its malice will go its way, thou also canst go thine. A hard scene yet remains: the parting with our loved ones. Kind hearts, environed in the same grim peril with us; to be left here! Let the reader look with the eyes of Valet Cléry through these glass-doors, where also the Municipality watches; and see the cruelest of scenes: ‘At half-past eight, the door of the ante-room opened: the Queen appeared first, leading her Son by the hand; then Madame Royale and Madame Elizabeth: they all flung themselves into the arms of the King. Silence reigned for some minutes; interrupted only by sighs.’ . . . For nearly two hours this agony lasts; then they tear themselves asunder. ‘Promise that you will see us on the morrow.’ He promises:—Ah yes, yes; yet once; and go now, ye loved ones; cry to God for yourselves and me!—It was a hard scene, but it is over. He will not see them on the morrow. The Queen in passing through the ante-room, glanced at the Cerberus Municipals; and, with woman’s vehemence, said through her tears, ‘Vous êtes tous des scélérats.’ King Louis slept sound, till five in the morning, when Cléry, as he had been ordered, awoke him. Cléry dressed his hair: while this went forward, Louis took a ring from his watch, and kept trying it on his finger; it was his wedding-ring, which he is now to return to the Queen as a mute farewell. At half-past six, he took the Sacrament, and continued in devotion, and conference with Abbé Edgeworth. He will not see his family: it were too hard to bear. At eight the Municipals enter: the King gives them his Will, and messages and effects; which they, at first, brutally refuse to take charge of: he gives them a roll of gold pieces,

a hundred and twenty-five louis; these are to be returned to Malesherbes, who had lent them. At nine, Santerre says the hour is come. The King begs yet to retire for three minutes. At the end of three minutes, Santerre again says the hour is come. ‘Stamping on the ground with his right-foot, Louis answers: Partons, Let us go!’—How the rolling of those drums comes in, through the Temple bastions and bulwarks, on the heart of a queenly wife; soon to be a widow! He is gone, then, and has not seen us? . . . At the Temple Gate were some faint cries, perhaps from voices of pitiful women: Grâce! Grâce! Through the rest of the streets there is silence as of the grave. No man not armed is allowed to be there: the armed, did any even pity, dare not express it, each man overawed by all his neighbours. All windows are down, none seen looking through them. All shops are shut. No wheel-carriage rolls, this morning, in these streets but one only. 80,000 armed men stand ranked, like armed statues of men; cannons bristle, cannoners with match burning, but no word or movement: it is as a city enchanted into silence and stone: one carriage with its escort, slowly rumbling, is the only sound. Louis reads, in his Book of Devotion, the Prayers of the Dying: clatter of this death-march falls sharp on the ear, in the great silence; but the thought would fain struggle heavenward, and forget the Earth. As the clock strikes ten, behold the Place de la Révolution, once Place de Louis Quinze: the Guillotine, mounted near the old Pedestal where once stood the Statue of that Louis! Far round, all bristles with cannons and armed men; spectators crowding in the rear; D’Orleans Egalite there in cabriolet. . . . Heedless of all Louis reads his Prayers of the Dying; not until five minutes yet has he finished; then the Carriage opens. What temper he is in? Ten different witnesses will give ten different accounts of it. He is in the collision of all tempers; arrived now at the black Maelstrom and descent of Death: in sorrow, in indignation, in resignation struggling to be resigned. ‘Take care of M. Edgeworth,’ he straitly charges the Lieutenant who is sitting with them: then they two descend. The drums are beating: ‘Taisez-vous, Silence!’ he cries in a terrible voice, ‘d’une voix terrible.’ He mounts the scaffold, not without delay; he is in puce coat, breeches of gray, white stockings. He strips off the coat; stands disclosed in a sleeve-waistcoat of white flannel. The executioners approach to bind him: he spurns, resists; Abbé Edgeworth has to remind him how the Saviour, in whom men trust, submitted to be bound. His hands are tied, his head bare; the fatal moment is come. He advances to the edge of the Scaffold, ‘his face very red,’ and says: ‘Frenchmen, I die innocent: it is from the Scaffold and near appearing before God that I tell you so. I pardon my enemies; I desire that France—’ A General on horseback, Santerre or another, prances out with uplifted hand: ‘Tambours!’ The drums drown the voice. ‘Executioners, do your duty!’ The Executioners, desperate lest themselves be murdered (for Santerre and his Armed Ranks will strike, if they do not), seize the hapless Louis; six of them desperate, him singly desperate, struggling there; and bind him to their plank. Abbé Edgeworth, stooping, bespeaks him: ‘Son of Saint Louis, ascend to Heaven.’ The Axe clanks down: a King’s Life is shorn away. It is Monday the 21st of January, 1793. He was aged 38 years four months and 28 days. Executioner Samson shows the Head: fierce shouts of Vive la République rises, and swells; caps raised on bayo-

nets, hats waving: students of the College of Four Nations take it up, on the far Quais; fling it over Paris. D'Orléans drives off in his cabriolet; the Townhall Councillors rub their hands, saying, 'It is done, It is done.' . . . In the coffee-houses that evening, says Prudhomme, Patriot shook hands with Patriot in a more cordial manner than usual. Not till some days after, according to Mercier, did public men see what a grave thing it was. A grave thing it indisputably is; and will have consequences. . . . At home this Killing of a King has divided all friends; and abroad it has united all enemies. Fraternity of Peoples, Revolutionary Propagandism; Atheism, Regicide; total destruction of social order in this world! All Kings, and lovers of Kings, and haters of Anarchy, rank in coalition; as in a war for life."—T. Carlyle, *French Revolution*, v. 3, bk. 2, ch. 8.

1793 (February-April).—Increasing anarchy.—Degradation of manners.—Formation of the terrible Revolutionary Tribunal.—Treacherous designs of Dumouriez.—His invasion of Holland.—His defeat at Neerwinden and retreat.—His flight to the enemy.—"While the French were . . . throwing down the gauntlet to all Europe, their own country seemed sinking into anarchical dissolution. Paris was filled with tumult, insurrection and robbery. At the denunciations of Marat against 'forestallers,' the shops were entered by the mob, who carried off articles at their own prices, and sometimes without paying at all. The populace was agitated by the harangues of low itinerant demagogues. Rough and brutal manners were affected, and all the courtesies of life abolished. The revolutionary leaders adopted a dress called the 'carmagnole,' consisting of enormous black pantaloons, a short jacket, a three-coloured waistcoat, and a Jacobite wig of short black hair, a terrible moustache, the 'bonnet rouge,' and an enormous sabre. [The name Carmagnole was also given to a tune and a dance; it is supposed to have borne originally some reference not now understood to Carmagnola in Piedmont.] Moderate persons of no strong political opinions were denounced as 'suspected,' and their crime stigmatised by the newly coined word of 'moderantisme.' The variations of popular feeling were recorded like the heat of the weather, or the rising of a flood. The principal articles in the journals were entitled 'Thermometer of the Public Mind;' the Jacobins talked of . . . being 'up to the level.' Many of the provinces were in a disturbed state. A movement had been organising in Brittany ever since 1791, but the death of the Marquis de la Rouarie, its principal leader, had for the present suspended it. A more formidable insurrection was preparing in La Vendée. . . . It was in the midst of these disturbances, aggravated by a suspicion of General Dumouriez's treachery, which we shall presently have to relate, that the terrible court known as the Revolutionary Tribunal was established. It was first formally proposed in the Convention March 9th, by Carrier, the miscreant afterwards notorious by his massacres at Nantes, urged by Cambacérés on the 10th, and completed that very night at the instance of Danton, who rushed to the tribune, insisted that the Assembly should not separate, till the new Court had been organised. . . . The extraordinary tribunal of August, 1792, had not been found to work fast enough, and it was now superseded by this new one, which became in fact only a method of massacring under the form of law. The Revolutionary Tribunal was designed to take cognisance of all counter-revolu-

tionary attempts, of all attacks upon liberty, equality, the unity and indivisibility of the Republic, the internal and external safety of the State. A commission of six members of the Convention was to examine and report upon the cases to be brought before it, to draw up and present the acts of accusation. The tribunal was to be composed of a jury to decide upon the facts, five judges to apply the law, a public accuser, and two substitutes; from its sentence there was no appeal. Meanwhile Dumouriez had returned to the army, very dissatisfied that he had failed in his attempts to save the King and baffle the Jacobins. He had formed the design of invading Holland, dissolving the Revolutionary Committee in that country, annulling the decree of Dec. 15th, offering neutrality to the English, a suspension of arms to the Austrians, reuniting the Belgian and Batavian republics, and proposing to France a re-union with them. In case of refusal, he designed to march upon Paris, dissolve the Convention, extinguish Jacobinism; in short, to play the part of Monk in England. This plan was confided to four persons only, among whom Danton is said to have been one. . . . Dumouriez, having directed General Miranda to lay siege to Maestricht, left Antwerp for Holland, Feb. 22nd, and by March 4th had seized Breda, Klundert and Gertruydenberg. Austria, at the instance of England, had pushed forward 112,000 men under Prince Josias of Saxe-Coburg. Clairfait, with his army, at this time occupied Berghem, where he was separated from the French only by the little river Roer and the fortress of Juliers. Coburg, having joined Clairfait, March 1st, crossed the Roer, defeated the French under Dampierre at Altenhoven, and thus compelled Miranda to raise the siege of Maestricht, and retire towards Tongres. Aix-la-Chapelle was entered by the Austrians after a smart contest, and the French compelled to retreat upon Liège, while the divisions under Stengel and Neully, being cut off by this movement, were thrown back into Limburg. The Austrians then crossed the Meuse, and took Liège, March 6th. Dumouriez was now compelled to concentrate his forces at Louvain. From this place he wrote a threatening letter to the Convention, March 11th, denouncing the proceedings of the ministry, the acts of oppression committed in Belgium, and the decree of December 15th. This letter threw the Committee of General Defence into consternation. It was resolved to keep it secret, and Danton and Lacroix set off for Dumouriez's camp, to try what they could do with him, but found him inflexible. His proceedings had already unmasked his designs. At Antwerp he had ordered the Jacobin Club to be closed, and the members to be imprisoned, at Brussels he had dissolved the legion of 'sans-culottes.' Dumouriez was defeated by Prince Coburg at Neerwinden, March 18th, and again on the 22nd at Louvain. In a secret interview with the Austrian Colonel Mack, a day or two after, at Ath, he announced to that officer his intention to march on Paris and establish a constitutional monarchy, but nothing was said as to who was to wear the crown. The Austrians were to support Dumouriez's advance upon Paris, but not to show themselves except in case of need, and he was to have the command of what Austrian troops he might select. The French now continued their retreat, which, in consequence of these negotiations, was unmoled. The Archduke Charles and Prince Coburg entered Brussels March 25th, and the Dutch towns were shortly after retaken. When Dumouriez arrived with his van at Courtraï, he was met by three emissaries of the Jacobins, sent apparently to sound him. He bluntly told them that

his design was to save France, whether they called him Cæsar, Cromwell or Monk, denounced the Convention as an assembly of tyrants, said that he despised their decrees. . . . At St. Amand he was met by Beurnonville, then minister of war, who was to supersede him in the command, and by four commissaries despatched by the Convention." Dumouriez arrested these, delivered them to Clairfait, and they were sent to Maestricht. "The allies were so sanguine that Dumouriez's defection would put an end to the Revolution, that Lord Auckland and Count Stahrenberg, the Austrian minister, looking upon the dissolution and flight of the Convention as certain, addressed a joint note to the States-General, requesting them not to shelter such members of it as had taken any part in the condemnation of Louis XVI. But Dumouriez's army was not with him. On the road to Condé he was fired on by a body of volunteers and compelled to fly for his life (April 4th)." The day following he abandoned his army and went over to the Austrian quarters at Tournay, with a few companions, thus ending his political and military career. "The situation of France at this time seemed almost desperate. The army of the North was completely disorganised through the treachery of Dumouriez; the armies of the Rhine and Moselle were retreating; those of the Alps and Italy were expecting an attack; on the eastern side of the Pyrenees the troops were without artillery, without generals, almost without bread, while on the western side the Spaniards were advancing towards Bayonne. Brest, Cherbourg, the coasts of Brittany, were threatened by the English. The ocean ports contained only six ships of the line ready for sea, and the Mediterranean fleet was being repaired at Toulon. But the energy of the revolutionary leaders was equal to the occasion."—T. H. Dyer, *History of modern Europe*, v. 4, bk. 7, ch. 5.

"Dumouriez presents a character particularly difficult for the modern Englishman to comprehend, so remote is it in circumstance and fundamentals from those of our time. Of good birth, but born in a generation when social differences had become a jest for intelligent and active men, . . . courageous, with a good knowledge of his trade of soldiering, of rapid decision and excellent judgment where troops or *terrain* were concerned, he was all at sea in the comprehension of men, and he bore no loyalty to the State. It is this last feature which will particularly surprise the English reader, for it is the singular and permanent advantage of oligarchic communities such as the British that they retain under any stress and show throughout the whole commonwealth the sense of the State. To betray the State, to act against its interests, to be imperfectly conscious of its existence, are crimes or weaknesses unknown to the citizens of an oligarchy, and a citizen of this country cannot easily conceive of them to-day. In democracies and despotisms, on the other hand, to forget one's duty to the State, to be almost oblivious of its corporate existence, is a common weakness. There is here a compensation, and by just so much as despotism and democracy permit rapid, effective and all-compelling action on the part of the State, by just so much as they permit sudden and sometimes miraculous enthusiasms which save or which confirm a State, by that also do they lack the quiet and persistent consciousness of the State which oligarchy fosters and determines. Dumouriez' excellence as a general can only be appreciated by those who have looked closely into the constitution of the forces which he was to command and the adversaries with whom he had to deal. It is the prime quality of a great commander that his mind stands ready for

any change in circumstances or in the material to his hand, and even when we have allowed for the element of luck which is so considerable in military affairs, we must not forget that Dumouriez saved without disaster the wretched and disorganized bands, inchoate and largely mutinous as to their old units, worthless and amateur as to their new, which had to meet, in and behind the Argonne, the model army of Prussia. We must not forget that his plan for the invasion of the Low Countries was a just and sensible one, nor with what skill, after the inevitable defeat and retreat of the spring of 1793, he saved his command intact. As a subordinate to an armed executive, to the Government of Napoleon, for instance, the man would have been priceless. Nay, had circumstances permitted him to retain supreme command of civil as of military power, he would have made no bad dictator. His mere technical skill was so considerable as to make the large sums paid him by the English Government seem a good bargain even at our distance of time, and his plans for the defence of England and for the attack on Napoleon are a proof of the value at which he was estimated. But Dumouriez was quite unable to act under the special circumstances in which he happened to be placed at the moment of his treason. A mere ambition had carried him from intrigue to intrigue among the politicians. He despised them as an active and capable soldier was compelled to despise them; he was too old to share any of their enthusiasms, even had his temperament permitted him to entertain any vision, political or religious. He certainly never felt the least moral bond attaching him to what was in his eyes the chance anarchy of the last six months of French Government under which he served, and if he is to be branded with the title of traitor, then we must brand with the same title all that multitude of varied men who escaped from the country in the Emigration, who left it in disgust, or even who remained in France, but despaired of French fortunes, in the turmoil of 1793. It is perhaps a worthy excuse for Dumouriez' failure to point out that he also was one of those whom the Court might have used had it known how to use men; but the Court had no such knowledge."—H. Belloc, *French Revolution*, pp. 67-60.

ALSO IN: A. M. Chuquet, *Dumouriez*.—A. Griffiths, *French Revolutionary generals*.—C. MacFarlane, *French Revolution*.—J. H. Rose, *Dumouriez and the defence of England against Napoleon*.—F. C. Schlosser, *History of the eighteenth century*, v. 3.

1793 (March-April).—Insurrection in La Vendée.—"Ever since the abolition of royalty and the constitution of 1700, that is, since the 10th of August, a condemnatory and threatening silence had prevailed in Normandy. Bretagne exhibited still more hostile sentiments, and the people there were engrossed by fondness for the priests and the gentry. Nearer to the banks of the Loire, this attachment amounted to insurrection; and lastly, on the left bank of that river, in the Bocage, Le Loroix, and La Vendée, the insurrection was complete, and large armies of ten and twenty thousand men were already in the field. . . . It was particularly on this left bank, in Anjou, and Upper and Lower Poitou, that the famous war of La Vendée had broken out. It was in this part of France that the influence of time was least felt, and that it had produced least change in the ancient manners. The feudal system had there acquired a truly patriarchal character; and the Revolution, instead of operating a beneficial reform in the country, had shocked the most kindly habits and been received as a persecution. The Bocage and the Marais constitute a

singular country, which it is necessary to describe, in order to convey an idea of the manners of the population, and the kind of society that was formed there. Setting out from Nantes and Saumur and proceeding from the Loire to the sands of Olonne, Luçon, Fontenay, and Niort, you meet with an unequal undulating soil, intersected by ravines and crossed by a multitude of hedges, which serve to fence in each field, and which have on this account obtained for the country the name of the Bocage. As you approach the sea the ground declines, till it terminates in salt marshes, and is everywhere cut up by a multitude of small canals, which render access almost impossible. This is what is called the Marais. The only abundant produce in this country is pasturage, consequently cattle are plentiful. The peasants there grew only just sufficient corn for their own consumption, and employed the produce of their herds and flocks as a medium of exchange. It is well known that no people are more simple than those subsisting by this kind of industry. Few great towns had been built in these parts. They contained only large villages of two or three thousand souls. Between the two high-roads leading, the one from Tours to Poitiers, and the other from Nantes to La Rochelle, extended a tract thirty leagues in breadth, where there were none but cross-roads leading to villages and hamlets. The country was divided into a great number of small farms paying a rent of from five to six hundred francs, each let to a single family, which divided the produce of the cattle with the proprietor of the land. From this division of farms, the seigneurs had to treat with each family, and kept up a continual and easy intercourse with them. The simplest mode of life prevailed in the mansions of the gentry: they were fond of the chase, on account of the abundance of game; the gentry and the peasants hunted together, and they were all celebrated for their skill and vigour. The priests, men of extraordinary purity of character, exercised there a truly paternal ministry. . . . When the Revolution, so beneficent in other quarters, reached this country, with its iron level, it produced profound agitation. It had been well if it could have made an exception there, but that was impossible. . . . When the removal of the non-juring priests deprived the peasants of the ministers in whom they had confidence, they were vehemently exasperated, and, as in Bretagne, they ran into the woods and travelled to a considerable distance to attend the ceremonies of a worship, the only true one in their estimation. From that moment a violent hatred was kindled in their souls, and the priests neglected no means of fanning the flames. The 10th of August drove several Poitevin nobles back to their estates; the 21st of January estranged them, and they communicated their indignation to those about them. They did not conspire, however, as some have conceived. The known dispositions of the country had incited men who were strangers to it to frame plans of conspiracy. One had been hatched in Bretagne, but none was formed in the Bocage; there was no concerted plan there; the people suffered themselves to be driven to extremity. At length, the levy of 300,000 men excited in the month of March a general insurrection. . . . Obligated to take arms, they chose rather to fight against the republic than for it. Nearly about the same time, that is, at the beginning of March, the drawing was the occasion of an insurrection in the Upper Bocage and in the Marais. On the 10th of March, the drawing was to take place at St. Florent, near Ancenis, in Anjou. The young men refused to draw. The guard endeavoured to force them to comply. The military

commandant ordered a piece of cannon to be pointed and fired at the mutineers. They dashed forward with their bludgeons, made themselves masters of the piece, disarmed the guard, and were, at the same time, not a little astonished at their own temerity. A carrier, named Cathelineau, a man highly esteemed in that part of the country, possessing great bravery and powers of persuasion, quitting his farm on hearing the tidings, hastened to join them, rallied them, roused their courage, and gave some consistency to the insurrection by his skill in keeping it up. The very same day he resolved to attack a republican post consisting of eighty men. The peasants followed him with their bludgeons and their muskets. After a first volley, every shot of which told, because they were excellent marksmen, they rushed upon the post, disarmed it, and made themselves master of the position. Next day, Cathelineau proceeded to Chemillé, which he likewise took, in spite of 200 republicans and three pieces of cannon. A gamekeeper at the château of Maulevrier, named Stofflet, and a young peasant of the village of Chauzeau, had on their part collected a band of peasants. These came and joined Cathelineau, who conceived the daring design of attacking Chollet, the most considerable town in the country, the chief place of a district, and guarded by 500 republicans. . . . The victorious band of Cathelineau entered Chollet, seized all the arms that it could find, and made cartridges out of the charges of the cannon. It was always in this manner that the Vendéans procured ammunition. . . . Another much more general revolt had broken out in the Marais and the department of La Vendée. At Machecoul and Challans, the recruiting was the occasion of a universal insurrection. . . . Three hundred republicans were shot by parties of 20 or 30. . . . In the department of La Vendée, that is, to the south of the theatre of this war, the insurrection assumed still more consistency. The national guards of Fontenay, having set out on their march for Chantonnay, were repulsed and beaten. Chantonnay was plundered. General Verneuil, who commanded the 11th military division, on receiving intelligence of this defeat, dispatched General Marcé with 1,200 men, partly troops of the line, and partly national guards. The rebels who were met at St. Vincent were repulsed. General Marcé had time to add 1,200 more men and nine pieces of cannon to his little army. In marching upon St. Fulgent, he again fell in with the Vendéans in a valley and stopped to restore a bridge which they had destroyed. About four in the afternoon of the 18th of March, the Vendéans, taking the initiative, advanced and attacked him . . . and made themselves masters of the artillery, the ammunition, and the arms, which the soldiers threw away that they might be the lighter in their flight. These more important successes in the department of La Vendée properly so called, procured for the insurgents the name of Vendéans, which they afterwards retained, though the war was far more active out of La Vendée. The pillage committed by them in the Marais caused them to be called brigands, though the greater number did not deserve that appellation. The insurrection extended into the Marais from the environs of Nantes to Les Sables, and into Anjou and Poitou, as far as the environs of Vihiers and Parthenay. . . . Easter recalled all the insurgents to their homes, from which they never would stay away long. To them a war was a sort of sporting excursion of several days; they carried with them a sufficient quantity of bread for the time, and then returned to inflame their neighbours by the accounts which they gave. Places of meeting were appointed for

the month of April. The insurrection was then general and extended over the whole surface of the country. It might be comprised in a line which, commencing at Nantes, would pass through Pornic, the Isle of Noirmoutiers, Les Sables, Luçon, Fontenay, Niort, and Parthenay, and return by Airvault, Thouar, Doué, and St. Florent, to the Loire. The insurrection, begun by men who were not superior to the peasants whom they commanded, excepting by their natural qualities, was soon continued by men of a higher rank. The peasants went to the mansions and forced the nobles to put themselves at their head. The whole Marais insisted on being commanded by Charette. . . . In the Bocage, the peasants applied to Messrs. de Bonchamps, d'Elbée, and de Laroche-Jacquelein, and forced them from their mansions to place them at their head." These gentlemen were afterwards joined by M. de Lescure, a cousin of Henri de Laroche-Jacquelein.—A. Thiers, *History of the French Revolution* (American edition), v. 2, pp. 146-152.

ALSO IN: A. Alison, *History of Europe*, v. 3, ch. 12.—Marquise de Larochejaquelein, *Memoirs.—Henri Larochejaquelein and the war in La Vendée*, (*Chambers miscellany*, v. 2).—L. I. Guiney, *Monsieur Henri*.

1793 (March-June).—Vigorous measures of the Revolutionary government.—Committee of Public Safety.—Final struggle of Jacobins and Girondists.—Fall of the Girondins.—The news of the defeat of Dumouriez at Neerwinden, which reached Paris on the 21st, "brought about two important measures. Jean Debry, on behalf of the diplomatic Committee, proposed that all strangers should be expelled from France within eight days who could not give a good reason for their residence, and on the same evening the Committee of General Defence was reorganized and placed on another footing. This committee had come into existence in January, 1793. It originally consisted of 21 members, who were not directly elected by the Convention, but were chosen from the seven most important committees. But now, after the news of Neerwinden, a powerful committee was directly elected. It consisted of 24 members, and the first committee contained nine Girondins, nine deputies of the Plain, and six Jacobins, including every representative man in the Convention. . . . The new Committee was given the greatest powers, and after first proposing to the Convention that the penalty of death should be decreed against every émigré over fourteen, and to every one who protected an émigré, it proposed that Dumouriez should be summoned to the bar of the Convention." Early in April, news of the desertion of Dumouriez and the retreat of Custine, "made the Convention decide on yet further measures to strengthen the executive. Marat, who, like Danton and Robespierre, was statesman enough to perceive the need of strengthening the executive, proposed that enlarged powers should be given to the committees; and Isnard, as the reporter of the Committee of General Defence, proposed the establishment of a smaller committee of nine, with supreme and unlimited executive powers—a proposal which was warmly supported by every statesman in the Convention. . . . It is noticeable that every measure which strengthened the terror when it was finally established was decreed while the Girondins could command a majority in the Convention, and that it was a Girondin, Isnard, who proposed the immense powers of the Committee of Public Safety [Comité de Salut Public]. Upon April 6 Isnard brought up a decree defining the powers of the new committee.

It was to consist of nine deputies, to confer in secret; to have supreme executive power, and authority to spend certain sums of money without accounting for them, and it was to present a weekly report to the Convention. These immense powers were granted under the pressure of news from the frontier, and it was obvious that it would not be long before such a powerful executive could conquer the independence of the Convention. Isnard's proposals were opposed by Buzot, but decreed; and on April 7 the first Committee of Public Safety was elected. It consisted of the following members:—Barère, Delmas, Bréard, Cambon, Danton, Guyton-Morveau, Treillard, Lacroix, and Robert Lindet. The very first proposal of the new committee was that it should appoint three representatives with every army from among the deputies of the Convention, with unlimited powers, who were to report to the committee itself. This motion was followed by a very statesmanlike one from Danton. He perceived the folly of the decree of November 18, which declared universal war against all kings. . . . On his proposition the fatal decree . . . was withdrawn, and it was made possible for France again to enter into the comity of European nations. It is very obvious that it was the foreign war which had developed the progress of the Revolution with such astonishing rapidity in France. It was Brunswick's manifesto which mainly caused the attack on the Tuileries on August 10; it was the surrender of Verdun which directly caused the massacres of September. It was the battle of Neerwinden which established the Revolutionary Tribunal, and that defeat and the desertion of Dumouriez which brought about the establishment of the Committee of Public Safety. The Girondins were chiefly responsible for the great war, and its first result was to destroy them as a party. . . . Their early influence over the deputies of the Plain rested on a belief in their statesmanlike powers, but as time went on that influence steadily diminished. It was in vain for Danton to attempt to make peace in the Convention; bitter words on both sides had left too strong an impression ever to be effaced. The Jacobin leaders despised the Girondins; the Girondins hated the Jacobins for having won away power from them. The Jacobins formed a small but very united body, of which every member knew its own mind; they were determined to carry on the Republic at all costs, and to destroy the Girondins as quickly as they could. . . . The desertion of Dumouriez had caused strong measures to be taken by the Convention, . . . and all parties had concurred. . . . But as soon as these important measures had been taken, which the majority of the Convention believed would enable France once more to free her frontiers from the invaders, the Girondins and Jacobins turned upon each other with redoubled ardour, and the death-struggle between them recommenced. The Girondins reopened the struggle with an attack upon Marat. Few steps could have been more foolish, for Marat, though in many ways a real statesman, had from the exaggeration of his language never obtained the influence in the Convention to which his abilities entitled him. . . . But he remained the idol of the people of Paris, and in attacking him the Girondins exasperated the people of Paris in the person of their beloved journalist. On April 11 Guadet read a placard in the Convention, which Marat had posted on the walls of Paris, full of his usual libellous abuse of the Girondins. It was referred to the Committee of Legislation with other writings of Marat," and two days later, on the report of the Committee, it was voted by the Convention (half of its members being absent), that

Marat should be sent before the Tribunal for trial. This called out immediate demonstrations from Marat's Parisian admirers. "On April 15, in the name of 35 sections of Paris, Pache and Hébert demanded the expulsion from the Convention of 22 of the leading Girondists as 'disturbers of the public peace,' including Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Buzot, Barbaroux, Louvet, Pétion, and Lanjuinais. . . . On April 22 the trial of Marat took place. He was unanimously acquitted, although most of the judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal sympathized with the Girondins. . . . The acquittal of Marat was a fearful blow to the Girondin party; they had in no way discredited the Jacobins, and had only made themselves unpopular in Paris."—H. M. Stephens, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 2, ch. 7, 8.

"The ridicule and condemnation under which Marat justly falls do not attach to the patent moral truths he held, but to the manner in which



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he held them. He did not only hold them isolated from other truths—it is the fault of the fanatic so to hold any truth—but he held them as though no other truths existed. And whenever he found his ideal to be in practice working at a friction or stopped dead, his unnourished and acute enthusiasms at once sought a scapegoat, discovered a responsible agent, and suggested a violent outlet, for the delay. He was often right when he denounced a political intriguer: he often would have sacrificed a victim not unjustly condemned, he often discovered an agent partially responsible, and even the violent solutions that he suggested were not always impracticable. But it was the prime error of his tortured mind that beyond victims, and sudden violent clutches at the success of democracy, there was nothing else he could conceive. He was incapable of allowing for imperfections, for stupidities, for the misapprehension of mind by mind, for the mere action of time, and for all that renders human life infinitely complex and infinitely adjustable. Humour, the reflection of such wisdom, he lacked;—'judgment' (as the English

idiom has it) he lacked still more—if a comparative term may be attached to two such absolute vacuities. It must not be forgotten that so complete an absence of certain necessary qualities in the building up of a mind are equivalent to madness. Marat was not sane. His insanity was often generous, the creed to which it was attached was obvious enough, and in the eyes of most of us it is a creed to be accepted. But he worked with it as a madman who is mad on collectivism, let us say, or the rights of property, might work in our society, thinking of his one thesis, shrieking it and foaming at the mouth upon it, losing all control when its acceptance was not even opposed but merely delayed. He was valueless for the accomplishment of the ends of the Revolution. His doctrine and his adherence to it were so conspicuously simple and sincere that it is no wonder the populace made him (for a few months) a sort of symbol of their demand. For the rest, his face, like his character, was tortured; he carried with him a disease of the skin that irritated perpetually his wholly unbalanced temper. Some say (but one must always beware of so-called 'Science' in the reading of history) that a mixture or racial types produced in him a perpetual physical disturbance: his face was certainly distorted and ill-balanced—but physical suggestions of that sort are very untrustworthy. Those who met him in the management of affairs thought him worthless enough; a few who knew him intimately loved him dearly; more who came across him continually were fatigued and irritated by his empty violence. He was, among those young revolutionaries, almost an elderly man; he was (this should never be forgotten) a distinguished scholar in his own trade, that of medicine; and he effected less in the Revolution than any man to whom a reputation of equal prominence happened to attach. He must stand responsible for the massacres of September."—H. Belloc, *French Revolution*, pp. 76-78.—"The Commune of Paris steadily organized the more advanced republicans of the city for an open attack upon the Girondins. . . . Throughout the months of May, preparations for the final struggle went on; it was recognized by both parties that they must appeal to force, and arrangements for appealing to force were made as openly for the coup d'état of May 31 as they had been for that of August 10. On the one side, the Commune of Paris steadily concentrated its armed strength and formed its plan of action; on the other, the leading Girondins met daily at the house of Valazé, and prepared to move decrees in the Convention." But the Girondins were still divided among themselves. Some wished to appeal to the provinces, against Paris, which meant civil war; others opposed this as unpatriotic. On the 31st of May, and on the two days following, the Commune of Paris called out its mob to execute the determined coup d'état. On the last of these three days (June 2), the Convention surrounded, imprisoned and terrorized by armed ruffians, led by Henriot, lately appointed Commander of the National Guard, submissively decreed that the proscribed Girondin deputies, with others, to the number altogether of 31, should be placed under arrest in their own houses. This "left the members of the Mountain predominant in the Convention. The deputies of the Marsh or Plain were now docile to the voice of the Jacobin leaders," whose supremacy was now without dispute. On the preceding day, an attempt had been made, on the order of the Commune, to arrest M. Roland and two others of the ministers. Roland escaped, but Madame Roland, the more important Girondist leader, was taken and consigned to the Abbaye.—

H. M. Stephens, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 2, ch. 7-8.

ALSO IN: E. B. Bax, *Jean-Paul Marat*.—W. Smyth, *Lectures on the French Revolution*.—H. von Sybel, *History of the French Revolution*, bk. 7.—H. A. Taine, *French Revolution*, v. 7.

1793 (March-September).—Formation of the great European coalition against revolutionary France.—“The execution of the King, together with the Convention’s decrees of November 19 and December 15, 1792, was a gauntlet thrown down by republican France to the governments of Europe, and the challenge was straightway accepted. The English government expelled the French diplomatic agent from its country, and cemented its alliance with the United Provinces of Holland. The Convention thereupon waited no longer, but declared war against England and Holland February 1, 1793. War against Spain, whose ambassador had vainly attempted to save the life of Louis XVI, and with the Holy Roman Empire, followed a month later. By early spring, 1793, France was at war with the First Coalition, comprising Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, England, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Tuscany, Naples, and the Holy Roman Empire. Had the coalition energetically pressed the war, its troops would soon have forced their way to Paris and there dictated the terms of peace. The governments, however, were either impotent or interested in other enterprises. Prussia considered the dissolution of Poland more important than war against France, and had, by treaty with Russia in January, 1793, gained liberally in the Second Partition. Spain, Holland, and Sardinia had not sufficient forces to attempt invasion. England had no foothold from which to launch an army, and was reduced to the exercise of her sea power and to the offer of subsidies to the continental governments. The burden of the land offensive, therefore, fell upon Austria—and even Austria did not contemplate a decisive invasion of France.”—L. H. Holt and A. W. Chilton, *Brief history of Europe from 1789 to 1815*, pp. 111-112.

ALSO IN: A. Alison, *History of Europe*, v. 4, ch. 13.—F. C. Schlosser, *History of the eighteenth century*, v. 6, div. 2, ch. 2, sect. 3.

1793 (April-August).—Minister Genet in America.—Washington’s proclamation of neutrality. See U. S. A.: 1793: Popular sympathy with French Revolution.

1793 (June).—Flight of most of the Girondists.—Their appeal to the country.—Insurrection in the provinces.—The rising at Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Toulon.—Progress of the Vendean revolt.—“After this day [of the events which culminated on the 2d of June, but which are commonly referred to as being of “the 31st of May,” when they began], when the people made no other use of their power than to display and to exercise the pressure of Paris over the representation, they separated without committing any excess. . . . La Montaigne caused the committees to be reinstated on the morrow, with the exception of that of public safety. They threw into the majority their most decided members. . . . They deposed those ministers suspected of attachment to the conquered; sent commissioners into the doubtful departments; annulled the project of the constitution proposed by the Girondists; and charged the committee of safety to draw up in eight days a project for the constitution entirely democratical. They pressed forward the recruiting and armament of the revolutionary army—that levy of patriotism en masse. They decreed a forced loan of a million upon the rich. They sent one after the other, ac-

cused upon accused, to the revolutionary tribunal. Their sittings were no longer deliberation, but cursory motions, decreed on the instant by acclamation, and sent immediately to the different committees for execution. They stripped the executive power of the little independence and responsibility it heretofore retained. Continually called into the bosom of their committees, ministers became no more than the passive executors of the measures they decreed. From this day, also, discussion was at an end; action was all. The disappearance of the Girondists deprived the Revolution of its voice. Eloquence was proscribed with Vergniaud, with the exception of those few days when the great party chiefs, Danton and Robespierre, spoke, not to refute opinions, but to intimate their will, and promulgate their orders. The Assemblies became almost mute. A dead silence reigned henceforth in the Convention. In the meanwhile the 22 Girondists [excepting Vergniaud, Gensonné, Ducos, Tonfrède, and a few others, who remained under the decree of arrest, facing all consequences], the members of the Commission of Twelve, and a certain number of their friends, warned of their danger by this first blow of ostracism, fled into their departments, and hurried to protest against the mutilation of the country. . . . Robespierre, Danton, the Committee of Public Safety, and even the people themselves, seemed to shut their eyes to these evasions, as if desirous to be rid of victims whom it would pain them to strike. Buzot, Barbaroux, Guadet, Louvet, Salles, Pétion, Bergeon, Lesage, Cressy, Kervélégan and Lanjuinais, threw themselves into Normandy; and after having traversed it, inciting all the departments between Paris and the Ocean, established at Caen the focus and centre of insurrection against the tyranny of Paris. They gave themselves the name of the Central Assembly of Resistance to Oppression. Bironet and Chasset had arrived at Lyons. The armed sections of this town were agitated with contrary and already bloody commotion [the Jacobin municipality having been overthrown, after hard fighting, and its chief, Chalier, put to death]. Brissot fled to Moulins, Robaut St. Etienne to Nismes, Grangeneuve, sent by Vergniaud, Tonfrède, and Ducos, to Bordeaux, raised troops ready to march upon the capital. Toulouse followed the same impulse of resistance to Paris. The departments of the west were on fire, and rejoiced to see the public, torn into contending factions, offer them the aid of one of the two parties for the restoration of royalty. The mountainous centre of France . . . was agitated. . . . Marseilles enrolled 10,000 men at the voice of Rebecqui and the young friends of Barbaroux. They imprisoned the commissioners of the Convention, Roux and Antiboul. Royalty, always brooding in the south, insensibly transformed this movement of patriotism into a monarchical insurrection. Rebecqui, in despair . . . at seeing loyalty avail itself of the rising in the south, escaped remorse by suicide, throwing himself into the sea. Lyons and Bordeaux likewise imprisoned the envoys of the Convention as Maratists. The first columns of the combined army of the departments began to move in all directions; 6,000 Marseillais were already at Avignon, ready to reascend the Rhone, and form a junction with the insurgents of Nismes and of Lyons. Brittany and Normandy uniting, concentrated their first forces at Evreux.”—A de Lamartine, *History of the Girondists*, v. 3, bk. 43.—The royalists of the west, “during this almost general rising of the departments, continued to extend their enterprises. After their first victories, the Vendéans seized on Bressure, Argenton, and Thouars. Entirely masters of their own coun-

try, they proposed getting possession of the frontiers, and opening the way to revolutionary France, as well as communications with England. On the 6th of June, the Vendean army, composed of 40,000 men, under Cathelineau, Lescure, Stofflet, and La Rochejacquin, marched on Saumur, which it took by storm. It then prepared to attack and capture Nantes, to secure the possession of its own country, and become masters of the course of the Loire. Cathelineau, at the head of the Vendean troops, left a garrison in Saumur, took Angers, crossed the Loire, pretended to advance upon Tours and Lemans, and then rapidly threw himself upon Nantes, which he attacked on the right bank, while Charette was to attack it on the left."—F. A. Mignet, *History of the French Revolution*, ch. 8.

ALSO IN: S. Matthews, *History of the French Revolution*.

1793 (June-October).—New Jacobin constitution postponed.—Concentration of power in the Committee of Public Safety.—Machine of revolutionary government.—"It was while affairs were in this critical condition that the Mountain undertook the sole conduct of the government in France. They had hitherto resisted all attempts of the Girondists to establish a new constitution in place of that of 1791. They now undertook the work themselves, and in four days drew up a constitution, as simple as it was democratic, which was issued on the 24th of June. Every citizen of the age of 21 could vote directly in the election of deputies, who were chosen for a year at a time and were to sit in a single assembly. The assembly had the sole power of making laws, but a period was fixed during which the constituents could protest against its enactments. The executive power was entrusted to 24 men, who were chosen by the assembly from candidates nominated by electors chosen by the original voters. Twelve out of the 24 were to be renewed every six months. But this constitution was intended merely to satisfy the departments, and was never put into practice. The condition of France required a greater concentration of power, and this was supplied by the Committee of Public Safety. Ever since the 6th of April the original members of the Committee had been re-elected, but on the 10th of July its composition was changed. Danton ceased to be a member, and Barère was joined by Robespierre, St. Just, Couthon, Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and, in a short time, Carnot. These men became the absolute rulers of France. The Committee had no difficulty in carrying their measures in the Convention, from which the opposition party had disappeared. All the state obligations were rendered uniform and inscribed in 'the great book of the national debt.' The treasury was filled by a compulsory loan from the rich. Every income between 1,000 and 10,000 francs had to pay ten per cent., and every excess over 10,000 francs had to be contributed in its entirety for one year. To recruit the army a levée en masse was decreed. 'The young men shall go to war; the married men shall forge arms and transport supplies; the wives shall make tents and clothes and serve in the hospitals; the children shall tear old linen into lint; the aged shall resort to the public places to excite the courage of the warriors and hatred against kings.' Nor were measures neglected against domestic enemies. On the 6th of September a revolutionary army, consisting of 6,000 men and 1,200 artillery men, was placed at the disposal of the Committee to carry out its orders throughout France. On the 17th the famous 'law of the suspects' was carried. Under the term 'suspect' were included all those

who by words, acts or writings had shown themselves in favour of monarchy or of federalism, the relatives of the emigrants, etc., and they were to be imprisoned until the peace. As the people were in danger of famine, a maximum price, already established for corn, was decreed for all necessaries; if a merchant gave up his trade he became a suspect, and the hoarding of provisions was punished by death. On the 10th of October the Convention definitely transferred its powers to the Committee, by subjecting all officials to its authority and by postponing the trial of the new constitution until the peace."—R. Lodge, *History of modern Europe*, ch. 23, sect. 11.—The Committee of Public Safety—the "Revolutionary Government," as Danton had named it, on the 2d of August, when he demanded the fearful powers that were given to it—"disposed of all the national forces; it appointed and dismissed the ministers, generals, Representatives on Mission, the judges and juries of the Revolutionary Tribunal. The latter instrument became its strong arm; it was, in fact, a court martial worked by civil magistrates. By its agents it directed the departments and armies, the political situation without and within, striking down at the same time the rebels within and the enemies without: for, together with the constitution were, of course, suspended the municipal laws and the political machinery of the communes; and thus cities and villages hitherto indifferent or opposed to the Revolution were republicanized. By the Tribunal it disposed of the persons of individuals; by requisition and the law of maximum (with which we are going to be better acquainted) it disposed of their fortunes. It can, indeed, be said that the whole of France was placed in a state of siege; but that was the price of its salvation. . . . But Danton has committed a great mistake,—one that he and especially France, will come to rue. He has declined to become a member of the Revolutionary Government, which has been established on his motion. 'It is my firm resolve not to be a member of such a government,' he had said. In other words, he has declined re-election as a member of the Committee de Salut Public, now it has been erected into a dictatorship. He unfortunately lacked all ambition. . . . When afterwards, on Sept. 8, one Gaston tells the Convention, 'Danton has a mighty revolutionary head. No one understands so well as he to execute what he himself proposes. I therefore move that he be added to the Revolutionary Government, in spite of his protest,' and it is so unanimously ordered, he again peremptorily declines. 'No, I will not be a member; but as a spy on it I intend to work.' A most fateful resignation! for while he still for a short time continues to exercise his old influence on the government, both from the outside, in his own person, and inside the Committee, in the person of Héroult de Sechelles, selected in his place, he very soon loses ground more and more,—so much so even that Héroult, his friend, is 'put in quarantine,' as was said in the Committee. And very natural. A statesman cannot have power when he shirks responsibility, and without power he soon loses all influence with the multitude. Those who now succeed him in power are Robespierre, Barère, Billaud-Varennes, and Carnot,—the two last very good working members, good men of the second rank, but after Danton not a single man is left fit to be leader."—L. Gronlund, *Ça Ira! or Danton in the French Revolution*, ch. 4.

ALSO IN: C. A. Fyffe, *History of modern Europe*, v. 1, ch. 2.—H. M. Stephens, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 2, ch. 9.—H. C. Lockwood, *Constitutional history of France*, ch. 1, and app. 2.

1793 (July).—Assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday.—“Amongst those who had placed faith in the Girondists and their ideals was a young woman of Normandy, Charlotte Corday. . . . When the mob of Paris rose and drove with insult from the Convention those who in her eyes were the heroic defenders of the universal principles of truth and justice, she bitterly resented the wrong that had been done, not only to the men themselves, but to that France of which she regarded them as the true representatives. Owing to Marat’s persistent cry for a dictatorship and for shedding of blood, it was he who, in the departments, was accounted especially responsible both for the expulsion of the Girondists and for the tyranny which now began to weigh as heavily upon the whole country as it had long weighed upon the capital. Incapable as all then were of comprehending the causes which had brought about the fall of the Girondists, Charlotte Corday imagined that by putting an end to this man’s life, she could also put an end to the system of government which he advocated. Informing her friends that she wished to visit England, she left Caen and travelled in the diligence to Paris. On her arrival she purchased a knife, and afterwards obtained entrance into Marat’s house on the pretext that she brought news which she desired to communicate to him. She knew that he would be eager to obtain intelligence of the movements of the Girondist deputies still in Normandy. Marat was ill at the time, and in a bath when Charlotte Corday was admitted. She gave him the names of the deputies who were at Caen. ‘In a few days,’ he said, as he wrote them hastily down, ‘I will have them all guillotined in Paris.’ As she heard these words she plunged the knife into his body and killed him on the spot. The cry uttered by the murdered man was heard, and Charlotte, who did not attempt to escape, was captured and conveyed to prison amid the murmurs of an angry crowd. It had been from the first her intention to sacrifice her life for the cause of her country, and, glorying in her deed, she met death with stoical indifference. ‘I killed one man,’ she said, when brought before the revolutionary court, ‘in order to save the lives of 100,000 others.’ . . . His [Marat’s] murder brought about contrary results to those which the woman who ignorantly and rashly had flung away her life hoped by the sacrifice to effect. . . . He was regarded as a martyr by no small portion of the working population of Paris. . . . His murder excited indignation beyond the comparatively narrow circle of those who took an active part in political life, while at the same time it added a new impulse to the growing cry for blood.”—B. M. Gardiner, *French Revolution*, ch. 7.

ALSO IN: C. Mac Farlane, *French Revolution*, v. 3, ch. 13.—J. Michelet, *Women of the French Revolution*, ch. 18.—Mrs. R. K. Van Alstine, *Charlotte Corday*.—A. Dobson, *Four French women*, ch. 1.

1793 (July–December).—Civil war.—Sieges of Lyons and Toulon.—Submission of Caen, Marseilles and Bordeaux.—Crushing of the Vendéans, and triumph of the Republicans.—“The insurgents in Calvados [Normandy] were easily suppressed; at the very first skirmish at Vernon [July 13], the insurgent troops fled. Wimpfen endeavoured to rally them in vain. The moderate class, those who had taken up the defence of the Girondists, displayed little ardour or activity. When the constitution was accepted by the other departments, it saw the opportunity for admitting that it had been in error, when it thought

it was taking arms against a mere factious minority. This retraction was made at Caen, which had been the headquarters of the revolt. The Mountain commissioners did not sully this first victory with executions. General Carteaux, on the other hand, marched at the head of some troops against the sectionary army of the south; he defeated its force, pursued it to Marseilles, entered the town [August 23] after it, and Provence would have been brought into subjection like Calvados, if the royalists, who had taken refuge at Toulon, after their defeat, had not called in the English to their aid, and placed in their hands this key to France. Admiral Hood entered the town in the name of Louis XVII., whom he proclaimed king, disarmed the fleet, sent for 8,000 Spaniards by sea, occupied the surrounding forts, and forced Carteaux, who was advancing against Toulon, to fall back on Marseilles. Notwithstanding this check, the conventionalists succeeded in isolating the insurrection, and this was a great point. The Mountain commissioners had made their entry into the rebel capitals; Robert Lindet into Caen; Tallien into Bordeaux; Barras and Fréron into Marseilles. Only two towns remained to be taken—Toulon and Lyons. A simultaneous attack from the south, west, and centre was no longer apprehended, and in the interior the enemy was only on the defensive. Lyons was besieged by Kellermann, general of the army of the Alps; three corps pressed the town on all sides. The veteran soldiers of the Alps, the revolutionary battalions and the newly levied troops, reinforced the besiegers every day. The people of Lyons defended themselves with all the courage of despair. At first, they relied on the assistance of the insurgents of the south; but these having been repulsed by Carteaux, the Lyonnese placed their last hope in the army of Piedmont, which attempted a diversion in their favour, but was beaten by Kellermann. Pressed still more energetically, they saw their first position carried. Famine began to be felt, and courage forsook them. The royalist leaders, convinced of the inutility of longer resistance, left the town, and the republican army entered the walls [October 6], where they awaited the orders of the convention. A few months after, Toulon itself [in the siege of which Napoleon Bonaparte commanded the artillery], defended by veteran troops and formidable fortifications, fell into the power of the republicans. The battalions of the army of Italy, reinforced by those which the taking of Lyons left disposable, pressed the place closely. After repeated attacks and prodigies of skill and valour, they made themselves masters of it, and the capture of Toulon finished what that of Lyons had begun [December 10]. Everywhere the convention was victorious. The Vendéans had failed in their attempt upon Nantes, after having lost many men, and their general-in-chief, Cathelineau. This attack put an end to the aggressive and previously promising movement of the Vendean insurrection. The royalists repassed the Loire, abandoned Saumur, and resumed their former cantonments. They were, however, still formidable; and the republicans, who pursued them, were again beaten in La Vendée. General Biron, who had succeeded General Berruyer, unsuccessfully continued the war with small bodies of troops; his moderation and defective system of attack caused him to be replaced by Canclaux and Rossignol, who were not more fortunate than he. There were two leaders, two armies, and two centres of operation. . . . The committee of public safety soon remedied this, by appointing one sole general-in-chief, Lechelle,

and by introducing war on a large scale into La Vendée. This new method, aided by the garrison of Mayence, consisting of 17,000 veterans, who, relieved from operations against the coalesced powers after the capitulation, were employed in the interior, entirely changed the face of the war. The royalists underwent four consecutive defeats, two at Châtillon, two at Cholet [the last being October 17]. Lescure, Bonchamps, and d'Elbée were mortally wounded; and the insurgents, completely beaten in Upper Vendée, and fearing that they should be exterminated if they took refuge in Lower Vendée, determined to leave their country to the number of 80,000 persons. This emigration through Brittany, which they hoped to arouse to insurrection, became fatal to them. Repulsed before Granville, utterly routed at Mons [Le Mans, December 12], they were destroyed at Savenay [December 23], and barely a few thousand men, the wreck of this vast emigration, returned to Vendée. These disasters, irreparable for the royalist cause, the taking of their land of Noirmoutiers from Charette, the dispersion of the troops of that leader, the death of Larochejacquelin, rendered the republicans masters of the country. The committee of public safety, thinking, not without reason, that its enemies were beaten but not subjugated, adopted a terrible system of extermination to prevent them from rising again. General Thurreau surrounded Vendée with sixteen entrenched camps; twelve movable columns, called the infernal columns, overran the country in every direction, sword and fire in hand, scoured the woods, dispersed the assemblies, and diffused terror throughout this unhappy country."—F. A. Mignet, *History of the French Revolution*, ch. 8.

ALSO IN: A. Thiers, *History of the French Revolution* (American edition), v. 2, pp. 328-335, 308-410.—Marchioness de Larochejacquelin, *Memoirs*.—A. des Echerolles, *Early Life*, v. 1, ch. 5-7.

1793 (July-December).—Progress of the war of the coalition.—Dissensions among the allies.—Unsuccessful siege of Dunkirk.—French victory of Hondschoote.—Successful operations on the Rhine and elsewhere.—"The civil war in which France for a moment appeared engulfed was soon confined to a few narrowing centres. What, in the meantime, had been the achievements of the mighty Coalition of banded Europe? Success, that might have been great, was attained on the Alpine and Pyrenean frontiers; and had the Piedmontese and Spaniards been well led they could have overrun Provence and Rousillon, and made the insurrection of the South fatal. But here, as elsewhere, the Allies did little; and, though defeated in almost every encounter, the republican levies held their ground against enemies who nowhere advanced. It was, however, in the North and the North-east that the real prize of victory was placed; and no doubt can exist that had unanimity in the councils of the Coalition prevailed, or had a great commander been in its camp, Paris might have been captured without difficulty, and the Revolution been summarily put down. But the Austrians, the Prussians, and the English, were divided in mind; they had no general capable of rising above the most ordinary routine of war; and the result was that the allied armies advanced tardily on an immense front, each leader thinking of his own plans only, and no one venturing to press forward boldly, or to pass the fortresses on the hostile frontiers, though obstacles like these could be of little use without the aid of powerful forces in the field. In this manner half the summer was lost in besieging May-

ence, Valenciennes, and Condé; and when, after the fall of these places [July-August], an attempt was made to invade Picardy, dissensions between the Allies broke out, and the British contingent was detached to besiege Dunkirk, while the Austrians lingered in French Flanders, intent on enlarging by conquest Belgium, at that period an Austrian Province. Time was thus gained for the French armies, which, though they had made an honorable resistance, had been obliged to fall back at all points, and were in no condition to oppose their enemy; and the French army in the North, though driven nearly to the Somme, within a few marches of the capital, was allowed an opportunity to recruit its strength, and was not, as it might have been easily, destroyed. A part of the hastily raised levies was now incorporated in its ranks; and as these were largely composed of seasoned men from the old army of the Bourbon Monarchy, and from the volunteers of Valmy and Jemmapes, a respectable force was before long mustered. At the peremptory command of the Jacobin Government, this was at once directed against the invaders, who did not know what an invasion meant. The Duke of York, assailed with vigor and skill, was compelled to raise the siege of Dunkirk [by the French victory at Hondschoote, September 8]; and, to the astonishment of Europe, the divided forces of the halting and irresolute Coalition began to recede before the enemies, who saw victory yielded to them, and who, feeble soldiers as they often were, were nevertheless fired by ardent patriotism."—W. O'C. Morris, *French Revolution*, ch. 6.—"The English on their part confined themselves to one important operation. They had on the outbreak of war despatched a fleet to the Mediterranean under the command of Lord Hood, and on the 4th of August 1793 the insurgents at Toulon, in the course of their opposition to the Convention, surrendered their city to the allied English and Spanish fleets. In Lyons the same progress of opposition was to be observed. The original insurgents had professed federalist opinions, but when the Convention sent an army against them open royalists took the place of the federalists. The vigorous action of the new government soon freed the French Republic from its foreign and internal foes. Carnot, on taking charge of military measures, saw that the only means of defeating the invaders was to take advantage of the numbers of his soldiers and to act in masses. Acting on this policy General Houchard raised the siege of Dunkirk and defeated the English and Hanoverians in the battle of Hondschoote (8th September). In spite of his victory Houchard was disgraced for not following it up with vigour. Jourdan, his successor, carrying out the same policy, concentrated his army against the Austrians, raised the siege of Maubeuge, and defeated the Austrians at Wattignies (16th October). [See below: 1793 (October).] These victories did not drive the Anglo-Austrian army out of France, but they stopped the progress of the allies and caused them to stand upon the defensive. Farther south the same vigour was displayed. Saint-Just restored discipline in the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle. Hoche, at the head of the latter, won the victory of the Geisberg (25th September) over the Austrians and Prussians, while Pichegru, at the head of the Army of the Rhine, relieved Landau and drove Würmser across the Rhine. Almost at the same time a powerful army, of which the best regiments were the former garrison of Valenciennes, captured Lyons on the 9th of October, and on the 18th of December Toulon was retaken by an army under

the command of General Dugommier. It was at the siege of Toulon that Napoleon Bonaparte first made himself conspicuous and won the rank of general of brigade. The republican armies were equally successful against the Spaniards. The Army of the Eastern Pyrenees, under D'Aoust, recovered Roussillon, while that of the Western Pyrenees, under Müller, drove the Spaniards across the Bidassoa. In La Vendée equal success was achieved. The former garrison of Mayenne, which was composed of excellent soldiers who had gained experience and discipline from their long resistance to the Prussians, destroyed the Vendéan armies, and the insurrection of the province was severely punished by Carrier at Nantes and by the infernal columns which, under General Turreau, were directed to devastate the country. These repeated successes in every quarter reconciled the French people to the hideous *régime* of the Reign of Terror. Its despotism was excused because of its success, and its absolute authority reluctantly submitted to as a necessary evil."—H. M. Stephens, *European history, 1789-1815, period 7, pp. 139-141.*

1793 (August).—Emancipation in Santo Domingo proclaimed. See HAITI, REPUBLIC OF: 1632-1803.

1793 (September-December).—"Reign of Terror" becomes the "Order of the Day."—Trial and execution of Marie Antoinette, Madame Roland, and the Girondists.—"On the 16th of September, the Faubourg Saint-Antoine surrounded the Hôtel de Ville, clamoring for 'Bread.' Hébert and Chaumette appeased the mob by vociferous harangues against rich men and monopolists, and by promising to raise a revolutionary army with orders to scour the country, empty the granaries, and put the grain within reach of the people. 'The next thing will be a guillotine for the monopolists,' added Hébert. This had been demanded by memorials from the most ultra provincial Jacobins. The next day the Convention witnessed the terrible reaction of this scene. At the opening of the session Merlin de Douai proposed and carried a vote for the division of the revolutionary tribunal into four sections, in order to remedy the dilatoriness complained of by Robespierre and the Jacobins. The municipality soon arrived, followed by a great crowd; Chaumette, in a furious harangue, demanded a revolutionary army with a travelling guillotine. The ferocious Billaud-Varennes declared that this was not enough, and that all suspected persons must be arrested immediately. Danton interposed with the powerful eloquence of his palmy days; he approved of an immediate decree for the formation of a revolutionary army, but made no mention of the guillotine. . . . Danton's words were impetuous, but his ideas were politic and deliberate. His motions were carried, amid general acclamation. But the violent propositions of Billaud-Varennes and others were also carried. The decree forbidding domiciliary visits and night arrests, which had been due to the Girondists, was revoked. A deputation from the Jacobins and the sections demanded the indictment of the 'monster' Brissot with his accomplices, Vergniaud, Gensonné, and other 'miscreants.' 'Lawgivers,' said the spokesman of the deputation, 'let the Reign of Terror be the order of the day!' Barère, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, obtained the passage of a decree organizing an armed force to restrain counter-revolutionists and protect supplies. Fear led him to unite with the most violent, and to adopt the great motto of the Paris Commune, 'Let the Reign of Terror be the order of the day!' 'The royalists are conspiring,' he said; 'they want blood. Well they shall have that of the

conspirators, of the Brissots and Marie Antoinettes!' The association of these two names shows what frenzy prevailed in the minds of the people. The next day, September 6, two of the most formidable Jacobins, the cold, implacable Billaud-Varennes and the fiery Collot d'Herbois, were added to the Committee of Public Safety. Danton persisted in his refusal to return to it. This proves how mistaken the Girondists had been in accusing him of aspiring to the dictatorship. He kept aloof from the Committee chiefly because he knew that they were lost, and did not wish to contribute to their fall. Before leaving the ministry Garat had tried to prevent the Girondists from being brought to trial; upon making known his wish to Robespierre and Danton, he found Robespierre implacable, while Danton, with tears coursing down his rugged cheeks, replied, 'I cannot save them!' . . . On the 10th of October Saint-Just, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, read to the Assembly an important report upon the situation of the Republic. It was violent and menacing to others beside the enemies of the Mountain; Hébert and his gang might well tremble. He inveighed not only against those who were plundering the government, but against the whole administration. . . . Saint-Just's report had been preceded on the 3d of October by a report from the new Committee of Public Safety, concluding with the indictment of 40 deputies; 39 were Girondists or friends of the Gironde; the fortieth was the ex-Duke of Orleans. Twenty-one of these 39 were now in the hands of their enemies, and of these 21 only 9 belonged to the first deputies indicted on the 2d of June; the remainder had left Paris hoping to organize outside resistance, and had been declared outlawed. The deputies subsequently added to this number were members of the Right who had signed protests against the violation of the national representation on that fatal day. . . . It was decided at the same session to bring the 40 deputies, together with Marie Antoinette, to trial. The Jacobins and the commune had long been demanding the trial of the unhappy queen, and were raising loud clamors over the plots for her deliverance. She might perhaps have escaped from the Temple if she would have consented to leave her children. During July a sorrow equal to that of the 21st of January had been inflicted on her; she had been separated from her young son under the pretence that she treated him like a king, and was bringing him up to make 'a tyrant of him.' The child was placed in another part of the Temple, and his education was intrusted to a vulgar and brutal shoemaker, named Simon. Nevertheless the fate of Marie Antoinette at this epoch was still doubtful; neither the Committee of Public Safety nor the ministry desired her death. While Lebrun, the friend of the Girondists, was minister of foreign affairs, a project had been formed which would have saved her life. Danton knew of it and aided it. . . . This plan was a negotiation with Venice, Tuscany, and Naples, the three Italian States yet neutral, who were to pledge themselves to maintain their wavering neutrality, in consideration of a guaranty of the safety of Marie Antoinette and her family. Two diplomatic agents who afterwards held high posts in France, Marat and Sémonville, were intrusted with this affair. As they were crossing from Switzerland into Italy, they were arrested, in violation of the law of nations, upon the neutral territory of the Grisons by an Austrian detachment (July 25). . . . At tidings of the arrest of the French envoys, Marie Antoinette was separated from her daughter and sister-in-law Elizabeth, and

transferred to the Conciergerie. On the 14th of October she appeared before the revolutionary tribunal. To the accusation of the public prosecutor, Fouquier-Tinville, made up of calumnies against her private life, and for the most part well-founded imputations against her political conduct, she opposed a plausible defence, which effaced as far as possible her part in the late government. . . . The following questions were put to the jurors: 'Has Marie Antoinette aided in movements designed to assist the foreign enemies of the Republic to open French territory to them and to facilitate the progress of their arms? Has she taken part in a conspiracy tending to incite civil war?' The answer was in the affirmative, and the sentence of death was passed on her. The decisive portions which we now possess of the queen's correspondence with Austria had not then been made public; but enough was known to leave no doubt of her guilt, which had the same moral excuses as that of her husband. . . . She met death [October 16] with courage and resignation. The populace who had hated her so much did not insult her last moments. . . . A week after the queen's death the Girondists were summoned before the revolutionary tribunal. Brissot and Lasource alone had tried to escape this bloody ordeal, and to stir up resistance against it in the South. Vergniaud, Gensonné, and Valazé remained unshaken in their resolve to await trial. Gensonné, who had been placed in the keeping of a Swiss whose life he had saved on the 10th of August, and who had become a gendarme, might have escaped, but he refused to profit by this man's gratitude. . . . The act of indictment drawn up by the ex-Feuillant Amar was only a repetition of the monstrous calumnies which had circulated through the clubs and the journals. Brissot was accused of having ruined the colonies by advocating the liberation of slaves, and of having drawn foreign arms upon France by declaring war on kings. The whole trial corresponded to this beginning. . . . On the 20th the Jacobins appeared at the bar of the Convention, and called for a decree giving the jurors of the revolutionary tribunal the right to bring the proceedings to a close as soon as they believed themselves sufficiently enlightened. Robespierre and Barère supported the Jacobin demand. Upon Robespierre's motion it was decreed that after three days' proceedings, the jurors might declare themselves ready to render their verdict. The next day the jurors availed themselves of their privilege, and declared themselves sufficiently informed, although they had not heard the evidence for acquittal, neither the accused nor their counsel having been allowed to plead their cause. Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Valazé, Bishop Fauchet, Ducos, Boyer-Fonfrède, Lasource, and their friends were declared guilty of having conspired against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic, and against the liberty and safety of the French people. . . . Danton, who had not been an accomplice in their death, had retired to his mother's home at Arcis-sur-Aube, that he might not be a witness thereof. The condemned were brought back to hear their sentence. The greater part of them rose up with a common impulse, and cried, 'We are innocent! People, they are deceiving you!' The crowd remained motionless and silent. . . . At midnight they partook of a last repast, passing the rest of the night in converse about their native land, their remnant of life being cheered by news of victory and pleasant sallies from young Ducos, who might have escaped, but preferred to share his friend Fonfrède's fate. Vergniaud had been given a subtle poison by

Condorcet, but threw it away, choosing to die with his companions. One of his noble utterances gives us the key to his life. 'Others sought to consummate the Revolution by terror; I would accomplish it by love.' Next day, October 31, at noon, the prisoners were led forth, and as the five carts containing them left the Conciergerie, they struck up the national hymn . . . and shouts of 'Long live the Republic.' The sounds died away as their number decreased, but did not cease until the last of the 21 mounted the fatal platform. . . . The murderers of the Girondists were not likely to spare the illustrious woman who was at once the inspiration and the honor of that party, and the very same day Madame Roland who had been for five months a prisoner at St. Pelagie and the Abbaye, was transferred to the Conciergerie. Hébert and his followers had long clamored for her head. During her captivity she wrote her *Memoirs*, which unfortunately have not been preserved complete; no other souvenir of the Revolution equals this, although it is not always reliable, for Madame Roland had feminine weaknesses of intellect, despite her masculine strength of soul; she was prejudiced against all who disagreed with her, and regarded caution and compromise with a noble but impolitic scorn. . . . The 18th Brumaire (November 10), she was summoned before the revolutionary tribunal; when she left her cell, clad in white, her dark hair floating loosely over her shoulders, a smile on her lips and her face sparkling with life and animation. . . . She was condemned in advance, not being allowed a word in her own defence, and was declared guilty of being an author or accomplice 'of a monstrous conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic.' She heard her sentence calmly, saying to the judges: 'You deem me worthy the fate of the great men you have murdered I will try to display the same courage on the scaffold.' She was taken directly to the Place de la Revolution, a man condemned for treason being placed in the same cart, who was overwhelmed with terror. She passed the mournful journey in soothing him, and on reaching the scaffold bid him mount first, that his sufferings might not be prolonged. As she took her place in turn, her eye fell on a colossal statue of Liberty, erected August 10, 1793. 'O Liberty,' she cried, 'what crimes are committed in thy name!' Some say that she said, 'O Liberty, how they have deceived thee!' Thus died the noblest woman in history since the incomparable Joan, who saved France! . . . The bloody tribunal never paused; famous men of every party succeeded each other at the fatal bar, the ex-Duke of Orleans among them, but four days earlier than Madame Roland. . . . The day after Madame Roland's trial began that of the venerable Bailli, ex-mayor of Paris and ex-president of the Constituent Assembly, a man who played a great part early in the Revolution, but faded out of sight with the constituent power."—H. Martin, *Popular history of France, 1789-1877*, v. 1, ch. 16.

ALSO IN: H. Belloc, *Marie Antoinette*.—Count Beugnot, *Life*, v. 1.—Mme. Campan, *Memoirs of the private life of Marie Antoinette*.—R. Gower, *Last days of Marie Antoinette*.—A. de Lamartine, *History of the Girondists*.—S. Marceau, *Reminiscences of a regicide*.—I. A. Taylor, *Revolutionary types*.

1793 (October).—Battle of Wattignies sometimes called "the chief feat of arms of the Republic."—Carnot, Napoleon's predecessor.—"The fate of the Queen and of the Republic had each come to a final and critical issue when the light broke, dully in either place, over Paris and over

the pastures of the frontier. There the army lay to arms in the valley, with Coburg entrenched upon the ridge above them, and beyond him the last famine . . . [which had decimated] Maubeuge; from dawn the French lines could hear, half a day's march to the northward, the regular boom of the bombardment. But Carnot was now come. . . . While the Republic . . . held the old world prisoner in Paris, and tortured it in the person of the Queen, out on the frontier in the water-meadows of Avesnes, the Republic lay in its chief peril from the old world free and armed. Coburg and every privilege held the crest of the hills invincibly, and Maubeuge was caught fast, unreachable beyond the entrenchments of that ridge. . . . Malplaquet lay just before the [French] army; within a march, Fleurus; within sound of cannon, Jemappes. Up above them beyond that wood of Avesnes, the line of the heights along the sky, was the enemy. . . . And all day long boomed to the north behind the hills the sullen guns before Maubeuge. At any hour that dull repeated sound might cease, and it would mean that the last fortress had fallen. All that day [October 13] Carnot passed in silence. . . . An hour before dusk the six generals were called to Carnot's tent, and here and there the bugles roused the troops called for reconnaissance. These few detachments crossed the woods, pierced gaps in the hedges, to prepare the advance of the morrow, noted and exchanged shots with the outposts of the evening, and at evening they retired. As they retired Carnot gave orders to the guns. Out of effective range, vague and careless of a target, they fired and proclaimed the presence of a relieving army to the besieged. Maubeuge, in that still evening, during a lull of the siege-pieces, heard those French guns, and Ferrant and the general officers with him counselled a sortie. Only Chancel stood out, but Chancel was in command of the camp of Maubeuge, and his authority was unassailable. He did not distinguish the French fire, he thought it Austrian; no instinct moved him. Therefore, all the next day, while the battle was engaged, the garrison of Maubeuge failed to move; and later, for this error, Chancel was tried and killed. . . . The troops fell back again through the wood of Avesnes and slept the last sleep before the battle. . . . Tuesday, October 15. A little before dawn the French bugles upon the frontier roused the troops of Avesnes; their calls ran down the line, they passed from the Diane to the Générale, the woods before them sent back echoes, and soon the army moved. Far off upon the left Fromentin, upon the far right Duquesnoy, began marching forwards and inwards converging, but the main body in the centre took the high road, which, if it could force its passage, would lead them straight to Maubeuge. . . . The guns began. Among the batteries of the French (too few for their task), two batteries, one of sixteen-pounders, the other of twelve, were the gift of the city of Paris. By some accident these, though ill-manned, silenced the Austrian fire at one critical and central point above Dourlers itself and close to the highroad. . . . Carnot seized upon the moment and ordered the charge. As his columns advanced to carry Dourlers he sent word at full speed to either wing that each must time itself by the centre, and forbade an advance upon the left or right until the high road should be forced and the centre of the Austrian position pierced or confused. . . . The front was long—over five miles—he could not enforce sagacity nor even be certain of intelligence, and as he doubted and feared the action of his distant lieutenants, he saw the cen-

tre advancing beneath his eyes. The Austrian cannon had abandoned the duel. The French line approached Dourlers, deployed, and began the ascent. A sudden and heavy fire of musketry from the hollow road and from the hedges met the sixteen thousand as they charged; they did not waver, they reached the garden walls, and closed until, to those watching from the hill, the attempt was confused and hidden by a rolling smoke and the clustered houses of the village. It was past mid-morning. . . . Carnot had come down the hill from the fork of the roads; he, and Jourdan beside him, followed behind the assault, bringing the headquarters of that general plan some half-mile forward. So they knew that the village of Dourlers was held. It was noon before the place was secured. . . . It was certain that the struggle for this central village would be desperate: all depended upon the extreme wings. If these (and both of them) could hold hard and neither advance too far up the slope nor suffer (either of them) a beating-in, then the work at Dourlers would be decisive. . . . The French carried it, they went beyond, they were almost upon the ridge above it. In the upland field below the crest of wood the Austrian cavalry under Müffling struck them in flank, and they were disordered. They were back in the village of Dourlers, and the fight for it was from house to house and from window to window. Twice it was cleared, twice lost. . . . [In the night Carnot received a note] said to have been the news that the lines of Weissenbourg were forced. . . . The Prussians were free to pass those gates between the Ardennes and the Vosges. Then Maubeuge was the last hold remaining; the very last of all. Jourdan proposed . . . some plan for reinforcing the defeated left and of playing some stalemate of check and countercheck against the enemy; but Carnot was big with new things. He conceived an adventure possible only from his knowledge of what he commanded; he dismissed the mere written traditions of war which Jourdan quoted because he knew that now—and within twelve hours—all must certainly be lost or won. . . . Carnot had determined to choose 7,000 [men], to forbid them rest, to march them right along his positions and add them to the 8,000 on his right extreme wing, and then at morning, if men so treated could still charge, to charge with such overwhelming and unexpected forces on the right, where no such effort was imagined, and so turn the Austrian line. . . . The 16th of October broke upon the Flemish Hills: the men who had endured that night-march along the front of the battle-field, the men who had received them among the positions of the extreme right, still drooped under the growing light and were invigorated by no sun. . . . The downward slope, which formed the eastern end of the Austrian line, the low rounded slope whose apex was the spire of the village, was but slightly defended, for it was but the extreme end of a position, and who could imagine then—or who *now*—that march through the sleepless night, or that men so worn should yet be ready for new action with the morning? No reinforcement, Coburg knew, could come from behind that army; and how should he dream that Carnot had found the power to feed the fortunes of the French from their own vitals and to drag these shambling 7,000, wrenched from west to east during the darkness: or how, if such a thing had been done, could any man believe that, such a torture suffered, the 7,000 could still charge? Yet, had Coburg known the desperate attempt he would have met it, he would have covered that ultimate flank of his long ridge and reinforced it

from his large reserve. But the deep mist and the dead silence harshly enforced during the night-march had hidden all the game, and in front of Wattignies, holding that round of sloping fields and the low semicircular end of the ridge before the village, there were but 3,000. . . . These, in that morning, expecting nothing but perhaps the few troops as they had met easily the day before, waited under the mist in formation and heard no sound. . . . As the mist finally lifted, the wide plain showed below them rolling southwards, a vast space of wind and air, and at the same moment they heard first bugles, then the shouts of command, and lastly the rising of the Marseillaise: Gaul was upon them. . . . The few heavy guns of the Austrians there emplaced were trained too late to check the onrush. The little pieces of the climbing and the surging men were dragged by laniards, unmasked behind gaps in the hurrying advance, crashed grape and were covered again for a moment by the living cover of the charge. The green at the hilltop was held, the poor yards and byres of Wattignies were scoured and thundered through, and Carnot, his hat upon his sword, and Duquesnoy, his face half blood, and all the host glorified to find before them in their halting midday sweat when the great thrust was over, the level fields of the summit, the Austrian line turned, and an open way between them and Maubeuge. . . . The strong line of Coburg was turned. Its strict discipline preserved it, as did the loose order of the Republican advance and the maddened fatigue of the young men who had just conquered: for these could work a miracle but not yet achieve a plan. The enemy fell back in order, sombre, massed and regular, unharassed, towards the Sambre. The stragglers French soldiery . . . possessed the main road unhindered; and that evening drank with their comrades in Maubeuge. In this way was accomplished what a principal critic of the art of war has called 'The chief feat of arms of the Republic.'—H. Belloc, *Marie Antoinette*, pp. 502, 509-511, 513-515, 519, 522, 523, 528, 529, 533-535.

"Carnot, the predecessor of Napoleon, and the organizing soldier of the early revolutionary wars, owed his power to backbone. He had not only a good solidity of brain, but an astonishing power of using it for hours and hours on end. This he owed perhaps to the excellent physical stock of which he came, the eldest of a very large family born to a notable lawyer in Burgundy. It was Carnot's pride to hold a commission in the learned arms which were to transform at that moment the art of war: for as Bonaparte, his successor, was a gunner, so he was a sapper. His practice of exact knowledge in application, and the liberal education which his career demanded, further strengthened the strong character he had inherited. More important still, in his democratic views he was what none of the older officers had been, convinced and sincere. He had not come within the influence of the very wealthy or of the very powerful. He was young, and he knew his own mind not only in matters of political faith but in the general domain of philosophy, and in the particular one of military science. It has been said of him that he invented the revolutionary method of strategical concentration and tactical massing in the field. There is some truth in this; but the method would not have been possible had he not also invented, in company with Danton, and supported after Danton left power, a universal system of conscription. Carnot understood, as only trained soldiers can, the value of numbers, and he depended with great sagacity upon

the national temper as at Wattignies, which was a victory directly due to his genius, though it was novel in him to have massed troops suddenly upon the right after a check on the extreme left of the field, yet the novelty would have been of no effect had he not comprehended that, with his young fellow-countrymen as troopers, he could depend upon a charge delivered after thirty-six hours of vigil. He used not only the national but also the revolutionary temper in war. One of the chief features, for instance, of the revolutionary armies when they began to be successful, was the development of lines of skirmishers who pushed out hardily before the main bodies and were the first in the history of modern warfare to learn the use of cover. This development was spontaneous: it was produced within and by each unit, not by any general command. But Carnot recognized it at Hondschoote and used it ever after. The stoical inflexibility of his temper is the noblest among the many noble characters of his soul. He never admitted the empire, and he suffered exile, seeming thereby in the eyes of the vilest and most intelligent of his contemporaries, Fouché, to be a mere fool. He was as hard with himself as with others, wholly military in the framework of his mind, and the chief controller of the Terror, which he used, as it was intended to be used, for the military salvation of the republic."—H. Belloc, *French Revolution*, pp. 74-76.

1793 (October).—Life in Paris during the Reign of Terror.—Gaiety in the prisons.—Tricoteuses, or knitting women.—Revolutionary costumes and modes of speech.—Guillotine as plaything and ornament.—"By the end of October, 1793, the Committee of General Security had mastered Paris, and established the Reign of Terror there by means of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and could answer to the Great Committee of Public Safety for the tranquillity of the capital. There were no more riots; men were afraid even to express their opinions, much less to quarrel about them; the system of denunciation made Paris into a hive of unpaid spies, and ordinary crimes, pocket-picking and the like, vanished as if by magic. Yet it must not be supposed that Paris was gloomy or dull; on the contrary, the vast majority of citizens seemed glad to have an excuse to avoid politics, of which they had had a surfeit during the last four years, and to turn their thoughts to the literary side of their favourite journals, to the theatres, and to art. . . . The dull places of Paris were the Revolutionary Committees, the Jacobin Club, the Convention, the Hôtel de Brienne, where the Committee of General Security sat, and the Pavillon de l'Égalité, formerly the Pavillon de Flore, in the Tuileries, where the Great Committee of Public Safety laboured. . . . Elsewhere men were lighthearted and gay, following their usual avocations, and busy in their pursuit of pleasure or of gain. It is most essential to grasp the fact that there was no particular difference, for the vast majority of the population, in living in Paris during the Reign of Terror and at other times. The imagination of posterity, steeped in tales of the tumbrils bearing their burden to the guillotine, and of similar stories of horror, has conceived a ghastly picture of life at that extraordinary period, and it is only after living for months amongst the journals, memoirs, and letters of the time that one can realize the fact that to the average Parisian the necessity of getting his dinner or his evening's amusement remained the paramount thought of his daily life. . . . Strange to say, nowhere was life more happy

and gay than in the prisons of Paris, where the inmates lived in the constant expectation that the haphazard chance of being brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal and condemned to death might befall them at any moment. . . . A little more must be said about the market-women, the tricoteuses, or knitting-women of infamous memory. These market-women had been treated as heroines ever since their march to Versailles in October, 1789. . . . They formed their societies after the fashion of the Jacobin Club, presided over by Renée Audu, Agnès Lefevre, Marie Louise Bouju, and Rose Lacombe, and went about the streets of Paris insulting respectably dressed people, and hounding on the sans-culottes to deeds of atrocity. These Mænads were encouraged by Marat, and played an important part in the street history of Paris, up to the Reign of Terror, when their power was suddenly taken from them. On May 21, 1793, they were excluded by a decree from the galleries of the Convention; on May 26 they were forbidden to form part of any political assembly; and when they appealed from the Convention to the Commune of Paris, Chaumette abruptly told them 'that the Republic had no need of Joans of Arc.' Thus deprived of active participation in politics, the market-women became the tricoteuses, or knitting-women, who used to take their seats in the Place de la Révolution, and watch the guillotine as they knitted. Their active power for good or harm was gone. . . . Life during the Terror in Paris . . . differed in little things, in little affectations of liberty and equality, which are amusing to study. The fashions of dress everywhere betrayed the new order of things. A few men, such as Robespierre, might still go about with powdered hair and in knee-breeches, but the ordinary male costume of the time was designed to contrast in every way with the costume of a dandy of the 'ancien régime.' Instead of breeches, the fashion was to wear trousers; instead of shoes, top-boots; and instead of shaving, the young Parisian prided himself on letting his moustache grow. In female costume a different motive was at work. Only David's art disciples ventured to imitate the male apparel of ancient Greece and Rome, but such imitation became the fashion among women. Waists disappeared; and instead of stiffened skirts and narrow bodices, women wore short loose robes, which they fancied resembled Greek chitons; sandals took the place of high-heeled shoes; and the hair, instead of being worked up into elaborate edifices, was allowed to flow down freely. For ornaments, gun-metal and steel took the place of gold, silver and precious stones. . . . The favourite design was the guillotine. Little guillotines were worn as brooches, as earrings and as clasps, and the women of the time simply followed the fashion without realizing what it meant. Indeed, the worship of the guillotine was one of the most curious features of the epoch. Children had toy guillotines given them; models were made to cut off imitation heads, when wine or sweet syrup flowed in place of blood; and hymns were written to La Sainte Guillotine, and jokes made upon it, as the 'national razor.' . . . It is well known that the desire to emphasize the abolition of titles was followed by the abolition of the terms 'Monsieur' and 'Madame,' and that their places were taken by 'Citizen' and 'Citizeness', and also how the use of the second person plural was dropped, and it was considered a sign of a good republican to tutoyer every one, that is, to call them 'thou' and 'thee.' . . . The Reign of Terror in Paris seems to us an age of unique experiences, a time unparal-

leled in the history of the world; yet to the great majority of contemporaries it did not appear so; they lived their ordinary lives, and it was only in exceptional cases that the serenity of their days was interrupted, or that their minds were exercised by anything more than the necessity of earning their daily bread."—H. M. Stephens, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 2, ch. 10.

ALSO IN J. Michelet, *Women of the French Revolution*, ch. 20-30.

1793 (October).—New republican calendar. See CHRONOLOGY: French Revolutionary era and calendar.

1793 (November).—Abandonment of Christianity.—Worship of reason instituted.—"Before the year ended the legislators of Paris voted that there was no God, and destroyed or altered nearly everything that had any reference to Christianity. Robespierre, who would have stopped short at deism, and who would have preserved the external decencies, was overruled and intimidated by Hébert and his frowsy crew, who had either crept into the governing committees or had otherwise made themselves a power in the state."—C. MacFarlane, *French Revolution*, v. 4, ch. 3.—"The establishment of the Republican era, the substitution of the Republican for the Gregorian calendar (by the decrees of October 5, 1793, and the 4th of *Frimaire* of the year II), show what a change had been accomplished, or was preparing itself in men's minds. That this measure was inspired by an anti-religious policy is plainly evident in the reports of Fabre d'Eglantine and Romme, so full were they of philosophic abuse of dogma. To replace the old dates and festivals by new; to change the names of the saints for the names 'of the objects which compose the true wealth of the nation'; this was to wrest from Catholicism her ornaments and her honour, to expel her violently from the nation's life. . . . The anti-Catholic movement had by this time reached such a stage in Paris that Bishop Gobel decided, with eleven of his vicars, to resign his duties. He appeared at the bar on the 17th of *Brumaire*, solemnly announced his resignation and that of his vicars, and laid aside his crucifix and his ring, and set the red bonnet on his head. There was a scene of enthusiasm. 'Every one,' says the *Journal des débats*, 'hastened to clasp in his arms the men who, weary of being divided between their religion and their country, would henceforth devote themselves entirely to their country.' The ecclesiastical members of the Convention followed suit, at this and following sessions, excepting a small number, of whom was Grégoire. After these striking examples there were very many resignations of curés and vicars throughout all France. On the 20th of *Brumaire* of the year II there was a Festival of Liberty at Notre Dame, at which the department and the Commune were present with a great gathering of people; and this festival was definitely anti-Christian in character. An actress from the Opera personified Liberty. The 'Torch of Truth' was seen to burn on the 'Altar of Reason.' Then the department and the Commune repaired to the bar of the Convention. Chaumette declared that the people wanted no more priests; no other gods than those whom Nature offers us. 'We, the people's magistrates, have verified its decision; we bring it you from the Temple of Reason.' And Chaumette demanded that the Church of Notre Dame should thenceforth bear the name of the Temple of Reason. A decree to that effect was immediately passed. The actress who figured as Liberty stood at the desk and received the embraces of the President, Laloy, and the secretaries.

Then the Convention proceeded to Notre Dame, where the ceremony was recommenced in its honour. . . . The 'dechristianising' movement quickly became general in Paris. Nearly all the sections renounced religion, closed their parish churches, and re-opened them as Temples of Reason. At the outset the Convention seemed to favour this movement. On the 25th of *Brumaire* it decreed 'that the presbyteries and parish churches situated in the communes which shall have renounced public worship, or their revenues, shall be destined to be of service in the relief of suffering humanity and public education.' It welcomed with benevolence the unfrocking of priests and the anti-religious masquerades which swarmed past the bar. At the session of the 30th of *Brumaire* it compromised itself still farther, when it admitted a deputation from the section of Unity, grotesquely decked out in sacerdotal habits, and allowed a theatrical parody of the Catholic religion to defile through the hall. . . . On the 3rd of *Frimaire* of the year II (November 24, 1793), upon the application of Chaumette, it passed the following resolution: 'Whereas the people of Paris has declared that it will recognise no other religion than that of Truth and Reason, the Council General of the Commune orders: 1. That all churches and temples of whatever religion or sect has existed in Paris shall immediately be closed. 2. That all priests and ministers of whatever religion shall be held personally and individually responsible for all disturbances of which the cause shall proceed from religious opinions. 3. That whosoever shall demand that either church or temple shall be opened shall be arrested as a suspect. 4. That the Revolutionary Committees shall be invited to keep a close watch upon all priests. 5. That the Convention shall be petitioned to issue a decree which shall exclude priests from the exercise of public functions of whatever kind, and from all employment in the national manufactories.' The 'cult of Reason,' organised in Paris by the sections, spread through the provinces also, under the auspices of the people's clubs and the deputy-commissioners. Many of the churches were closed, then converted into Temples of Reason; there were 'Goddesses of Reason' and anti-Catholic processions. Nearly all the cities appeared to rally to the new worship. In the south-west especially, under the auspices of Dartigoeyte and Cavaignac, the process of dechristianisation was so violent as to cause scandal. Taken on the whole, this movement, which was almost universally Deistic, not materialistic nor atheistic, seems to have been, in Paris, a cheerful and superficial so long as the people took part in it; but pedantic and sterile when embraced by a few men of letters only. The provinces took the matter more seriously. In the departments, and especially in the cities, there were serious and sincere attempts to abolish the ancient religion and to establish a rationalistic worship. The Goddesses of Reason were not actresses, as in Paris, but in almost every case, and this the most hostile witnesses do not deny, beautiful and virtuous young girls, belonging to the upper middle classes. This cult was eagerly adopted in those critical hours of the national defence (at the end of 1793) by the generality of active patriots, by the Jacobins, by the members of the revolutionary committees, by the municipal officers; in short, by the whole militant Revolution. One must not look to find a different aspect, a different spirit, among the worshippers of Reason, accordingly as they were, for example, Bretons or Provençals. If the festivals of Reason were not everywhere celebrated in the same manner; if the zeal for

'dechristianisation' was more violent in Strasburg, for instance, and Auch, than in Chartres or Limoges, it was because from the height of the Strasburg steeple men could see the Austrian outposts; because at Auch the Revolution was threatened by the machinations of the clergy; while at Chartres the enemy was far away, and at Limoges the Revolution had no dangerous adversaries. The cult of Reason was less a change of the religious conscience of the French than an expedient of patriotic defence against the Catholic clergy. Little by little it became transformed into the worship of the *Patrie*. The busts of the philosophers in the temples were soon replaced or eclipsed by those of Marat, Chabrier, and Le Peletier, who were the personifications, in the popular mind, not of the doctrines of the new cult, but of revolutionary France attacked by reaction. Men finally turned away from the cold image of Reason, to honour above all the trinity of the bleeding martyrs of patriotism. What, in these circumstances, was the policy of the Government? We may sum it up in a word: it opposed, as far as it could, the violent attempts to destroy the Catholic religion, and sought, in the midst of the tempest, to maintain the liberty of worship. Not that the members of the Committee of Public Safety desired, as believers, to maintain the Catholic religion. Everything leads us, on the contrary, to believe that they expected and hoped that little by little, as enlightenment progressed, the Catholic religion would disappear. But they wished to avoid all violent persecution; firstly, lest internal discord should weaken the nation's power of defence; secondly, lest Europe should be too deeply scandalised, and so become unmanageable and intractable."—A. Aulard, *French Revolution*, v. 3, pp. 158-163.—See also ATHEISM.

ALSO IN: W. H. Jervis, *Gallican church and the Revolution*, ch. 7.—A. de Lamartine, *History of the Girondists*, v. 3, bk. 52.—T. Carlyle, *French Revolution*, v. 3, bk. 5, ch. 4.—E. de Pressense, *Religion and the Reign of Terror*, bk. 2, ch. 2.

1793-1794 (October-April).—Terror in the provinces.—Republican vengeance at Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, Bordeaux, Nantes.—Fusillades and Noyades.—"The insurgents of Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, and Bordeaux were punished with pitiless severity. Lyons had revolted, and the convention decreed [October 12] the destruction of the city, the confiscation of the property of the rich, for the benefit of the patriots, and the punishment of the insurgents by martial law. Couthon, a commissioner well tried in cruelty, hesitated to carry into execution this monstrous decree, and was superseded by Collot d'Herbois and Fouché. Thousands of workmen were employed in the work of destruction: whole streets fell under their pickaxes: the prisons were gorged: the guillotine was too slow for revolutionary vengeance, and crowds of prisoners were shot, in murderous 'mitrallades.' . . . At Marseilles, 12,000 of the richest citizens fled from the vengeance of the revolutionists, and their property was confiscated, and plundered. When Toulon fell before the strategy of Bonaparte, the savage vengeance and cruelty of the conquerors were indulged without restraint. . . . The dockyard labourers were put to the sword: gangs of prisoners were brought out and executed by fusillades: the guillotine also claimed its victims: the sans-culottes rioted in confiscation and plunder. At Bordeaux, Tallien threw 15,000 citizens into prison. Hundreds fell under the guillotine; and the possessions and property of the rich were offered up to outrage and robbery. But all these atrocities were far surpassed in La



ROLL CALL OF THE LAST VICTIMS OF THE REIGN OF TERROR

(After a painting by Ch. L. Muller)

Vendée . . . The barbarities of warfare were yet surpassed by the vengeance of the conquerors, when the insurrection was, at last, overcome. At Nantes, the monster Carrier outstripped his rivals in cruelty and insatiable thirst for blood. Not contented with wholesale mitrillades [shooting], he designed that masterpiece of cruelty, the noyades [drowning]; and thousands of men, women and children who escaped the muskets of the rabble soldiery were deliberately drowned in the waters of the Loire. In four months, his victims reached 15,000. At Angers, and other towns in La Vendée, these hideous noyades were added to the terrors of the guillotine and the fusillades."—T. E. May, *Democracy in Europe*, ch. 14.—"One begins to be sick of 'death vomited in great floods.' Nevertheless, hearest thou not, O Reader (for the sound reaches through centuries), in the dead December and January nights, over Nantes Town,—confused noises, as of musketry and tumult, as of rage and lamentation; mingling with the everlasting moan of the Loire waters there? Nantes Town is sunk in sleep; but Représentant Carrier is not sleeping, the wool-capped Company of Marat is not sleeping. Why unmoors that flat-bottomed craft, that 'gabarre'; about eleven at night; with Ninety Priests under hatches? They are going to Belle Isle? In the middle of the Loire stream, on signal given, the gabarre is scuttled; she sinks with all her cargo. 'Sentence of Deportation,' writes Carrier, 'was executed vertically.' The Ninety Priests, with their gabarre-coffin, lie deep! It is the first of the Noyades [November 16], what we may call 'Drownages' of Carrier; which have become famous forever. Guillotining there was at Nantes, till the Headsman sank worn out: then fusillading 'in the Plain of Saint-Mauve'; little children fusilladed, and women with children at the breast; children and women, by the hundred and twenty; and by the five hundred, so hot is La Vendée: till the very Jacobins grew sick, and all but the Company of Marat cried, Hold! Wherefore now we have got Noyading; and on the 24th night of Frostariou year 2, which is 14th of December 1793, we have a second Noyade; consisting of '138 persons.' Or why waste a gabarre, sinking it with them? Fling them out; fling them out, with their hands tied: pour a continual hail of lead over all the space, till the last struggler of them be sunk! Unsound sleepers of Nantes, and the Sea-Villages thereabouts, hear the musketry amid the night-winds; wonder what the meaning of it is. And women were in that gabarre; whom the Red Nightcaps were stripping naked; who begged, in their agony, that their smocks might not be stript from them. And young children were thrown in, their mothers vainly pleading: 'Wolfings,' answered the Company of Marat, 'who would grow to be wolves.' By degrees, daylight itself witnesses Noyades: women and men are tied together, feet and feet, hands and hands; and flung in: this they call Mariage Républicain, Republican Marriage. Cruel is the panther of the woods, the she-bear bereaved of her whelps: but there is in man a hatred crueler than that. Dumb, out of suffering now, as pale swoln corpses, the victims tumble confusedly seaward along the Loire stream; the tide rolling them back: clouds of ravens darken the River; wolves prowl on the shoal-places: Carrier writes, 'Quel torrent révolutionnaire, What a torrent of Revolution!' For the man is rabid; and the Time is rabid. These are the Noyades of Carrier; twenty-five by the tale, for what is done in darkness comes to be investigated in sunlight: not to be forgotten for centuries. . . . Men are all rabid; as

the Time is. Representative Lebon, at Arras, dashes his sword into the blood flowing from the Guillotine; exclaims, 'How I like it!' Mothers, they say, by his orders, have to stand by while the Guillotine devours their children: a band of music is stannned near; and, at the fall of every head, strikes up its 'Ça-ira.'"—T. Carlyle, *French Revolution*, v. 3, bk. 5, ch. 3.—See also below: 1794 (June-July).

ALSO IN: H. M. Stephens, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 2, ch. 11.—H. A. Taine, *French Revolution*, v. 3, bk. 5, ch. 1, sect. 9.—*Horrors of the prison of Arras (Reign of Terror: A collection of authentic narratives*, v. 2).—Duchesse de Duras, *Prison journals during the French Revolution*.—A. des Echerolles, *Early life*, v. 1, ch. 7-13, v. 2, ch. 1.

1793-1794 (November-June).—Factions of the Mountain devour one another.—Destruction of the Hébertists.—Danton and his followers brought to the knife.—Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety.—Feast of the Supreme Being.—"Robespierre was unutterably outraged by the proceedings of the atheists. They perplexed him as a politician intent upon order, and they afflicted him sorely as an ardent disciple of the Savoyard Vicar. Hébert, however, was so strong that it needed some courage to attack him, nor did Robespierre dare to withstand him to the face. But he did not flinch from making an energetic assault upon atheism and the excesses of its partisans. His admirers usually count his speech of the 21st of November one of the most admirable of his oratorical successes. . . . 'Atheism [he said] is aristocratic. The idea of a great being who watches over oppressed innocence and punishes triumphant crime is essentially the idea of the people. This is the sentiment of Europe and the Universe; it is the sentiment of the French nation. That people is attached neither to priests, nor to superstitions, nor to ceremonies; it is attached only to worship in itself, or in other words to the idea of an incomprehensible Power, the terror of wrongdoers, the stay and comfort of virtue, to which it delights to render words of homage that are all so many anathemas against injustice and triumphant crime.' This is Robespierre's favourite attitude, the priest posing as statesman. . . . Danton followed practically the same line, though saying much less about it. 'If Greece,' he said in the Convention, 'had its Olympian games, France too shall solemnize her sansculottid days. . . . If we have not honoured the priest of error and fanaticism, neither do we wish to honour the priest of incredulity: we wish to serve the people. I demand that there shall be an end of these anti-religious masquerades in the Convention.' There was an end of the masquerading, but the Hébertists still kept their ground. Danton, Robespierre, and the Committee were all equally impotent against them for some months longer. The revolutionary force had been too strong to be resisted by any government since the Paris insurgents had carried both king and assembly in triumph from Versailles in the October of 1789. It was now too strong for those who had begun to strive with all their might to build a new government out of the agencies that had shattered the old to pieces. For some months the battle which had been opened by Robespierre's remonstrance against atheistic intolerance, degenerated into a series of masked skirmishes. . . . Collot D'Herbois had come back in hot haste from Lyons. . . . Carrier was recalled from Nantes. . . . The presence of these men of blood gave new courage and resolution to the Hébertists. Though

the alliance was informal, yet as against Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and the rest of the Indulgents, as well as against Robespierre, they made common cause. Camille Desmoulins attacked Hébert in successive numbers of a journal [*Le Vieux Cordelier*] that is perhaps the one truly literary monument of this stage of the revolution. Hébert retaliated by impugning the patriotism of Desmoulins in the Club, and the unfortunate wit, notwithstanding the efforts of Robespierre on his behalf, was for a while turned out of the sacred precincts. . . . Even Danton himself was attacked (December, 1793) and the integrity of his patriotism brought into question. Robespierre made an energetic defence of his great rival in the hierarchy of revolution. . . . Robespierre, in whom spasmodical courage and timidity ruled by rapid turns, began to suspect that he had been premature; and a convenient illness, which some supposed to have been feigned, excused his withdrawal for some weeks from a scene where he felt that he could no longer see clear. We cannot doubt that both he and Danton were perfectly assured that the

preceded by a week the arrest of the Moderates. When the seizure of Danton had once before been discussed in the Committee, Robespierre resisted the proposal violently. We have already seen how he defended Danton at the Jacobin Club. . . . What produced this sudden tack? . . . His acquiescence in the ruin of Danton is intelligible enough on the grounds of selfish policy. The Committee [of Public Safety] hated Danton for the good reason that he had openly attacked them, and his cry for clemency was an inflammatory and dangerous protest against their system. Now Robespierre, rightly or wrongly, had made up his mind that the Committee was the instrument by which, and which only, he could work out his own vague schemes of power and reconstruction. And, in any case, how could he resist the Committee? . . . All goes to show that Robespierre was really moved by nothing more than his invariable dread of being left behind, of finding himself on the weaker side, of not seeming practical and political enough. And having made up his mind that the stronger party was bent on the destruction of the Dantonists, he became fiercer than Billaud himself. . . . Danton had gone, as he often did, to his native village of Arcis-sur-Aube, to seek repose and a little clearness of sight in the night that wrapped him about. He was devoid of personal ambition; he never had any humour for mere factious struggles. . . . It is not clear that he could have done anything. The balance of force, after the suppression of the Hébertists, was irretrievably against him, as calculation had already revealed to Robespierre. . . . After the arrest, and on the proceedings to obtain the assent of the Convention to the trial of Danton and others of its members, one only of their friends had the courage to rise and demand that they should be heard at the bar. Robespierre burst out in cold rage; he asked whether they had undergone so many heroic sacrifices, counting among them these acts of 'painful severity,' only to fall under the yoke of a band of domineering intriguers; and he cried out impatiently that they would brook no claim of privilege, and suffer no rotten idol. The word was felicitously chosen, for the Convention dreaded to have its independence suspected, and it dreaded this all the more because at this time its independence did not really exist. The vote against Danton was unanimous, and the fact that it was so is the deepest stain on the fame of this assembly. On the afternoon of the 16th Germinal (April 5, 1794), Paris in amazement and some stupefaction saw the once dreaded Titan of the Mountain fast bound in the tumbril, and faring towards the sharp-clanging knife [with Camille Desmoulins and others]. 'I leave it all in a frightful welter,' Danton is reported to have said. 'Not a man of them has an idea of government. Robespierre will follow me; he is dragged down by me. Ah, better be a poor fisherman than meddle with the governing of men!' . . . After the fall of the anarchists and the death of Danton, the relations between Robespierre and the Committees underwent a change. He, who had hitherto been on the side of government, became in turn an agency of opposition. He did this in the interest of ultimate stability, but the difference between the new position and the old is that he now distinctly associated the idea of a stable republic with the ascendancy of his own religious conceptions. . . . The base of Robespierre's scheme of social reconstruction now came clearly into view; and what a base! An official Supreme Being and a regulated Terror. . . . How can we speak with decent patience of a man who seriously thought that he



ROBESPIERRE

anarchic party must unavoidably roll headlong into the abyss. But the hour of doom was uncertain. To make a mistake in the right moment, to hurry the crisis, was instant death. Robespierre was a more adroit calculator than Danton. . . . His absence during the final crisis of the anarchic party allowed events to ripen, without committing him to that initiative in dangerous action which he had dreaded on the 10th of August, as he dreaded it on every other decisive day of this burning time. The party of the Commune became more and more daring in their invectives against the Convention and the Committees. At length they proclaimed open insurrection. But Paris was cold, and opinion was divided. In the night of the 13th of March, Hébert, Chaumette, Cloutz, were arrested. The next day Robespierre recovered sufficiently to appear at the Jacobin Club. He joined his colleagues of the Committee of Public Safety in striking the blow. On the 24th of March the Ultra-Revolutionist leaders were beheaded. The first bloody breach in the Jacobin ranks was speedily followed by the second. The Right wing of the opposition to the Committee soon followed the Left down the ways to dusty death, and the execution of the Anarchists only

should conciliate the conservative and theological elements of the society at his feet, by such an odious opera-piece as the Feast of the Supreme Being. This was designed as a triumphant ripost to the Feast of Reason, which Chaumette and his friends had celebrated in the winter. . . . Robespierre persuaded the Convention to decree an official recognition of the Supreme Being, and to attend a commemorative festival in honour of their mystic patron. He contrived to be chosen president for the decade in which the festival would fall. When the day came (20th Prairial, June 8, 1794), he clothed himself with more than even his usual care. As he looked out from the windows of the Tuileries upon the jubilant crowd in the gardens, he was intoxicated with enthusiasm. 'O Nature,' he cried, 'how sublime thy power, how full of delight! How tyrants must grow pale at the idea of such a festival as this!' In pontifical pride he walked at the head of the procession, with flowers and wheat-ears in his hand, to the sound of chants and symphonies and choruses of maidens. On the first of the great basins in the gardens, David, the artist, had devised an allegorical structure for which an inauspicious doom was prepared. Atheism, a statue of life size, was throned in the midst of an amiable group of human Vices, with Madness by her side, and Wisdom menacing them with lofty wrath. Great are the perils of symbolism. Robespierre applied a torch to Atheism, but alas, the wind was hostile, or else Atheism and Madness were damp. They obstinately resisted the torch, and it was hapless Wisdom who took fire. . . . The whole mummary was pagan. . . . It stands as the most disgusting and contemptible anachronism in history."—J. Morley, *Robespierre (Critical miscellanies, second series)*.

ALSO IN: T. Carlyle, *French Revolution*, v. 3, bk. 6.—G. H. Lewes, *Life of Robespierre*, ch. 19-20.—L. Gronlund, *Ça ira; or Danton in the French Revolution*, ch. 6.—J. Claretie, *Camille Desmoulins and his wife*, ch. 5-6.

1793-1798.—Law of maximum prices during French Revolution. See PRICE CONTROL: 1793-1798: French Revolution.

1794.—Control in Luxemburg. See LUXEMBURG: 1780-1914.

1794 (March-July).—Withdrawal of Prussia from the European coalition as an ally, to become a mercenary.—Successes of the republic.—Conquest of the Austrian Netherlands.—Advance to the Rhine.—Loss of Corsica.—Naval defeat off Ushant.—"While the alliance of the Great Powers was on the point of dissolution from selfishness and jealousy, the French, with an energy and determination, which, considering their unparalleled difficulties, were truly heroic, had assembled armies numbering nearly a million of men. The aggregate of the allied forces did not much exceed 300,000. The campaign on the Dutch and Flemish frontiers of France was planned at Vienna, but had nearly been disconcerted at the outset by the refusal of the Duke of York to serve under General Clairfait. . . . The Emperor settled the difficulty by signifying his intention to take the command in person. Thus one incompetent prince who knew little was to be commanded by another incompetent prince who knew nothing, about war; and the success of a great enterprise was made subservient to considerations of punctilio and etiquette. The main object of the Austrian plan was to complete the reduction of the frontier fortresses by the capture of Landrecy on the Sambre, and then to advance through the plains of Picardy on Paris;—a plan which might have been feasible the year

before. . . . The King of Prussia formally withdrew from the alliance [March 13]; but condescended to assume the character of a mercenary. In the spring of the year, by a treaty with the English Government, his Prussian Majesty undertook to furnish 62,000 men for a year, in consideration of the sum of £1,800,000, of which Holland, by a separate convention, engaged to supply somewhat less than a fourth part. The organisation of the French army was effected under the direction of Carnot. . . . The policy of terror was nevertheless applied to the administration of the army. Custine and Houchard, who had commanded the last campaign, . . . were sent to the scaffold, because the arms of the republic had failed to achieve a complete triumph under their direction. . . . Pichegru, the officer now selected to lead the hosts of France, went forth to assume his command with the knife of the executioner suspended over his head. His orders were to expel the invaders from the soil and strongholds of the republic, and to reconquer Belgium. The first step towards the fulfilment of this commission was the recovery of the three great frontier towns, Condé, Valenciennes, and Quesnoy. The siege of Quesnoy was immediately formed; and Pichegru, informed of or anticipating the plans of the Allies, disposed a large force in front of Cambrai, to intercept the operations of . . . the allied army upon Landrecy. . . . On the 17th [of April] a great action was fought in which the allies obtained a success, sufficient to enable them to press the siege of Landrecy. . . . Pichegru, a few days after [April 26, at the redoubts of Troisville] sustained a signal repulse from the British, in an attempt to raise the siege of Landrecy; but by a rapid and daring movement, he improved his defeat, and seized the important post of Moucron. The results were, that Clairfait was forced to fall back on Tournay; Courtray and Menin surrendered to the French; and thus the right flanks of the Allies were exposed. Landrecy, which, about the same time, fell into the hands of the Allies, was but a poor compensation for the reverses in West Flanders. The Duke of York, at the urgent instance of the Emperor, marched to the relief of Clairfait; but, in the meantime, the Austrian general, being hard pressed, was compelled to fall back upon a position which would enable him for a time to cover Bruges, Ghent, and Ostend. The English had also to sustain a vigorous attack near Tournay; but the enemy were defeated with the loss of 4,000 men. It now became necessary to risk a general action to save Flanders, by cutting off that division of the French army which had outflanked the Allies. By bad management and want of concert this movement, which had been contrived by Colonel Mack, the chief military adviser of the Emperor, was wholly defeated [at Tourcoign, May 18]. . . . The French took 1,500 prisoners and 60 pieces of cannon. A thousand English soldiers lay dead on the field, and the Duke [of York] himself escaped with difficulty. Four days after, Pichegru having collected a great force, amounting, it has been stated, to 100,000 men, made a grand attack upon the allied army [at Pont Achin]. . . . The battle raged from five in the morning until nine at night, and was at length determined by the bayonet. . . . In consequence of this check, Pichegru fell back upon Lisle." It was after this repulse that "the French executive, on the flimsy pretence of a supposed attempt to assassinate Robespierre, instigated by the British Government, procured a decree from the Convention, that no English or Hanoverian prisoners should be made. In reply to this atrocious edict, the Duke of York issued a general order, enjoining forbearance to the troops under his com-

mand. Most of the French generals . . . refused to become assassins. . . . The decree was carried into execution in a few instances only. . . . The Allies gained no military advantage by the action of Pont Achin on the 22nd of May. . . . The Emperor . . . abandoned the army and retired to Vienna. He left some orders and proclamations behind him, to which nobody thought it worth while to pay any attention. On the 5th of June, Pichegru invested Ypres, which Clairfait made two attempts to retain, but without success. The place surrendered on the 17th; Clairfait retreated to Ghent; Walmoden abandoned Bruges; and the Duke of York, forced to quit his position at Tournay, encamped near Oudenarde. It was now determined by the Prince of Coburg, who resumed the chief command after the departure of the Emperor, to risk the fate of Belgium on a general action, which was fought at Fleurus on the 26th of June. The Austrians, after a desperate struggle, were defeated at all points by the French army of the Sambre under Jourdan. Charleroi having surrendered to the French . . . and the Duke of York being forced to retreat, any further attempt to save the Netherlands was hopeless. Ostend and Mons, Ghent, Tournay, and Oudenarde, were successively evacuated; and the French were established at Brussels. When it was too late, the English army was reinforced. . . . It now only remained for the French to recapture the fortresses on their own frontier which had been taken from them in the last campaign. . . . Landrecy . . . fell without a struggle. Quesnoy . . . made a gallant [but vain] resistance. . . . Valenciennes and Condé . . . opened their gates. . . . The victorious armies of the Republic were thus prepared for the conquest of Holland. . . . The Prince of Orange made an appeal to the patriotism of his countrymen; but the republicans preferred the ascendancy of their faction to the liberties of their country. . . . The other military operations of the year, in which England was engaged, do not require prolonged notice. The Corsicans, under the guidance of their veteran chief, Paoli, . . . sought the aid of England to throw off the French yoke, and offered in return allegiance of his countrymen to the British Crown. . . . A small force was despatched, and, after a series of petty operations, Corsica was occupied by British troops, and proclaimed a part of the British dominions. An expedition on a greater scale was sent to the West Indies. Martinique, St. Lucie and Guadeloupe were easily taken; but the large island of St. Domingo, relieved by a timely arrival of succours from France, offered a formidable [and successful] resistance. . . . The campaign on the Rhine was undertaken by the Allies under auspices ill calculated to inspire confidence, or even hope. The King of Prussia, not content with abandoning the cause, had done everything in his power to thwart and defeat the operations of the Allies. . . . On the 22d of May, the Austrians crossed the Rhine and attacked the French in their intrenchments without success. On the same day, the Prussians defeated a division of the Republican army [at Kaiserslautern], and advanced their head-quarters to Deux-Ponts. Content with this achievement, the German armies remained inactive for several weeks, when the French, having obtained reinforcements, attacked the whole line of the German posts. . . . Before the end of the year the Allies were in full retreat, and the Republicans in their turn had become the invaders of Germany. They occupied the Electorate of Treves, and they captured the important fort of Mannheim. Mentz also was placed under a close blockade. . . . At sea, England maintained her ancient reputation. The French had

made great exertions to fit out a fleet, and 26 ships of the line were assembled in the port of Brest," for the protecting of a merchant fleet, laden with much needed food-supplies, expected from America. Lord Howe, with an English fleet of 25 ships of the line, was on the watch for the Brest fleet when it put to sea. On June 1st he sighted and attacked it off Ushant, performing the celebrated manœuvre of breaking the enemy's line. Seven of the French ships were taken, one was sunk during the battle, and 18, much crippled, escaped. The victory caused great exultation in England, but it was fruitless, for the American convoy was brought safely into Brest.—W. Massey, *History of England during the reign of George III, v. 3, ch. 35.*

ALSO IN: A. Alison, *History of Europe, 1789-1815, v. 4, ch. 16.*—F. C. Schlosser, *History of the eighteenth century, v. 6, div. 2, ch. 2, sec. 3.*—A. T. Mahan, *Influence of sea power upon the French Revolution and empire, v. 1, ch. 8.*

1794 (June-July).—Monstrous Law of the 22d Prairial.—Climax of the Reign of Terror.—Foundation of the future state.—"On the day of the Feast of the Supreme Being, the guillotine was concealed in the folds of rich hangings. It was the 20th of Prairial. Two days later Couthon proposed to the Convention the memorable Law of the 22d Prairial [June 10]. Robespierre was the draftsman, and the text of it still remains in his own writing. This monstrous law is simply the complete abrogation of all law. Of all laws ever passed in the world it is the most nakedly iniquitous. . . . After the probity and good judgment of the tribunal, the two cardinal guarantees in state trials are accurate definition, and proof. The offence must be capable of precise description, and the proof against an offender must conform to strict rule. The Law of Prairial violently infringed all three of these essential conditions of judicial equity. First, the number of the jury who had power to convict was reduced. Second, treason was made to consist in such vague and infinitely elastic kinds of action as inspiring discouragement, misleading opinion, depraving manners, corrupting patriots, abusing the principles of the Revolution by perfidious applications. Third, proof was to lie in the conscience of the jury; there was an end of preliminary inquiry, of witnesses in defence, and of counsel for the accused. Any kind of testimony was evidence, whether material or moral, verbal or written, if it was of a kind 'likely to gain the assent of a man of reasonable mind.' Now, what was Robespierre's motive in devising this infernal instrument? . . . To us the answer seems clear. We know what was the general aim in Robespierre's mind at this point in the history of the Revolution. His brother Augustin was then the representative of the Convention with the army of Italy, and General Bonaparte was on terms of close intimacy with him. Bonaparte said long afterwards . . . that he saw long letters from Maximilian to Augustin Robespierre, all blaming the Conventional Commissioners [sent to the provinces]—Tallien, Fouché, Barras, Collot, and the rest—for the horrors they perpetrated, and accusing them of ruining the Revolution by their atrocities. Again, there is abundant testimony that Robespierre did his best to induce the Committee of Public Safety to bring those odious malefactors to justice. The text of the Law . . . discloses the same object. The vague phrases of depraving manners and applying revolutionary principles perfidiously, were exactly calculated to smite the band of violent men whose conduct was to Robespierre the scandal of the Revolution. And there was a curious clause in the law as originally presented, which deprived the

Convention of the right of preventing measures against its own members. Robespierre's general design in short was to effect a further purgation of the Convention. . . . If Robespierre's design was what we believe it to have been, the result was a ghastly failure. The Committee of Public Safety would not consent to apply his law against the men for whom he had specially designed it. The frightful weapon which he had forged was seized by the Committee of General Security, and Paris was plunged into the fearful days of the Great Terror. The number of persons put to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal before the Law of Prairial had been comparatively moderate. From the creation of the Tribunal in April 1793, down to the execution of the Hébertists in March 1794, the number of persons condemned to death was 505. From the death of the Hébertists down to the death of Robespierre, the number of the condemned was 2,158. One-half of the entire number of victims, namely, 1,356, were guillotined after the Law of Prairial. . . . A man was informed against; he was seized in his bed at five in the morning; at seven he was taken to the Conciergerie; at nine he received information of the charge against him; at ten he went into the dock; by two in the afternoon he was condemned; by four his head lay in the executioner's basket."—J. Morley, *Robespierre (Critical miscellanies: Second series)*.—"When the Revolutionary Government was at its apogee liberty of whatever kind was a thing of the past. The least opposition exposed a citizen, even a woman, to the scaffold. Of course these laws were not and could not have been applied in all their rigour; else would the French have perished in tens of thousands. But the hundreds who were guillotined in virtue of these laws sufficed as an example. No one dared now to thwart the national defence. This result, it may be legitimate, was not the only one; the opponents of Robespierre's personal policy were equally reduced to silence and inaction. Until the period when the military victories suppressed the *raison d'être* of the dictatorship, there was a general and absolute suppression of will and courage. Such was the Terror, the effect and means of the Revolutionary Government. In this chronological summary, I have given many instances to show that the Revolutionary Government was not the application of any system. The leaders of this Government have been stigmatised as renegades from the principles of 1789, and they did indeed often violate the principle of individual liberty; they shed blood; they persecuted the French; they stifled the liberty of the press; they established a tyrannical dictatorship; finally they arrived, democrats as they were, at the suppression of nearly all the popular elections. But they only resigned themselves to these violent measures when forced by events, and to ensure the final triumph of the principles of 1789, on whose suppression monarchical Europe was bent. Obligated to make war in order to keep free, obliged to be soldiers in order to remain citizens, they organised a military discipline, and this Revolutionary Government was the reverse of their dreams and ideals. It had seemed to them that they could only conquer the *ancien régime* by using its weapons. This victory once achieved, they had every intention, as they were continually announcing, of doing just the contrary of what they performed in the year II: that is to say, of organising the Democratic Republic on a basis of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The most violent among them agreed in presenting the Terrorist rule as a provisional expedient. None the less, we must confess that this phrase, 'a provisional expedient,' does not give an absolutely exact and

complete idea of this undertaking. It happened that certain measures, entirely fortuitous and empirical, such as declaring all means of subsistence to be in common for the purposes of the national defence, by creating, for the time, collectivist cities of a kind, excited or awoke socialistic theories which later on found expression. On the other hand, certain elements of the Revolutionary Government, at the time when they were decreed, seemed of a kind to enter later on into the society of the future, and the measures taken in view of the success of the armies against the civil enemy were often spoken of as proper to a definite mental revolution. . . . The cult of a Supreme Being was not merely an expedient of national defence, but also an attempt to establish one of the fundamental essentials of the future State. At the same time schemes for a national education were being elaborated, which ended in tangible results and in foundations; so that we must think of the revolutionists of the year II as preparing to build the future State, while fighting Europe at the same time: to use the language of the time, with a trowel in one hand and a sword in the other. But the hand that held the trowel was only able to begin the work of construction; and these beginnings were often intermingled with the provisional institutions founded on account of the war, and intermingled in such a manner that it is not always easy to distinguish what these men considered provisional and what they meant to be permanent. All were not agreed as to the period when it would be necessary to emerge from the revolutionary state. Danton and his friends had wished to relax the bonds of the Terror before Europe had been vanquished, but they were broken. But even those who wished the Revolutionary Government to last as long as the war, and who rejected, out of policy, the idea of a committee of clemency, felt the horror of the hideous character which the brutal zeal of ignorant fanatics was engraving upon the face of the Republic. . . . At last the latent danger of this dictatorship of the national defence was frequently pointed out by Robespierre. At the very moment when everything was being organised with a view to the military victories, the peril of these military victories was denounced. . . . The precautions taken against the ambition of the generals entered into the Revolutionary Government as component elements, their purpose being to prepare it for the realisation of the idea of normal government which was at once made possible and compromised by the success of the armies. This government, according to circumstance, created empirically for the immediate present, without system and without plan, in some parts plainly bears the mark of pre-occupations concerning the future; and although entirely provisional, it contains the germs, the beginnings, of institutions; contains also points of departure for new or resuscitated theories; contains, in some degree, the France of the future"—A. Aulard, *French Revolution*, v. 2, pp. 201-205

Also in: W. Smyth, *Lectures on the history of the French Revolution*, v. 2, lects. 30-42.—Abbé Dumesnil, *Recollections of the Reign of Terror*.—Count Beugnot, *Life*, v. 1, ch. 7-8.—J. Wilson, *Reign of Terror and its secret police (Studies in modern mind, etc.)*, ch. 7.—*Reign of Terror: A collection of authentic narratives*.

1794 (June-July).—French victory at Fleurus.—Fall of Robespierre.—End of the Reign of Terror.—"Robespierre, blind and satisfied, went on his way rejoicing. On the 8th of June, as President of the Convention, he took the chief part in a solemn inauguration of the new religion. There were statues, processions, bonfires, speeches, and

Robespierre, beflowered, radiant in a new purple coat, pontificating over all. But beneath the surface all was not well. The Convention had not been led through the solemn farce without protest. Words of insult were hissed by more than one deputy as Robespierre passed within earshot, and the Jacobin leader realized fully that behind the docile votes and silent faces currents of rage and protest were stirring. For this, as for every ill, there was but one remedy, to sharpen the knife. Two days later, on the 10th, new decrees were placed before the Convention for intensifying the operations of the Revolutionary Tribunal. New crimes were invented 'spreading discouragement, perverting public opinion'; the prisoner's defence was practically taken away from him; and, most important, members of the Convention lost their inviolability. The Convention voted the decree, but terror had now pushed it to the wall and self-defence automatically sprang up. From that moment the Convention nerved itself to the inevitable struggle. Billaud, Collot and Barère, the *impures* of the Committee of Public Safety looked despairingly on all sides of the Convention for help to rid themselves of the monster, whose tentacles they already felt beginning to twine about them. Just at this critical moment a trivial incident arose that pierced Robespierre's armour in its weakest joint, and that crystallized the fear of the Convention into ridicule,—ridicule that proved the precursor of revolt. Catherine Théot, a female spiritualist, or medium, as we should call her at the present day, highly elated at the triumph of the Supreme Being over the unemotional Goddess of Reason, had made Robespierre the hero of her half-insane inspirations. She now announced to her credulous devotees that she was the mother of God, and that Robespierre was her son. It became the sensation of the day. Profiting by the temporary absence of St. Just with the army in the Netherlands, the Committee of Public Safety decided that Catherine Théot was a nuisance and a public danger, and must be arrested. Robespierre, intensely susceptible to ridicule, not knowing what to do, pettishly withdrew from the Convention, confined himself to his house and the Jacobin Club, and left the Committee to carry out its intention. Every member of the Convention realized that this was a distinct move against Robespierre. St. Just was with Jourdan's army in the north, and for the moment all eyes were fixed on that point. The campaign of 1794 might be decisive. France and Austria had put great armies in the field. The latter now controlled the belt of frontier fortresses, and if, pushing beyond these, she destroyed the French army, Paris and the Revolution might soon be at an end. As the campaign opened, however, fortune took her place with the tricolour flag. Minor successes fell to Moreau, Souham, Macdonald, Vandamme. In June the campaign culminated. The armies met south of Brussels at Fleurus on the 25th of that month. For fifteen hours the battle raged, Kléber with the French right wing holding his ground, the centre and left slowly driven back. But at the close of the day the French, not to be denied, came again. Jourdan, with St. Just by his side, drove his troops to a last effort, regained the lost ground, and more. The Austrians gave way, turned to flight, and one of the great victories of the epoch had been won. In a few hours the glorious news had reached Paris, and in Paris it was interpreted as an evil portent for Robespierre. For if there existed something that could possibly be described as a justification for terrorism, that something was national danger and national fear. Ever since the months of July, 1789, there had been a perfect correspondence

between military pressure on Paris and the consequent outbreak of violence. But this great victory, Fleurus, seemed to mark the complete triumph of the armies of the Republic; all danger had been swept away, so why should terror and the guillotine continue? As the captured Austrian standards were paraded in the Tuileries gardens and presented to the Convention on a lovely June afternoon, every inclination, every instinct was for rejoicing and good will. The thought that the cart was still steadily, lugubriously, wending its way to the insatiable guillotine, appeared unbearable. From this moment the fever of conspiracy against Robespierre coursed rapidly through the Convention. Some, like Sièyes, were statesmen, and judged that the turn of the tide had come. Others, like Tallien or Joseph Chênier, were touched in their family,—a brother, a wife, a sister awaiting judgment and the guillotine. Others feared; others hoped; and yet others had vengeance to satisfy, especially the remnants of Danton's, of Brissot's and of Hébert's party. St. Just saw the danger of the situation and attempted to cow opposition. He spoke threateningly of the necessity for a dictatorship and for a long list of proscriptions. It was the most silent member of the Committee of Public Safety, Carnot, who brought on the crisis. Affecting an exclusive concern for the conduct of the war and perfunctorily signing all that related to internal affairs, he was secretly restive and anxious to escape from the horrible situation. Prompted by some of his colleagues, he ordered, on the 24th of July, that the Paris national guard artillery should go to the front. This was taking the decisive arm out of the hands of Hanriot, for Hanriot had made his speech with Robespierre, had survived the fall of Hébert, and was still in command of the national guard. There could be no mistaking the significance of Carnot's step. On the same night Couthon loudly denounced it at the Jacobins, and the club decided that it would petition the Convention to take action against Robespierre's enemies. Next day Barère replied. He read a long speech to the Convention in which, without venturing names, he blamed citizens who were not heartened by the victories of the army and who meditated further proscriptions. On the 26th, the 8th of Thermidor, Robespierre reappeared in the assembly, and ascended the tribune to reply to Barère. Robespierre felt that the tide was flowing against him; instinct, premonitions, warned him that perhaps his end was not far off. In this speech—it was to be his last before the Convention—the melancholy note prevailed. There was no effort to conciliate, no attempt at being politic, only a slightly disheartened tone backed by the iteration which France already knew so well:—the remedy for the evil must be sought in purification; the Convention, the Committee of Public Safety, must be purged. Under the accustomed spell the Convention listened to the end. The usual motions were put. Robespierre left the assembly. It was voted that his speech should be printed; and that it should be posted in all the communes of France. For a moment it looked as though the iron yoke were immovably fixed. Then Cambon went to the tribune, and ventured to discuss Robespierre's views. Billaud followed. And presently the Convention, hardly realizing what it had done, rescinded the second of its two votes. Robespierre's speech should be printed, but it should not be placarded on the walls. At the Jacobin Club the rescinded vote of the Convention conveyed a meaning not to be mistaken. Robespierre repeated his Convention speech, which was greeted with acclamations. Billaud and Collot were received with hoots and groans, were driven

out, and were erased from the list of members. Through the night the Jacobins were beating up their supporters, threatening insurrection; and on their side the leaders of the revolt attempted to rally the members of the Convention to stand firmly by them. The next day was the 9th of Thermidor, St. Just made a bold attempt to control the situation. Early in the morning he met his colleagues of the Committee of Public Safety and, making advances to them, promised to lay before them a scheme that would reconcile all the divergent interests of the Convention. While the Committee awaited his arrival he proceeded to the body of the Convention, obtained the tribune, and began a speech. Realizing how far the temper of the assembly was against him, he boldly opened by denouncing the personal ambitions of Robespierre, and by advocating moderate courses—but he had not gone far when the members of the Committee, discovering the truth, returned to the Convention, and set to work with the help of the revolted members, to disconcert him. St. Just had perhaps only one weakness, but it was fatal to him on the 9th of Thermidor, for it was a weakness of voice. He was silenced by interruptions that constantly grew stormier. Billaud followed him and made an impassioned attack on the Jacobins. Robespierre attempted to reply. But Collot d'Herbois was presiding, and Collot declined to give Robespierre the tribune. The din arose; shouts of 'Down with the tyrant, down with the dictator,' were raised. Tallien demanded a decree of accusation. Members pressed around the Jacobin leader, who at this last extremity tried to force his way to the tribune. But the way was barred; he could only clutch the railings, and, asking for death, looking in despair at the public galleries that had so long shouted their Jacobin approval to him, he kept crying: 'La mort! la mort!' He had fallen. The whole Convention was roaring when Collot from the presidential chair announced the vote whereby Robespierre, St. Just, Couthon, Hanriot, and several others were ordered under arrest. Hanriot at this crisis again displayed his qualities of action. While the members of the Convention were wasting time in talk and self-congratulation, he was getting his forces together. He succeeded in freeing the accused deputies from their place of temporary arrest, and by the evening, all were gathered together at the Hotel de Ville. The Jacobins declared for Robespierre. The party made determined efforts through the evening to raise insurrection. But only small bodies of national guards could be kept together at the Hotel de Ville, and these began to dwindle away rapidly late in the evening when heavy rain fell. Meanwhile the Convention had met again in evening session. It appointed one of its own members, Barras, to command all the military forces that could be mustered, and then voted the escaped deputies outlaws for having broken arrest. The western districts of the city rallied to the Convention. Barras showed energy and courage. Information reached him of the state of affairs at the Hotel de Ville, and at one o'clock in the morning of the 20th he rallied several sectional battalions and marched quickly against the Robespierrists. At the Hotel de Ville there was little resistance. It was raining hard, and few remained with the Jacobin leaders. There was a short scuffle, in which Robespierre apparently attempted to kill himself and lodged a bullet in his jaw. The arrests were carried out, and a few hours later, no trial being necessary for outlaws, Robespierre, St. Just, Hanriot, Couthon, and about twenty more were driven through the streets to the guillotine."—R. M. Johnston, *French Revolution*, pp. 212-221.—

"Nothing could be easier and nothing would more satisfy the sense of the dramatic in history than to present him (Robespierre) as the guilty conceiver of an enormous crime, and to make Thermidor the retribution—turn to the documents of these seven weeks and you will discover that he would not sign the lists of the condemned, that he protested against nearly all the more famous of the prosecutions, and that the body directly responsible for them, the Committee of Public Safety, regarded him as a danger; more, you will find that the spokesman of that body says that Robespierre perished 'because he attempted to put a curb on the Revolution'; and you will find that those who chiefly overthrew him were men determined to push the terror to a further extreme"—H. Belloc, *Robespierre*, pp. x-xi.—"He [Robespierre] had qualities, it is true, which we must respect; he was honest, sincere, self-denying and consistent. But he was cowardly, relentless, pedantic, unloving, intensely vain and morbidly envious. . . . He has not left the legacy to mankind of one grand thought, nor the example of one generous and exalted action."—G. H. Lewes, *Life of Robespierre (Conclusion)*.—"The ninth of Thermidor is one of the great epochs in the history of Europe. It is true that the three members of the Committee of Public Safety [Billaud, Collot, and Barère], who triumphed were by no means better men than the three [Robespierre, Couthon, and St. Just] who fell. Indeed, we are inclined to think that of these six statesmen the least bad were Robespierre and St. Just, whose cruelty was the effect of sincere fanaticism operating on narrow understandings and acrimonious tempers. The worst of the six was, beyond all doubt, Barère, who had no faith in any part of the system which he upheld by persecution."—T. B. Macaulay, *Barère's Memoirs (Essays, v. 5)*.

ALSO IN: H. Belloc, *Robespierre*.—T. Carlyle, *French Revolution*.—G. Everitt, *Grillotine the great*.—H. Fleischmann, *Robespierre and the women he loved*.—J. M. Morley, *Critical miscellanies*.—C. F. Warwick, *Robespierre and the Revolution*.

1794-1795 (July-April).—Reaction against the Reign of Terror.—Thermidorians and the Jeunesse Dorée.—End of the Jacobin club.—Bread riots of Germinal 12.—Fall of the Mountain.—White terror in the provinces.—"On the morning of the 10th of Thermidor all the people who lived near the prisons of Paris crowded on the roofs of their houses and cried, 'All is over! Robespierre is dead!' The thousands of prisoners, who had believed themselves doomed to death, imagined themselves rescued from the tomb. Many were set free the same day, and all the rest regained hope and confidence. Their feeling of deliverance was shared throughout France. The Reign of Terror had become a sort of nightmare that stifled the nation, and the Reign of Terror and Robespierre were identical in the sight of the great majority. . . . The Convention presented a strange aspect. Party remnants were united in the coalition party called the 'Thermidorians.' Many of the Mountaineers and of those who had been fiercest in their missions presently took seats with the Right or Centre; and the periodic change of Committees, so long contested, was determined upon. Lots were drawn, and Barère, Lindet, and Prieur went out; Carnot, indispensable in the war, was re-elected until the coming spring; Billaud and Collot, feeling out of place in the new order of things, resigned. Danton's friends now prevailed; but, alas! the Dantonists were not Danton."—H. Martin, *Popular history of France from the first revolution, v. 1, ch.*

22.—“The Reign of Terror was practically over, but the ground-swell which follows a storm continued for some time longer. Twenty-one victims suffered on the same day with Robespierre, 70 on the next; altogether 114 were condemned and executed in the three days which followed his death. . . . A strong reaction against the ‘Terreur’ now set in. Upwards of 10,000 ‘suspects’ were set free, and Robespierre’s law of the 22 Prairial was abolished. Fréron, a leading Thermidorian, organized a band of young men who called themselves the Jeunesse Dorée [gilded youth], or Muscadins, and chiefly frequented the Palais Royal. They wore a ridiculous dress, ‘à la Victime’ [large cravat, black or green collar, and crape around the arm, signifying relationship to some of the victims of the revolutionary tribunal.—Thiers], and devoted themselves to punishing the Jacobins. They had their hymn, ‘Le réveil du Peuple,’ which they sang about the street, often coming into collision with the sans-culottes shouting the Marseillaise. On the 11th of November the Muscadins broke open the hall of the celebrated club, turned out the members, and shut it up for ever. . . . The committees of Salut Public and Sureté Générale were entirely remodelled and their powers much restrained; also the Revolutionary Tribunal was reorganized on the lines advocated by Camille Desmoulins in his proposal for a Comité de Clémence—which cost him his life. Carrier and Lebon suffered death for their atrocious conduct in La Vendée and [Arras]; 73 members who had protested against the arrest of the Girondins were recalled, and the survivors of the leading Girondists, Louvet, Lanjuinais, Isnard, Larévolière-Lépeaux and others. 22 in number, were restored to their seats in the Convention.”—S. Marceau, *Reminiscences of a regicide*, pt. 2, ch. 12.—“Billaud, Collot, and other marked Terrorists, already denounced in the Convention by Danton’s friends, felt that danger was every day drawing nearer to themselves. Their fate was to all appearance sealed by the readmission to the Convention (December 8) of the 73 deputies of the right, imprisoned in 1793 for signing protests against the expulsion of the Girondists. By the return of these deputies the complexion of the Assembly was entirely altered. . . . They now sought to undo the work of the Convention since the insurrection by which their party had been overwhelmed. They demanded that confiscated property should be restored to the relatives of persons condemned by the revolutionary courts; that emigrants who had fled in consequence of Terrorist persecutions should be allowed to return; that those deputies proscribed on June 2, 1793, who yet survived, should be recalled to their seats. The Mountain, as a body, violently opposed even the discussion of such questions. The Thermidorians split into two divisions. Some in alarm rejoined the Mountain; while others, headed by Tallien and Fréron, sought their safety by coalescing with the returned members of the right. A committee was appointed to report on accusations brought against Collot, Billaud, Barère, and Vadier (December 27, 1794). In a few weeks the survivors of the proscribed deputies entered the Convention amidst applause (March 8, 1795). . . . There was at this time great misery prevalent in Paris, and imminent peril of insurrection. After Robespierre’s fall, maximum prices were no longer observed, and assignats were only accepted in payment of goods at their real value compared with coin. The result was a rapid rise in prices, so that in December prices were double what they had been in July, and were continuing to rise in proportion as assignats decreased in value. . . . The maximum laws, already a dead letter, were re-

pealed (December 24). The abolition of maximum prices and requisitions increased the already lavish expenditure of the Government, which, to meet the deficit in its revenues, had no resource but to create more assignats, and the faster these were issued the faster they fell in value and the higher prices rose. In July 1794, they had been worth 34 per cent. of their nominal value. In December they were worth 22 per cent., and in May 1795 they were worth only 7 per cent. . . . At this time a pound of bread cost eight shillings, of rice thirteen, of sugar seventeen, and other articles were all proportionately dear. It is literally true that more than half the population of Paris was only kept alive by occasional distributions of meat and other articles at low prices, and the daily distribution of bread at three half-pence a pound. In February, however, this source of relief threatened to fail. . . . On April 1, or Germinal 12, bread riots, begun by women, broke out in every section. Bands collected and forced their way into the Convention, shouting for bread, but offering no violence to the deputies. . . . The crowd was already dispersing when forces arrived from the sections and cleared the House. The insurrection was a spontaneous rising for bread, without method or combination. The Terrorists had sought, but vainly, to obtain direction of it. Had they succeeded, the Mountain would have had an opportunity of proscribing the right. Their failure gave the right the opportunity of proscribing the left. The transportation to Cayenne of Billaud, Collot, Barère, and Vadier was decreed, and the arrest of fifteen other Montagnards, accused without proof, in several cases without probability, of having been accomplices of the insurgents. . . . The insurrection of Germinal 12 gave increased strength to the party of reaction. The Convention, in dread of the Terrorists, was compelled to look to it for support. . . . In the departments famine, disorder, and crime prevailed, as well as in Paris. . . . From the first the reaction proceeded in the departments with a more rapid step and in bolder form than in Paris. . . . In the departments of the south-east, where the Royalists had always possessed a strong following, emigrants of all descriptions readily made their way back; and here the opponents of the Republic, instigated by a desire for vengeance, or merely by party spirit, commenced a reaction stained by crimes as atrocious as any committed during the course of the revolution. Young men belonging to the upper and middle classes were organised in bands bearing the names of companies of Jesus and companies of the Sun, and first at Lyons, then at Aix, Toulon, Marseilles, and other towns, they broke into the prisons and murdered their inmates without distinction of age or sex. Besides the Terrorist and the Jacobin, neither the Republican nor the purchaser of State lands was safe from their knives; and in the country numerous isolated murders were committed. This lawless and brutal movement, called the White Terror in distinction to the Red Terror preceding Thermidor 9, was suffered for weeks to run its course unchecked, and counted its victims by many hundreds, spreading over the whole of Provence, besides the departments of Rhône, Gard, Loire, Ain, and Jura.”—B. M. Gardiner, *French Revolution*, ch. 10.

Also in: A. Thiers, *History of the French Revolution* (American edition), v. 3, pp. 100-136; 140-175; 193-225.—H. von Sybel, *History of the French Revolution*, bk. 12, ch. 1-3.—J. M. du Pan, *Memoirs and correspondence*, v. 2, ch. 5.—A. des Echerolles, *Early life*, v. 2, ch. 8.

1794-1795 (October-May).—Subjugation of Holland.—Overthrow of the Stadtholdership.—

Establishment of the Batavian republic.—Peace of Basel with Prussia.—Successes on the Spanish and Italian frontiers.—Crumbling of the coalition.—“Pichegru having taken Bois le Duc, October 9th, the Duke of York retreated to the Ar, and thence beyond the Waal. Venloo fell October 27th, Maestricht November 3th, and the capture of Nimeguen on the 9th, which the English abandoned after the fall of Maestricht, opened to the French the road into Holland. The Duke of York resigned the command to General Walmoden, December 2nd, and returned into England. His departure showed that the English government had abandoned all hope of saving Holland. It had, indeed, consented that the States-General should propose terms of accommodation to the French; and two Dutch envoys had been despatched to Paris to offer to the Committee of Public Welfare the recognition by their government of the French Republic, and the payment of 200,000,000 florins within a year. But the Committee, suspecting that these offers were made only with the view of gaining time, paid no attention to them. The French were repulsed in their first attempt to cross the Waal by General Duncan with 8,000 English; but a severe frost enabled them to pass over on the ice, January 11th, 1795. Nothing but a victory could now save Holland. But Walmoden, instead of concentrating his troops for the purpose of giving battle, retreated over the Yssel, and finally over the Ems into Westphalia, whence the troops were carried to England by sea from Bremen. . . . General Alvinzi, who held the Rhine between Emmerich and Arnheim, having retired upon Wesel, Pichegru had only to advance. On entering Holland, he called upon the patriots to rise, and his occupation of the Dutch towns was immediately followed by a revolution. The Prince of Orange, the hereditary Stadtholder, embarked for England, January 19th, on which day Pichegru's advanced columns entered Amsterdam. Next day the Dutch fleet, frozen up in the Texel, was captured by the French bussars. Before the end of January the reduction of Holland had been completed, and a provincial [provisional?] government established at the Hague. The States-General, assembled February 24th, 1795, having received, through French influence, a new infusion of the patriot party, pronounced the abolition of the Stadtholderate, proclaimed the sovereignty of the people and the establishment of the Batavian Republic. A treaty of Peace with France followed, May 16th, and an offensive alliance against all enemies whatsoever till the end of the war, and against England forever. The sea and land forces to be provided by the Dutch were to serve under French commanders. Thus the new republic became a mere dependency of France. Dutch Flanders, the district on the left bank of the Hondt, Maestricht, Venloo, were retained by the French as a just indemnity for the expenses of the war, on which account the Dutch were also to pay 100,000,000 florins; but they were to receive, at the general peace, an equivalent for the ceded territories. By secret articles, the Dutch were to lend the French seven ships of war, to support a French army of 25,000 men, &c. Over and above the requisitions of the treaty, they were also called upon to re-clothe the French troops, and to furnish them with provisions. In short, though the Dutch patriots had ‘fraternised’ with the French, and received them with open arms, they were treated little better than a conquered people. Secret negotiations had been for some time going on between France and Prussia for a peace. . . . Frederick William II., . . . satisfied with his acquisitions in Poland, to which the English and Dutch

subsidies had helped him, . . . abandoned himself to his voluptuous habits,” and made overtures to the French. “Perhaps not the least influential among Frederick William's motives, was the refusal of the maritime Powers any longer to subsidise him for doing nothing. . . . The Peace of Basle, between the French Republic and the King of Prussia, was signed April 5th, 1795. The French troops were allowed to continue the occupation of the Rhenish provinces on the left bank. An article, that neither party should permit troops of the enemies of either to pass over its territories, was calculated to embarrass the Austrians. France agreed to accept the mediation of Prussia for princes of the Empire. . . . Prussia should engage in no hostile enterprise against Holland, or any other country occupied by French troops; while the French agreed not to push their enterprises in Germany beyond a certain line of demarcation, including the Circles of Westphalia, Higher and Lower Saxony, Franconia, and that part of the two Circles of the Rhine situate on the right bank of the Main. . . . Thus the King of Prussia, originally the most ardent promoter of the Coalition, was one of the first to desert it. By signing the Peace of Basle, he sacrificed Holland, facilitated the invasion of the Empire by the French, and thus prepared the ruin of the ancient German constitution.” In the meantime the French had been pushing war with success on their Spanish frontier, recovering the ground which they had lost in the early part of 1794. In the eastern Pyrenees, Dugommier “retook Bellegarde in September, the last position held by the Spaniards in France, and by the battle of the Montagne Noire, which lasted from November 17th to the 20th, opened the way into Catalonia. But at the beginning of this battle Dugommier was killed. Figuières surrendered November 24th, through the influence of the French democratic propaganda. On the west, Moncey captured St. Sebastian and Fuentarabia in August, and was preparing to attack Pampeluna, when terrible storms . . . compelled him to retreat on the Bidassoa, and closed the campaign in that quarter. On the side of Piedmont, the French, after some reverses, succeeded in making themselves masters of Mont Cenis and the passes of the Maritime Alps, thus holding the keys of Italy; but the Government, content with this success, ventured not at present to undertake the invasion of that country.” The king of Sardinia, Victor Amadeus, remained faithful to his engagements with Austria, although the French tempted him with an offer of the Milanese, “and the exchange of the island of Sardinia for territory more conveniently situated. With the Grand Duke of Tuscany they were more successful. . . . On February 6th, 1795, a treaty was signed by which the Grand Duke revoked his adhesion to the Coalition. . . . Thus Ferdinand was the first to desert the Emperor, his brother. The example of Tuscany was followed by the Regent of Sweden.”—T. H. Dyer, *History of modern Europe*, v. 4, bk. 7, ch. 7.

ALSO IN: C. M. Davies, *History of Holland*, pt. 4, v. 3, ch. 3.—L. P. Secur, *History of the reign of Frederick William II of Prussia*, v. 3.

1794-1796.—Brigandage in La Vendée.—Chouannerie in Brittany.—Disastrous Quiberon expedition.—End of the Vendean War.—“Since the defeat at Savenay, the Vendée was no longer the scene of grand operations, but of brigandage and atrocities without result. The peasants, though detesting the Revolution, were anxious for peace; but, as there were still two chiefs, Charette and Stofflet, in the field, who hated each other, this wish could scarcely be gratified. General Thurieu,

sent by the former Revolutionary Committee, had but increased this detestation by allowing pillage and incendiaryism. After the death of Robespierre he was replaced by General Claucaux, who had orders to employ more conciliatory measures. The defeat of the rebel troops at Savenay, and their subsequent dispersion, had led to a kind of guerilla warfare throughout the whole of Brittany, known by the name of Chouannerie."—H. Van Laun, *French revolutionary epoch*, v. 1, bk. 2, ch. 2.—"A poor peasant, named Jean Cottereau, had distinguished himself in this movement above all his companions, and his family bore the name of Chouans (Chat-huans) or night-owls. . . . The name of Chouan passed from him to all the insurgents of Bretagne, although he himself never led more than a few hundred peasants, who obeyed him, as they said, out of friendship."—H. von Sybel, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 4, p. 238.—"The Chouans attacked the public conveyances, infested the high roads, murdered isolated bands of soldiers and functionaries. Their chiefs were Scepeaux, Bourmont, Cadoudal, but especially Puisaye . . . formerly general of the Girondins, and who wanted to raise a more formidable insurrection than had hitherto been organised. Against them was sent Hoche [September, 1794], who accustomed his soldiers to pacify rather than destroy, and taught them to respect the habits, but above all the religion, of the inhabitants. After some difficult negotiations with Charette peace was concluded (15th February), but the suppression of the Chouans was more difficult still, and Hoche . . . displayed in this ungrateful mission all the talents and humanity for which he was ever celebrated. Puisaye himself was in England, having obtained Pitt's promise of a fleet and an army, but his aide-de-camp concluded in his absence a treaty similar to that of Charette. . . . Stofflet surrendered the last. Not much dependence could be placed on either of these pacifications, Charette himself having confessed in a letter to the Count de Provence that they were but a trap for the Republicans; but they proved useful, nevertheless, by accustoming the country to peace." This deceptive state of peace came to an end early in the summer of 1795. "The conspiracy organised in London by Puisaye, assisted and subsidised by Pitt, . . . fitted out a fleet, which harassed the French naval squadron, and then set sail for Brittany, where the expedition made itself master of the peninsula of Quiberon and the fort Penthièvre (27th June). The Brittany peasants, suspicious of the Vendéans and hating the English, did not respond to the call for revolt, and occasioned a loss of time to the invaders, of which Hoche took advantage to bring together his troops and to march on Quiberon, where he defeated the vanguard of the émigrés, and surrounded them in the peninsula. Puisaye [who had, it is said, about 10,000 men, émigrés and Chouans] attempted to crush Hoche by an attack in the rear, but was eventually out-manœuvred, Fort Penthièvre was scaled during the night, and the émigrés were routed; whilst the English squadron was caught in a hurricane and could not come to their assistance, save with one ship, which fired indiscriminately on friend and foe alike. Most of the Royalists rushed into the sea, where nearly all of them perished. Scarcely a thousand men remained, and these fought heroically. It is said that a promise was given to them that if they surrendered their lives should be spared, and, accordingly, 711 laid down their arms (21st July). By order of the Convention . . . these 711 émigrés were shot. . . . From his camp at Belleville, Charette, one of the insurgent generals, responded to this execution

by the massacre of 2,000 Republican prisoners." In the following October another expedition of Royalists, fitted out in England under the auspices of Pitt, "landed at the Ile Dieu, . . . a small island about eight miles from the mainland of Poitou, and was composed of 2,500 men, who were destined to be the nucleus of several regiments; it also had on board a large store of arms, ammunition, and the Count d'Artois. Charette, named general commander of the Catholic forces, was awaiting him with 10,000 men. The whole of the Vendée was ready to rise the moment the prince touched French soil, but frivolous and undecided, he waited six weeks in idleness, endeavouring to obtain from England his recall. Hoche, to whom the command of the Republican forces had been entrusted, took advantage of this delay to cut off Charette from his communications, while he held Stofflet and the rest of the Brittany chiefs in check, and occupied the coast with 30,000 men. The Count d'Artois, whom Pitt would not recall, entreated the English commander to set sail for England (Dec. 17th, 1795), and the latter, unable to manage his fleet on a coast without shelter, complied with his request, leaving the prince on his arrival to the deserved contempt of even his own partisans. Charette in despair attempted another rising, hoping to be seconded by Stofflet, but he was beaten on all sides by Hoche. This general, who combined the astuteness of the statesman with the valour of the soldier, succeeded in a short time in pacifying the country by his generous but firm behaviour towards the inhabitants. Charette, tracked from shelter to shelter, was finally compelled to surrender, brought to Nantes, and shot (March 24th). The same lot had befallen Stofflet a month before at Angers. After these events Hoche led his troops into Brittany, where he succeeded in putting an end to the 'chouannerie.' The west returned to its normal condition."—H. Van Laun, *French revolutionary epoch*, v. 1, bk. 2, ch. 2; bk. 3, ch. 1.

ALSO IN: A. Thiers, *History of the French Revolution* (American edition), v. 3, pp. 144-145; 188-193; 230-240; 281-305; 343-345; 358-363; 384-380.

1795 (April).—Question of the constitution.—Insurrection "for bread and rights" of the first Prairial and its failure.—Disarming of the Faubourgs.—Bourgeoisie dominant again.—"The events of the 12th of Germinal decided nothing. The faubourgs had been repulsed, but not conquered. . . . After so many questions decided against the democratists, there still remained one of the utmost importance—the constitution. On this depended the ascendancy of the multitude or of the bourgeoisie. The supporters of the revolutionary government then fell back on the democratic constitution of '93, which presented to them the means of resuming the authority they had lost. Their opponents, on the other hand, endeavoured to replace it by a constitution which would secure all the advantage to them, by concentrating the government a little more, and giving it to the middle class. For a month, both parties were preparing for this last contest. The constitution of 1793, having been sanctioned by the people, enjoyed a great prestige. It was accordingly attacked with infinite precaution. At first its assailants engaged to carry it into execution without restriction; next they appointed a commission of eleven members to prepare the 'lois organiques' [organic laws] which were to render it practicable; by and by, they ventured to suggest objections to it on the ground that it distributed power too loosely, and only recognised one assembly dependent on the people,

even in its measures of legislation. At last, a sectionary deputation went so far as to term the constitution of '93 a decemviral [created by ten men] constitution, dictated by terror. All its partisans, at once indignant and filled with fears, organized an insurrection to maintain it. . . . The conspirators, warned by the failure of the risings of the 1st and 12th Germinal, omitted nothing to make up for their want of direct object and of organization. On the 1st Prairial (20th of May) in the name of the people, insurgent for the purpose of obtaining bread and their rights, they decreed the abolition of the revolutionary government, the establishment of the democratic constitution of '93, the dismissal and arrest of the members of the existing government, the liberation of the patriots, the convocation of the primary assemblies on the 25th Prairial, the convocation of the legislative assembly, destined to replace the convention, on the 25th Messidor, and the suspension of all authority not emanating from the people. They determined on forming a new municipality, to serve as a common centre; to seize on the barriers, telegraph, cannon, tocsins, drums, and not to rest till they had secured repose, happiness, liberty, and means of subsistence for all the French nation. They invited the artillery, gendarmes, horse and foot soldiers, to join the banners of the people, and marched on the convention. Meantime, the latter was deliberating on the means of preventing the insurrection. . . . The committees came in all haste to apprise it of its danger; it immediately declared its sitting permanent, voted Paris responsible for the safety of the representatives of the republic, closed its doors, outlawed all the leaders of the mob, summoned the citizens of the sections to arms, and appointed as their leaders eight commissioners, among whom were Legendre, Henri la Riviere, Kervelegan, &c. These deputies had scarcely gone, when a loud noise was heard without. An outer door had been forced, and numbers of women rushed into the galleries, crying 'Bread and the constitution of '93!' . . . The galleries were . . . cleared; but the insurgents of the faubourgs soon reached the inner doors, and, finding them closed, forced them with hatchets and hammers, and then rushed in amidst the convention. The Hall now became a field of battle. The veterans and gendarmes, to whom the guard of the assembly was confided, cried 'To arms!' The deputy Auguis, sword in hand, headed them, and succeeded in repelling the assailants, and even made a few of them prisoners. But the insurgents, more numerous, returned to the charge, and again rushed into the house. The deputy Feraud entered precipitately, pursued by the insurgents, who fired some shots in the house. They took aim at Boissy d'Anglas, who was occupying the president's chair. . . . Feraud ran to the tribune, to shield him with his body; he was struck at with pikes and sabres, and fell dangerously wounded. The insurgents dragged him into the lobby, and, mistaking him for Fréron, cut off his head and placed it on a pike. After this skirmish they became masters of the Hall. Most of the deputies had taken flight. There only remained the members of the Crête [the 'Crest'—a name now given to the remnant of the party of 'The Mountain'] and Boissy d'Anglas, who, calm, his hat on, heedless of threat and insult, protested in the name of the convention against this popular violence. They held out to him the bleeding head of Feraud; he bowed respectfully before it. They tried to force him, by placing pikes at his breast, to put the propositions of the insurgents to the vote; he steadily and courageously refused. But the Crétois, who approved of the insurrection, took posses-

sion of the bureaux and of the tribune, and decreed, amidst the applause of the multitude, all the articles contained in the manifesto of the insurrection." Meantime "the commissioners despatched to the sections had quickly gathered them together. . . . The aspect of affairs then underwent a change; Legendre, Kervelegan, and Auguis besieged the insurgents, in their turn, at the head of the sectionaries," and drove them at last from the hall of the convention. "The assembly again became complete; the sections received a vote of thanks, and the deliberations were resumed. All the measures adopted in the interim were annulled, and fourteen representatives, to whom were afterwards joined fourteen others, were arrested, for organizing the insurrection or approving it in their speeches. It was then midnight; at five in the morning the prisoners were already six leagues from Paris. Despite this defeat, the Faubourgs did not consider themselves beaten; and the next day they advanced en masse with their cannon against the convention. The sections, on their side, marched for its defence." But a collision was averted by negotiations, and the insurgents withdrew, "after having received an assurance that the Convention would assiduously attend to the question of provisions, and would soon publish the organic laws of the constitution of '93. . . . Six democratic Mountaineers, Goujon, Bourbotte, Romme, Duroy, Duquesnoy, and Soubrany, were brought before a military commission . . . and . . . condemned to death. They all stabbed themselves with the same knife, which was transferred from one to the other, exclaiming, 'Vive la République!' Romme, Goujon, and Duquesnoy were fortunate enough to wound themselves fatally; the other three were conducted to the scaffold in a dying state, but faced death with serene countenances. Meantime, the Faubourgs, though repelled on the 1st, and diverted from their object on the 2nd of Prairial, still had the means of rising," and the convention ordered them to be disarmed. "They were encompassed by all the interior sections. After attempting to resist, they yielded, giving up some of their leaders, their arms, and artillery. . . . The inferior class was entirely excluded from the government of the state; the revolutionary committees which formed its assemblies were destroyed; the cannoners forming its armed force were disarmed; the constitution of '93, which was its code, was abolished; and here the rule of the multitude terminated. . . . From that period, the middle class resumed the management of the revolution without, and the assembly was as united under the Girondists as it had been, after the 2nd of June, under the Mountaineers."—F. A. Mignet, *History of the French Revolution*, ch. 10.

Also 18: Duchesse d'Abrantes, *Memoirs*, v. 1, ch. 12-14.—T. Carlyle, *French Revolution*, v. 3, bk. 7, ch. 4-6.—G. Long, *France and its revolutions*, ch. 53.

1795 (June-September).—Framing and adoption of the constitution of the Year III.—Self-renewing decrees of the Convention.—Hostility in Paris to them.—Intrigues of the Royalists.—"The royalist party, beaten on the frontiers, and deserted by the court of Spain, on which it placed most reliance, was now obliged to confine itself to intrigues in the interior; and it must be confessed that, at this moment, Paris offered a wide field for such intrigues. The work of the constitution was advancing; the time when the Convention was to resign its powers, when France should meet to elect fresh representatives, when a new Assembly should succeed that which had so

long reigned, was more favourable than any other for counter-revolutionary manœuvres. The most vehement passions were in agitation in the sections of Paris. The members of them were not royalists, but they served the cause of royalty without being aware of it. They had made a point of opposing the Terrorists; they had animated themselves by the conflict; they wished to persecute also; and they were exasperated against the Convention, which would not permit this persecution to be carried too far. They were always ready to remember that Terror had sprung from its bosom; they demanded of it a constitution and laws, and the end of the long dictatorship which it had exercised. . . . Behind this mass the royalists concealed themselves. . . . The constitution had been presented by the commission of eleven. It was discussed during the three months of Messidor, Thermidor, and Fructidor [June-August], and was successively decreed with very little alteration." The principal features of the constitution so framed, known as the Constitution of the Year III, were the following. "A Council, called 'The Council of the Five Hundred,' composed of 500 members, of, at least, thirty years of age, having exclusively the right of proposing laws, one-third to be renewed every year. A Council called 'The Council of the Ancients,' composed of 250 members, of, at least, forty years of age, all either widowers or married, having the sanction of the laws, to be renewed also by one-third. An executive Directory, composed of five members, deciding by a majority, to be renewed annually by one-fifth, having responsible ministers. . . . The mode of nominating these powers was the following: All the citizens of the age of twenty-one met of right in primary assembly on every first day of the month of Prairial, and nominated electoral assemblies. These electoral assemblies met every 20th of Prairial, and nominated the two Councils; and the two Councils nominated the Directory. . . . The judicial authority was committed to elective judges. . . . There were to be no communal assemblies, but municipal and departmental administrations, composed of three, five, or more members, according to the population; they were to be formed by way of election. . . . The press was entirely free. The emigrants were banished for ever from the territory of the republic; the national domains were irrevocably secured to the purchasers; all religions were declared free, but were neither acknowledged nor paid by the state. . . . One important question was started. The Constituent Assembly, from a parade of disinterestedness, had excluded itself from the new legislative body [the Legislative Assembly of 1791]; would the Convention do the same? [The members of the Convention decided this question in the negative, and] decreed, on the 5th of Fructidor (August 22d), that the new legislative body should be composed of two-thirds of the Convention, and that one new third only should be elected. The question to be decided was, whether the Convention should itself designate the two-thirds to be retained, or whether it should leave that duty to the electoral assemblies. After a tremendous dispute, it was agreed on the 13th of Fructidor (August 30), that this choice should be left to the electoral assemblies. It was decided that the primary assemblies should meet on the 20th of Fructidor (September 6th), to accept the constitution and the two decrees of the 5th and the 13th of Fructidor. It was likewise decided that, after giving their votes upon the constitution and the decrees, the primary assemblies should again meet and proceed forth-

with, that is to say, in the year III. (1795), to the elections for the 1st of Prairial in the following year. [The right of voting upon the constitution was extended, by another decree, to the armies in the field.] No sooner were these resolutions adopted, than the enemies of the Convention, so numerous and so diverse, were deeply mortified by them. . . . The Convention, they said, was determined to cling to power; . . . it wished to retain by force a majority composed of men who had covered France with scaffolds. . . . All the sections of Paris, excepting that of the Quinze-Vingts, accepted the Constitution and rejected the decrees. The result was not the same in the rest of France. . . . On the 1st of Vendémiaire, year IV. (September 23, 1795), the general result of the votes was proclaimed. The constitution was accepted almost unanimously, and the decrees by an immense majority of the voters." The Convention now decreed that the new legislative body should be elected in October and meet November 6.—A. Thiers, *History of the French Revolution* (American edition), v. 3, pp. 305-315. ALSO IN: H. von Sybel, *History of the French Revolution*, v. 4, bk. 12, ch. 4.—H. C. Lockwood, *Constitutional history of France*, ch. 1, and app. 3.—J. M. du Pan, *Memoirs and correspondence*, v. 2, ch. 8.

1795 (June-December).—Death of the late king's son (Louis XVII).—Treaty of Basel with Spain.—Acquisition of Spanish Santo Domingo.—Ineffectual campaign on the Rhine.—Victory at Loano.—"The Committees had formed great plans for the campaign of 1795; meaning to invade the territories of the allies, take Mayence, and enter Southern Germany, go down into Italy, and reach the very heart of Spain. But Carnot, Lindet, and Prieur were no longer on the Committee, and their successors were not their equals; army discipline was relaxed; a vulgar reactionist had replaced Carnot in the war department and was working ruin. . . . The attack in Spain was to begin with the Lower Pyrenees, by the capture of Pampeluna and a march upon Castile, but famine and fever decimated the army of the Western Pyrenees, and General Moncey was forced to postpone all serious action till the summer. At the other end of the Pyrenees, the French and Spaniards were fighting aimlessly at the entry to Catalonia. The war was at a standstill; but the negotiations went on between the two countries. The king of Spain, as in honor bound, made the liberation of his young kinsman, the son of Louis XVI., a condition of peace. This the Republic would not grant, but the prisoner's death (June 8, 1795) removed the obstacle. The counter-revolutionists accused the Committees of poisoning the child styled by the royalist party Louis XVII. This charge was false; the poor little prisoner died of scrofula, developed by inaction, ennui, and the sufferings of a pitiless imprisonment, increased by the cruel treatment of his jailers, a cobbler named Simon and his wife. A rumor was also spread that the child was not dead, but had been taken away and an impostor substituted, who had died. Only one of the royal family now remained in the Temple, Louis XVI.'s daughter, afterwards the Duchesse d'Angoulême. Spain interceded for her, and she was exchanged. . . . Peace with Spain was also hastened by French successes beyond the Pyrenees; General Marceau, being reinforced, took Vittoria and Bilbao, and pushed on to the Ebro. On the 22d of July, Barthelmi, the able French diplomatist, signed a treaty of peace with Spain at Basle, restoring her Biscayan and Catalonian provinces, and accepting

Spanish mediation in favor of the king of Naples, Duke of Parma, king of Portugal, and 'the other Italian powers,' including, though not mentioning, the Pope; and Spain yielded her share of San Domingo, which put a brighter face on French affairs in America. . . . Guadeloupe, Santa Lucia, and St. Eustache were restored to the French. . . . Spain soon made overtures for an alliance with France, wishing to put down the English desire to rule the seas; and, before the new treaty was signed, the army of the Eastern Pyrenees was sent to reinforce the armies of the Alps and Italy, who had only held their positions in the Apennines and on the Ligurian coast against the Austrians and the Piedmontese by sheer force of will; but in the autumn of 1795 the face of affairs was changed. Now that Prussia had left the coalition, war on the Rhine went on between France and Austria, sustained by the South German States; France had to complete her mastery of the left bank by taking Mayence and Luxembourg; and Austria's aim was to dispute them with her. The French government charged Marceau to besiege Mayence during the winter of 1794-95, but did not furnish him the necessary resources, and, France not holding the right bank, Kléber could only partially invest the town, and both his soldiers and those blockading Luxembourg suffered greatly from cold and privation. Early in March, 1795, Pichegru was put in command of the armies of the Rhine and Moselle, and Jourdan was ordered to support him on the left (the Lower Rhine) with the army of Sambre-et-Meuse. Austria took no advantage of the feeble state of the French troops, and Luxembourg, one of the strongest posts in Europe, receiving no help, surrendered (June 24) with 800 cannon and huge store of provisions. The French now had the upper hand, Pichegru and Jourdan commanding 160,000 men on the Rhine. One of these men was upright and brave, but the other had treason in his soul; though everybody admired Pichegru, 'the conqueror of Holland.' . . . In August, 1795, an agent of the Prince of Condé, who was then at Brigau, in the Black Forest, with his corps of emigrants, offered Pichegru, who was in Alsace, the title of Marshal of France and Governor of Alsace, the royal castle of Chambord, a million down, an annuity of 200,000 livres, and a house in Paris, in the 'king's' name, thus flattering at once his vanity and his greed. . . . He was checked by no scruples; utterly devoid of moral sense, he hoped to gain his army by money and wine, and had no discussion with the Prince of Condé save as to the manner of his treason." In the end, Pichegru was not able to make his treason as effective as he had bargained to do; but he succeeded in spoiling the campaign of 1795 on the Rhine. Jourdan crossed the river and took Dusseldorf, with 168 cannon, on the 6th of September, expecting a simultaneous movement on the part of Pichegru, to occupy the enemy in the latter's front. But Pichegru, though he took Mannheim, on the 18th of September, threw a corps of 10,000 men into the hands of the Austrians, by placing it where it could be easily overwhelmed, and permitted his opponent, Wurmser, to send reinforcements to Clairfait, who forced Jourdan, in October, to retreat across the Rhine. "Pichegru's perfidy had thwarted a campaign which must have been decisive, and Jourdan's retreat was followed by the enemy's offensive return to the left bank [retaking Mannheim and raising the siege of Mayence], and by reverses which would have been fatal had they coincided with the outburst of royalist and reactionary plots and insurrections

in the West, and in Paris itself; but they had luckily been stifled some time since, and as the Convention concluded its career, the direction of the war returned to the hands which guided it so well in 1793 and 1794."—H. Martin, *Popular history of France from the first revolution*, v. 1, ch. 24.—The army of Italy won the victory of Loano on the 24th of November, which opened communication with Genoa. The army of the Alps finally reached the summits of Mont Cenis and the little St. Bernard, and drove the Piedmontese before it.

ALSO IN: *Epitome of Alison's History of Europe*, sect. 154, 157 (ch. 18 of the complete work).—A. Griffiths, *French revolutionary generals*, ch. 13.—E. Baines, *History of the wars of the French Revolution*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 19-20.—A. de Beauchesne, *Louis XVIII: His life, his sufferings, his death*.

1795 (October-December).—Insurrection of the 13th Vendémiaire, put down by Napoleon Bonaparte.—Dissolution of the National Convention.—Organization of the government of the Directory.—Licentiousness of the time.—"The Parisians . . . proclaimed their hostility to the Convention and its designs. The National Guard, consisting of armed citizens, almost unanimously sided with the enemies of the Convention; and it was openly proposed to march to the Tuilleries, and compel a change of measures by force of arms. The Convention perceiving their unpopularity and danger, began to look about them anxiously for the means of defence. There were in and near Paris 5,000 regular troops, on whom they thought they might rely, and who of course contemned the National Guard as only half soldiers. They had besides some hundreds of artillery men; and they now organised what they called 'the Sacred Band,' a body of 1,500 ruffians, the most part of them old and tried instruments of Robespierre. With these means they prepared to arrange a plan of defence; and it was obvious that they did not want materials, provided they could find a skilful and determined head. The insurgent sections placed themselves under the command of Danican, an old general of no great skill or reputation. The Convention opposed to him Menou; and he marched at the head of a column into the section Le Pelletier to disarm the National Guard of that district—one of the wealthiest of the capital. The National Guard were found drawn up in readiness to receive him at the end of the Rue Vivienne; and Menou, becoming alarmed, and hampered by the presence of some of the 'Representatives of the People,' entered into a parley, and retired without having struck a blow. The Convention judged that Menou was not master of nerves for such a crisis; and consulted eagerly about a successor to his command. Barras, one of their number, had happened to be present at Toulon and to have appreciated the character of Buonaparte. He had, probably, been applied to by Napoleon in his recent pursuit of employment. Deliberating with Tallien and Carnot, his colleagues, he suddenly said, 'I have the man whom you want; it is a little Corsican officer, who will not stand upon ceremony.' These words decided the fate of Napoleon and of France. Buonaparte had been in the Odeon Theatre when the affair of Le Pelletier occurred, had run out, and witnessed the result. He now happened to be in the gallery, and heard the discussion concerning the conduct of Menou. He was presently sent for, and asked his opinion as to that officer's retreat. He explained what had happened, and how the evil might have been

avoided, in a manner which gave satisfaction. He was desired to assume the command, and arranged his plan of defence as well as the circumstances might permit; for it was already late at night, and the decisive assault on the Tuilleries was expected to take place next morning. Buonaparte stated that the failure of the march of Menou had been chiefly owing to the presence of the 'Representatives of the People,' and refused to accept the command unless he received it free from all such interference. They yielded: Barras was named commander-in-chief; and Buonaparte second, with the virtual control. His first care was to despatch Murat, then a major of chasseurs, to Sablons, five miles off, where fifty great guns were posted. The Sectionaries sent a stronger detachment for these cannon immediately afterwards; and Murat, who passed them in the dark, would have gone in vain had he received his orders but a few minutes later. On the 4th of October (called in the revolutionary almanac the 13th Vendémiaire) the affray accordingly occurred. Thirty thousand National Guards advanced about two P. M., by different streets, to the siege of the palace: but its defence was now in far other hands than those of Louis XVI. Buonaparte, having planted artillery on all the bridges, had effectually secured the command of the river, and the safety of the Tuilleries on one side. He had placed cannon also at all the crossings of the streets by which the National Guard could advance towards the other front; and having posted his battalions in the garden of the Tuilleries and Place du Carousel, he awaited the attack. The insurgents had no cannon; and they came along the narrow streets of Paris in close and heavy columns. When one party reached the church of St. Roche, in the Rue St. Honoré, they found a body of Buonaparte's troops drawn up there, with two cannons. It is disputed on which side the firing began; but in an instant the artillery swept the streets and lanes, scattering grape-shot among the National Guards, and producing such confusion that they were compelled to give way. The first shot was a signal for all the batteries which Buonaparte had established; the quays of the Seine, opposite to the Tuilleries, were commanded by his guns below the palace and on the bridges. In less than an hour the action was over. The insurgents fled in all directions, leaving the streets covered with dead and wounded; the troops of the Convention marched into the various sections, disarmed the terrified inhabitants, and before nightfall everything was quiet. This eminent service secured the triumph of the Conventionalists. . . . Within five days from the Day of the Sections Buonaparte was named second in command of the army of the interior; and shortly afterwards, Barras finding his duties as Director sufficient to occupy his time, gave up the command-in-chief of the same army to his 'little Corsican officer.'—J. G. Lockhart, *Life of Napoleon Buonaparte*, ch. 3.—The victory of the 13th Vendémiaire "enabled the Convention immediately to devote its attention to the formation of the Councils proposed by it, two-thirds of which were to consist of its own members. The first third, which was freely elected, had already been nominated by the Reactionary party. The members of the Directory were chosen, and the deputies of the Convention, believing that for their own interests the regicides should be at the head of the Government, nominated La Réveillère-Lepeaux, Sièyes, Rewbel, Le Tourneur, and Barras. Sièyes refused to act, and Carnot was elected in his place. Immediately after this, the Convention de-

clared its session at an end, after it had had three years of existence, from the 21st September, 1792, to the 28th October, 1795 (4th Brumaire, Year IV). . . . The Directors were all, with the exception of Carnot, of moderate capacity, and concurred in rendering their own position the more difficult. At this period there was no element of order or good government in the Republic; anarchy and uneasiness everywhere prevailed, famine had become chronic, the troops were without clothes, provisions or horses; the Convention had spent an immense capital represented by assignats, and had sold almost half of the Republican territory, belonging to the proscribed classes; . . . the excessive degree of discredit to which paper money had fallen, after the issue of thirty-eight thousand millions, had destroyed all confidence and all legitimate commerce. . . . Such was the general poverty, that when the Directors entered the palace which had been assigned to them as a dwelling, they found no furniture there, and were compelled to borrow of the porter a few straw chairs and a wooden table, on the latter of which they drew up the decree by which they were appointed to office. Their first care was to establish their power, and they succeeded in doing this by frankly following at first the rules laid down by the Constitution. In a short time industry and commerce began to raise their heads, the supply of provisions became tolerably abundant, and the clubs were abandoned for the workshops and the fields. The Directory exerted itself to revive agriculture, industry, and the arts, re-established the public exhibitions, and founded primary, central, and normal schools. . . . This period was distinguished by a great licentiousness in manners. The wealthy classes, who had been so long forced into retirement by the Reign of Terror, now gave themselves up to the pursuit of pleasure without stint, and indulged in a course of unbridled luxury, which was outwardly displayed in balls, festivities, rich costumes and sumptuous equipages. Barras, who was a man of pleasure, favoured this dangerous sign of the reaction, and his palace soon became the rendezvous of the most frivolous and corrupt society. In spite of this, however, the wealthy classes were still the victims, under the government of the Directory, of violent and spoliative measures."—E. de Bonnechose, *History of France*, v. 2, pp. 270-273.

ALSO IN: A. M. Chuquet, *Recollections of Baron de Frénilly*.—J. H. Rose, *Life of Napoleon I.*—J. H. Rose, *Revolutionary period and Napoleon*.—A. Sorel, *L'armée de la république*.—A. Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution*.

1795-1815.—Costume of the period. See COSTUME: 1795-1815.

1796.—Conspiracy of Babeuf. See SOCIALISM: 1753-1797.

1796 (April-October).—Triple attack on Austria.—Bonaparte's first campaign in Italy.—Submission of Sardinia.—Armistice with Naples and the Pope.—Pillage of art treasures.—Hostile designs upon Venice.—Expulsion of the Austrians from Lombardy.—Failure of the campaign beyond the Rhine.—"With the opening of the year 1796 the leading interest of European history passes to a new scene. . . . The Directory was now able . . . to throw its whole force into the struggle with Austria. By the advice of Bonaparte a threefold movement was undertaken against Vienna, by way of Lombardy, by the valley of the Danube, and by the valley of the Main. General Jourdan, in command of the army that had conquered the Netherlands, was ordered to enter Germany by Frankfort; Moreau, a Breton

law-student in 1792, now one of the most skilful soldiers in Europe, crossed the Rhine at Strasbourg; Bonaparte himself, drawing his scanty supplies along the coast-road from Nice, faced the allied forces of Austria and Sardinia upon the slopes of the Maritime Apennines, forty miles to the west of Genoa. . . . Bonaparte entered Italy proclaiming himself the restorer of Italian freedom, but with the deliberate purpose of using Italy as a means of recruiting the exhausted treasury of France. His correspondence with the Directory exposes with brazen frankness this well-considered system of plunder and deceit, in which the general and the Government were cordially at one. . . . The campaign of 1796 commenced in April, in the mountains above the coast-road connecting Nice and Genoa. . . . Bonaparte . . . for four days . . . reiterated his attacks at Montenotte and at Millesimo, until he had forced his own army into a position in the centre of the Allies [Austrians and Piedmontese]; then, leaving a small force to watch the Austrians, he threw the mass of his troops upon the Piedmontese, and drove them back to within thirty miles of Turin. The terror-stricken Government, anticipating an outbreak in the capital itself, accepted an armistice from Bonaparte at Cherasco (April 28). . . . The armistice, which was soon followed by a treaty of peace between France and Sardinia, ceding Savoy to the Republic, left him free to follow the Austrians, untroubled by the existence of some of the strongest fortresses of Europe behind him. In the negotiations with Sardinia, Bonaparte demanded the surrender of the town of Valenza, as necessary to secure his passage over the river Po. Having thus artfully led the Austrian Beaulieu to concentrate his forces at this point, he suddenly moved eastward along the southern bank of the river, and crossed at Piacenza, 50 miles below the spot where Beaulieu was awaiting him. . . . The Austrian general, taken in the rear, had no alternative but to abandon Milan and all the country west of it, and to fall back upon the line of the Adda. Bonaparte followed, and on the 10th of May attacked the Austrians at Lodi. He himself stormed the bridge of Lodi at the head of his Grenadiers. The battle was so disastrous to the Austrians that they could risk no second engagement, and retired upon Mantua and the line of the Mincio. Bonaparte now made his triumphal entry into Milan (May 15). . . . In return for the gift of liberty, the Milanese were invited to offer to their deliverers 20,000,000 francs, and a selection from the paintings in their churches and galleries. The Dukes of Parma and Modena, in return for an armistice, were required to hand over forty of their best pictures, and a sum of money proportioned to their revenues. The Dukes and the townspeople paid their contributions with a good grace: the peasantry of Lombardy, whose cattle were seized in order to supply an army that marched without any stores of its own, rose in arms, and threw themselves into Pavia, after killing all the French soldiers who fell in their way. The revolt was instantly suppressed, and the town of Pavia given up to pillage. . . . Instead of crossing the Apennines, Bonaparte advanced against the Austrian positions upon the Mincio. . . . A battle was fought and lost by the Austrians at Borghetto. . . . Beaulieu's strength was exhausted; he could meet the enemy no more in the field, and led his army out of Italy into the Tyrol, leaving Mantua to be invested by the French. The first care of the conqueror was to make Venice pay for the crime of possessing territory intervening between the eastern and western

extremes of the Austrian district. Bonaparte affected to believe that the Venetians had permitted Beaulieu to occupy Peschiera before he seized upon Brescia himself. . . . 'I have purposely devised this rupture,' he wrote to the Directory (June 7th), 'in case you should wish to obtain five or six millions of francs from Venice. If you have more decided intentions, I think it would be well to keep up the quarrel.' The intention referred to was the disgraceful project of sacrificing Venice to Austria in return for the cession of the Netherlands. . . . The Austrians were fairly driven out of Lombardy, and Bonaparte was now free to deal with Southern Italy. He advanced into the States of the Church, and expelled the Papal Legate from Bologna. Ferdinand of Naples . . . asked for a suspension of hostilities against his own kingdom . . . and Bonaparte granted the king an armistice on easy terms. The Pope, in order to gain a few months' truce, had to permit the occupation of Ferrara, Ravenna, and Ancona, and to recognise the necessities, the learning, the taste, and the virtue of his conquerors by a gift of 20,000,000 francs, 500 manuscripts, 100 pictures, and the busts of Marcus and Lucius Brutus. . . . Tuscany had indeed made peace with the French Republic a year before, but . . . while Bonaparte paid a respectful visit to the Grand Duke at Florence, Murat descended upon Leghorn, and seized upon everything that was not removed before his approach. Once established in Leghorn, the French declined to quit it. . . . Mantua was meanwhile invested, and thither Bonaparte returned. Towards the end of July an Austrian relieving army, nearly double the strength of Bonaparte's, descended from the Tyrol. It was divided into three corps: one, under Quasdanovich, advanced by the road on the west of Lake Garda; the others, under Wurmser, the commander-in-chief, by the roads between the lake and the river Adige. . . . Bonaparte . . . instantly broke up the siege of Mantua, and withdrew from every position east of the river. On the 30th July, Quasdanovich was attacked and checked at Lonato. . . . Wurmser, unaware of his colleague's repulse, entered Mantua in triumph, and then set out, expecting to envelop Bonaparte between two fires. But the French were ready for his approach. Wurmser was stopped and defeated at Castiglione (Aug. 3), while the western Austrian divisions were still held in check at Lonato. . . . In five days the skill of Bonaparte and the unsparing exertions of his soldiery had more than retrieved all that appeared to have been lost. The Austrians retired into the Tyrol, leaving 15,000 prisoners in the hands of the enemy. Bonaparte now prepared to force his way into Germany by the Adige, in fulfilment of the original plan of the campaign. In the first days of September he again routed the Austrians, and gained possession of Roveredo and Trent. Wurmser hereupon attempted to shut the French up in the mountains by a movement southwards; but, while he operated with insufficient forces between the Brenta and the Adige, with a view of cutting Bonaparte off from Italy, he was himself [defeated at Bassano, September 8, and] cut off from Germany, and only escaped capture by throwing himself into Mantua with the shattered remnant of his army. The road into Germany through the Tyrol now lay open; but in the midst of his victories Bonaparte learnt that the northern armies of Moreau and Jourdan, with which he had intended to co-operate in an attack upon Vienna, were in full retreat. Moreau's advance into the valley of the Danube had, during the months of July and August, been attended

with unbroken military and political success. The Archduke Charles, who was entrusted with the defence of the Empire," fell back before Moreau, in order to unite his forces with those of Wartensleben, who commanded an army which confronted Jourdan. "The design of the Archduke succeeded in the end, but it opened Germany to the French for six weeks, and revealed how worthless was the military constitution of the Empire, and how little the Germans had to expect from one another. . . . At length the retreating movement of the Austrians stopped [and the archduke fought an indecisive battle with Moreau at Neresheim, August 11]. Leaving 30,000 men on the Lech to disguise his motions from Moreau, Charles turned suddenly northwards from Neuberg on the 17th August, met Wartensleben at Amberg, and attacked Jourdan . . . with greatly superior numbers. Jourdan was defeated [September 3, at Würzburg] and driven back in confusion towards the Rhine. The issue of the campaign was decided before Moreau heard of his colleague's danger. It only remained for him to save his own army by a skilful retreat," in the course of which he defeated the Austrian general Latour at Biberach, October 2, and fought two indecisive battles with the archduke, at Emmendingen, October 10th, and at Hunningen on the 24th.—C. A. Fyffe, *History of modern Europe*, v. 1, ch. 3.

ALSO IN: J. H. Rose, *Life of Napoleon I*, ch. 5.—A. Griffiths, *French revolutionary generals*, ch. 14-15.—General Jomini, *Life of Napoleon*, v. 1, ch. 2.—E. Baines, *History of the wars of the French Revolution*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 22.—C. Adams, *Great campaigns, 1796-1870*, ch. 1.

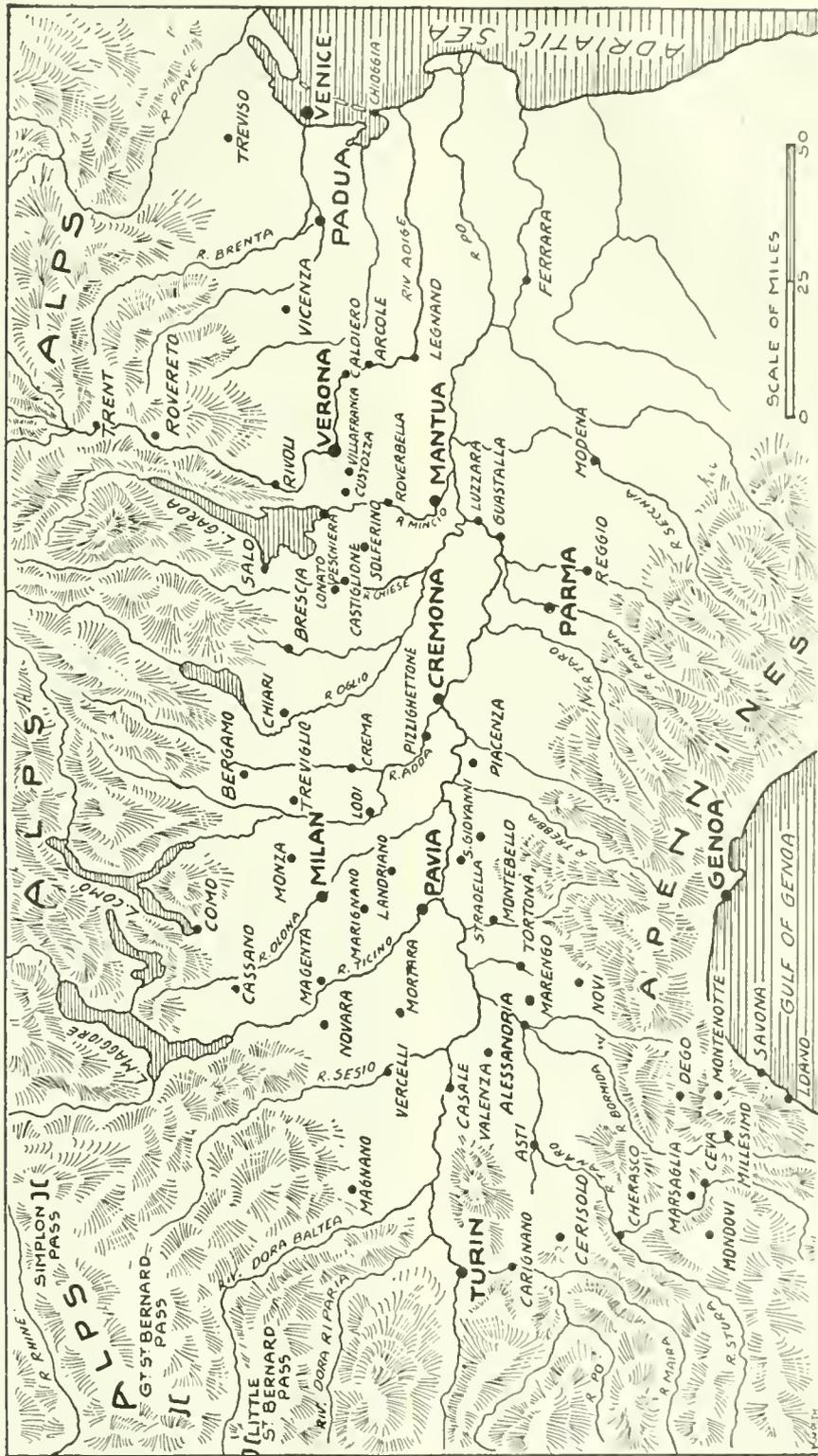
1796 (September).—Evacuation of Corsica by the English.—Reoccupation by the French.—"Corsica, which had been delivered to the English by Paoli, and occupied by them as a fourth kingdom annexed to the crown of the King of Great Britain, had just been evacuated by its new masters. They had never succeeded in subduing the interior of the island, frequent insurrections had kept them in continual alarm, and free communication between the various towns could only be effected by sea. The victories of the French army in Italy, under the command of one of their countrymen, had redoubled this internal ferment in Corsica, and the English had decided on entirely abandoning their conquest. In September 1796 they withdrew their troops, and also removed from Corsica their chief partisans, such as General Paoli, Pozzo di Borgo, Beraldi and others, who sought an asylum in England. On the first intelligence of the English preparations for evacuating the island, Buonaparte despatched General Gentili thither at the head of two or three hundred banished Corsicans, and with this little band Gentili took possession of the principal strongholds. . . . On the 5th Frimaire, year V. (November 25, 1796), I received a decree of the Executive Directory . . . appointing me Commissioner-Extraordinary of the Government in Corsica, and ordering me to proceed thither at once."—M. de Melito, *Memoirs*, ch. 4.

1796 (October).—Failure of peace negotiations with England.—Treaties with Naples and Genoa.—"It was France itself, more even than Italy, which was succumbing under the victories in Italy, and was falling rapidly under the military despotism of Bonaparte; while what had begun as a mere war of defence was already becoming a war of aggression against everybody. . . . The more patriotic members of the legislative bodies were opposed to what they considered only

a war of personal ambitions, and were desirous of peace, and a considerable peace party was forming throughout the country. The opportunity was taken by the English government for making proposals for peace, and a passport was obtained from the directory for lord Malmesbury, who was sent to Paris as the English plenipotentiary. Lord Malmesbury arrived in Paris on the 2nd of Brumaire (the 23rd of October, 1796), and next day had his first interview with the French minister Delacroix, who was chosen by the directory to act as their representative. There was from the first an evident want of cordiality and sincerity on the part of the French government in this negotiation; and the demands they made, and the political views entertained by them, were so unreasonable, that, after it had dragged on slowly for about a month, it ended without a result. The directory were secretly making great preparations for the invasion of Ireland, and they had hopes of making a separate and very advantageous peace with Austria. Bonaparte had, during this time, become uneasy on account of his position in Italy," and "urged the directory to enter into negotiations with the different Italian states in his rear, such as Naples, Rome, and Genoa, and to form an offensive and defensive alliance with the king of Sardinia, so that he might be able to raise reinforcements in Italy. For this purpose he asked for authority to proclaim the independence of Lombardy and of the states of Modena; so that, by forming both into republics, he might create a powerful French party, through which he might obtain both men and provisions. The directory was not unwilling to second the wishes of Bonaparte, and on the 19th of Vendémiaire (the 10th of October) a peace was signed with Naples, which was followed by a treaty with Genoa. This latter state paid two millions of francs as an indemnity for the acts of hostility formerly committed against France, and added two millions more as a loan." The negotiation for an offensive alliance with Sardinia failed, because the king demanded Lombardy.—T. Wright, *History of France*, v. 2, p. 758.

ALSO IN: W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the eighteenth century*, v. 7, ch. 27.—E. Burke, *Letters on a regicide peace*.

1796-1797 (October-April).—Bonaparte's continued victories in Italy.—His advance into Carinthia and the Tyrol.—Peace preliminaries of Leoben.—"Wurmser's second failure did not break down Austrian resolve. A new army was collected and placed under the command of Alvinczy. Towards the end of October the position was as follows: Alvinczy with thirty thousand men was on the Piave threatening an advance on Vicenza; Davidowich with twenty thousand more was at Roveredo; the main French army was at Verona and numbered about thirty thousand. Bonaparte now decided to reverse the operation he had carried out against Wurmser, to defeat Alvinczy on the Piave, then strike back through the valley of the Brenta at the flank and rear of Davidowich; but this time his plan failed. After some desultory fighting Alvinczy crossed the Piave and forced Bonaparte to retreat to Verona. On the 12th of November the two armies met a few miles east of Verona, at Caldiero, and the French were severely defeated. Bonaparte's position was now highly critical, for Davidowich had descended the Adige and was only held in check by a division occupying the strong position of Rivoli. Only a few miles separated the two Austrian armies, and it appeared as though their junction could not be prevented. But now that the loss of



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an hour, or a single prompt decision, might mean all the difference between success and failure, the acute perception and superb audacity of Bonaparte made him more than a match for the slow and cautious generals opposed to him. On the night of the 14th the French army crossed the Adige at Verona and turned eastward; at Ronco the river was recrossed, and thence Bonaparte marched northwards to debouch on the flank and rear of Alvinczy. The success of the whole operation turned on the occupation of the bridge and village of Arcola, which the Austrians defended with great courage during the whole of the 15th and 16th. Bonaparte tried to repeat at this point the charge over the bridge of Lodi, but saw nearly all his personal staff killed and wounded, and was himself swept by an Austrian counterstroke into a swamp where he nearly perished. The fighting at Arcola was of a desperate character, but finally, on the 17th, the French were successful in forcing a passage, and Alvinczy, finding the enemy in force on his line of communications, decided to retreat. The last Austrian attempt to relieve Mantua was made two months later (January 1797) and under the same commander. Alvinczy now concentrated his main force, about thirty thousand men, at Roveredo and marched down the valley towards Verona; at the same time two smaller columns threatened the lower Adige from Vicenza and Padua. Bonaparte met Alvinczy at Rivoli (January 14) and by superior strategy inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrians, who in two days lost thirteen thousand men. Thence he marched rapidly back to the lower Adige just in time to prevent the entry of Provera with nine thousand men into Mantua and to force him to capitulate. These utterly disastrous operations of the relieving army sealed the fate of the fortress, and two weeks later Wurmser surrendered with some twenty thousand men (February 2, 1797).”—R. M. Johnston, *Napoleon, a short biography*, pp. 39, 41.—Napoleon next occupied Bologna and terrified the pope into signing the Treaty of Tolentino. “The temporal power was allowed to exist, but within very curtailed limits. Not only Avignon, but the whole of Romagna, with Ancona, was surrendered to France. Even these terms, harsh as they were, were not so severe as the Directors had wished. But Bonaparte was beginning to play his own game; he saw that Catholicism was regaining ground in France, and he wished to make friends on what might prove after all the winning side.”—R. Lodge, *History of modern Europe*, ch. 23.—“The third and last phase [of Bonaparte’s campaign] was to be offensive once more. [The French influence in Italy having been secured by the creation of the two republics, Cisalpine and Cispadane, he was now free to turn his attention to the Austrian invasion.] The new Austrian army had been formed numbering about fifty thousand men, and had been placed under the command of the young Archduke Charles, who had just begun his brilliant military career. Bonaparte was slightly stronger in numbers, and manœuvring with wonderful strategic skill first through the Upper Venetian provinces, then through the Julian Alps, he constantly out-generaled his opponent, won a number of small engagements, and forced him steadily backwards. So relentlessly did he urge on his columns that on the 7th of April he had reached the little town of Leoben on the northern slope of the Alps, less than one hundred miles from Vienna. Then at last Austria acknowledged defeat; an armistice between the two armies was agreed to, and the basis for negotiating a peace.”—R. M. Johnston, *Napoleon, a short biog-*

raphy, pp. 41-42.—“Here Austrian envoys arrived to open negotiations. They consented to surrender Belgium, Lombardy, and the Rhine frontier, but they demanded compensation in Bavaria. This demand Bonaparte refused, but offered to compensate Austria at the expense of a neutral state, Venice. The preliminaries of Leoben, signed on the 18th April, gave to Austria, Istria, Dalmatia, and the Venetian provinces between the Oglio, the Po, and the Adriatic. At this moment, Hoche and Moreau, after overcoming the obstacles interposed by a sluggish government, were crossing the Rhine to bring their armies to bear against Austria. They had already gained several successes when the unwelcome news reached them from Leoben, and they had to retreat. Bonaparte may have failed to extort the most extreme terms from Austria, but he had at any rate kept both power and fame to himself.”—R. Lodge, *History of modern Europe*, ch. 23.

ALSO IN: F. Lanfrey, *History of Napoleon I*, v. 1.—*Memoirs of Napoleon dictated at St. Helena*, v. 4.—J. H. Rose, *Bonaparte and the conquest of Italy* (*Cambridge modern history*, v. 8).

1796-1797 (December-January).—Hoche’s expedition to Ireland. See IRELAND: 1793-1798.

1797.—Extent of eastern boundary. See EUROPE: Map of central Europe (1797).

1797 (February-October).—British naval victories of Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown. See ENGLAND: 1797.

1797 (April-May).—Overthrow of Venice by Bonaparte.—When Napoleon, in March, entered upon his campaign against the Archduke Charles, “the animosity existing between France and Venice had . . . attained a height that threatened an open rupture between the two republics, and was, therefore, of some advantage to Austria. The Signoria saw plainly what its fate would be should the French prove victorious; but though they had 12,000 or 15,000 Slavonian troops ready at hand, and mostly assembled in the capital, they never ventured to use them till the moment for acting was past. On the Terra Firma, the citizens of Brescia and Bergamo had openly renounced the authority of St. Mark, and espoused the cause of France; the country people, on the other hand, were bitterly hostile to the new Republicans. Oppressed by requisitions, plundered and insulted by the troops, the peasants had slain straggling and marauding French soldiers; the comrades of the sufferers had retaliated, and an open revolt was more than once expected. General Battaglia, the Venetian providore, remonstrated against the open violence practised on the subjects of Venice; Buonaparte replied by accusing the government of partiality for Austria, and went so far as to employ General Andrieux to instigate the people to rise against the senate. The Directory, however, desired him to pause, and not to ‘drive the Venetians to extremity, till the opportunity should have arrived for carrying into effect the future projects entertained against that state.’ Both parties were watching their time, but the craven watches in vain, for he is struck down long before his time to strike arrives.” A month later, when Napoleon was believed to be involved in difficulties in Carinthia and the Tyrol, Venice “had thrown off the mask of neutrality; the tocsin had sounded through the communes of the Terra Firma, and a body of troops had joined the insurgents in the attack on the citadel of Verona. Not only were the French assailed wherever they were found in arms, but the very sick were inhumanly slain in the hospitals by the infuriated peasantry; the principal massacre took place at Verona on Easter-

Monday [April 17], and cast a deep stain on the Venetian cause and character." But even while these sinister events were in progress, Bonaparte had made peace with the humiliated Austrians, and had signed the preliminary treaty of Leoben, which promised to give Venice to them in exchange for the Netherlands. And now, with all his forces set free, he was prepared to crush the venerable Republic, and make it subservient to his ambitious schemes. He "refused to hear of any accommodation; and, unfortunately, the base massacre of Verona blackened the Venetian cause so much as almost to gloss over the unprincipled violence of their adversaries. 'If you could offer me the treasures of Peru,' said Napoleon to the terrified deputies who came to sue for pardon and offer reparation, 'if you could cover your whole dominions with gold, the atonement would be insufficient. French blood has been treacherously shed, and the Lion of St. Mark must bite the dust.' On the 3d of May he declared war against the republic, and French troops immediately advanced to the shores of the lagunes. Here, however, the waves of the Adriatic arrested their progress, for they had not a single boat at command, whereas the Venetians had a good fleet in the harbour, and an army of 10,000 or 15,000 soldiers in the capital: they only wanted the courage to use them. Instead of fighting, however, they deliberated; and tried to purchase safety by gold, instead of maintaining it by arms. Finding the enemy relentless, the Great Council proposed to modify their government,—to render it more democratic, in order to please the French commander,—to lay their very institutions at the feet of the conqueror; and, strange to say, only 21 patricians out of 690 dissented from this act of national degradation. The democratic party, supported by the intrigues of Vittelan, the French secretary of legation, exerted themselves to the utmost. The Slavonian troops were disbanded, or embarked for Dalmatia; the fleet was dismantled, and the Senate were rapidly divesting themselves of every privilege, when, on the 31st of May, a popular tumult broke out in the capital. The Great Council were in deliberation when shots were fired beneath the windows of the ducal palace. The trembling senators thought that the rising was directed against them, and that their lives were in danger, and hastened to divest themselves of every remnant of power and authority at the very moment when the populace were taking arms in their favour. 'Long live St. Mark, and down with foreign dominion!' was the cry of the insurgents, but nothing could communicate one spark of gallant fire to the Venetian aristocracy. In the midst of the general confusion, while the adverse parties were firing on each other, and the disbanded Slavonians threatening to plunder the city, these unhappy legislators could only delegate their power to a hastily assembled provisional government, and then separate in shame and for ever. The democratic government commenced their career in a manner as dishonourable as that of the aristocracy had been closed." They "immediately despatched the flotilla to bring over the French troops. A brigade under Baraguai d'Hilliers soon landed [May 15] at the place of St. Mark; and Venice, which had braved the thunders of the Vatican, the power of the emperors, and the arms of the Othmans, . . . now sunk for ever, and without striking one manly blow or firing one single shot for honour and fame! Venice counted 1300 years of independence, centuries of power and renown, and many also of greatness and glory, but ended in a manner more dishonourable than any state of which history makes mention. The

French went through the form of acknowledging the new democratic government, but retained the power in their own hands. Heavy contributions were levied, all the naval and military stores were taken possession of, and the fleet, having conveyed French troops to the Ionian islands, was sent to Toulon."—T. Mitchell, *Principal campaigns in the rise of Napoleon*, ch. 6 (*Fraser's Magazine*, Apr., 1846).

ALSO IN: E. Flagg, *Venice: City of the sea*, v. 1, pt. 1, ch. 1-4.—*Memoirs of Napoleon dictated at St. Helena*, v. 4, ch. 5.—J. H. Rose, *Bonaparte and the conquest of Italy* (*Cambridge modern history*, v. 8).

1797 (May-October).—Napoleon's political work in Italy.—Creation of the Ligurian and Cisalpine republics.—Dismemberment of the Graubunden.—Peace of Campo-Formio.—Venice given over to Austria, and Lombardy and the Netherlands taken away.—"The revolution in Venice was soon followed by another in Genoa, also organised by the plots of the French minister there, Faypoult. The Genoese had in general shown themselves favourable to France; but there existed among the nobles an anti-French party; the Senate, like that of Venice, was too aristocratic to suit Bonaparte's or the Directory's notions; and it was considered that Genoa, under a democratic constitution, would be more subservient to French interests. An insurrection, prepared by Faypoult, of some 700 or 800 of the lowest class of Genoese, aided by Frenchmen and Lombards, broke out on May 22nd, but was put down by the great mass of the real Genoese people. Bonaparte, however, was determined to effect his object. He directed a force of 12,000 men on Genoa, and despatched Lavalette with a letter to the Doge. . . . Bonaparte's threats were attended by the same magical effects at Genoa as had followed them at Venice. The Senate immediately despatched three nobles to treat with him, and on June 6th was concluded the Treaty of Montebello. The Government of Genoa recognised by this treaty the sovereignty of the people, confided the legislative power to two Councils, one of 300, the other of 500 members, the executive power to a Senate of twelve, presided over by the Doge. Meanwhile a provisional government was to be established. By a secret article a contribution of four millions, disguised under the name of a loan, was imposed upon Genoa. Her obedience was recompensed with a considerable augmentation of territory, and the incorporation of the districts known as the 'imperial fiefs.' Such was the origin of the Ligurian Republic. Austrian Lombardy, after its conquest, had also been formed into the 'Lombard Republic'; but the Directory had not recognised it, awaiting a final settlement of Italy through a peace with Austria. Bonaparte, after taking possession of the Duchy of Modena and the Legations, had, at first, thought of erecting them into an independent state under the name of the 'Cispadane Republic'; but he afterwards changed his mind and united these states with Lombardy under the title of the Cisalpine Republic. He declared, in the name of the Directory, the independence of this new republic, June 20th 1797; reserving, however, the right of nominating, for the first time, the members of the Government and of the legislative body. The districts of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, subject to the Grison League [Graubunden], in which discontent and disturbance had been excited by French agents, were united in October to the new state; whose constitution was modelled on that of the French Republic. Bonaparte was commissioned by the Directory to negotiate a

definitive peace with Austria, and conferences were opened for that purpose at Montebello, Bonaparte's residence near Milan. The negotiations were chiefly managed by himself, and on the part of Austria by the Marquis di Gallo, the Neapolitan ambassador at Vienna, and Count Meerfeld. . . . The negotiations were protracted six months, partly through Bonaparte's engagements in arranging the affairs of the new Italian republics, but more especially by divisions and feuds in the French Directory." The Peace of Campo Formio was concluded October 17. "It derived this name from its having been signed in a ruined castle situated in a small village of that name near Udine; a place selected on grounds of etiquette in preference to the residence of either of the negotiators. By this treaty the Emperor ceded the Austrian Netherlands to France; abandoned to the Cisalpine Republic, which he recognised, Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Peschiera, the town and fortress of Mantua with their territories, and all that part of the former Venetian possessions to the south and west of a line which, commencing in the Tyrol, traversed the Lago di Garda, the left bank of the Adige, but including Porto Legnago on the right bank, and thence along the left bank of the Po to its mouth. France was to possess the Ionian Islands [see IONIAN ISLANDS] and all the Venetian settlements in Albania below the Gulf of Lodrino; the French Republic agreeing on its side that the Emperor should have Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian isles in the Adriatic, the mouths of the Cattaro, the city of Venice, the Lagoons, and all the former Venetian terra firma to the line before described. The Emperor ceded the Breisgau to the Duke of Modena, to be held on the same conditions as he had held the Modenese. A congress composed of the plenipotentiaries of the German Federation was to assemble immediately, to treat of a peace between France and the Empire. To this patent treaty was added another secret one, by the principal article of which the Emperor consented that France should have the frontier of the Rhine, except the Prussian possessions, and stipulated that the Imperial troops should enter Venice on the same day that the French entered Mentz. He also promised to use his influence to obtain the accession of the Empire to this arrangement; and if that body withheld its consent, to give it no more assistance than his contingent. The navigation of the Rhine to be declared free. If, at the peace with the Empire, the French Republic should make any acquisitions in Germany, the Emperor was to obtain an equivalent there, and vice versâ. The Dutch Stadtholder to have a territorial indemnity. To the King of Prussia were to be restored his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, and he was consequently to have no new acquisitions in Germany. Princes and States of the Empire, damaged by this treaty, to obtain a suitable indemnity. . . . By the Treaty of Campo Formio was terminated not only the Italian campaign, but also the first continental war of the Revolution. The establishment of Bonaparte's prestige and power by the former was a result still more momentous in its consequences for Europe than the fall of Venice and the revolutionising of Northern Italy."—T. H. Dyer, *History of modern Europe*, v. 4, bk. 7, ch. 8.—See also AUSTRIA: 1790-1797.

ALSO IN: A. Sorel, *L'Europe et la révolution française*.—A. Thiers, *History of the French Revolution* (American edition), v. 4, pp. 214-225.—W. Scott, *Life of Napoleon Buonaparte*, ch. 28.—*Memoirs of Napoleon dictated at St. Helena*, ch. 6-8.

1797 (September).—Conflict of the Directory and the two Councils.—Revolutionary coup d'état of the 18th of Fructidor.—Suppression of the Royalists and Moderates.—Practical overthrow of the constitution.—"The inevitable dissension between the executive power and the electoral power had already displayed itself at the conclusion of the elections of the Year V. The elections were made for the most part under the influence of the reactionary party, which, whilst it refrained from conspiring for the overthrow of the new Constitution, saw with terror that the executive power was in the hands of men who had taken part in the excesses and crimes of the Convention. Pichegru, whose intrigues with the princes of the House of Bourbon were not yet known, was enthusiastically made President of the Council of Five Hundred, and Barbé-Marbois was made President of the Ancients. Le Tourneur having become, by lot, the retiring member of the Directory, Barthélemy, an upright and moderate man, was chosen in his place. He, as well as his colleague, Carnot, were opposed to violent measures; but they only formed in the Directorate a minority which was powerless against the Triumvirs Barras, Rewbel, and La Réveillère, who soon entered upon a struggle with the two Councils. . . . There were, doubtless, amongst [their opponents] in the two Councils, some Royalists, and ardent reactionists, who desired with all their hearts the restoration of the Bourbons; but, according to the very best testimony, the majority of the names which were drawn from the electoral urn since the promulgation of the Constitution of the Year III. were strangers to the Royalist party. 'They did not desire,' to use the words of an eminent and impartial historian of our own day [De Barante, 'Life of Royer-Collard'], 'a counter-revolution, but the abolition of the revolutionary laws which were still in force. They wished for peace and true liberty, and the successive purification of a Directorate which was the direct heir of the Convention. . . . But the Directorate was as much opposed to the Moderates as to the Royalists.' It pretended to regard these two parties as one, and falsely represented them as conspiring in common for the overthrow of the Republic and the re-establishment of monarchy. . . . If there were few Royalists in the two Councils, there were also few men determined to provoke on the part of the Directors a recourse to violence against their colleagues. But as a great number of their members had sat in the Convention, they naturally feared a too complete reaction, and, affecting a great zeal for the Constitution, they founded at the Hotel Salm, under the name of the Constitutional Club, an association which was widely opposed in its spirit and tendency to that of the Hotel Clichy, in which were assembled the most ardent members of the reactionary party [and hence called Clichyans]. . . . The Council of Five Hundred, on the motion of a member of the Clichy Club, energetically demanded that the Legislative power should have a share in determining questions of peace or war. No general had exercised, in this respect, a more arbitrary power than had Bonaparte, who had negotiated of his own mere authority several treaties, and the preliminaries of the peace of Campo Formio. He was offended at these pretensions on the part of the Council of Five Hundred, and entreated the Government to look to the army for support against the Councils and the reactionary press. He even sent to Paris, as a support to the policy of the Directors, General Augereau, one of the bravest men of his army, but by no means scrupulous as to the employment of violent means, and disposed

to regard the sword as the supreme argument in politics, whether at home or abroad. The Directory gave him the command of the military division of Paris. . . . Henceforth a coup d'état appeared inevitable. The Directors now marched some regiments upon the capital, in defiance of a clause of the Constitution which prohibited the presence of troops within a distance of twelve leagues of Paris, unless in accordance with a special law passed in or near Paris itself. The Councils burst forth into reproaches and threats against the Directors, to which the latter replied by fiery addresses to the armies, and to the Councils themselves. It was in vain that the Directors Carnot and Barthélemy endeavoured to quell the rising storm; their three colleagues refused to listen to them, and fixed the 18th Fructidor [September 4] for the execution of their criminal projects. During the night preceding that day, Augereau marched 12,000 men into Paris, and in the morning these troops, under his own command, supported by 40 pieces of cannon, surrounded the Tuileries, in which the Councils held their sittings. The grenadiers of the Councils' guard joined Augereau, who arrested with his own hand the brave Ramel, who commanded that guard, and General Pichegru, the President of the Council of Five Hundred. . . . The Directors . . . published a letter written by Moreau, which revealed Pichegru's treason; and at the same time nominated a Committee for the purpose of watching over the public safety. . . . Forty-two members of the Council of Five Hundred, eleven members of that of the Ancients, and two of the Directors, Carnot [who escaped, however, into Switzerland] and Barthélemy, were condemned to be transported to the fatal district of Sinnamari. . . . The Directors also made the editors of 35 journals the victims of their resentment. They had the laws passed in favour of the priests and emigrants reversed, and annulled the elections of 48 departments. Merlin de Douai and François de Neufchâteau were chosen as successors to Carnot and Barthélemy, who had been banished and proscribed by their colleagues. That which took place on the 18th Fructidor ruined the Constitutional and Moderate party, whilst it resuscitated that of the Revolution."—E. de Bonnechose, *History of France, 4th period, v. 2, bk. 2, ch. 4.*—"During these two days, Paris continued perfectly quiet. The patriots of the faubourgs deemed the punishment of transportation too mild. . . . These groups, however, which were far from numerous, disturbed not in the least the peace of Paris. The sectionaries of Vendémiaire . . . had no longer sufficient energy to take up arms spontaneously. They suffered the stroke of policy to be carried into effect without opposition. For the rest, public opinion continued uncertain. The sincere republicans clearly perceived that the royalist faction had rendered an energetic measure inevitable, but they deplored the violation of the laws and the intervention of the military power. They almost doubted the culpability of the conspirators on seeing such a man as Carnot mingled in their ranks. They apprehended that hatred had too strongly influenced the determinations of the Directory. Lastly, even, though considering its determinations as necessary, they were sad, and not without reason; for it became evident that that constitution, on which they had placed all their hope, was not the termination of our troubles and our discord. The mass of the population submitted and detached itself much on that day from political events. . . . From that day, political zeal began to cool. Such were the consequences of the stroke of policy accomplished on the 18th of Fructidor. It

has been asserted that it had become useless at the moment when it was executed; that the Directory, in frightening the royalist faction, had already succeeded in overawing it; that, by persisting in this stretch of power, it paved the way to military usurpation. . . . But . . . the royalist faction . . . on the junction of the new third . . . would infallibly have overturned everything, and mastered the Directory. Civil war would then have ensued between it and the armies. The Directory, in foreseeing this movement and timely repressing it, prevented a civil war; and, if it placed itself under the protection of the military, it submitted to a melancholy but inevitable necessity."—A. Thiers, *History of the French Revolution* (American edition), v. 4, pp. 205-206.

1797-1798 (December-May).—Revolutionary intrigues in Rome.—French troops in possession of the city.—Formation of the Roman republic.—Removal of the pope.—"At Rome a permanent conspiracy was established at the French Embassy, where Joseph Bonaparte, as the ambassador of the Republic, was the centre of a knot of conspirators. On the 28th of December, 1797, came the first open attempt at insurrection. General Duphot, a hot-headed young man, one of the military attachés of the French Embassy, put himself at the head of a handful of the disaffected, and led them to the attack of one of the posts of the pontifical troops. In the ensuing skirmish a chance shot struck down the French general, and the rabble which followed him dispersed in all directions. It was just the opportunity for which the Directory had been waiting in order to break the treaty of Tolentino and seize upon Rome. Joseph Bonaparte left the city the morning after the émeute, and a column of troops was immediately detached from his brother's army in the north of Italy and ordered to march on Rome. It consisted of General Berthier's division and 6,000 Poles under Dombrowski, and it received the ominous title of *l'armée vengeresse*—the avenging army. As they advanced through the Papal territory they met with no sympathy, no assistance, from the inhabitants, who looked upon them as invaders rather than deliverers. 'The army,' Berthier wrote to Bonaparte, 'has met with nothing but the most profound consternation in this country, without seeing one glimpse of the spirit of independence; only one single patriot came to me, and offered to set at liberty 2,000 convicts.' This liberal offer of a re-inforcement of 2,000 scoundrels the French general thought it better to decline. . . . At length, on the 10th of February, Berthier appeared before Rome. . . . Wishing to avoid a useless effusion of blood, Pius VI. ordered the gates to be thrown open, contenting himself with addressing, through the commandant of St. Angelo, a protest to the French general, in which he declared that he yielded only to overwhelming force. A few days after, a self-elected deputation of Romans waited upon Berthier, to request him to proclaim Rome a republic, under the protection of France. As Berthier had been one of the most active agents in getting up this deputation, he, of course, immediately yielded to their request. The French general then demanded of the Pope that he should formally resign his temporal power, and accept the new order of things. His reply was the same as that of every Pope of whom such a demand has been made: 'We cannot—we will not!' In the midst of a violent thunder-storm he was torn from his palace, forced into a carriage, and carried away to Viterbo, and thence to Siena, where he was kept a prisoner for three months. Rome was ruled by the iron hand of a military governor. . . . Mean-

while, alarmed at the rising in Italy, the Directory were conveying the Pope to a French prison. . . . After a short stay at Grenoble he was transferred to the fortress of Valence, where, broken down by the fatigues of his journey, he died on August 10th, 1799, praying for his enemies with his last breath."—Chevalier O'Clery, *History of the Italian revolution*, ch. 2, sect. 1.

ALSO IN: C. A. Fyffe, *History of modern Europe*, v. 1, ch. 4.—J. Miley, *History of the papal states*, v. 3, bk. 8, ch. 3.—J. E. Darras, *History of the Catholic church, 8th period*, v. 4, ch. 6.—T. Roscoe, *Memoirs of Scipio de Ricci*, v. 2, ch. 4.

1797-1798 (December-September).—Invasion and subjugation of Switzerland.—Creation of the Helvetic republic. See SWITZERLAND: 1792-1798.

1797-1799.—Hostile attitude toward the United States.—X, Y, Z correspondence.—Nearness of war.—Seizure of fifteen French vessels by Revenue-Cutter Service. See U. S. A.: 1797-1799; REVENUE-CUTTER SERVICE, UNITED STATES.

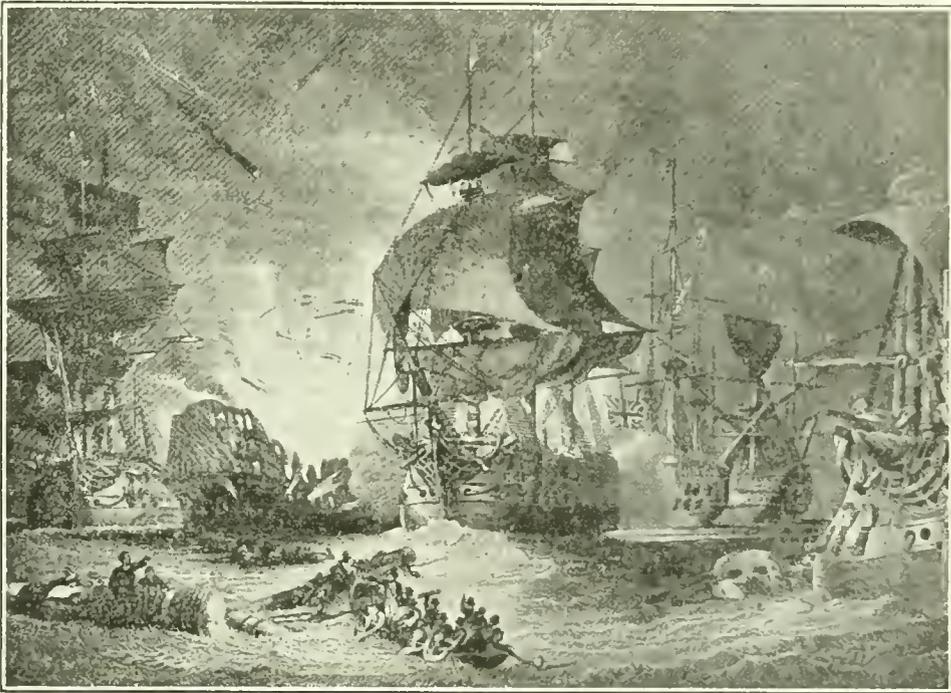
1798 (May-August).—Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt.—Seizure of Malta.—Pursuit by the English fleet under Nelson.—Battle of the Nile.—The treaty of Campo Formio, by which Austria obtained terms highly advantageous to her interests, dissolved the offensive and defensive alliance of the continental powers, and left England alone in arms. The humiliation of this country was to be the last and the greatest achievement of French ambition. . . . During the autumn and winter of this year [1797-8], preparations for a great armament were proceeding at Toulon, and other harbours in possession of the French. The army of Italy, clamorous for a promised donation of 1,000,000,000 francs, which the Directory were unable to pay, had been flattered by the title of the army of England, and appeased by the prospect of the plunder of this country. But whatever might be the view of the Directory, or the expectation of the army, Bonaparte had no intention of undertaking an enterprise so rash as a descent upon the coast of England, while the fleets of England kept possession of the seas. There was another quarter from which the British Empire might be menaced with a better chance of success. India could never be secure while Egypt and the great eastern port of the Mediterranean were in the possession of one of the great maritime powers. Egypt had been an object of French ambition since the time of Louis XIV. . . . It was for Egypt, therefore, that the great armament of Toulon was destined. The project was not indeed considered a very hopeful one at Paris; but such was the dread and hatred of the ruling faction for the great military genius which had sprung out of the anarchy of France, and of the 30,000 creditors whom they were unable to satisfy, that the issue of the expedition which they most desired was, that it might never return from the banks of the Nile. . . . The fleet, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, with several frigates, smaller vessels, and transports conveying 28,000 picked troops, with the full equipment for every kind of military service, set sail on the 14th of May. Attached to this singular expedition, destined for the invasion of a friendly country, and the destruction of an unoffending people, was a staff of professors, furnished with books, maps, and philosophical instruments for prosecuting scientific researches in a land which, to a Christian and a philosopher, was the most interesting portion of the globe. The great armament commenced its career of rapine by seizing on the important island of Malta. [See also HOSPITALERS OF ST. JOHN

OF JERUSALEM: 1565-1878.] Under the shallow pretence of taking in water for a squadron which had left its anchorage only two days, a portion of the troops were landed, and, after a show of resistance, the degenerate knights, who had already been corrupted, surrendered Malta, Gozo, and Cumino to the French Republic. A great amount of treasure and of munitions of war, besides the possession of the strongest place in the Mediterranean, were thus acquired without loss or delay. A conquest of such importance would have amply repaid and justified the expedition, if no ulterior object had been pursued. But Bonaparte suffered himself to be detained no more than twenty-four hours by this achievement; and having left a garrison of 4,000 men in the island, and established a form of civil government, after the French pattern, he shaped his course direct for Alexandria. On the 1st of July, the first division of the French troops were landed at Marabou, a few miles from the city. Aboukir and Rosetta, which commanded the mouths of the Nile, were occupied without difficulty. Alexandria itself was incapable of any effectual defence, and, after a few skirmishes with the handful of Janissaries which constituted the garrison, the French entered the place; and for several hours the inhabitants were given up to an indiscriminate massacre. Bonaparte pushed forward with his usual rapidity, undeterred by the horrors of the sandy desert, and the sufferings of his troops. After two victories over the Mamelukes, one of which was obtained within sight of the Pyramids [and called the Battle of the Pyramids], the French advanced to Cairo; and such was the terror which they had inspired, that the capital of Egypt was surrendered without a blow. Thus in three weeks the country had been overrun. The invaders had nothing to fear from the hostility of the people; a rich and fertile country, the frontier of Asia, was in their possession; but, in order to hold the possession secure, it was necessary to retain the command of the sea. The English Government, on their side, considered the capture of the Toulon armament an object of paramount importance; and Earl St. Vincent, who was still blockading the Spanish ports, was ordered to leave Cadiz, if necessary, with his whole fleet, in search of the French; but at all events, to detach a squadron, under Sir Horatio Nelson, on that service. . . . Nelson left Gibraltar on the 8th of May, with three ships of the line, four frigates, and a sloop. . . . He was reinforced, on the 5th of June, with ten sail of the line. His frigates had parted company with him on the 20th of May, and never returned." Suspecting that Egypt was Bonaparte's destination, he made sail for Alexandria, but passed the French expedition, at night, on the way, arrived in advance of it, and, thinking his surmise mistaken, steered away for the Morea and thence to Naples. It was not until the 1st of August that he reached the Egyptian coast a second time, and found the French fleet, of sixteen sail, "at anchor in line of battle, in the Bay of Aboukir. Nelson, having determined to fight whenever he came up with the enemy, whether by day or by night, immediately made the signal for action. Although the French fleet lay in an open roadstead, they had taken up a position so strong as to justify their belief that they could not be successfully attacked by a force less than double their own. They lay close in shore, with a large shoal in their rear; in the advance of their line was an island, on which a formidable battery had been erected; and their flanks were covered by numerous gun-boats. . . . The general action commenced at sunset, and continued throughout the

night until six o'clock the following morning, a period of nearly twelve hours. But in less than two hours, five of the enemy's ships had struck; and, soon after nine o'clock, the sea and shore, for miles around, were illuminated by a fire which burst from the decks of the 'Orient,' the French flag-ship, of 120 guns. In about half an hour she blew up, with an explosion so appalling that for some minutes the action was suspended, as if by tacit consent. At this time the French Admiral Brueys was dead, . . . killed by a chain-shot before the ship took fire. Nelson also had been carried below, with a wound which was, at first, supposed to be mortal. He had been struck in the head with a fragment of langridge shot, which tore away a part of the scalp. . . . At three o'clock in the morning four more of the French ships were

upon the French Revolution and empire, v. 1, ch. 9.

1798-1799 (August-April).—Arming against the second European coalition.—Conscription.—Overthrow of the Neapolitan kingdom.—Seizure of Piedmont.—Campaigns in Switzerland, Italy, and on the upper Danube.—Early successes and final reverses.—The Porte declared war against the French, and entered into an alliance with Russia and England (12th August). A Russian fleet sailed from Sebastopol, and blockaded the Ionian Islands; the English vessels found every Turkish port open to them, and gained possession of the Levant trade, to the detriment of France. Thus the failure of the Egyptian expedition delivered the Ottoman Empire into the hands of two Powers, the one intent upon its dismem-



BATTLE OF THE NILE, NIGHT OF AUGUST 1, 1798

(Naval battle of Aboukir)

(After painting by George Arnald, A.R.A.)

destroyed or taken. There was then an interval of two hours, during which hardly a shot was fired on either side. At ten minutes to seven another ship of the line, after a feeble attempt at resistance, hauled down her colours. The action was now over. Of the thirteen French ships of the line, nine had been taken, and two had been burnt." Two ships of the line and two frigates escaped. "The British killed and wounded were 895. The loss of the French, including prisoners, was 5,225. Such was the great battle of the Nile."—W. Massey, *History of England during the reign of George III*, v. 4, ch. 39.—See also EUROPE: Modern: Map of central Europe in 1812.

Also in: E. J. De La Gravière, *Sketches of the last naval war*, v. 1, pt. 3.—R. Southey, *Life of Nelson*, ch. 5.—*Despatches and letters of Lord Nelson*, v. 3.—*Memoirs of Napoleon dictated at St. Helena*, v. 2.—A. T. Mahan, *Influence of sea power*

berment, the other eager to make itself master of its commerce; it gave England the supremacy in the Mediterranean; it inaugurated the appearance of Russia in southern Europe; it was the signal for a second coalition." Russia, "under Catherine, had but taken a nominal part in the first coalition, being too much occupied with the annihilation of Poland. . . . But now Catherine was dead, Paul I, her son and successor, took the émigrés in his pay, offered the Pretender an asylum at Mittau, promised his protection to the Congress at Rastadt, and fitted out 100,000 troops. Naples had been in a great ferment since the creation of the Roman Republic. The nobles and middle classes, imbued with French ideas, detested a Court sold to the English, and presided over by the imbecile Ferdinand, who left the cares of his government to his dissolute Queen. She hated the French, and now solicited Tuscany and Piedmont to unite with her

to deliver Italy from the sway of these Republicans. The Austrian Court, of which Bonaparte had been the conscious or unconscious dupe, instead of disarming after the Treaty of Campo-Formio, continued its armaments with redoubled vigour, and now demanded indemnities, on the pretext that it had suffered from the Republican system which the French introduced into Switzerland and Italy. [See also AUSTRIA: 1798-1806.] The Directory very naturally refused to accede to this; and thereupon Austria prepared for war, and endeavoured to drag Prussia and the German Empire [i.e. the association of German states in the 'Holy Roman Empire'] into it. . . . But Frederick Wil-



ANDRÉ MESSÉNA

liam's successor and the princes of the empire declined to recommence hostilities with France, of which they had reason, to fear the enmity, though at present she was scarcely able to resist a second coalition. The French nation, in fact, was sincerely eager for peace. . . . Nevertheless, and though there was little unity amongst them, the Councils and the Directory prepared their measures of defence; they increased the revenue, by creating a tax on doors and windows; they authorised the sale of national property to the amount of 125,000,000 francs; and finally, on the report of Jourdan, they passed the famous law of conscription (5th September), which compelled every Frenchman to serve in the army from the age of

20 to that of 25, the first immediate levy to consist of 200,000 troops. When the victory of the Nile became known at Naples the court was a prey to frenzied excitement. Taxes had already been doubled, a fifth of the population called to arms, the nobles and middle classes were tortured into submission. And when the report spread that the Russians were marching through Poland, it was resolved to commence hostilities by attacking the Roman Republic, and to rouse Piedmont and Tuscany to rebellion. Forty thousand Neapolitans, scarcely provided with arms, headed by the Austrian general Mack, made their way into the Roman states, guarded only by 18,000 French troops, dispersed between the two seas (12th November). Championnet, their commander, abandoned Rome, took up a position on the Tiber, near Civita-Castellana, and concentrated all his forces on that point. The King of Naples entered Rome, while Mack went to encounter Championnet. The latter beat him, routed or captured the best of his troops, and compelled him to retire in disorder to the Neapolitan territory. Championnet, now at the head of 25,000 men, returned to Rome, previous to marching on Naples, where the greatest disorder prevailed. At the news of his approach the Court armed the *lazzaroni* [the proletariat], and fled with its treasures to the English fleet, abandoning the town to pillage and anarchy (20th Dec., 1798). Mack, seeing his army deserting him, and his officers making common cause with the Republicans, concluded an armistice with Championnet, but his soldiers revolted and compelled him to seek safety in the French camp. On Championnet's appearance before Naples, which the *lazzaroni* defended with fury, a violent battle ensued, lasting for three days; however, some of the citizens delivered the fort of St. Elmo to the French, and then the mob laid down its arms (23rd January, 1799). The Parthenopean Republic [so called from one of the ancient names of the city of Naples] was immediately proclaimed, a provisional government organised, the citizens formed themselves into a National Guard, and the kingdom accepted the Revolution. The demand of Championnet for a war contribution of 27,000,000 francs roused the Calabrians to revolt; anarchy prevailed everywhere; commissioners were sent by the Directory to re-establish order. The French general had them arrested, but he was deposed and succeeded by Macdonald. In commencing its aggression the court of Naples had counted on the aid of the King of Sardinia and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. But Piedmont, placed between three republics, was herself sharing the Revolutionary ferment; the King, who had concluded an alliance with Austria, proscribed the democrats, who, in their turn, declared war against him by means of the Ligurian Republic, whither they had fled. When Championnet was compelled to evacuate Rome, the Directory, afraid that Sardinia would harass the French rear, had ordered Joubert, commanding the army of Italy, to occupy Piedmont. The Piedmontese troops opened every place to the French, entered into their ranks, and the King [December 8, 1798] was forced to give up all claims to Piedmont, and to take refuge in Sardinia. . . . [retaining the latter, but abdicating the sovereignty of Piedmont]. Tuscany being also occupied by the Republican troops, the moment war was declared against Austria, Italy was virtually under French dominion. These events but increased the enmity of the Coalition, which hurried its preparations, while the Directory, cheered by its successes, resolved to take the offensive on all points. . . . In the present struggle, however, the conditions of warfare were

changed. The lines of invasion were no longer, as formerly, short and isolated, but stretched from the Zuyder Zee to the Gulf of Tarentum, open to be attacked in Holland from the rear, and at Naples by the English fleet. . . . Seventy thousand troops, under the Archduke Charles, occupied Bavaria; General Hotze occupied the Vorarlberg with 25,000 men; Bellegarde was with 45,000 in the Tyrol; and 70,000 guarded the line of the Adige, headed by Marshal Kray. Eighty thousand Russians, in two equal divisions, were on their way to join the Austrians. The division under Suwaroff was to operate with Kray, that one under Korsakoff with the Archduke. Finally, 40,000 English and Russians were to land in Holland, and 20,000 English and Sicilians in Naples. The Directory, instead of concentrating its forces on the Adige and near the sources of the Danube, divided them. Fifteen thousand troops were posted in Holland, under Brune; 8,000 at Mayence, under Bernadotte; 40,000 from Strasburg to Bâle, under Jourdan; 30,000 in Switzerland, under Masséna; 50,000 on the Adige, under Schérer; 30,000 at Naples, under Macdonald. These various divisions were in reality meant to form but one army, of which Masséna was the centre, Jourdan and Schérer the wings, Brune and Macdonald the extremities. To Masséna was confided the principal operation, namely, to possess himself of the central Alps, in order to isolate the two imperial armies of the Adige and Danube and to neutralise their efforts. The Coalition having hit upon the same plan as the Directory, ordered the Austrians under Bellegarde to invade the Grisons [Graubunden], while on the other side a division was to descend into the Valteline." Masséna's right wing, under Lecourbe, defeated Bellegarde, crossed the upper Rhine and made its way to the Inn. Schérer also advanced by the Valteline to the upper Adige and joined operations with Lecourbe. "While these two generals were spreading terror in the Tyrol, Masséna made himself master of the Rhine from its sources to the lake of Constance, receiving but one check in the fruitless siege of Feldkirch, a position he coveted in order to be able to support with his right wing the army of the Danube, or with his left that of Italy. This check compelled Lecourbe and Dessoles to slacken their progress, and the various events on the Danube and the Po necessitated their recall in a short time. Jourdan had crossed the Rhine at Kehl, Bâle, and Schaffhausen (1st March), penetrated into the defile of the upper Danube, and reached the village of Ostrach, where he was confronted by the Archduke Charles, who had passed the Iller, and who, after a sanguinary battle [March 21], compelled him to retreat upon Tutlingen. The tidings of Masséna's success having reached Jourdan, he wished to support it by marching to Stockach, the key to the roads of Switzerland and Germany; but he was once more defeated (25th March), and retreated, not into Switzerland, whence he could have joined Masséna, but to the Rhine, which he imagined to be threatened. . . . In Italy the Directory had given orders to Schérer to force the Adige, and to drive the Austrians over the Piave and the Brenta." He attacked and carried the Austrian camp of Pastrengo, near Rivoli, on the 25th of March, 1799, inflicting a loss of 8,000 on the enemy; but on the 5th of April, when moving to force the lower Adige, he was defeated by Kray at Magnano. "Schérer lost his head, fled precipitately, and did not stop until he had put a safe distance between himself and the enemy. . . . The army of Switzerland, under Masséna, dispersed in the mountains, with both its flanks threatened, had

no other means of salvation than to fall back behind the Rhine."—H. Van Laun, *French revolutionary epoch*, v. 1, bk. 3, ch. 1, sect. 2.

ALSO IN: P. Colletta, *History of the kingdom of Naples*, bk. 3; bk. 4.—A. Gallenga, *History of Piedmont*, v. 3.—A. Griffiths, *French revolutionary generals*.—J. H. Rose, *Second coalition* (*Cambridge modern history*, v. 8).

1798-1799 (August-August).—Bonaparte's administration of Egypt.—His advance into Syria and repulse at Acre.—His victory at Aboukir and return to France.—"The daring and skilful manœuvre that had turned the French line and placed two British ships opposite each French one had decided the result of this great naval battle [Battle of the Nile]. Bonaparte and his army were now cut off from the world, and that in a country where the stores necessary for a European army could not be procured. Had Brueys' fleet not anchored at Aboukir, but sailed back to Malta, to Corfu, or even to Toulon, the position would have been threatening for England; as it was, Bonaparte and his thirty thousand men were in great jeopardy. He proceeded, however, with his extraordinary enterprise with an imperturbable self-reliance that inspired all those with whom he came into contact. Egypt was at that time a dependent province of the Turkish Empire ruled by a Bey and a dominant caste of military colonists who formed a splendid body of feudal cavalry known as the Mameluks. They proved, however, no match for the French army, and were crushed by the steady firing of the republican infantry at the battle of the Pyramids on the 21st of July. This victory gave Bonaparte possession of Egypt which he now administered and converted into a source of supply in even more relentless fashion than he had treated Italy. [He established two councils (consisting principally of Arab chiefs and Moslems) of the church and law by whose advice measures were to be nominally regulated.] During the autumn and early winter months he was actively engaged in matters of administration and prepared to turn Egypt into a firm base from which the next move might be securely made. [Cultivation was extended, canals opened, and the foundation of scientific researches laid.] What that next move might have been is perhaps indicated by the fact that he dispatched a letter to an Indian prince then at war with Great Britain, Tippoo Sahib, urging him to new efforts and promising him assistance. But India and even Constantinople were far off, and it is best to view as tentative this step of Bonaparte's, and to treat as only vague purposes the sayings attributed to him at this period in which he referred to the possibilities of founding a new Oriental empire, or of returning to France by way of Constantinople. What it is important not to forget is that once in Egypt every one of Bonaparte's movements was perfectly sound from a military point of view. Not one of them was based on any considerations in the least approaching the romantic. In January 1799, he had to resume active warfare. The Sultan decided to drive the French invaders out of his dominions, and for that purpose prepared two expeditions: one was to proceed by sea, the other by land through Asia Minor. Bonaparte determined not to await this double attack, but to take the offensive and deal with his opponents one at a time. Accordingly in January he marched across the desert from Egypt into Syria and after many hardships reached Jaffa, a small port already occupied by a Turkish advance guard. There was some severe fighting, the town was stormed and captured, and the French accepted the surrender of

some two thousand prisoners. But the question at once arose: what was to be done with these men? The army was short of food, and an arduous march through barren country lay before it. If the prisoners consumed rations, it would mean privation, perhaps even starvation for the army; if they were released they would probably rejoin the Turks, or at all events take to the hills and marauding. It was a difficult problem, and was resolved in the safest but least merciful way: the Turks were taken out and shot down. This terrible incident has long been one of those most criticised in Bonaparte's career, yet modern military writers do not hesitate to justify it on the ground that a general can never sacrifice the vital interests of his army to those of humanity. This may be true, but it might also be pertinently asked: was not the unprovoked attack of France on Malta and on Egypt at least as great a subject for reproach? Is it not far more important to award blame for the waging of an unjust war, than for what is only a military incident, of debatable necessity, occurring in the course of such a war? From Jaffa Bonaparte marched northwards to encounter the main Turkish force, and at Acre received a severe check. The Turks, assisted by Captain Sidney Smith of the British navy, defended the town with the utmost resolution, and after a siege of two months the French were beaten off. It was during the siege that a well-known incident occurred: Sidney Smith sent into the French camp a challenge inviting Bonaparte to meet him in single combat, to which he received the pertinent reply that the French general would accept if the British would produce a Marlborough to meet him! During these two months the French overran northern Palestine and fought numerous engagements against the Turks, one of which, that of Mount Tabor, was a brilliant and decisive victory. On the 20th of May the retreat began, and the army, after heavy losses and intense suffering, owing to lack of food and water and an outbreak of plague, reached Cairo a month later. Within a few weeks it was called on to make new exertions, for the Turkish fleet made its appearance off Aboukir and there disembarked some ten thousand troops. Bonaparte collected every available man, marched against the Turks, found them badly posted with their backs to the sea, routed, and in great part destroyed them. This was the battle of Aboukir (July 26). Shortly afterwards he gave secret orders to have a small frigate got ready in the port of Alexandria, and on the 23d of August, 1799, accompanied by Berthier, Murat, and a few others, he left the army and sailed for France. After a long journey and several narrow escapes from British cruisers, he arrived in the bay of Fréjus on the 9th of October. Had he commanded events and dates at the hand of Fate he could not have chosen better; for the pear was now exactly ripe. One month later he was the master of France."—R. M. Johnston, *Napoleon*, pp. 52-57.

ALSO IN: Duke of Rovigo, *Memoirs*, v. 1, ch. 9-11.—*Memoirs of Napoleon dictated at St. Helena*, v. 2.—*Letters from the army of Bonaparte in Egypt*.—M. de Bourrienne, *Private memoirs of Napoleon*, v. 1, ch. 15-23.—J. H. Rose, *Life of Napoleon I*, ch. 8-9.

1798-1805.—Power in India.—In Indo-China. See INDIA: 1798-1805; INDO-CHINA: B. C. 218-A. D. 1886.

1799 (April-September).—Murder of the French envoys at Rastadt.—Disasters in north Italy.—Suvarov's victories.—Anglo-Russian invasion of Holland and capture of the Dutch

fleet.—"While the French armies were thus humiliated in the field, the representatives of the republic at the congress of Rastadt [where peace negotiations with the states of the empire had been in progress for months] became the victims of a sanguinary tragedy. [See RASTADT, CONGRESS OF.] As France had declared war against the emperor [as sovereign of Austria], and not against the empire, the congress had not necessarily been broken off; but the representatives of the German states were withdrawn one after another, until the successes of the Austrians rendered the position of the French ministers no longer secure. At length they received notice, from the nearest Austrian commander, to depart within twenty-four hours; and the French ministers—Jean Debry, Bonnier, and Roberjeot—left Rastadt with their families and attendants late in the evening of the 8th of Floréal (the 28th of April). The night was very dark, and they appear to have been apprehensive of danger. At a very short distance from Rastadt they were surrounded by a troop of Austrian hussars, who stopped the carriages, dragged the three ministers out, and massacred them in the presence of their wives and children. The hussars then plundered the carriages, and took away, especially, all the papers. Fortunately for Jean Debry, he had been stunned, but not mortally wounded; and after the murderers were gone the cold air of the night restored him to life. This crime was supposed to have been perpetrated at the instigation of the imperial court, for reasons which have not been very clearly explained; but the representatives of the German states proclaimed loudly their indignation. The reverses of the republican arms, and the tragedy of Rastadt, were eagerly embraced by the opposition in France as occasions for raising a violent outcry against the directory. . . . It was in the midst of this general unpopularity of the directors that the elections of the year VII. of the republic took place, and a great majority of the patriots obtained admission to the councils, and thus increased the numerical force of the opposition. . . . The directory had made great efforts to repair the reverses which had marked the opening of the campaign. Jourdain had been deprived of the command of the army of the Danube, which had been placed, along with that of Switzerland, under the orders of Masséna. The command of the army of Italy had been transferred from Scherer to Moreau; and Macdonald had received orders to withdraw his forces from Naples and the papal states, in order to unite them with the army in Upper Italy. The Russians under Suvarrow had now joined the Austrian army in Italy; and this chief, who was in the height of his reputation as a military leader, was made commander-in-chief of the combined Austro-Russian forces, Melas commanding the Austrians under him. Suvarrow advanced rapidly upon the Adda, which protected the French lines; and, on the 8th of Floréal (the 27th of April), forced the passage of that river in two places, at Brivio and Trezzo, above and below the position occupied by the division of Serrurier, which formed the French left, and which was thus cut off from the rest of the army. Moreau, who took the command of the French forces on the evening of the same day, made a vain attempt to drive the enemy back over the Adda at Trezzo, and thus recover his communication with Serrurier; and that division was surrounded, and, after a desperate resistance, obliged to lay down its arms, with the exception of a small number of men who made their way across the mountains into Piedmont. Victor's division effected its retreat without much loss, and

Moreau concentrated his forces in the neighbourhood of Milan. This disastrous engagement, which took place on the 6th of Floréal, was known as the battle of Cassano. Moreau remained at Milan two days to give the members of the government of the Cisalpine republic, and all the Milanese families who were politically compromised, time to make their escape in his rear; after which he continued his retreat. . . . He was allowed to make this retreat without any serious interruption; for Suvarrow, instead of pursuing him actively, lost his time at Milan in celebrating the triumph of the anti-revolutionary party." Moreau first "established his army in a strong position at the confluence of the Tanaro and the Po, covered by both rivers, and commanding all the roads to Genoa; so that he could there, without great danger, wait the arrival of Macdonald." But soon, finding his position made critical by a general insurrection in Piedmont, he retired towards the mountains of Genoa. "On the 6th of Prairial (the 25th of May), Macdonald was at Florence; but he lost much time there; and it was only towards the end of the republican month (the middle of June), that he at length advanced into the plains of Piacenza to form his junction with Moreau." On the Trebbia he encountered Suvarrow's advance, under General Ott, and rashly attacked it. Having forced back Ott's advanced guard, the French suddenly found themselves confronted by Suvarrow himself and the main body of his army. "Macdonald now resolved to unite all his forces behind the Trebbia, and there risk a battle; but he was anticipated by Suvarrow, who attacked him next morning, and, after a very severe and sanguinary engagement, the French were driven over the Trebbia. The combat was continued next day, and ended again to the disadvantage of the French; and their position had become so critical, that Macdonald found it necessary to retreat upon the river Nura, and to make his way round the Apennines to Genoa. The French, closely pursued, experienced considerable loss in their retreat, until Suvarrow, hearing Moreau's cannon in his rear, discontinued the pursuit, in order to meet him." Moreau routed Bellegarde, in Suvarrow's rear, and took 3,000 prisoners; but no further collision of importance occurred during the next two months of the summer. "Suvarrow had been prevented by the orders of the Aulic Council from following up with vigour his victory on the Trebbia, and had been obliged to occupy himself with sieges which employed with little advantage valuable time. Recruits were reaching the French armies in Italy, and they were restored to a state of greater efficiency. It was already the month of Thermidor (the middle of July), and Moreau saw the necessity of assuming the offensive and attacking the Austro-Russians while they were occupied with the sieges; but he was restrained by the orders of the directory to wait the arrival of Joubert. The latter, who had just contracted an advantageous marriage, by which the moderate party had hoped to attach him to their cause, lost an entire month in the celebration of his nuptial festivities, and only reached the army of Italy in the middle of Thermidor (the beginning of August), where he immediately succeeded Moreau in the command; but he prevailed upon that able general to remain with him, at least until after his first battle. The French army had taken a good position in advance of Novi, and were preparing to act against the enemy while he was still occupied in the sieges, when news arrived that Alessandria and Mantua had surrendered, and that Suvarrow was preparing to unite against them the whole strength of

his forces. Joubert immediately resolved to fall back upon the Apennines, and there act upon the defensive; but it was already too late, for Suvarrow had advanced with such rapidity that he was forced to accept battle in the position he occupied, which was a very strong one. The battle began early in the morning of the 28th of Thermidor (the 15th of August); and very early in the action Joubert received a mortal wound from a ball which struck him near the heart. The engagement continued with great fury during the greater part of the day, but ended in the entire defeat of the French, who retreated from the field of battle in great confusion. The French lost about 10,000 men in killed and wounded, and a great number of prisoners. The news of this reverse was soon followed by disastrous intelligence from another quarter. The English had prepared an expedition against Holland, which was to be assisted by a detachment of Russian troops. The English forces, under Abercromby, landed near the mouth of the Helder in North Holland, on the 10th of Fructidor (the 27th of August), and defeated the French and Dutch republican army, commanded by Brune, in a decisive engagement [at the English camp, established on a well-drained morass, called the Zyp] on the 22nd of Fructidor (the 8th of September). Brune retreated upon Amsterdam; and the Russian contingent was thus enabled to effect its junction with the English without opposition. As one of the first consequences of this invasion, the English obtained possession of the whole Dutch fleet, upon the assistance of which the French government had counted in its designs against England. This succession of ill news excited the revolutionary party to a most unusual degree of violence."—T. Wright, *History of France*, v. 2, bk. 6, ch. 22-23.

ALSO IN: H. Spalding, *Suvoroff*, ch. 7-8.—L. M. P. de Laverne, *Life of Field-Marshal Souwarof*, ch. 6.—E. Vehse, *Memoirs of the court of Austria*, v. 2, ch. 15, sect. 2.—J. Adolphus, *History of England: Reign of George III*, v. 7, ch. 108.—H. Bunbury, *Narratives of the great war with France*, pp. 1-58.

1799 (August-December).—Campaign in Switzerland.—Battle of Zurich.—Defeat of the Russians.—Suvarov's retreat across the Alps.—Reverses in Italy, and on the Rhine.—Fall of the Parthenopean and Roman republics.—Since the retreat of Masséna in June, the Archduke Charles had been watching the French on the Limmat and expecting the arrival of Russian reinforcements under Korsakoff; "but the Aulic Council, with unaccountable infatuation, ordered him at this important juncture to repair with the bulk of his army to the Rhine, leaving Switzerland to Korsakoff and the Russians. Before these injudicious orders, however, could be carried into effect, Masséna had boldly assumed the offensive (Aug. 14) by a false attack on Zurich, intended to mask the operations of his right wing, which meanwhile, under Lecourbe, was directed against the St. Gothard, in order to cut off the communication between the allied forces in Switzerland and in Italy. These attacks proved completely successful, . . . a French detachment . . . seizing the St. Gothard, and establishing itself at Airole, on the southern declivity. Lecourbe's left had meanwhile cleared the banks of the lake of Zurich of the enemy, who were driven back into Glarus. To obtain these brilliant successes on the right, Masséna had been obliged to weaken his left wing; and the Archduke, now reinforced by 20,000 Russians, attempted to avail himself of this circumstance to force the passage of the Limmat, below Zurich (Aug. 16 and 17); but this enterprise, the

success of which might have altered the fate of the war, failed from the defective construction of the pontoons; and the positive orders of the Aulic Council forbade his remaining longer in Switzerland. Accordingly, leaving 25,000 men under Hotze to support Korsakoff, he marched for the Upper Rhine, where the French, at his approach, abandoned the siege of Philipsburg, and retired to Mannheim; but this important post, the defences of which were imperfectly restored, was carried by a coup-de-main (Sept. 18), and the French driven with severe loss over the Rhine. But this success was dearly bought by the disasters in Switzerland, which followed the Archduke's departure. It had been arranged that Suwarroff was to move from Bellinzona (Sept. 21), and after retaking the St. Gothard combine with Korsakoff in a front attack on Massena, while Hotze assailed him in flank. But Massena, who was now the superior in numbers, determined to anticipate the arrival of Suwarroff by striking a blow, for which the presumptuous confidence of Korsakoff gave him increased facility. On the evening of 24th September, the passage of the river was surprised below Zurich, and the heights of Closter-Fabr carried by storm; and, in the course of the next day, Korsakoff, with his main army, was completely hemmed in at Zurich by the superior generalship of the French commander, who summoned the Russians to surrender. But the bravery shown by Korsakoff in these desperate circumstances equalled his former arrogance: on the 28th the Russian columns, issuing from the town, forced their way with the courage of despair through the surrounding masses of French, while a slender rear-guard defended the ramparts of Zurich till the remainder had extricated themselves. The town was at length entered, and a frightful carnage ensued in the streets, in the midst of which the illustrious Lavater was barbarously shot by a French soldier: while Korsakoff, after losing 8,000 killed and wounded, 5,000 prisoners, 100 pieces of cannon, and all his ammunition, stores, and military chest, succeeded in reaching Schaffhausen. The attack of Soul above the lake (Sept. 25) was equally triumphant. The gallant Hotze, who commanded in that quarter, was killed in the first encounter; and the Austrians, giving way in consternation, were driven over the Thur, and at length over the Rhine, with the loss of 20 guns and 3,000 prisoners. Suwarroff in the meantime was gallantly performing his part of the plan. On the 23d of September, the French posts at Airolo and St. Gothard were carried, after a desperate resistance, by the Russian main force, while their flank was turned by Rosenberg; and Lecourbe, hastily retreating, broke down the Devil's Bridge to check the advance of the enemy. A scene of useless butchery followed, the two parties firing on each other from the opposite brinks of the impassable abyss; but the flank of the French was at length turned, the bridge repaired, and the Russians, pressing on in triumph, joined the Austrian division of Auffenberg, at Wasen, and repulsed the French beyond Altdorf. But this was the limit of the old marshal's success. After effecting with severe loss the passage of the tremendous defiles and ridges of the Schachenthal, between Altdorf and Mutten, he found that Linken and Jellachich, who were to have moved from Coire to co-operate with him, had again retreated on learning the disaster at Zurich; and Suwarroff found himself in the midst of the enemy, with Massena on one side and Molitor on the other. With the utmost difficulty the veteran conqueror was prevailed upon, for the first time in his life, to order a retreat, which had

become indispensable, and the heads of his columns were turned towards Glarus and the Grisons. But though the attack of Massena on their rear in the Muttenenthal was repulsed with the loss of 2,000 men, their onward route was barred at Naefels by Molitor, who defied all the efforts of Prince Bagrathion to dislodge him; and in the midst of a heavy fall of snow, which obliterated the mountain paths, the Russian army wound its way (Oct. 5) in single file over the rugged and sterile peaks of the Alps of Glarus. Numbers perished of cold, or fell over the precipices; but nothing could overcome the unconquerable spirit of the soldiers: without fire or stores, and compelled to bivouac on the snow, they still struggled on through incredible hardships, till the dreadful march terminated (Oct. 10) at Ilantz. Such was the famous passage of the Alps by Suwarroff. Korsakoff in the meanwhile (Oct. 1-7) had maintained a desperate conflict near Constance, till the return of the Archduke checked the efforts of the French; and the Allies, abandoning the St. Gothard, and all the other posts they still held in Switzerland, concentrated their forces on the Rhine, which became the boundary of the two armies. . . . In Italy, after the disastrous battle of Novi, the Directory had given the leadership of the armies, both of Italy and Savoy, to the gallant Championnet, but he could muster only 54,000 troops and 6,000 raw conscripts to oppose Melas, who had succeeded Suwarroff in the command, and who had 68,000, besides his garrisons and detachments. The proposition of Championnet had been to fall back, with his army still entire, to the other side of the Alps: but his orders were positive to attempt the relief of Coni, then besieged by the Austrians; and after a desultory warfare for several weeks, he commenced a decisive movement for that purpose at the end of October, with 35,000 men. But before the different French columns could effect a junction, they were separately assailed by Melas: the divisions of Grenier and Victor were overwhelmed at Genola (Nov. 4), and defeated with the loss of 7,000 men; and though St. Cyr repulsed the Imperialists (Nov. 10) on the plateau of Novi, Coni was left to its fate, and surrendered with all its garrison (Dec. 4). An epidemic disorder broke out in the French army, to which Championnet himself, and numerous soldiers, fell victims: the troops giving way to despair, abandoned their standards by hundreds and returned to France; and it was with difficulty that the eloquent exhortations of St. Cyr succeeded in keeping together a sufficient number to defend the Bochetta pass, in front of Genoa, the loss of which would have entailed destruction on the whole army. The discomfited Republicans were driven back on their own frontiers; and, excepting Genoa, the tricolor flag was everywhere expelled from Italy. At the same time the campaign on the Rhine was drawing to a close. The army of Massena was not strong enough to follow up the brilliant success at Zurich, and the jealousies of the Austrians and Russians, who mutually laid on each other the blame of the late disasters, prevented their acting cordially in concert against him. Suwarroff at length, in a fit of exasperation, drew off his troops to winter quarters in Bavaria, and took no further share in the war; and a fruitless attempt in November against Philipsburg, by Lecourbe, who had been transferred to the command on the lower Rhine, closed the operations in that quarter."—*Epitome of Alison's history of Europe, sects. 245-251 (ch. 28, v. 7 of complete work)*.—Meantime, the French had been entirely expelled from southern Italy. On the withdrawal of Macdonald, with

most of his army, from Naples, "Cardinal Ruffo, a soldier, churchman, and politician, put himself at the head of a numerous body of insurgents, and commenced war against such French troops as had been left in the south and in the middle of Italy. This movement was actively supported by the British fleet. Lord Nelson recovered Naples; Rome surrendered to Commodore Trowbridge. Thus the Parthenopean and Roman republics were extinguished forever. The royal family returned to Naples, and that fine city and country were once more a kingdom. Rome, the capital of the world, was occupied by Neapolitan troops."—W. Scott, *Life of Napoleon*, ch. 38.

Also in: L. M. P. de Laverne, *Life of Suvaroff*, ch. 6.—H. Spalding, *Suvaroff*.—P. Colletta, *History of the kingdom of Naples*, v. 1, bk. 4, ch. 2; bk. 5, ch. 1-2.—T. J. Pettigrew, *Memoirs of Lord Nelson*, v. 1, ch. 8-9.

1799 (September-October).—Disastrous ending of the Anglo-Russian invasion of Holland.—Capitulation of the duke of York.—Dissolution of the Dutch East India Company.—"It is very obvious that the Duke of York was selected in an unlucky hour to be the commander-in-chief of this Anglo-Russian expedition, when we compare the time in which Abercrombie was alone on the marshy promontory of the Helder . . . with the subsequent period. On the 10th of September Abercrombie successfully repulsed the attack of General Brune, who had come for the purpose from Haarlem to Alkmar; on the 10th the Duke of York landed, and soon ruined everything. The first division of the Russians had at length arrived on the 15th, under the command of General Herrmann, for whom it was originally destined, although unhappily it afterwards came into the hands of General Korsakoff. The duke therefore thought he might venture on a general attack on the 10th. In this attack Herrmann led the right wing, which was formed by the Russians, and Abercrombie, with whom was the Prince of Orange, the left, whilst the centre was left to the Duke of York, the commander-in-chief. This decisive battle was fought at Bergen, a place situated to the north of Alkmar. The combined army was victorious on both wings, and Horn, on the Zuyder Zee, was occupied; the Duke of York, who was only a general for parades and reviews, merely indulged the centre with a few manœuvres hither and thither. . . . The Russians, therefore, who were left alone in impassable marshes, traversed by ditches, and unknown to their officers, lost many men, and were at length surrounded, and even their general taken prisoner. The duke concerned himself very little about the Russians, and had long before prudently retired into his trenches; and, as the Russians were lost, Abercrombie and the Crown Prince were obliged to relinquish Horn." The incapacity of the commander-in-chief held the army paralyzed during the fortnight following, suffering from sickness and want, while it would still have been practicable to push forward to South Holland. "A series of bloody engagements took place from the 2nd till the 6th of October, and the object of the attack upon the whole line of the French and Batavian army would have been attained had Abercrombie alone commanded. The English and Russians, who call this the battle of Alkmar, were indisputably victorious in the engagements of the 2nd and 3rd of October. They even drove the enemy before them to the neighbourhood of Haarlem, after having taken possession of Alkmar; but on the 6th, Brune, who owes his otherwise very moderate military renown to this engagement alone, having received a reinforcement

of some thousands on the 4th and 5th, renewed the battle. The fighting on this day took place at Castricum, on a narrow strip of land between the sea and the lake of Haarlem, a position favourable to the French. The French report is, as usual, full of the boasts of a splendid victory; the English, however, remained in possession of the field, and did not retire to their trenches behind Alkmar and to the marshes of Zyp till the 7th. . . . In not more than eight days afterwards, the want in the army and the anxiety of its incapable commander-in-chief became so great, the number of the sick increased so rapidly, and the fear of the difficulties of embarkation in winter so grew and spread, that the duke accepted the most shameful capitulation that had ever been offered to an English general, except at Saratoga. This capitulation, concluded on the 10th of October, was only granted because the English, by destroying the dykes, had it in their power to ruin the country."—F. C. Schlosser, *History of the eighteenth century*, v. 7, pp. 149-151.—"For the failure in accomplishing the great objects of emancipating Holland and restoring its legitimate ruler; for the clamorous joy with which her enemies, foreign and domestic, hailed the event; the government of Great Britain had many consolations. . . . The Dutch fleet, which, in the hands of an enterprising enemy, might have been so injuriously employed, was a capture of immense importance: if Holland was ever to become a friend and ally, we had abundant means of promoting her prosperity and re-establishing her greatness; if an enemy, her means of injury and hopes of rivalry were effectually suppressed. Her East-India Company, . . . long the rival of our own in power and prosperity, whose dividends in some years had risen to the amount of 40 per cent., now finally closed its career, making a paltry final payment in part of the arrears of dividends for the present and three preceding years."—J. Adolphus, *History of England: Reign of George III*, v. 7, ch. 109.

Also in: G. R. Gleig, *Life of General Sir R. Abercromby (Eminent British military commanders*, v. 3).

1799 (November).—Return of Bonaparte from Egypt.—First Napoleonic coup d'état.—Revolution of the 18th Brumaire.—End of the first republic.—Creation of the consulate.—"When Bonaparte, by means of the bundle of papers which Sidney Smith caused to find their way through the French lines, learned the condition of affairs in Europe, there was but one course consistent with his character for him to pursue. There was nothing more to be done in Egypt; there was everything to be done in France. If he were to lead his army back, even in case he should, by some miracle, elude the eager eyes of Lord Nelson, the act would be generally regarded as a confession of disaster. If he were to remain with the army, he could, at best, do nothing but pursue a purely defensive policy; and if the army were to be overwhelmed, it was no part of Napoleonism to be involved in the disaster. . . . It would be far shrewder to throw the responsibility of the future of Egypt on another, and to transfer himself to the field that was fast ripening for the coveted harvest. Of course Bonaparte, under such circumstances, did not hesitate as to which course to pursue. Robbing the army of such good officers as survived, he left it in command of the only one who had dared to raise his voice in opposition to the work of the 18th Fructidor . . . the heroic but indignant Kléber. Was there ever a more exquisite revenge? . . . On the arrival of Bona-

parte in Paris everything seemed ready to his hand. . . . The policy which, in the seizure of Switzerland and the Papal States, he had taken pains to inaugurate before his departure for Egypt had borne its natural fruit. As never before in the history of Europe, England, Holland, Russia, Austria, Naples, and even Turkey had joined hands in a common cause, and as a natural consequence the Directory had been defeated at every point. Nor was it unnatural for the people to attribute all these disasters to the inefficiency of the government. The Directory had really fallen into general contempt, and at the new election on the 30th Prairial it had been practically overthrown. Rewbell, who by his influence had stood at the head of affairs, had been obliged to give way, and Sieyès had been put in his place. "By the side of this fantastic statesman . . . Barras had been



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retained, probably for no other reason than that he was sure to be found with the majority, while the other members, Gohier, Moulins, and Roger-Ducos were men from whose supposed mediocrity no very decided opposition could be anticipated. Thus the popular party was not only revenged for the outrages of Fructidor, but it had also made up the new Directory of men who seemed likely to be nothing but clay in the hands of Bonaparte. . . . The manner in which the General was received can have left no possible doubt remaining in his mind as to the strength of his hold on the hearts of the people. It must have been apparent to all that he needed but to declare himself, in order to secure a well-nigh unanimous support and following of the masses. But with the political leaders the case, for obvious reasons, was far different. . . . His popularity was so overwhelming, that in his enmity the leaders could anticipate nothing but annihilation, in his friendship nothing but insignificance. . . . The member of the government who, at the time, wielded most

influence, was Sieyès, a man to whom personally the General had so unconquerable an aversion, that Josephine was accustomed to refer to him as her husband's *bête noire*. It was evident that Sieyès was the most formidable obstacle to the General's advance." "As a first movement, Bonaparte endeavored to bring about the removal of Sieyès from the Directory and his own election to the place. Failing this, his party attempted the immediate creation of a dictatorship. When that, too, was found impracticable, Sieyès was persuaded to a reconciliation and alliance with the ambitious soldier, and the two, at a meeting, planned the proceedings "which led to that dark day in French history known as the 18th Brumaire [November 9, 1799]. It remained only to get absolute control of the military forces, a task at that time in no way difficult. The officers who had returned with Bonaparte from Egypt were impatient to follow wherever their master might lead. Moreau, who, since the death of Hoche, was regarded as standing next to Bonaparte in military ability, was not reluctant to cast in his lot with the others, and Macdonald as well as Serurier soon followed his example. Bernadotte alone would yield to neither flattery nor intimidation. . . . While Bonaparte was thus marshalling his forces in the Rue de la Victoire, the way was opening in the Councils. A commission of the Ancients, made up of the leading conspirators, had worked all night drawing up the proposed articles, in order that in the morning the Council might have nothing to do but to vote them. The meeting was called for seven o'clock, and care was taken not to notify those members whose opposition there was reason to fear. . . . The articles were adopted without discussion. Those present voted, first, to remove the sessions of the Councils from Paris to Saint Cloud (a privilege which the constitution conferred upon the Ancients alone), thus putting them at once beyond the power of influencing the populace and of standing in the way of Bonaparte. They then passed a decree giving to Bonaparte the command of the military forces, at the same time inviting him to come to the Assembly for the purpose of taking the oath of allegiance to the Constitution." Bonaparte appeared, accordingly, before the Council; but instead of taking an oath of allegiance to the constitution, he made a speech which he closed by declaring: "We want a Republic founded on true liberty and national representation. We will have it, I swear; I swear it in my own name and that of my companions in arms." "Thus the mockery of the oath-taking in the Council of Ancients was accomplished. The General had now a more difficult part to perform in the Council of Five Hundred. As the meeting of the Assembly was not to occur until twelve o'clock of the following day, Bonaparte made use of the intervening time in posting his forces and in disposing of the Directory. . . . There was one locality in the city where it was probable aggressive force would be required. The Luxembourg was the seat of the Directory, and the Directory must at all hazards be crushed. . . . Bonaparte knew well how to turn all such ignominious service to account. In close imitation of that policy which had left Kléber in Egypt, he placed the Luxembourg in charge of the only man in the nation who could now be regarded as his rival for popular favor. Moreau fell into the snare, and by so doing lost a popularity which he was never afterwards able to regain. Having thus placed his military forces, Bonaparte turned his attention to the Directors. The resignations of Sieyès and of Roger-Ducos he already had upon his table. It

remained only to procure the others. Barras, without warning, was confronted by Talleyrand and Bruix, who asked him without circumlocution to resign his office," which he did, after slight hesitation. Gohier and Moulins were addressed by Bonaparte in person, but firmly resisted his importunities and his threats. They were then made prisoners by Moreau. "The night of the 18th passed in comparative tranquillity. The fact that there was no organized resistance is accounted for by Lanfrey with a single mournful statement, that 'nothing of the kind could be expected of a nation that had been decapitated. All the men of rank in France for the previous ten years, either by character or genius or virtue, had been mown down, first by the scaffolds and proscriptions, next by war.'" On the morrow, the 10th of Brumaire (November 10) the sitting of the two councils began at two o'clock. In the Council of Five Hundred the partisans of Bonaparte were less numerous than in that of the Ancients, and a powerful indignation at the doings of the previous day began quickly to show itself. In the midst of a warm debate upon the resignation of Barras, which had just been received, "the door was opened, and Bonaparte, surrounded by his grenadiers, entered the hall. A burst of indignation at once arose. Every member sprang to his feet. 'What is this?' they cried, 'swords here! armed men! Away! we will have no dictator here.' Then some of the deputies, bolder than the others, surrounded Bonaparte and overwhelmed him with invectives. 'You are violating the sanctity of the laws; what are you doing, rash man?' exclaimed Bigonnet. 'Is it for this that you have conquered?' demanded Destrem, advancing towards him. Others seized him by the collar of his coat, and, shaking him violently, reproached him with treason. This reception, though the General had come with the purpose of intimidating the Assembly, fairly overwhelmed him. Eye-witnesses declare that he turned pale, and fell fainting into the arms of his soldiers, who drew him out of the hall." His brother Lucien, who was president of the Council, showed better nerve. By refusing to put motions that were made to vote, and finally by resigning his office and quitting the chair, he threw the Council into confusion. Then, appearing to the troops outside, who supposed him to be still president of the Council, he harangued them and summoned them to clear the chamber. "The grenadiers poured into the hall. A last cry of 'Vive la République' was raised, and a moment later the hall was empty. Thus the crime of the conspirators was consummated, and the First French Republic was at an end. After this action it remained only to put into the hands of Bonaparte the semblance of regular authority. . . . A phantom of the Council of Five Hundred—Cornet, one of them, says 30 members—met in the evening and voted the measures which had been previously agreed upon by the conspirators. Bonaparte, Siéyès, and Roger-Ducos were appointed provisional consuls; 57 members of the Council who had been most prominent in their opposition were excluded from their seats; a list of proscriptions was prepared; two commissioners chosen from the assemblies were appointed to assist the consuls in their work of organization; and, finally, . . . they adjourned the legislative body until the 20th of February."—C. K. Adams, *Democracy and monarchy in France*, ch. 4.

ALSO IN: P. Lanfrey, *History of Napoleon I.*—A. Thiers, *History of the French Revolution* (American edition), v. 4, pp. 407-430.—M. de Bourrienne, *Private memoirs of Napoleon*, v. 1, ch. 24-27.—M.

de Melito, *Memoirs*, ch. 9.—J. H. Rose, *Napoleonic empire* (Cambridge modern history, v. 9).

1799 (November-December).—Constitution of the consulate.—Bonaparte as First Consul.—New constitution, monarchy in disguise.—"During the three months which followed the 18th Brumaire, approbation and expectation were general. A provisional government had been appointed, composed of three consuls, Bonaparte, Siéyès, and Roger-Ducos, with two legislative commissioners, entrusted to prepare the constitution and a definitive order of things. The consuls and the two commissioners were installed on the 21st Brumaire. This provisional government abolished the law respecting hostages and compulsory loans; it permitted the return of the priests proscribed since the 18th Fructidor; it released from prison and sent out of the republic the emigrants who had been shipwrecked on the coast of Calais, and who for four years were captives in France, and were exposed to the heavy punishment of the emigrant army. All these measures were very favourably received. But public opinion revolted at a proscription put in force against the extreme republicans. Thirty-six of them were sentenced to transportation to Guiana, and twenty-one were put under surveillance in the department of Charante-Inférieure, merely by a decree of the consuls on the report of Fouché, minister of police. The public viewed unfavourably all who attacked the government, but at the same time it exclaimed against an act so arbitrary and unjust. The consuls, accordingly, recoiled before their own act; they first commuted transportation into surveillance, and soon withdrew surveillance itself. It was not long before a rupture broke out between the authors of the 18th Brumaire. During their provisional authority it did not create much noise, because it took place in the legislative commissions. The new constitution was the cause of it. Siéyès and Bonaparte could not agree on this subject: the former wished to institute France, the latter to govern it as a master. . . . Bonaparte took part in the deliberations of the constituent committee, with his instinct of power, he seized upon everything in the ideas of Siéyès which was calculated to serve his projects, and caused the rest to be rejected. . . . On the 24th of December, 1799 (Nivose, year VIII), forty-five days after the 18th Brumaire, was published the constitution of the year VIII.; it was composed of the wrecks of that of Siéyès, now become a constitution of servitude."—F. A. Mignet, *History of the French Revolution*, ch. 14.—"The new constitution was still republic in name and appearance, but monarchical in fact, the latter concealed, by the government being committed, not to the hand of one individual, but of three. The three persons so fixed upon were denominated consuls, and appointed for ten years;—one of them, however, was really ruler, although he only obtained the modest name of First Consul. The rights which Bonaparte caused to be given to himself made all the rest nothing more than mere deception. The First Consul was to invite the others merely to consultation on affairs of state, whilst he himself, either immediately or through the senate, was to appoint to all places of trust and authority, to decide absolutely upon questions of peace or war, and to be assisted by a council of state. . . . In order to cover and conceal the power of the First Consul, especially in reference to the appointment of persons to offices of trust and authority, a senate was created, which neither belonged to the people nor to the government, but immediately from the very beginning was an assembly of courtiers and placemen,

and at a later period became the mere tool of every kind of despotism, by rendering it easy to dispense with the legislative body. The senate consisted of eighty members, a part of whom were to be immediately nominated from the lists of notability, and the senate to fill up its own body from persons submitted to them by the First Consul, the tribunate, and the legislative body. Each senator was to have a salary of 25,000 f.; their meetings were not public, and their business very small. From the national lists the senate was also to select consuls, legislators, tribunes, and judges of the Court of Cassation. Large lists were first presented to the communes, on which, according to Roederer, there stood some 500,000 names, out of which the communes selected 50,000 for the departmental lists, from which again 5,000 were to be chosen for the national list. From these 5,000 names, selected from the departmental list, or from what was termed the national list, the senate was afterwards to elect the members of the legislature and the high officers of government. The legislature was to consist of two chambers, the tribunate and the legislative body—the former composed of 100, and the latter of 300 members. The chambers had no power of taking the initiative, that is, they were obliged to wait till bills were submitted to them, and could of themselves originate nothing: they were, however, permitted to express wishes of all kinds to the government. Each bill (*projet de loi*) was introduced into the tribunate by three members of the council of state, and there defended by them, because the tribunate alone had the right of discussion, whilst the mere power of saying *Yea* or *Nay* was conferred upon the members of the legislative body. The tribunate, having accepted the bill, sent three of its members, accompanied by the members from the council of state, to defend the measure in the assembly of the legislative body. Every year one-fifth of the members of the legislative body was to retire from office, being, however, always re-eligible as long as their names remained on the national list. The sittings of the legislative body alone were public, because they were only permitted to be silent listeners to the addresses of the tribunes or councillors of state, and to assent to, or dissent from, the proposed law. Not above 100 persons were, however, allowed to be present as auditors; the sittings were not allowed to continue longer than four months; both chambers, however, might be summoned to an extraordinary sitting. . . . When the constitution was ready to be brought into operation, Sieyes terminated merely as he had begun, and Bonaparte saw with pleasure that he showed himself both contemptible and venal. He became a dumb senator, with a yearly income of 25,000 f.; and obtained 800,000 f. from the directorial treasury, whilst Roger Ducos was obliged to go away contented with a *douceur* of 120,000 f.; and, last of all, Sieyes condescended to accept from Bonaparte a present of the national domain of Crosne, which he afterwards exchanged for another estate. For colleagues in his new dignity Bonaparte selected very able and skilful men, but wholly destitute of all nobility of mind, and to whom it never once occurred to offer him any opposition; these were Cambacérés and Lebrun. The former, a celebrated lawyer, although formerly a vehement Jacobin, impatiently waited till Bonaparte brought forth again all the old plunder; and then, covered with orders, he strutted up and down the Palais Royal like a peacock, and exhibited himself as a show. Lebrun, who was afterwards created a duke, at a later period distinguished himself by being the first to revive the use of hair

powder; in fact, he was completely a child and partisan of the olden times, although for a time he had played the part of a Girondist. . . . As early as the 25th and 26th of December the First Consul took up his abode in the Tuileries. There the name of citizen altogether disappeared, for the consul's wife caused herself again to be addressed as Madame. Everything which concerned the government now began to assume full activity, and the adjourned legislative councils were summoned for the 1st of January, in order that they might be dissolved."—F. C. Schlosser, *History of the eighteenth century*, v. 7, pp. 180-192.

Also in: P. Lanfrey, *History of Napoleon I*, v. 1, ch. 13-14.—A. Thiers, *History of the consulate and empire*, v. 1, bk. 1-2.—H. C. Lockwood, *Constitutional history of France*, ch. 2 and app. 4.

1799-1817.—Relations with Persia. See PERSIA: 1799-1817.

19th century.—Historiography: Beginnings of scientific history.—Philosophic, political, nationalist, romantic and modern scientific historians. See HISTORY: 26 to 30; 32.

19th century.—Industrial development.—International commerce.—Agricultural development. See CAPITALISM: 10th century; France; EUROPE: Modern: Industrial revolution; INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: France; AGRICULTURE: Modern: General survey; France: Development since the Revolution.

19th century.—Indirect and direct taxation. See TAXATION: Prussia, France, etc.

19th century.—Compulsory education.—Girls' schools.—Teacher training. See EDUCATION: Modern: 19th century; France.

19th century.—Vital statistics. See STATISTICS: Vital statistics.

1800.—Establishment of Bank of France. See MONEY and BANKING: Modern: 1793-1920.

1800 (January-June).—Affairs in Egypt.—Death of Kléber and how it altered Napoleon's foreign policy.—Affairs in Egypt had been on the whole unfavorable to the French, since that army had lost the presence of the commander-in-chief. Kléber, on whom the command devolved, was discontented both at the unceremonious manner in which the duty had been imposed upon him, and with the scarcity of means left to support his defence. Perceiving himself, threatened by a large Turkish force, he became desirous of giving up a settlement which he despaired of maintaining. He signed accordingly a convention with the Turkish plenipotentiaries, and Sir Sidney Smith on the part of the British at El Arish, January 28, 1800, by which it was provided that the French should evacuate Egypt and that Kléber and his army should be transported to France in safety. When the British government received advice of this convention they refused to ratify it. "The French people were clamouring daily more loudly for peace, and their demand was no longer to be overlooked. The public was aware of England's proposition, and the First Consul could no longer justify his policy of war, as he had done in the preceding year, by alleging Great Britain's unwillingness to treat. He accordingly accepted England's proposal, although solely for the purpose of taking the utmost advantage of his opponent's disinclination for war. In the course of her long contest on the seas England had made a number of valuable acquisitions. The Antilles, with the exception of Guadeloupe, and the factories at Pondicherry and Chandernagore in India had been taken by her from the French, while Holland had been compelled to give up Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope, and Spain had yielded Trinidad to her

superior forces. In the Mediterranean Malta and Minorca had already fallen into her hands, and apparently the time was not far distant when Egypt also must be reckoned among the conquests of Great Britain. Relying upon the friendship of the 'neutral' powers, Napoleon thought himself strong enough to compel England to give up all of these acquisitions. But a sudden end was put to all such aspirations on the part of Napoleon by the arrival of tidings of the death of the Czar [Paul], followed shortly by word from Egypt that General Menou, who had succeeded to the command of the army in Egypt upon the assassination of Kléber [a fanatic Turk, Soliman Haleby, imagined he was inspired by Heaven to slay the enemy of the Prophet], had been defeated before Alexandria and driven back into the city. Upon learning of this the English showed themselves again less disposed to obtain peace at a sacrifice. Negotiations were broken off and each party strove to get the advantage of the other by means of military or diplomatic successes. England prosecuted every possible means for bringing about a reconciliation with the new Czar, and sent a corps of troops to Egypt which was there to join forces with the Turks in order to compel the French to capitulate. Napoleon on his part urged upon Spain the conquest of Portugal with a view to acquiring thus a territory which might be given to England as compensation for terms of peace of the most favourable character, just as he had delivered Venice to Austria in 1797. He further sought to secure to France the good-will of Alexander I, by sending to St. Petersburg his aide-de-camp Duroc, a man in whom he felt unlimited confidence. In the midst of these conflicting interests it was England which was successful. In Egypt Cairo was surrendered in June, and with its fall the capitulation of Alexandria was assured. On the Peninsula, too, the hopes of France were blasted, for there Spain concluded with Portugal the separate peace . . . guaranteeing independence to the latter country."—A. Fournier, *Napoleon the First*, pp. 214-216.

ALSO IN: Lord Rosebery, *Napoleon*.—A. Thiers, *History of the consulate and empire*, v. 1, bk. 5.

1800-1801.—Convention with United States.—Ratification of treaty. See U. S. A.: 1800; 1801: Treaty with France ratified.

1800-1801 (May-February).—Bonaparte's second Italian campaign.—Crossing of the Alps.—Battle of Marengo.—Moreau in Germany.—Hohenlinden.—Austrian siege of Genoa.—"Preparations for the new campaign in spring were completed. Moreau was made commander-in-chief of the army of the Rhine, 150,000 strong. The plan of the campaign was concerted between the First Consul and Carnot, who had superseded Berthier as Minister at War. The operations were conducted with the utmost secrecy. Napoleon had determined to strike the decisive blow against Austria in Italy, and to command there in person. By an article in the Constitution the First Consul was forbidden to take command of an army. To this interdiction he cheerfully assented; but he evaded it, as soon as the occasion was ripe, by giving the nominal command of the army of Italy to Berthier. He began to collect troops at Dijon, which were, he publicly announced, intended to advance upon Italy. They consisted chiefly of conscripts and invalids, with a numerous staff, and were called 'the army of reserve.' Meantime, while caricatures of some ancient men with wooden legs and little boys of twelve years old, entitled 'Bonaparte's Army of Reserve,' were amusing the Austrian public, the real army of Italy was formed in the heart

of France, and was marching by various roads towards Switzerland. . . . The artillery was sent piecemeal from different arsenals; the provisions necessary to an army about to cross barren mountains were forwarded to Geneva, embarked on the lake, and landed at Villeneuve, near the entrance to the valley of the Simplon. The situation of the French army in Italy had become critical. Masséna had thrown himself into Genoa with 12,000 men, and was enduring all the rigours of a siege, pressed by 30,000 Austrians under General Ott, seconded by the British fleet. Suchet, with the remainder of the French army, about 10,000 strong, completely cut off from communication with Masséna, had concentrated his forces on the Var, was maintaining an unequal contest with Melas, the Austrian commander-in-chief, and strenuously defending the French frontier. Napoleon's plan was to transport his army across the Alps, plant himself in the rear of the Austrians, intercept their communications, then manœuvre so as to place his own army and that of Masséna on the Austrian right and left flanks respectively, cut off their retreat, and finally give them battle at the decisive moment. While all Europe imagined that the multifarious concerns of the Government held the First Consul at Paris, he was travelling at a rapid rate towards Geneva, accompanied only by his secretary. He left Paris on the 6th of May, at two in the morning, leaving Cambacérès to preside until his return, and ordering Fouché to announce that he was about to review the army at Dijon, and might possibly go as far as Geneva, but would return in a fortnight. 'Should anything happen,' he significantly added, 'I shall be back like a thunderbolt.' . . . On the 13th the First Consul reviewed the vanguard of his army, commanded by General Lannes, at Lausanne. The whole army consisted of nearly 70,000 men. Two columns, each of about 6,000 men, were put in motion, one under Tureau, the other under Chabran, to take the routes of Mont Cenis and the Little St. Bernard. A division consisting of 15,000 men, under Moncey, detached from the army of the Rhine, was to march by St. Gothard. Moreau kept the Austrian army of the Rhine, under General Kray, on the defensive before Ulm [to which he had forced his way in a series of important engagements, at Engen, May 2, at Moeskirch, May 4, at Biberach, May 6, and at Hochstadt, June 10], and held himself in readiness to cover the operations of the First Consul in Italy. The main body of the French army, in numbers about 40,000, nominally commanded by Berthier, but in fact by the First Consul himself, marched on the 15th from Lausanne to the village of St. Pierre, at the foot of the Great St. Bernard, at which all trace of a practicable road entirely ceased. General Marescot, the engineer who had been sent forward from Geneva to reconnoitre, reported the paths to be 'barely passable.' 'Set forward immediately!' wrote Napoleon. Field forges were established at St. Pierre to dismount the guns, the carriages and wheels were slung on poles, and the ammunition-boxes carried by mules. A number of trees were felled, then hollowed out, and the pieces, being jammed into these rough cases, 100 soldiers were attached to each and ordered to drag them up the steps. . . . The whole army effected the passage of the Great St. Bernard in three days."—R. H. Horne, *History of Napoleon Bonaparte*, ch. 18.—"From May 16 to May 10, the solitudes of the vast mountain track echoed to the din and tumult of war, as the French soldiery swept over its heights to reach the valley of the Po and the plains of Lombardy. A hill fort, for a time, stopped the daring invaders, but the ob-

stale was passed by an ingenious stratagem; and before long Bonaparte, exulting in hope, was marching from the verge of Piedmont on Milan, having made a demonstration against Turin, in order to hide his real purpose. By June 2 the whole French army, joined by the reinforcement sent by Moreau, was in possession of the Lombard capital, and threatened the line of its enemy's retreat, having successfully accomplished the first part of the brilliant design of its great leader. While Bonaparte was thus descending from the Alps, the Austrian commander had been pressing forward the siege of Genoa and his operations on the Var. Massèna, however, stubbornly held out in Genoa; and Suchet had defended the defiles of Provence with a weak force with such marked skill that his adversary had made little progress. When first informed of the terrible apparition of a hostile army gathering upon his rear, Melas disbelieved what he thought impossible; and when he could no longer discredit what he heard, the movements by Mont Cenis and against Turin, intended to perplex him, had made him hesitate. As soon, however, as the real design of the First Consul was fully revealed, the brave Austrian chief resolved to force his way to the Adige at any cost; and, directing Ott to raise the siege of Genoa, and leaving a subordinate to hold Suchet in check, he began to draw his divided army together, in order to make a desperate attack on the audacious foe upon his line of retreat. Ott, however, delayed some days to receive the keys of Genoa, which fell [June 4] after a defence memorable in the annals of war; and, as the Austrian forces had been widely scattered, it was June 12 [after a severe defeat at Montebello, on the 9th, by Lannes] before 50,000 men were assembled for an offensive movement round the well-known fortresses of Alessandria. Meanwhile, the First Consul had broken up from Milan; and, whether ill-informed of his enemy's operations, or apprehensive that, after the fall of Genoa, Melas would escape by a march southwards, he had advanced from a strong position he had taken between the Ticino, the Adda, and the Po, and had crossed the Scrivia into the plains of Marengo, with forces disseminated far too widely. Melas boldly seized the opportunity to escape from the weakened meshes of the net thrown round him; and attacked Bonaparte on the morning of June 14 with a vigor and energy which did him honor. The battle raged confusedly for several hours; but the French had begun to give way and fly, when the arrival of an isolated division on the field [that of Desaix, who had been sent southward by Bonaparte, and who turned back, on his own responsibility, when he heard the sounds of battle] and the unexpected charge of a small body of horsemen, suddenly changed defeat into a brilliant victory. The importance was then seen of the commanding position of Bonaparte on the rear of his foe; the Austrian army, its retreat cut off, was obliged to come to terms after a single reverse; and within a few days an armistice was signed by which Italy to the Mincio was restored to the French, and the disasters of 1799 were effaced. . . . While Italy had been regained at one stroke, the campaign in Germany had progressed slowly; and though Moreau was largely superior in force, he had met more than one check near Ulm, on the Danube. The stand, however, made ably by Kray, could not lessen the effects of Marengo; and Austria, after that terrible reverse, endeavored to negotiate with the dreaded conqueror. Bonaparte, however, following out a purpose which he had already made a maxim of policy, and resolved if possible to divide the Coalition, refused to treat with Austria

jointly with England, except on conditions known to be futile; and after a pause of a few weeks hostilities were resumed with increased energy. By this time, however, the French armies had acquired largely preponderating strength; and while Brune advanced victoriously to the Adige—the First Consul had returned to the seat of government—Moreau in Bavaria marched on the rivers which, descending from the Alps to the Danube, form one of the bulwarks of the Austrian Monarchy. He was attacked incautiously by the Archduke John—the Archduke Charles, who ought to have been in command, was in temporary disgrace at the Court—and soon afterwards [December 3] he won a great battle at Hohenlinden, between the Iser and the Inn, the success of the French being complete and decisive, though the conduct of their chief has not escaped criticism. This last disaster proved overwhelming, and Austria and the States of the Empire were forced to submit to the terms of Bonaparte. After a brief delay peace was made at Lunéville in February 1801."—W. O'C. Morris, *French Revolution and first empire*, ch. 10.

ALSO IN: C. Adams, *Great campaigns in Europe from 1796 to 1870*.—C. Botta, *Italy during the consulate and empire of Napoleon*.—O. P. Browning, *Napoleon*.—A. Fournier, *Napoleon the First*.—C. D. Hazen, *French Revolution and Napoleon*.—Baron Jomini, *Life of Napoleon*, v. 1.—J. H. Rose, *Bonaparte and the conquest of Italy (Cambridge modern history, v. 8)*.—J. H. Rose, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic era*.

1800-1801 (June-February).—Emperor Paul intercedes with the First Consul in behalf of the king and queen of Naples.—Leaves the coalition.—The Pope befriends.—Court of Naples makes peace with France.—"Such was the victory of Marengo. It was dearly bought; for, apart from the heavy losses, amounting on either side to about one-third of the number engaged, the victors sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Desaix, who fell in the moment when his skill and vigour snatched victory from defeat. The victory was immediately due to Kellermann's brilliant charge; and there can be no doubt, in spite of Savary's statements, that this young officer made the charge on his own initiative. Yet his onset could have had little effect, had not Desaix shaken the enemy and left him liable to a panic like that which brought disaster to the Imperialists at Rivoli. Bonaparte's dispositions at the crisis were undoubtedly skilful; but in the first part of the fight his conduct was below his reputation. We do not hear of him electrifying his disordered troops by any deed comparable with that of Caesar, when, shield in hand, he flung himself among the legionaries to stem the torrent of the Nervii. At the climax of the fight he uttered the words 'Soldiers, remember it is my custom to bivouac on the field of battle'—tame and egotistical words considering the gravity of the crisis. . . . [The queen of the two Sicilies implored Emperor Paul to intercede with the First Consul in behalf of her husband. The Russian monarch, having been enraged at the discomfiture of Suvarov in Switzerland and dissatisfied with the conduct of Austria and England, was willing to accede to this request; and he made plans to quit the coalition and ally himself with the First Consul.] At the close of 1800 the Russian Emperor marshals the Baltic Powers for the overthrow of England's navy, and outstrips Bonaparte's wildest hopes by proposing a Franco-Russian invasion of India with a view to 'dealing his enemy a mortal blow.' This plan, as drawn up at the close of 1800, arranged for the mustering of 35,000 Russians of Astrakan; while as many French

were to fight their way to the mouth of the Danube, set sail on Russian ships for the Sea of Azov, join their allies on the Caspian Sea, sail to its southern extremity, and, rousing the Persians and Afghans by the hope of plunder, sweep the British from India. The scheme received from Bonaparte a courteous perusal; but he subjected it to several criticisms, which led to less patient rejoinders from the irascible potentate. . . . The Court of Naples also made peace with France by the treaty of Florence (March, 1801), whereby it withdrew its troops from the States of the Church [Murat, commander of the French army in Italy, respected the territory of the church, and reinstalled the officers of the pope in the patrimony of St. Peter's], and closed its ports to British and Turkish ships; it also renounced in favour of the French Republic all its claims over a maritime district of Tuscany known as the *Présidii*, the little principality of Piombino, and a port in the Isle of Elba. These cessions fitted in well with Napoleon's schemes for the proposed elevation of the heir of the Duchy of Parma to the rank of King of Tuscany or Etruria. The King of Naples also pledged himself to admit and support a French corps in his dominions. Sout with 10,000 troops thereupon occupied Otranto, Taranto, and Brindisi, in order to hold the Neapolitan Government to its engagements, and to facilitate French intercourse with Egypt."—J. H. Rose, *Life of Napoleon I*, pp. 238, 241, 243.

1801 (February).—Peace of Lunéville.—Rhine boundary confirmed.—Intervention of Austria. See GERMANY: 1801-1803.

1801 (March).—Recovery of Louisiana from Spain. See LOUISIANA: 1798-1803.

1801.—Expedition against the negroes of Haiti. See HAITI, REPUBLIC OF: 1632-1803.

1801-1802.—Significance of the peace of Lunéville.—Bonaparte's preparations for conflict with England.—Northern Maritime League.—English bombardment of Copenhagen and summary crushing of League.—Murder of Russian tsar.—English expedition to Egypt.—Surrender of French army.—Peace of Amiens.—"The treaty of Lunéville was of far greater import than the treaties which had ended the struggle of the first coalition. . . . The significance then of the Peace of Lunéville lay in this, not only that it was the close of the earlier revolutionary struggle for supremacy in Europe, the abandonment by France of her effort to 'liberate the peoples,' to force new institutions on the nations about her by sheer dint of arms; but that it marked the concentration of all her energies on a struggle with Britain for the supremacy of the world. For England herself the event which accompanied it, the sudden withdrawal of William Pitt from office, which took place in the very month of the treaty, was hardly less significant. . . . The bulk of the old Ministry returned in a few days to office with Mr. Addington at their head, and his administration received the support of the whole Tory party in Parliament. . . . It was with anxiety that England found itself guided by men like these. . . . The country stood utterly alone; while the peace of Lunéville secured France from all hostility on the Continent. . . . To strike at England's wealth had been among the projects of the Directory; it was now the dream of the First Consul. It was in vain for England to produce, if he shut her out of every market. Her carrying-trade must be annihilated if he closed every port against her ships. It was this gigantic project of a 'Continental System' that revealed itself as soon as Buonaparte became finally master of France. From France itself and its dependencies in Holland and the Netherlands Eng-

lish trade was already excluded. But Italy also was shut against her after the Peace of Lunéville [and the Treaty of Foligno with the King of Naples], and Spain not only closed her own ports but forced Portugal to break with her English ally. In the Baltic, Buonaparte was more active than even in the Mediterranean. In a treaty with America, which was destined to bring this power also in the end into his great attack, he had formally recognized the rights of neutral vessels which England was hourly disputing. . . . The only powers which now possessed naval resources were the powers of the North. . . . Both the Scandinavian states resented the severity with which Britain enforced that right of search which had brought about their armed neutrality at the close of the American war; while Denmark was besides an old ally of France, and her sympathies were still believed to be French. The First Consul therefore had little trouble in enlisting them in a league of Neutrals, which was in effect a declaration of war against England, and which Prussia as before showed herself ready to join. Russia indeed seemed harder to gain." But Paul, the czar, afraid of the opposition of England to his designs upon Turkey, dissatisfied with the operations of the coalition, and flattered by Bonaparte, gave himself up to the influence of the latter. "It was to check the action of Britain in the East that the Czar now turned to the French Consul, and seconded his efforts for the formation of a naval confederacy in the North, while his minister, Rostopchin, planned a division of the Turkish Empire in Europe between Russia and her allies. . . . A squabble over Malta, which had been blockaded since its capture by Buonaparte, and which surrendered at last [September, 1800] to a British fleet, but whose possession the Czar claimed as his own on the ground of an alleged election as Grand Master of the Order of St. John, served as a pretext for a quarrel with England; and at the close of 1800 Paul openly prepared for hostilities. . . . The Danes, who throughout the year had been struggling to evade the British right of search, at once joined this neutral league, and were followed by Sweden in their course. . . . But dexterous as the combination was, it was shattered at a blow. On the 1st of April, 1801, a British fleet of 18 men-of-war [under Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson second in command] forced the passage of the Belt, appeared before Copenhagen, and at once attacked the city and its fleet. In spite of a brave resistance from the Danish batteries and gunboats six Danish ships were taken, and the Crown Prince was forced to conclude an armistice which enabled the English ships to enter the Baltic. . . . But their work was really over. The seizure of English goods and the declaration of war had bitterly irritated the Russian nobles, whose sole outlet for the sale of the produce of their vast estates was thus closed to them; and on the 24th of March, nine days before the battle of Copenhagen, Paul fell in a midnight attack by conspirators in his own palace. With Paul fell the Confederacy of the North. . . . At the very moment of the attack on Copenhagen, a stroke as effective wrecked his projects in the East. . . . In March, 1801, a force of 15,000 men under General Abercrombie anchored in Aboukir Bay. Deserted as they were by Buonaparte, the French had firmly maintained their hold on Egypt. . . . But their army was foolishly scattered, and Abercrombie was able to force a landing five days after his arrival on the coast. The French however rapidly concentrated; and on the 21st of March their general attacked the English army on the ground it had won, with a force equal to its own. The battle

[known as the battle of Alexandria] was a stubborn one, and Abercrombie fell mortally wounded ere its close; but after six hours' fighting the French drew off with heavy loss; and their retreat was followed by the investment of Alexandria and Cairo. . . . At the close of June the capitulation of the 13,000 soldiers who remained closed the French rule over Egypt." Threatening preparations for an invasion of England were kept up, and gunboats and flatboats collected at Boulogne, which Nelson attacked unsuccessfully in August, 1801, "The First Consul opened negotiations for peace at the close of 1801. His offers were at once met by the English Government. . . . The negotiations which went on through the winter between England and the three allied Powers of France, Spain, and the Dutch, brought about in March, 1802, the Peace of Amiens." The treaty secured "a pledge on the part of France to withdraw its forces from Southern Italy, and to leave to themselves the republics it had set up along its border in Holland, Switzerland, and Piedmont. In exchange for this pledge, England recognized the French government, restored all the colonies which they had lost, save Ceylon and Trinidad, to France and its allies [including the restoration to Holland of the Cape of Good Hope and Dutch Guiana, and of Minorca and the citadel of Port Mahon to Spain, while Turkey regained possession of Egypt], acknowledged the Ionian Islands as a free republic, and engaged to restore Malta within three months to its old masters, the Knights of St. John."—J. R. Green, *History of the English people*, v. 4, bk. 9, ch. 5.—See also BOSPORUS: 1774-1807; CONSTANTINOPE: 1920.

ALSO IN: G. R. Gleig, *Life of General Sir R. Abercrombie (Eminent British military commanders, v. 3)*.—J. Gifford, *Political life of Pitt*, v. 6.—C. Joyneville, *Life and times of Alexander I*, v. 1.—A. Rambaud, *History of Russia*, v. 2.—R. Southey, *Life of Nelson*, v. 2.

1801-1803.—Napoleon's extension of power in Spain and Italy.—Made president of the Italian republic.—Instigates and dictates revolutions in the Dutch and Swiss republics.—"No sooner was the Treaty of Amiens signed than Bonaparte began to make ready for the struggle which he foresaw and foretold. . . . Already controlling Holland and Italy, he was determined to be master of Spain and Portugal; and, pending the annexation of those countries, he sent his own generals in the guise of ambassadors, who were to dragoon the governments, keep watch on their doings, frustrate intrigues, and take care that the ports were rigidly closed to the English. . . . and this entailed interference with the politics of Italy, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. . . . It was certainly no part of Bonaparte's scheme to promote Italian unity."—A. Guillard, *Napoleon (Cambridge modern history, v. 9, pp. 80, 82)*.—"His attention was turned first of all to Italy, where the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics were again recognized and guaranteed [by the second article of the Lunéville Treaty]. The former had been very considerably increased by the annexation of Modena and the Legations; in both, French statesmen stood at the head of the government; both remained mere dependencies of France, and the will of the First Consul was supreme there as in France. Between these two countries lay Piedmont, whose destiny or that of its king had not yet been decided, with the exception of Savoy, which had been incorporated into France. . . . Napoleon took advantage of the acquisition of Tuscany to place Spain under obligations to himself and thus gain a directing hand in the management of her policy.

After the battle of Marengo he had succeeded in driving out of office in Madrid a ministry hostile to France. . . . Napoleon's object was attained October 1st, 1800, through the treaty of San Ildefonso, by which Tuscany, under the name of Kingdom of Etruria, was promised to the queen's daughter, who had married the Bourbon Prince of Parma. The transaction was completed by the signature of the Peace of Lunéville, and on the 21st of March, 1801, Spain declared herself ready . . . to cede to France Parma and its dependency Elba, and to give up Louisiana. In September, 1801, Napoleon had already conferred with certain men in Lombardy who were in his confidence; the next step was to arrange for the elaboration of a constitution according to his directions, which duty he assigned to Maret. The result of these labours was sent to Milan in order that it might there be secretly deliberated upon. According to it a single President was in this case also to be put at the head of the government. The authorities in Milan consented to everything, asking only that Napoleon would do them the favour to appoint the proper persons to the offices of State. And again the First Consul tried to conform with the provisions of the before-mentioned Article in the Treaty of Lunéville by inviting to Lyons the most prominent representatives of the three classes into which the people were divided according to the constitution. . . . At this place and with the concurrence of these deputies men were assigned to the principal offices with the exception of a single one, that of the Presidency. [Napoleon was made president January 25, 1802.] . . . His [Napoleon's] first official act was to change the name 'Cisalpine Republic' to the 'Italian Republic'—a clever stroke, for already many hearts had been fired with enthusiasm by the words of Alfieri: 'Italia virtuosa, magnanima, libera et una.' The name was taken to signify a complete programme of national unity and independence. And who was better fitted to make this dream a reality than the victor of Marengo? But this was after all nothing but a decoy. Napoleon's real designs were most clearly shown by the fate which overtook Piedmont. This country lay at the portals of France and formed a sort of bridge leading to the Republic of Lombardy. The French had occupied it ever since their last victory over the Austrians, and had not evacuated it after the conclusion of the Treaty of Lunéville. During the lifetime of Paul I. of Russia, who had drawn his sword among other things in defence of the legitimate rights of the King of Sardinia, Napoleon contented himself with simple occupation of the territory in order to avoid giving offence to his new-found friend. Hardly had the Czar breathed his last, however, before Gen. Jourdan—the Jacobin of the 18th Brumaire and now the docile tool of the new monarch—was forthwith commissioned to proclaim to the Piedmontese that their country was to form a French military division [by a decree of April 20, 1801] and to be portioned off into six prefectures. This was exactly the procedure of the Convention in former days when it set about the annexation of German possessions along the Rhine."—A. Fournier, *Napoleon the First*, pp. 210, 252-254.—"If the Dutch did not show the enthusiasm of the Italians for the doctrines of the French Revolution, those doctrines had, nevertheless, made their way into Holland even before the arrival of the armies of the Republic. . . . The Dutch Directory consisted of an executive body of five members. The Legislative authority was shared between two Chambers: a Grand Council, which was representative in character, and a Coun-

cil of Ancients. This system worked fairly well, and at any other time would probably have secured the well-being of the country. . . . This state of things [debt, revolutions, and requisitions] afforded Bonaparte abundant excuse for interference in Holland. Ever since the revolution of Brumaire, his wish had been to change the system of government. . . . In 1801 Bonaparte considered that the moment for intervention had come; and he drew up a Constitution which strengthened the executive, while it diminished the authority of the legislature to a corresponding extent. He created a Council of twelve members (*Staatsbewind*), with a Secretary-General and four Secretaries of State. The legislative power rested with a single Chamber of 35 members, chosen, in the first instance, by the Government, and afterwards to be renewed, one-third at a time, by the electors. This Chamber could only vote by a simple 'aye' or 'no' on the bills placed before them. Bonaparte resolved to submit this Constitution to the two Chambers for ratification, convinced that they would accept it eagerly. He was mistaken: the Chambers declined to give it their sanction, and they were supported in their refusal by two of the Directors. Bonaparte did not hesitate. On Sept. 26, 1801, Auzereau proclaimed the dissolution of the two Chambers; and, as the people made no sign, the *Moniteur* was able to say that 'the operation had been accomplished without the smallest disturbance.' Bonaparte declared that he would appeal to the nation; and he did in fact, a few days later, submit his Constitution to the suffrages of the Dutch. Of 416,410 electors, 52,219 voted against the Constitution, and 16,771 for it; the rest abstained. This abstention was treated by Bonaparte as acquiescence; and on October 6, 1801, he declared that the Constitution had been accepted. In order to reconcile the Batavians to the new arrangement, he agreed to reduce, from 25,000 to 10,000 men, the number of soldiers which Holland was to support till the conclusion of peace with England. But, as a set-off to this reduction, he exacted a contribution of 65,000,000 florins. . . . In Holland the *coup d'état* of September 18, 1801, was received . . . with resigned indifference. The most that could be said was, that those of the nation who longed for repose saw in it some hope of a period of tranquillity. . . . The gravest question which it had to deal with was the question of finance. There was a deficit of 50,000,000 florins; and the Council adopted most unpopular measures to make it good. They imposed, for example, a tax of 4 per cent. on property and of 10 per cent. on income for eight years. . . . The rupture of the Treaty of Amiens finally ruined the hopes of the Dutch. On June 25, 1803, Bonaparte imposed on them, in addition to the maintenance of the French army of occupation, the duty of providing 16,000 men, of fitting out five men-of-war and five frigates, and of building transports and boats sufficient for the accommodation of more than 60,000 men. This was too much for a country whose finances were exhausted. The Government, driven into a corner, attempted to evade its engagements, and to delay the outbreak of hostilities with Great Britain. Bonaparte, who got wind of these measures, proposed in 1803 to bind Holland more closely to France by placing, as he said, 'a man of character' at the head of affairs—he had already Schimmelpenninck in his eye—but the mass of business on his hands forced him to defer the execution of this plan. . . . In Switzerland, the effects of the French Revolution resembled those in Germany: the ancient federation of 13 cantons with its subject and allied provinces, together with the extraor-

dinary inequalities which existed between the country districts and the towns, disappeared once for all. In its place was created the Helvetic Republic, one and indivisible, which, by abolishing ecclesiastical and feudal burdens and the monopolies that clogged manufactures and commerce, and by establishing civil equality and liberty of conscience, laid the foundation of the democratic Switzerland of the nineteenth century. This work, it must be admitted, was accomplished less by the will of the citizens than by the conquering armies of the Revolution. . . . The existing Governments in Switzerland were strongly reactionary; and even in the small democratic cantons of Old Switzerland, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, which had furnished many officers to France, Jacobinism was held in abhorrence. Consequently, in no part of Europe were French *émigrés* more numerous, relatively speaking, than in Switzerland; and they were generally welcomed. . . . Bonaparte was not indifferent to what was passing in Switzerland; and, as in the case of Holland, he was on the watch for an opportunity to intervene. He gave the preference to neither of the two extreme parties which divided the country, but inclined rather to an intermediate group which recognised at once the advantages of the new *régime* and of certain institutions belonging to the past which it considered indispensable. This party, known in Switzerland as the Republican, stood midway between the patriots or Jacobins on the one side and the reactionaries or Federalists on the other. It was moderate in its claims and unionist in its objects. But the party was weak in numbers; its members were men of distinction who had been trained in the school of the Republic, and they formed, so to speak, a staff of officers without an army. Bonaparte nevertheless approached them; and on January 8, 1800, a *coup d'état* was effected at Bern which placed these men in power. . . . This *coup d'état* was speedily followed by another. Bonaparte could not tolerate the existence in Switzerland of two Assemblies, each with a Jacobin majority. He therefore encouraged the Executive Committee to substitute for the two Councils a Legislative Body composed of 43 members, of whom 35 were to be chosen from the Councils by the Executive Committee, while the remaining 8 were to be co-opted by the 35. The Legislative Body thus constituted was in its turn to appoint the executive in the shape of a Council of seven members. The Grand Council, on this proposal being submitted to it, discerned in it the hand of Bonaparte and voted it unanimously. The Senate, after a show of resistance, also acquiesced (August 8, 1800). The Republican party formed the majority in the new Government, both in the executive and in the legislative departments; and they thought themselves strong enough to establish a Constitution framed in accordance with their own ideas, that is to say, at once unionist and liberal. It was, however, no part of Bonaparte's plan to favour the creation of a centralised Switzerland which would be less under his control than a federation. The new Government submitted a scheme based on the French Consular Constitution. To this Bonaparte replied by a counter-project, the Constitution of Malmaison; and this he imposed upon the country in defiance of the Treaty of Lunéville, which had recognised Switzerland as an independent State. The Constitution of Malmaison (May, 1801) divided Switzerland into 17 cantons, to each of which was given autonomy in various matters, particularly in those relating to finance and public instruction. Each canton was placed under the authority of a prefect; and the admin-

istration was in each case adapted to local needs. The central authority consisted of a Diet of 77 members and a Senate of 25 members; and from the latter was chosen the First Magistrate of the country, who bore the title of Chief *Landammann* of Switzerland. The *Landammann* presided over a Council of Four, who formed the executive authority. This Constitution, in spite of its imperfections, was the best that the country could hope for at the time. Taking into account recent events, it met the requirements of nature and history better than the unionist Constitutions which had preceded it; it may even be said that in certain respects it was superior to the Act of Mediation which followed it (1803). All parties therefore agreed in demanding its modification; and the Republicans, who formed the majority in the Diet, appointed a committee to reconstruct Bonaparte's work. . . . A third *coup d'état* at Bern swept away the Government of the Moderates. The stroke was secretly planned at Bern by Bonaparte's agent Verninac, in collusion with the Bernese aristocrats. These latter, finding that Bonaparte was annoyed with the Republicans, made common cause with the Federalists of the small cantons in order to upset the Government. They succeeded, thanks to the support of French troops under General Montchoisy. The Diet was declared to be dissolved; the Constitution of Malmaison was reëstablished. . . . Bonaparte, on hearing of this proceeding, was deeply incensed, withdrew his support from the Federals, and, shifting his position in the manner familiar to him, made a show of sympathy with the Republicans. The latter, believing that the moment had come for a fresh *coup d'état*, took advantage of the absence of many of the Federals from Bern during the Eastern recess, declared the Senate indefinitely adjourned (April 17, 1802) and summoned an assembly of notables from all the cantons to agree on the changes to be made in the Constitution of Malmaison. This new Constitution, imposed by force, gave rise to incessant troubles. . . . This was the very moment chosen by Bonaparte, with Machiavellian astuteness, to withdraw his soldiers from Swiss territory. Bonaparte had not miscalculated; hardly had the last French soldier quitted Swiss soil than risings took place in all directions. . . . The Federalists, under experienced leaders, made themselves masters of Bern, and expelled the Government. They then defeated their rivals at Morat, October 4, 1802, and marched on Lausanne in order to overthrow the Government, which had taken refuge there. At this point Bonaparte intervened. . . . While he appeared merely to offer mediation, Bonaparte in reality imposed it by force. At the very moment when Rapp presented himself before the Helvetic Government, General Ney was ordered to march into Switzerland with 30,000 men and 'crush all opposition.' He issued proclamations in which he stated that it was 'at the request of the nation, and particularly on the demand of the Senate and the smaller cantons, that the First Consul intervened as mediator.' It was true; but, at the moment when the French invaded the territory of Switzerland, the Federalist Government despatched a protest to London, Vienna, and Berlin."—A. Guillard, *Cambridge modern history*, v. 9, pp. 88-91, 95, 97-100.

"While the Consul in these ways prepared the 'blockade' of England, he was assembling on the coast of the Channel near Boulogne an imposing army, which he thoroughly equipped and exercised—whether as mere demonstration or with a view to actual occasion—in what was requisite to accomplish with success the transit across the Chan-

nel. Flat transport-boats were built in great number, and the field-soldiers practised in the duties of the sailor. It was a gigantic apparatus which was here displayed for the consternation of John Bull. But it was not to be brought immediately into action. The enemy from without was, unfortunately for him, not the only one against which Napoleon had to do battle. In the interior of the country arose another enemy which was not to be subdued with army and navy. Against this foe he now turned. In this case also he was destined to conquer, and, with his genius for making everything contribute to his end, his prostrate antagonist was made to serve but as a stepping-stone to new greatness."—A. Fournier, *Napoleon the First*, pp. 260-270.—"The second preparation for war was the much discussed equipment of an expedition to invade England. It is a commonplace of history that the British empire has ever been fortified in the separation of the kingdom from the continent of Europe by a narrow but stormy estuary. There had been repeated invasions from the days of the Anglo-Saxons themselves down to the expedition of William of Orange; but growing wealth had furnished ever increasing armaments, and made access to England's shores so much more difficult with every year that, finally, successful invasion had come to be regarded by her enemies as impossible. . . . For years the project of a descent on England had been the standard pretext of the Convention and of the Directory to extort money from officeholders and patriots."—W. M. Sloane, *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, v. 2, p. 290.

1801-1804.—Civil Code and the Concordat.—"Four years of peace separated the Treaty of Lunéville from the next outbreak of war between France and any Continental Power. They were years of the extension of French influence in every neighbouring State; in France itself, years of the consolidation of Bonaparte's power, and of the decline of everything that checked his personal rule. . . . Among the institutions which date from this period, two, equally associated with the name of Napoleon, have taken a prominent place in history, the Civil Code and the Concordat. Since the middle of the 18th century the codification of law had been pursued with more or less success by almost every Government in the western continent. The Constituent Assembly of 1789 had ordered the statutes by which it superseded the variety of local customs in France to be thus cast into a systematic form. . . . Bonaparte instinctively threw himself into a task so congenial to his own systematizing spirit, and stimulated the efforts of the best jurists in France by his own personal interest and pride in the work of legislation. A Commission of lawyers, appointed by the First Consul, presented the successive chapters of a Civil Code to the Council of State. In the discussions in the Council of State Bonaparte himself took an active, though not always a beneficial, part. . . . In March, 1804, France received the Code which, with few alterations, has formed from that time to the present the basis of its civil rights. . . . It is probable that a majority of the inhabitants of Western Europe believe that Napoleon actually invented the laws which bear his name. As a matter of fact, the substance of these laws was fixed by the successive Assemblies of the Revolution; and, in the final revision which produced the Civil Code, Napoleon appears to have originated neither more nor less than several of the members of his Council whose names have long been forgotten. He is unquestionably entitled to the honour of a great legislator, not, however, as one who, like Solon or like

Mahomet, himself created a new body of law. . . . Four other Codes, appearing at intervals from the year 1804 to the year 1810, embodied, in a corresponding form, the Law of Commerce, the Criminal Law, and the Rules of Civil and of Criminal Process."—C. A. Fyffe, *History of modern Europe*, v. 1.—"It is . . . easy, from the official reports which have been preserved, to see what part the First Consul took in the framing of the Civil Code. While we recognise that his intervention was advantageous on some minor points, . . . we must say that his views on the subjects of legislation in which this intervention was most conspicuous, were most often inspired by suggestions of personal interest, or by political considerations which ought to have no weight with the legislator. . . . Bonaparte came by degrees to consider himself the principal creator of a collective work to which he contributed little more than his name, and which probably would have been much better if the suggestions of a man of action and executive authority had not been blended with the views, necessarily more disinterested, larger and more humane, of the eminent juriconsults whose glory he tried to usurp."—P. Lanfrey, *History of Napoleon*, v. 2, ch. 5.—"The famous Code Napoléon was an orderly, systematic, compact statement of the laws of France. Pre-revolutionary France had been governed by a perplexing number of systems of law of different historical origins. Then had come, with the Revolution, a flood of new legislation, inspired by different principles and greatly increasing the sum-total of laws in force. It was desirable to sift and harmonize all these statutes, and to present to the people of France a body of law, clear, rational, and logically arranged, so that henceforth all the doubt, uncertainty, and confusion which had hitherto characterized the administration of justice might be avoided and every Frenchman might easily know what his legal rights and relations were, with reference to the state and his fellow-citizens. The Constituent Assembly, the Convention, the Directory, had all appreciated the need of this codification and had had committees at work upon it, but the work had been uncompleted. Bonaparte now lent the driving force of his personality to the accomplishment of this task, and in a comparatively brief time the lawyers and the Council of State to whom he intrusted the work had it finished. The code to which Napoleon attached his name preserved the principle of civil equality established by the Revolution. It was immediately put into force in France and was later introduced into countries conquered or influenced by France, Belgium, the German territories west of the Rhine, and Italy."—C. D. Hazen, *French Revolution and Napoleon*, pp. 284-285.

"Far more distinctively the work of Napoleon himself was the reconciliation with the Church of Rome effected by the Concordat [July, 1801]. It was a restoration of religion similar to that restoration of political order which made the public service the engine of a single will. The bishops and priests, whose appointment the Concordat transferred from their congregations to the Government, were as much instruments of the First Consul as his prefects and his gendarmes. . . . An alliance with the Pope offered to Bonaparte the means of supplanting the popular organisation of the Constitutional Church by an imposing hierarchy, rigid in its orthodoxy and unquestioning in its devotion to himself. In return for the consecration of his own rule, Bonaparte did not shrink from inviting the Pope to an exercise of authority such as the Holy See had never even claimed in France. The whole of the existing French Bishops,

both the exiled non-jurors and those of the Constitutional Church, were summoned to resign their sees into the hands of the Pope; against all who refused to do so sentence of deposition was pronounced by the Pontiff. . . . The sees were reorganised, and filled up by nominees of the First Consul. The position of the great body of the clergy was substantially altered in its relation to the Bishops. Episcopal power was made despotic, like all other powers in France. . . . In the greater cycle of religious change, the Concordat of Bonaparte appears in another light. . . . It converted the Catholicism of France from a faith already far more independent than that of Fénelon and Bossuet into the Catholicism which in our day has outstripped the bigotry of Spain and Austria in welcoming the dogma of Papal infallibility."—C. A. Fyffe, *History of modern Europe*, v. 1, ch. 5.—"Bonaparte . . . perceived that the strength of the Bourbon cause lay not in the merits or talents of the royal family itself or its aristocratic supporters, but in its close identification with the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church. Through all the angry religious warfare of the Revolution the mass of the people had remained faithful to the priests and the priests were subject to the bishops. The bishops had refused to accept the various laws of the Revolution concerning them and had as a consequence been driven from the country. They were living mostly in England and in Germany, taking their cue from the Pope, who recognized Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, as the legitimate ruler of France. Thus the religious dissension was fused with political opposition—royalists and bishops were in the same galley. Bonaparte determined to sever this connection, thus leaving the extreme royalists high and dry, a staff of officers without an army. No sooner had he returned from Marengo than he took measures to show the Catholics that they had nothing to fear from him, that they could enjoy their religion undisturbed if they did not use their liberty, under cover of religion, to plot against him and against the Revolutionary settlement. He was in all this not actuated by any religious sentiment himself, but by a purely political sentiment—he was himself, as he said, 'Mohamedan in Egypt, Catholic in France,' not because he considered that either was in the exclusive or authentic possession of the truth, but because he was a man of sense who saw the futility of trying to dragoon by force men who were religious into any other camp than the one to which they naturally belonged. Bonaparte also saw that religion was an instrument which he might much better have on his side than allow to be on the side of his enemies. He looked on religion as a force in politics, nothing else. Purely political, not spiritual, considerations determined his policy in now concluding with the Pope the famous treaty of Concordat, which reversed much of the work of the Revolutionary assemblies, and determined the relations of church and state in France for the whole nineteenth century. This important piece of legislation of the year 1802 lasted 103 years, being abrogated only under the present republic, in 1005. [See below: 1000-1004.] Bonaparte's thought was that by restoring the Catholic Church to something like its former primacy he would weaken the royalists. The people must have a religion, he said, but the religion must be in the hands of the government. Many of his adherents did not agree at all with him in this attitude. They thought it far wiser to keep church and state divorced as they had been by the latest legislation of the Revolution. Bonaparte discussed the matter with the famous philosopher Volney, whom he had just

appointed a senator, saying to him, 'France desires a religion.' Volney replied that France also desired the Bourbons. . . . He knew the influence that priests exercise over their flocks and he intended that they should exercise it in his behalf. He meant to control them as he controlled the army and the thousands of state officials. The control of religion ought to be vested in the ruler. 'It is impossible to govern without it,' he said. He therefore turned to the Pope and made the treaty. 'If the Pope had not existed,' he said, 'I should have had to create him for this occasion.' By the Concordat the Catholic religion was recognized by the Republic to be that 'of the great majority of the French people' and its free exercise was permitted. The Pope agreed to a reorganization involving a diminution in the number of bishoprics. He also recognized the sale of the church property effected by the Revolution. Henceforth the bishops were to be appointed by the First Consul but were to be actually invested by the Pope. The bishops in turn were to appoint the priests, with the consent of the government. The bishops must take the oath of fidelity to the head of the state. Both bishops and priests were to receive salaries from the state. They really became state officials. The Concordat gave great satisfaction to the mass of the population for two reasons—it gave them back the normal exercise of the religion in which they believed, and it confirmed their titles to the lands of the church which they had bought during the Revolution, titles which the church now recognized as legal. The church soon found that Bonaparte regarded it as merely another source of influence, an instrument of rule. The clergy now became his supporters and in large measure abandoned royalism. Moreover Bonaparte, by additional regulations to which he did not ask the Pope's assent, bound the clergy hand and foot to his own chariot. The Concordat was nevertheless a mistake. France had worked out a policy of entire separation of church and state which, had it been allowed to continue, would have brought the blessing of toleration into the habits of the country. But the Concordat cut this promising development short and by tying church and state together in a union which each shortly found disagreeable it left to the entire nineteenth century an irritating and a dangerous problem. Nor did it preserve, for long, happy relations between Napoleon and the Pope. Not many years later a quarrel arose between them which grew and grew until the Pope excommunicated Napoleon and Napoleon seized the Pope and kept him prisoner. Napoleon himself came to consider the Concordat as the worst blunder in his career."—C. D. Hazen, *French Revolution and Napoleon*, pp. 270-283.—See also CONCORDAT: 1515-1801; 1801-1871; EUROPE: Modern: Diffusion of French revolutionary ideas.

ALSO IN: G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France*.—A. Thiers, *History of the consulate of the empire*, v. 1, bk. 12-14.—W. H. Jervis, *History of the Church of France*, v. 2, ch. 11.—J. E. Darras, *General history of the Catholic church*, v. 4, pp. 547-554.—*Code-Napoleon*, tr. by Richards.—A. Chuquet, *La jeunesse de Napoléon*.

1801-1809.—Character of Napoleon's rule.—Constitutional changes.—Consul for life.—Summary of great reform measures.—"The Napoleonic régime differed from every other form of government hitherto seen in France. Napoleon's rule was in no sense a continuation of that of Louis XVI, nor of that of the Constituent Assembly. . . . Though he employed Jacobins and perpetuated the spirit of Jacobinism, he used every effort to rally round him the old noblesse, whose

hostility to Jacobinism never slept. His principal aim was to found a vast centralized system, and this object he carried out thoroughly. . . . On the return of Bonaparte from Egypt in 1799 it was plain to every Frenchman that a strong government alone could cope with the existing chaos within France and remedy the failure of the army in Italy. It was not the time to attempt to organize a constitutional régime or to carry out the ideas of 1789. . . . His first attempts at organization were effected during the Consulate—that period preliminary to the empire which is included between the years 1799 and 1805."—A. Hassal, *French people*, pp. 231-232.—"Confusion, ignorance, and corruption were the rule in administration and finance; hospitals had degenerated into nurseries of disease; public buildings were everywhere in decay; the roads were becoming impassable, and were infested by brigands; in certain districts a third of the population lived by begging and stealing; the law of the maximum, the requisitions, the war, the insecurity, the difficulties of communication, had ruined commerce; elementary education was becoming extinct, and where it existed was little better than a farce; everything in every department had been destroyed, and, in spite of innumerable positive decrees, nothing as yet had been recreated; every writing and record had been obliterated from the chart of France, and the only new inscription was a note of interrogation."—A. Hassall, *French people*, pp. 232-233.—"In the work of reconstruction Bonaparte had, he knew, the whole nation at his back. The revolution of Brumaire, he saw, had awakened the most lively hopes in the hearts of the French people. 'Never probably,' he said, 'has a monarch found his people more devoted to his wishes, and it would be unpardonable for a clever general not to take advantage of such a situation to establish a better government on a solid foundation. . . . The people, with the exception of the contemptible band of anarchists, are so weary and disgusted with the horrors and follies of the revolutionists that they are convinced that any change, no matter what, will bring some improvement.' The constitution drawn up with so much trouble by Sieyès was a masterpiece of complicated machinery. The famous abbé, whose fame as a constitution-monger is unequalled in modern times, had been till 1799 the political adviser of the Directory, though from his dislike of responsibility he had till then steadily refused to be a Director. . . . At the head of affairs were three consuls, one supreme, the others only advisers. Next came a Council of State, nominated by the first consul, and the business of this Council was to initiate laws. A Tribunal of one hundred chosen by the Senate was to discuss the laws, a Legislative body of three hundred chosen by the Senate was to accept or reject the laws, and a Senate of eighty nominated by the consuls for life had the power of vetoing any laws which affected the constitution. . . . The administrative arrangements were simpler. To the first consul was intrusted the power of appointing the ministers, while in each department a prefect, chosen by the first consul, presided over an elected council, and in each town a similarly chosen council was presided over by a mayor nominated by the prefect. The first consul was equally supreme in matters of justice. He appointed the judges for life, and the Senate nominated the members of the Cour de Cassation, which sat in Paris. Such a constitution was not likely to remain intact for long. . . . The constitution in the hands of the successful general could not escape mutilation, and two years before the fall of the Directory Bonaparte had indicated

clearly what his intentions were with regard to any obstacles which Sieyès or any other politician might set in the way of a successful general. . . . Having chosen his ministers, Bonaparte at once swept away all nominal checks on his power. Sieyès and his supporters had no doubt intended to set up a republic in Brumaire, but Bonaparte first got himself chosen consul for ten years, and in 1802 for life, and Sieyès found that by his constitution a strong monarchy had practically been created. The campaign of Marengo, in 1800, consolidated Bonaparte's position. After Hohenlinden peace with Austria was assured, and the Treaty of Lunéville was an immense triumph for Bonaparte, and enabled him, especially after the Treaty of Amiens was signed with England in 1802, to devote himself to the work of reconstruction. The following list of institutions created give at a glance an idea of the extent and character of the reforms carried out under the direction of the first consul: (1) The concordat, which restored the relations between the Gallican Church and the Papacy. (2) The establishment of the University of France. (3) The reorganization of the judicial system. (4) The Code Napoléon. (5) A system of local government. (6) The foundation of the Bank of France. (7) The establishment of the Legion of Honour. (8) The settlement of a system of taxation. . . . The concordat was an admirable piece of diplomacy, and though a blow at Jacobinism, was a valuable part of a general pacification. It attached the clergy to the government and weakened their connection with the Bourbons. The attacks made on the Church by the revolutionists of '89 were as unstatesmanlike as those made in later times by the third republic. Bonaparte was far too wise to ignore the religious sentiments of the nation, and though he had little sympathy with religious observances, he was fully alive to the influence wielded by the clergy among the peasantry. Joseph of Austria had well-nigh ruined the Hapsburg inheritance by his foolish alienation of the Church. Bonaparte made the clergy indeed dependent on the state, but by the concordat he ended the religious war which had continued for well-nigh ten years and had done more than any other single circumstance to destroy the work of the Revolution. [See also above: 1801-1804; CONCORDAT: 1515-1801.] When the Church had fallen through the attacks of the revolutionists the University of Paris, together with the twenty-one universities of France, also fell. By certain laws passed in May, 1806, and March, 1808, Bonaparte founded the modern University of France. 'In the establishment of a teaching body,' he said, 'my principal aim is to have a means of directing political and social opinions.' . . . He therefore formed the whole teaching profession into a corporation endowed by the state, and to the university was intrusted the control of all education, whether higher or secondary. By these means he enlisted education and the rising generation on his side, and provided France with a national system of education which lasted till our own day. [See also EDUCATION: Modern: 10th century: France.] Equally dependent on the central government was the whole judicial system. From 1802 he appointed the justices of the peace and exercised a close supervision over the appointment of the other judges, a similar supervision over the lists of jurors being exercised by the prefects. Above all civil and criminal courts was placed the Cour de Cassation, and the Senate was allowed, if necessary, to interfere with the working of the system. [See also COURTS: France: Continued lack of uniformity in the 18th century.] While justice was re-

organized Napoleon carried on the codification of the law which had already been begun in the early days of the Revolution. The Code Civil, though it crystallized the work of the Constituent Assembly and of the Committee of Public Safety, is known as the Code Napoléon, and was promulgated in 1809. Though not the result of his own conception, it bears upon it the impress of his own individual genius. [See also above: 1801-1804.] Other codes were the Code de Commerce, the Code Pénal [see CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 1791-1872], and the Code d'Instruction Criminelle, all of which were issued through his influence. 'Thus,' writes M. Bodley, 'the whole centralized administration of France, which in its stability has survived every political crisis, was the creation of Napoleon and the keystone of his fabric. It was he who organized the existing administrative divisions of the departments, with the officials supervising them and the local assemblies attached to them.' The Code Napoléon is still in force, the relations of Church and State are still regulated by the concordat. The university was founded by him, the Bank of France owes its origin to him [see MONEY AND BANKING: Modern: 1793-1820], the Legion of Honour was his creation. His work of construction and reorganization forms the present framework of modern France, and most of this work dates from the Consulate. In place of chaos order was established, in place of a hopelessly mismanaged and corrupt system of taxation was substituted a regular equitable system which satisfied the peasant class. [See TAXATION: Taxation in Prussia, France, etc.; TARIFF: 1780-1826.] The price paid for this organization of the administration of religion, of justice, and of finance was the establishment of a despotism which, though infinitely more tolerable than the despotism of either the Convention or the Directory, tended as time went on to press heavily on all classes. The liberty of the press was not established, religion was not allowed independent action, education was only encouraged in so far as it conducted to the strengthening of the military system of France and to the support of the Napoleonic dynasty. Liberty in the true sense did not exist, but the principle of equality was favoured by Napoleon. Though the great emperor died a prisoner on Saint Helena, and though since his death France has seen the restoration of the Bourbons, the reign of Louis Philippe, and the second empire, followed by the establishment of the existing republic, the supremacy of the state, imposed by Napoleon, has never seriously been threatened, and the centralized system of the first empire remains most suitable to the French temperament."—A. Hassall, *French people*, pp. 233-236.

ALSO IN: C. Botta, *Italy during the consulate and empire of Napoleon*.—M. Bourrienne, *Private memoirs of Napoleon*, v. 2.—Duchess D'Abrantes, *Memoirs of Napoleon*, v. 1.—G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France*.—M. Dumas, *Memoirs*, v. 2.—L. Hug and R. Stead, *Story of Switzerland*.—J. H. Rose, *Napoleonic empire (Cambridge modern history, v. 6)*.—F. C. Schlosser, *History of the eighteenth century*, v. 7.—H. A. Taine, *Modern régime*, v. 1, bk. 3.

1802 (June-October).—Annexation of Piedmont, Parma, and the Isle of Elba.—"For the formal incorporation of Piedmont the First Consul waited until the definitive peace with England should be concluded. During the negotiations leading to that end his plenipotentiaries received the strictest injunctions to tolerate no interference of any kind on the part of Great Britain in Continental questions, and actually so absolute was Eng-

land's need of a time of respite however short that this sacrifice was made to it; the Treaty of Amiens contained no word in behalf of Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia. As soon as all had been made safe in that quarter Napoleon proceeded without delay to take formal possession of the coveted territory. On September 4th a *Senatus consultum* dated at Paris declared Piedmont a French province with six departments, of which one was to bear the glorious name of Marengo. At the Court of Vienna the greatest consternation prevailed at this rapid extension of French authority in Italy. . . . To the south of Piedmont was the Ligurian Republic, territory of the old ducal city of Genoa. The Constitution here again was out of date, and on the 26th of June, 1802, a draft of a constitution prepared in Paris was delivered to the Genoese by the French ambassador Salicetti, the same person whose name is associated with Napoleon in his youth. This constitution was gratefully accepted by the government while announcing to the people of Genoa that 'it was meet that he who changed the face of all Europe should also give a new form to the Ligurian Republic.' Even before this time, in December, 1801, the little Republic of Lucca had been provided from the Tuileries with a constitution placing at the head a *Gonfalonier* who, like the Dutch President, was to hold office for a brief period lest he should acquire lasting importance, the real ruler being the political agent of France. No less dependent upon France was the Kingdom of Tuscany-Etruria, where Napoleon appointed his generals Clarke and Murat as guardians to the incapable young king, after whose death, in 1803, they continued in like office to the queen, while even the details of the military organization were determined upon in Paris. Finally, in August, 1802, when the British had withdrawn from it, the island of Elba, relinquished by Spain, was declared a French province. . . . Thus by midsummer of 1802 the whole of Upper Italy as far as Austrian Venetia had come to be directly or indirectly under the sceptre of France."—A. Fournier, *Napoleon the First*, pp. 254-255.—On October 11th, upon the death of Ferdinand de Bourbon, Duke of Parma, that duchy was also seized by Napoleon.

ALSO IN: A. Gallenga, *History of Piedmont*, v. 3.—J. H. Rose, *Bonaparte and the conquest of Italy* (*Cambridge modern history*, v. 8).

1802-1804.—Attitude of English public opinion towards Napoleonic policy.—War declared by Great Britain.—Detention of the English in France, Italy, Switzerland and the Netherlands.—Occupation of Hanover.—Napoleon's plan of campaign.—"The treaty with England signed at Amiens had, it is true, brought about a condition of affairs making it possible for arms to be cast aside for a moment, but it had given no promise of lasting peace. There were voices, as has before been observed, raised in the British Parliament emphatically denouncing the abandonment of Italy to Napoleon, thereby giving him the mastery over the Continent. . . . During the course of the year 1802, while France was engaged in the San Domingo enterprise, public opinion in England had taken a more and more pronounced attitude against France, and so marked had this feeling become that finally even the peace loving ministry of Addington was compelled to yield to the pressure. The stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens had not yet all been fulfilled; an important pledge yet remained in British keeping—the island of Malta, that highly-prized halting-place on the route to India. In view of the encroachments of France upon the Continent England had delayed the fulfilment of her compact to restore the island to the

Knights of St. John, and now rather regarded its possession as a desirable compensation for Napoleon's expansion. The situation was aggravated by the scathing attacks of English newspapers upon the ruler of France, and by the fact that when he demanded a cessation of this journalistic persecution, the London government waived responsibility, referring him to the legalized freedom of the press in England. . . . But Napoleon did not long remain undecided. His next step was to threaten. Should this foreign power be intimidated by threats he would derive this advantage, that his prestige in France and in Europe would be enhanced by just so much; but in case England really meant war, the colonial scheme must of course be given up, in which case, however, there opened up the alluring prospect—since England would not remain without allies—of a profitable war upon the Continent, a prospect, which, as has been seen, was continually kept in mind by the First Consul. A pretext was found in the autumn of 1802, when England made complaint of a violation of the neutrality of Switzerland through the entry into that country of the French army under Ney. Hereupon Napoleon dictated to his Minister of Foreign Affairs instructions for the guidance of the French ambassador, Otto, in London, and these reveal in the germ his entire future policy. In regard to Switzerland, the matter was to be considered closed. The establishment of British hirelings in the Alps would not be tolerated by him. In case war were threatened upon the further side of the Channel the question would arise of what sort it was to be. A mere naval warfare would be of little advantage to England on account of the paucity of spoils. It would, it is true, blockade the French ports, but it would at the same time bring about a counter blockade, since, upon the outbreak of hostilities, all the coast from Hanover to Taranto would be guarded by French troops. And what if the First Consul were to assemble the flat-boats of Flanders and Holland, thus providing means of transport for a hundred thousand men with which to keep England in a perpetual state of alarm over an always possible, and indeed even probable, invasion? If, on the other hand, the London Cabinet should conclude to rekindle war on the Continent, Napoleon would thereby simply be compelled to proceed to the conquest of all Europe. . . . Talleyrand and the other ministers as well as Napoleon's brothers were unreservedly in favour of the avoidance of open warfare. The Consul alone, irritated by the continued refusal to evacuate Malta and the defiant tone of the English press, allowed himself to be impelled to war. He now definitely gave up his colonial plans and himself sought to precipitate matters. He ordered copied in the *Moniteur* a report made by General Sebastiani, whom he had sent on a secret mission to Egypt. This report was to the effect that the British had failed as yet to evacuate Alexandria; also that, while existing hostilities continued there between the Turks and Mamelukes, 6,000 French soldiers would be sufficient to reconquer the country. If this report was published with a view to exasperating England, no doubt could remain as to its having accomplished its purpose. The prospect of seeing the route to India again imperilled was intolerable to the English, and any thought of renouncing the possession of Malta was from now on out of the question with them. But Napoleon carried matters yet further. In the annual report which he submitted to the legislative body in February, 1803, the subject discussed was the conflict between the two parties into which the English were divided, those in favour of peace as opposed

to those who were hostile to France. A half-million of soldiers, said he, must be kept in readiness by France against the possibility of victory to the second of these parties. England alone, however,—so the report went on,—was not sufficient to cope with France. British national pride was touched to the quick by this new insult. George III. promptly offered an ultimatum requiring, among other things, the indemnification of the King of Sardinia and the evacuation of Holland and Switzerland on the part of France. These terms were rejected. Toward the middle of May, 1803, the ambassadors of both countries were recalled [Lord Whitworth left Paris, May 12]. War was declared [made public May 16, and Order in Council directing reprisals, May 17]. Hostilities had meanwhile already begun. For weeks before that time England had given chase to all French merchantmen who had ventured out relying upon peace, and Napoleon made returns by putting under arrest all such Englishmen as were living in France [and before the month was out all the English in Italy, Holland, and Switzerland had also been made prisoners]. Soon after British squadrons were sent to blockade the French ports, whereupon Napoleon began to carry out to the letter the plan of campaign which he had mapped out in his instructions to Otto. It consisted, as has been seen, chiefly in three acts: the first being to blockade England in her turn by making inaccessible to her ships the coast of the Continent 'from Hanover to Taranto,' all of which should be guarded by French troops; the second step was to threaten an invasion by the gathering of an expeditionary army on the Channel; and third, in case the British power should be successful in kindling a war on the Continent in which her allies should be opposed to France, it was his purpose to make the Continent tributary to himself as far as the weapons of France could be made to carry. This programme was further accentuated by the order now issued by the Consul reviving the celebration of the birthday of the Maid of Orleans for the sake of nourishing the spirit of jingoism toward the ancient enemy of France. Before the month of May had expired a French army corps was marched into Hanover, which territory belonged to the King of England, and the troops of the Elector without much show of resistance capitulated. By means of this occupation the ships of the enemy were debarred from the mouths of the Weser and Elbe rivers, thus closing to British trade the most important avenues of communication with Northern Germany. The consequences soon became evident. . . . Soon after this, in June, a second army corps under command of Gouvion Saint-Cyr penetrated into the kingdom of Naples and, contrary to the terms of the treaty, occupied the ports of Taranto, Brindisi, and Otranto. The two extremes of the cordon being thus made secure, all that remained between was now closely and inseparably attached to the policy of France. First in turn came the Batavian Republic. It was compelled by treaty to provide sustenance for French troops to the number of 18,000 men and to hold in readiness for service a force of 16,000; in addition, five ships of the line and a hundred sloops carrying cannon were to be furnished for the naval war. In return Napoleon guaranteed to the republic the integrity of its territory, and promised to restore to it any colonies which might be lost during the course of the war and (circumstances permitting) with the addition of Ceylon (June 25th, 1803). Switzerland was the next to pledge herself in favour of France. An offensive and defensive alliance with her powerful neighbour

imposed upon her the obligation to raise an army of 16,000 men, which was to be increased to 28,000 in case France were attacked; that is to say, that a large proportion of the military force of the nation was put at the service of a totally foreign interest. Finally Spain and Portugal also were induced to enter the league. With Spain it had become a question of no slight significance."—A. Fournier, *Napoleon the First*, pp. 262, 264-268.

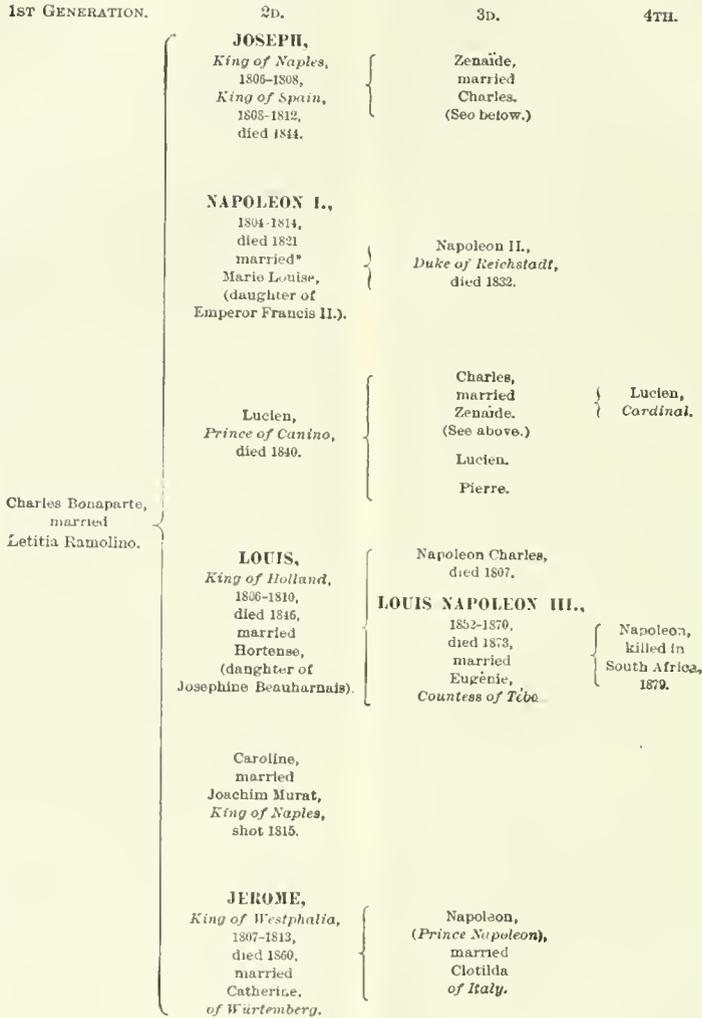
ALSO IN: J. Ashton, *English caricature and satire on Napoleon I*, v. 1.—D. P. Barton, *Bernadotte*.—M. de Bourrienne, *Private memoirs of Napoleon*, v. 2.—J. Mackintosh, *Speech in defense of Jean Peltier (Miscellaneous works)*.

1803 (April-May).—Sale of Louisiana to the United States. See LOUISIANA: 1798-1803; U. S. A.: 1803; Louisiana Purchase; Historical geography.

1803.—Loss of Santo Domingo, or Haiti. See HAITI, REPUBLIC OF: 1632-1803.

1804-1805.—Royalist plots and Bonaparte's use of them.—Abduction and execution of the Duc d'Enghien.—First Consul becomes emperor.—Coronation by the pope.—Acceptance of the crown of Italy.—The rupture with England furnished Bonaparte "with the occasion of throwing off the last disguise and openly restoring monarchy. It was a step which required all his audacity and cunning. He had crushed Jacobinism, but two great parties remained. There was first the more moderate republicanism, which might be called Girondism, and was widely spread among all classes and particularly in the army. Secondly, there was the old royalism, which after many years of helpless weakness had revived since Brumaire. These two parties, though hostile to each other, were forced into a sort of alliance by the new attitude of Bonaparte, who was hurrying France at once into a new revolution at home and into an abyss of war abroad. England, too, after the rupture, favoured the efforts of these parties. Royalism from England began to open communications with moderate republicanism in France. Pichegru acted for the former, and the great representative of the latter was Moreau, who had helped to make Brumaire in the tacit expectation probably of rising to the consulate in due course when Bonaparte's term should have expired, and was therefore hurt in his personal claims as well as in his republican principles. Bonaparte watched the movement through his ubiquitous police, and with characteristic strategy determined not merely to defeat it but to make it his stepping-stone to monarchy. He would ruin Moreau by fastening on him the stigma of royalism; he would persuade France to make him emperor in order to keep out the Bourbons. He achieved this with the peculiar mastery which he always showed in villainous intrigue. . . . Pichegru [who had returned secretly to France from England some time in January, 1804] brought with him wilder partisans, such as Georges [Cadoudal] the Chouan. No doubt Moreau would gladly have seen and gladly have helped an insurrection against Bonaparte. . . . But Bonaparte succeeded in associating him with royalist schemes and with schemes of assassination. Controlling the Senate, he was able to suppress the jury; controlling every avenue of publicity, he was able to suppress opinion; and the army, Moreau's fortress, was won through its hatred of royalism. In this way Bonaparte's last personal rival was removed. There remained the royalists, and Bonaparte hoped to seize their leader, the Comte d'Artois, who was expected, as the police knew, soon to join Pichegru and Georges at Paris. What Bonaparte would have done with him we may

GENEALOGY OF THE BONAPARTE FAMILY.



* First married to Josephine, widow of General Beauharnais.

judge from the course he took when the Comte did not come. On March 15, 1804, the Duc d'Enghien, grandson of the Prince de Condé, residing at Ettenheim in Baden, was seized at midnight by a party of dragoons, brought to Paris, where he arrived on the 20th, confined in the castle of Vincennes, brought before a military commission at two o'clock the next morning, asked whether he had not borne arms against the republic, which he acknowledged himself to have done, conducted to a staircase above the moat, and there shot and buried in the moat. . . . That the Duc d'Enghien was innocent of the conspiracy, was nothing to the purpose; the act was political, not judicial; accordingly he was not even charged with complicity. That the execution would strike horror into the cabinets, and perhaps bring about a new Coalition, belonged to a class of considerations which at this time Bonaparte systematically disregarded. This affair led immediately to the thought of giving heredity to Bonaparte's power. The thought seems to have commended itself irresistibly even to strong republicans and to those who were most shocked by the murder. To make Bonaparte's position more secure seemed the only way of averting a new Reign of Terror or new convulsions. He himself felt some embarrassment. Like Cromwell, he was afraid of the republicanism of the army, and heredity pure and simple brought him face to face with the question of divorcing Josephine. To propitiate the army, he chose from the titles suggested to him—consul, stadtholder, &c.—that of emperor, undoubtedly the most accurate, and having a sufficiently military sound. The other difficulty after much furious dissension between the two families of Bonaparte and Beauharnais, was evaded by giving Napoleon himself (but none of his successors) a power of adoption, and fixing the succession, in default of a direct heir, natural or adoptive, first in Joseph and his descendants, then in Louis and his descendants. Except abstaining from the regal title, no attempt was made to conceal the abolition of republicanism. . . . The change was made by the constituent power of the Senate, and the *Senatus-consulte* is dated May 18, 1804. The title of Emperor had an ulterior meaning. Adopted at the moment when Napoleon began to feel himself master both in Italy and Germany, it revived the memory of Charles the Great. To himself it was the more satisfactory on that account, and, strange to say, it gave satisfaction rather than offence to the Head of the Holy Roman Empire, Francis II. Since Joseph, the Habsburg Emperors had been tired of their title, which, being elective, was precarious. They were desirous of becoming hereditary emperors in Austria, and they now took this title (though without as yet giving up the other). Francis II. bartered his acknowledgment of Napoleon's new title against Napoleon's acknowledgment of his own. It required some impudence to condemn Moreau for royalism at the very moment that his rival was re-establishing monarchy. Yet his trial began on May 15th. The death of Pichegru, nominally by suicide, on April 6th, had already furnished the rising sultanism with its first dark mystery. Moreau was condemned to two years' imprisonment, but was allowed to retire to the United States."—J. R. Seeley, *Short History of Napoleon I.*, ch. 3, sect. 4.—C. C. Fauriel, *Last days of the Consulate*.—Chancellor Pasquier, in his Memoirs, narrates the circumstances of the seizure of the Duc d'Enghien at considerable length, and says: "This is what really occurred, according to what I have been told by those better situated to know. A council was held on the 9th of March. It is

almost certain that previous to this council, which was a kind of official affair, a more secret one had been held at the house of Joseph Bonaparte. At the first council, to which were convened only a few persons, all on a footing of family intimacy, it was discussed by order of the First Consul, what would be proper to do with a prince of the House of Bourbon, in case one should have him in one's power, and the decision reached was that if he was captured on French territory, one had the right to take his life, but not otherwise. At the council held on the 9th, and which was composed of the three Consuls, the Chief Justice, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and M. Fouché, although the latter had not then resumed the post of Minister of Police, the two men who expressed contrary opinions were M. de Talleyrand and M. de Cambacérés. M. de Talleyrand declared that the prince should be sent to his death. M. Lebrun, the Third Consul, contented himself with saying that such an event would have a terrible echo throughout the world. M. de Cambacérés contended earnestly that it would be sufficient to hold the prince as hostage for the safety of the First Consul. The latter sided with M. de Talleyrand, whose counsels then prevailed. The discussion was a heated one, and when the meeting of the council was over, M. de Cambacérés thought it his duty to make a last attempt, so he followed Bonaparte into his study, and laid before him with perhaps more strength than might be expected from his character, the consequences of the deed he was about to perpetrate, and the universal horror it would excite. . . . He spoke in vain. In the privacy of his study, Bonaparte expressed himself even with greater violence than he had done at the council. He answered that the death of the duke would seem to the world but a just reprisal for what was being attempted against him personally; that it was necessary to teach the House of Bourbon that the blows struck with its sanction were liable to recoil on its own head; that this was the only way of compelling it to abstain from its dastardly schemes, and lastly, that matters had gone too far to retrace one's steps. M. de Talleyrand supplied this last argument."—Chancellor Pasquier, *Memoirs*, v. 1, pp. 190-191.—"While the eastern powers were . . . arming themselves against further encroachments on the part of France, Pope Pius VII. was making preparations in Rome for the journey to Paris for the coronation of Napoleon. This ceremony had seemed necessary to the Emperor in order to lend glory and splendour in the eyes of the world to his self-imposed dignity. Only under protest and after prolonged controversy in regard to the form of oath to be administered had the vicar of Christ at length consented to undertake the arduous winter journey in order to anoint him who had but shortly before been accounted guilty of a bloody crime. His decision was doubtless influenced by two contrary emotions, fear and hope: fear of bringing upon himself by refusal the wrath of the mighty potentate, and of being thus eventually despoiled of the States of the Church; and hope of obtaining new possessions, perhaps regaining the long-desired Legations, and having Europe see how the most powerful of her rulers, the adherent of the Koran in 1708, would bend his knee before the Bishop of Rome. Nor was the Pope alone in his decision, for the majority of the College of Cardinals, and with them the gifted Secretary of State, Consalvi, were in favour of the journey's being undertaken, and before the end of November, 1804, the Pope arrived in Paris. But here he at once became aware that every token of subordination, even to the most trifling details, was

being carefully avoided by Napoleon. In one matter only did he yield submission. Josephine, who had long been in dread of a separation, had revealed to the Pope that she had been united with her husband by civil marriage only and obtained from the Holy Father his promise that he would make the coronation conditional upon the previous consummation of a religious marriage. The Empress hoped thus to bind her husband irrevocably to herself, a hope later doomed to disappointment. For the time being, however, she was in so far successful that the church marriage was solemnized in secret by Fesch on the day before the coronation of the Imperial couple, which took place December 2d in the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame. It was observed that Napoleon kept the Pope awaiting his appearance, and that instead of allowing the pontiff to place the crown of golden laurel upon the imperial brow, as had been arranged, the candidate himself seized the diadem and set it upon his head before Pius could reach it. Not even in this formality would he yield pre-eminence to any one. The Pope recognized that his hopes had been but vain. The rôle which he had been called upon to play in Paris had been detrimental rather than advantageous to his prestige. This indeed he did accomplish: that the French bishops, who had sworn fidelity to the Civil Constitution and were therefore classed as heretics, were brought to return to the fold of the Roman primate; but of his other demands there was granted and assured only one, and that of very secondary importance: the re-establishment of the Gregorian Calendar with the understanding that, beginning with January 1st, 1806, the Revolutionary Calendar should be abandoned. The saints of the Church and their festal days again obtained recognition and honour in France. To this Napoleon had no objections. Was not his own precursor and ideal, Charlemagne, also of their number? And now that the papal benediction had consummated the establishment of the Empire the Italian question had also in its turn to come up for solution. The Italians were well content that the Republic should remain in the form of a kingdom under French dominion, but they protested against further payment of tribute and demanded assurance that the territory of the state should not suffer diminution and that French officials should be superseded by natives of the country. It had been Napoleon's original plan to turn over this vassal kingdom to one of his brothers, Joseph or Louis, but both refused the dignity, being unwilling to renounce their claims upon the throne of France; these two men, who but ten years before had been at a loss where to look for daily bread, now spurned a crown. Exasperated at this unlooked-for opposition to his wishes, the Emperor determined upon himself assuming the title of King of Italy and entrusting to a viceroy the government in his stead. This post was to be occupied by Eugène Beauharnais, who, together with Murat, was now raised to the rank of Prince of the Empire and Grand Dignitary of France. This project was disclosed to a body of Italian delegates who had come to Paris, whereupon they, on March 5th, 1805, officially and formally offered the crown to Napoleon. On the following day he announced to the Senate that he accepted the office, and on May 26th crowned himself in the cathedral of Milan with the iron crown of Lombardy as King of Italy. He is alleged to have pronounced at that time in a strikingly menacing tone the ancient formula: "God has bestowed it upon me; woe to him who shall lay hands upon it!"—A. Fournier, *Napoleon the First*, pp. 291-294.

ALSO IN: C. Botta, *Italy during the consulate and empire of Napoleon*, ch. 3-4.—*Memoirs dictated by Napoleon to his generals at St. Helena*, v. 6, pp. 219-225.—J. Fouché, *Memoirs*, pp. 260-274.—Count Miot de Melito, *Memoirs*, ch. 16-17.—W. Hazlitt, *Life of Napoleon*, v. 2, ch. 33-34.—M'me de Rémusat, *Memoirs*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 4-10.—P. Lanfrey, *History of Napoleon*, v. 2, ch. 9-10.—M. de Bourrienne, *Private memoirs of Napoleon*, v. 3, ch. 1-12.

1805 (January-April).—Third European coalition.—"In England Pitt returned to office in May, 1804, and this in itself was an evil omen for France. He enjoyed the confidence, not only of his own nation but of Europe, and he at once set to work to resume the threads of that coalition of which England had formerly directed the resources. Alexander I of Russia had begun to see through the designs of Napoleon; he found that he had been duped in the joint mediation in Germany, he resented the occupation of Hanover and he ordered his court to put on mourning for the duke of Enghien. Before long he broke off diplomatic relations with France (Sept. 1804), and a Russian war was now only a question of time. Austria was the power most closely affected by Napoleon's assumption of the imperial title. . . . While hastening to acknowledge Napoleon, Austria was busied in military preparations and began to resume its old connection with England. Prussia was the power on which France was accustomed to rely with implicit confidence. But the occupation of Hanover and the interference with the commerce of the Elbe had weakened Frederick William III's belief in the advantages of a neutral policy, and, though he could not make up his mind to definite action, he began to open negotiations with Russia in view of a rupture with France. The fluctuations of Prussian policy may be followed in the alternating influence of the two ministers of foreign affairs, Haugwitz and Hardenberg. Meanwhile Napoleon, ignorant or reckless of the growing hostility of the great powers, continued his aggressions at the expense of the lesser states. . . . These acts gave the final impulse to the hostile powers, and before Napoleon quitted Italy the Coalition had been formed. On the 11th of April, 1805, a final treaty was signed between Russia and England. The two powers pledged themselves to form an European league against France, to conclude no peace without mutual consent, to settle disputed points in a congress at the end of the war, and to form a federal tribunal for the maintenance of the system which should then be established. The immediate objects of the allies were the abolition of French rule in Italy, Holland, Switzerland, and Hanover; the restoration of Piedmont to the king of Sardinia; the protection of Naples; and the erection of a permanent barrier against France by the union of Holland and Belgium under the House of Orange. The coalition was at once joined by Gustavus IV. of Sweden, who inherited his father's devotion to the cause of legitimate monarchy, and who hoped to recover power in Pomerania. Austria, terrified for its Italian possessions by Bonaparte's evident intention to subdue the whole peninsula, was driven into the league. Prussia, in spite of the attraction of recovering honour and independence, refused to listen to the solicitations of England and Russia, and adhered to its feeble neutrality. Of the other German states Bavaria, Baden, and Wurtemberg were allies of France. As far as effective operations were concerned, the coalition consisted only of Austria and Russia. Sweden and Naples, which had joined secretly, could not make efforts on a great scale, and Eng-

land was as yet content with providing subsidies and the invaluable services of its fleet. It was arranged that one Austrian army under the archduke Charles should invade Lombardy, while Mack, with a second army and the aid of Russia, should occupy Bavaria and advance upon the Rhine."—R. Lodge, *History of modern Europe*, ch. 24, sect. 13-15.—See also AUSTRIA: 1798-1806.

1805 (March-December).—Napoleon's preparation for the invasion of England.—Nelson's long pursuit of the French fleets.—His victory and death at Trafalgar.—Napoleon's march to the Danube.—Capitulation of Mack at Ulm.—French in Vienna.—Battle of Austerlitz.—"The much debated question as to whether or not Bonaparte was victor in the diplomatic struggle, desired the rupture [with England] as it occurred and wanted war, is, in the light of the fullest information, apparently unanswerable. If he were a profound philosopher and constructive statesman disposed to abandon the struggle for mastery on the high seas and confine the expansion of France to the Continent, he was ready and his wishes were fulfilled; if, on the other hand, he intended to confront England by sea and her allies by land, he was unready, for he had no fighting navy and he had not expected war so soon. . . . Ten of his battle-ships were far away, the remaining thirty-three were just available and no more; there were orders out for building twenty-three new ones, and a visit to Normandy convinced him that all sixty-six could be manned by splendid crews from western France. . . . But the hard fact is that in May, 1803, the French naval power was negligible, while the French land power was in the highest state of efficiency. Pitt had his enormous fleets and his possible coalition in hand, Bonaparte his army and his incomparable military genius. Hostilities began by the seizure of many French merchantmen which were constructively in English harbors, though in many cases really at sea. . . . The French embargo on hostile ships antedated England's by three days, and simultaneously with its publication Clarke was instructed to drive English ships from the harbors of Tuscany. . . . Finally, in July the famous 'Continental System' was instituted by the decree which absolutely forbade the importation of all English wares into France or the sphere of her influence. In order to cut his enemy off from another quarter of the globe, to strengthen a maritime power hostile to England, and to secure new resources, Bonaparte had already extended the hand of friendship to the United States, having sold to them in April the immense territory then known by the name of Louisiana. The event was second in importance to no other in their history; for it gave them immediate control of the entire intercontinental river-system and later that of the Pacific coast, while indirectly it prepared the way for the conflict of 1812, which finally secured their commercial independence. [See also LOUISIANA: 1798-1803; U. S. A.: 1803: Louisiana Purchase.] . . . With sixty million francs in hand as security, Bonaparte raised as much more on credit, and the purchasing power of this hundred and twenty million francs was fully equal to that of four times the sum to-day. With it he refitted his little fleet, and purchased two hundred and fifty thousand muskets, a hundred thousand cavalry pistols, thirty thousand sabers, and a hundred batteries of field artillery, all arms of improved quality and pattern, the arms used at Austerlitz, and to which, as he told Latour-Maubourg, he owed that signal victory. The West Indies and Louisiana in one hemisphere, in the other the Cape of Good Hope,* Egypt, and a portion of India, with St.

Helena and Malta as ports of call—of this he had dreamed; but the failure to secure San Domingo, and England's evident intention to keep Malta, combined to topple the whole cloud castle into ruins. The Continent must be his sphere of action. At once the states bordering on France were made to feel their position. Holland agreed to furnish five ships of the line, a hundred gunboats, eleven thousand men, and subsistence for a French army of eighteen thousand. For this France guaranteed her territorial integrity with the return of all her colonies, not even excepting Ceylon."—W. M. Sloane, *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, v. 2, pp. 286-289.—"Instead of the 25 ships and 28,000 men which the Court of Madrid had agreed in 1796 to hold in readiness for the service of France in the event of war, the Consul now demanded vast subsidies of money, 6,000,000 francs a month, enforcing his requisition by means of an army gathered at Bordeaux. But Bonaparte would accept of no gainsaying. . . . The expedient proved effectual, . . . and on October 10th, 1803, the treaty was concluded according to the wishes of Napoleon. Spain was thus ranged among the enemies of England and forced to undergo the experience of having war declared against her by the British Cabinet in the year 1804. Naturally Portugal could not remain unaffected by all that was thus taking place, and she was compelled to purchase neutrality by the payment to France of 1,000,000 francs a month. In February, 1804, Genoa also was put under obligation to furnish 6,000 sailors to her powerful neighbour for use in his naval warfare. This inheritance was exploited by the First Consul to its full value. . . . Nevertheless he made enormous outlays of money. Boulogne was the spot nearest to England which was available for the gathering and drill of a mighty force. Thither were summoned to form an Army of England the flower of the troops, a hundred and fifty thousand veterans and recruits, commanded by Soult, Ney, Davout, and Victor. For the first time Bonaparte could work his will in the construction of a fighting-machine. The result was the best machine so far constructed. Tactics were improved, the system of organization was reformed, equipment was simplified, discipline was strengthened, and enthusiasm was awakened to the highest pitch. Moreover, the soldiers were trained in the management of great flatboats, from which they were taught to disembark with precision and skill, both in stormy weather and in the face of opposition. Some were also instructed in the duties of the sailor in order that their services might be available if needed aboard men-of-war. . . . But the effect in England at the inception of the enterprise was electrical. Her standing army was already a hundred and thirty thousand strong, the militia numbered seventy thousand, and the reserve fifty thousand. In addition there was a body of volunteers which eventually reached the number of three hundred and eighty thousand in England and of over eighty thousand in Ireland. A system of signals was arranged between vessels of observation in the Channel and stations on the shore, beacons were ready on every hilltop, and the whole land was turned into a camp. The navy was not less strengthened: the number of men was raised from eighty to a hundred and twenty thousand, and a hundred vessels of the line, a hundred or more frigates, and several hundreds of smaller vessels, such as cruisers and gunboats, were gathered to protect the coasts. . . . Parliament authorized a loan of twelve millions sterling, which was promptly taken, and raised the taxes so as to double the revenue. The 'nation of

traders,' as the First Consul sneeringly called them, again stood at ease ready to face her hereditary foe, under a burden of expense which the people a year before had believed would crush them. . . . In April Nelson had finally been enticed to the West Indies, and Villeneuve, eluding him, had returned in May to European waters. Nelson, mistaking his enemy's destination, sailed in pursuit to Gibraltar; but one of his detached cruisers learned that the united French and Spanish squadrons were to meet at Ferrol, and by the middle of July the English admiralty was fully informed as to the whereabouts and plans of the French fleet. On the sixteenth of that month the Emperor issued orders for Villeneuve to unite the Spanish vessels with his own, and then to reinforce himself with the French squadrons of Rochefort and Brest, and appear in the Channel. On July twenty-second



ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD

a British fleet under Calder met Villeneuve off Cape Finisterre in a dense fog, but the latter was not checked in his passage to Vigo. By August second he found himself at the head of a Franco-Spanish fleet numbering no fewer than twenty-nine ships of the line, which were assembled in the harbors of Ferrol and Corunna. He complained, however, that he had 'bad masts, bad sails, bad rigging, bad officers, bad sailors.' Conceiving himself in all probability to be only the tool of a feint, he lost the little enthusiasm he had, and became sullen. Nelson had joined Admiral Cornwallis before Brest, and, leaving his best eight ships to strengthen both the guard and the blockading fleets, made for Portsmouth. Calder, too, had reinforced the blockaders, so that by August seventeenth there would be eighteen vessels before Ferrol; eighteen remained before Brest, while a third squadron, under Sterling, was cruising with five more, prepared to join either. Villeneuve was not ready for sea until the thirteenth. . . . After an effort to beat northward against a violent storm,

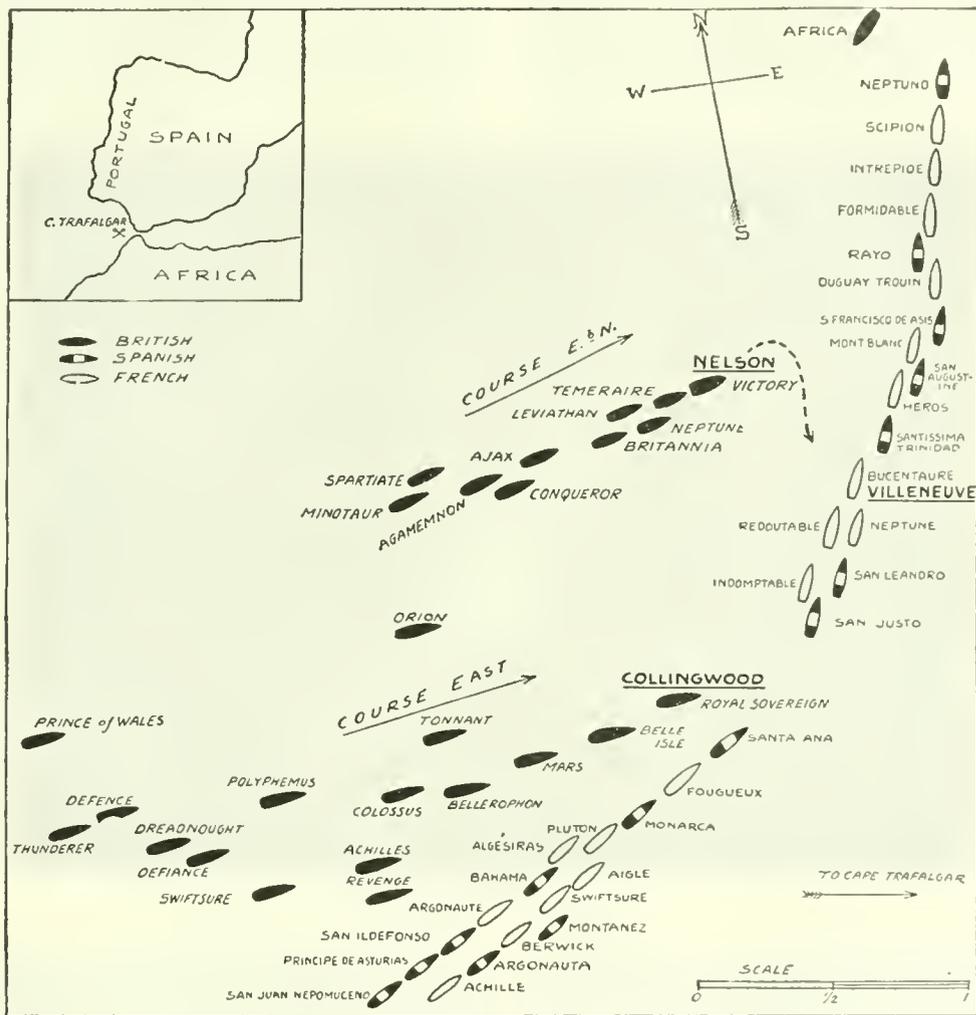
the French admiral received false news from a Danish merchant vessel that an English fleet of twenty-five sail was approaching. He . . . turned and made for Cadiz, especially as the Emperor's orders contained a clause authorizing him, in case of unforeseen casualties which materially altered the situation, . . . to anchor in the harbor of Cadiz after liberating the squadrons of Rochefort and Brest. It was no feigned anger with which Napoleon received this news. What a contrast between the efficiency of his land force and the utter incompetency of his shipbuilders, sailors, and naval officers!"—W. M. Sloane, *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, v. 2, pp. 290-292, 358-360.—"At a hint of disgrace the susceptible Frenchman made up his mind, at any risk, to fight. By this time Nelson had left England, and was off Cadiz with a powerful fleet; and he actually weakened his force by four sail-of-the-line, in order to lure his adversary out. On the 20th of October, 1805, the allied fleet was in the open sea; it had been declared at a council of war, that a lost battle was almost certain, so bad was the condition of many of the crews; but Villeneuve was bent on challenging Fate; and almost courted defeat, in his despair. . . . On the morning of the 21st, the allied fleet, 33 war ships, and a number of frigates, was off Cape Trafalgar, making for the Straits. . . . Nelson advanced slowly against his doomed enemy, with 27 ships and their attendant frigates; the famous signal floated from his mast, 'England expects every man to do his duty'; and, at about noon, Collingwood pierced Villeneuve's centre, nearly destroying the Santa Anna with a single broadside. Ere long Nelson had broken Villeneuve's line, with the Victory, causing frightful destruction; and as other British ships came up by degrees they relieved the leading ships from the pressure of their foes, and completed the ruin already begun. At about one, Nelson met his death wound, struck by a shot from the tops of the Redoubtable. . . . Pierced through and through, the shattered allied centre was soon a collection of captured wrecks. . . . Only 11 ships out of 33 escaped; and the burning Achille, like the Orient at the Nile, added to the grandeur and horrors of an appalling scene. Villeneuve, who had fought most honourably in the Bucentaure, was compelled to strike his flag before the death of Nelson. The van of the allies that had fled at Trafalgar, was soon afterwards captured by a British squadron. Though dearly bought by the death of Nelson, the victory may be compared to Lepanto; and it blotted France out as a great Power on the ocean. Napoleon . . . never tried afterwards to meet England at sea."—W. O'C. Morris, *Napoleon*, ch. 7.—"In the first days of September, 1805, Napoleon's great army was in full march across France and Germany, to attain the Danube. . . . The Allies . . . had projected four separate and ill-combined attacks; the first on Hanover and Holland by a Russian and British force; the second, on Lower Italy by a similar body; the third, by a great Austrian army on Upper Italy; and the fourth, by a United Austrian and Russian army, moving across Southern Germany to the Rhine. . . . By this time, the Austrian Mack had drawn close to the Inn, in order to compel Bavaria to join the Allies, and was even making his way to the Iller, but his army was far distant from that of the Russian chief, Kutusoff, and still further from that of Buxhöwden, the one in Galicia, the other in Poland. . . . Napoleon had seized this position of affairs, with the comprehensive knowledge of the theatre of war, and the skill of arranging armies upon it, in which he has no equals among modern captains. He opposed Masséna to



BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR
(Painting by Turner)

the Archdukes, with a much weaker force, confident that his great lieutenant could hold them in check. He neglected the attacks from the North Sea, and the South; but he resolved to strike down Mack, in overwhelming strength, should he advance without his Russian supports. . . . The great mass of the Grand Army had reached the Main and Rhine by the last week of September. The left wing, joined by the Bavarian forces, and commanded by Bernadotte and Marmont, had marched

were in full march from the Rhine to the Main, across Würtemberg and the Franconian plains; and cavalry filled the approaches to the Black Forest, in order to deceive and perplex Mack. . . . The Danube ere long was reached and crossed, at Donauwörth, Ingolstadt, and other points; and Napoleon already stood on the rear of his enemy, interposing between him and Vienna, and cut him off from the Russians, even now distant. The net was quickly drawn round the ill-fated Mack. . . .



BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR, OCTOBER 21, 1805
(After map reconstruction by Admiral Mark Kerr, R.N.)

from Hanover and Holland, and was around Wurtzburg; the centre, the corps of Soult, and Davoust, moved from the channel, was at Spire and Mannheim, and the right wing, formed of the corps of Ney and Lannes, with the Imperial Guard, and the horse of Murat, filled the region between Carlsruhe and Strasburg, the extreme right under Augereau, which had advanced from Brittany, being still behind but drawing towards Huningen. By this time Mack was upon the Iller, holding the fortress of Ulm on the upper Danube, and extending his forces thence to Memmingen. . . . By the first days of October the great French masses . . .

By the third week of October, the Grand Army had encompassed the Austrians on every side, and Napoleon held his quarry in his grasp. Mack . . . had not the heart to strike a desperate stroke, and to risk a battle; and he capitulated at Ulm on the 19th of October. Two divisions of his army had contrived to break out; but one was pursued and nearly destroyed by Murat, and the other was compelled by Augereau to lay down its arms, as it was on its way to the hills of the Tyrol. An army of 85,000 men had thus, so to speak, been well-nigh effaced; and not 20,000 had effected their escape. . . . His success, at this moment, had been

so wonderful, that what he called 'the loss of a few ships at sea,' seemed a trifling and passing rebuff of fortune. . . . He had discomfited the whole plan of the Allies; and the failure of the attack on the main scene of the theatre had caused all the secondary attacks to fail. . . . Napoleon, throwing out detachments to protect his flanks, had entered Vienna on the 14th of November. . . . The House of Hapsburg and its chief had fled. . . . Extraordinary as his success had been, the position of the Emperor had, in a few days, become grave. . . . Napoleon had not one hundred thousand men in hand—apart from the bodies that covered his flanks—to make head against his converging enemies. Always daring, however, he resolved to attack the Allies before they could receive aid from Prussia; and he marched from

of Frederick the Great, in the Seven Years' War, of turning his right wing, by an attack made, in the oblique order, in great force, and of cutting him off from his base at Vienna, and driving him, routed, into Bohemia. This grand project on paper, which involved a march across the front of the hostile army within reach of the greatest of masters of war, was hailed with exultation. . . . The Allies were soon in full march from Olmütz, and preparations were made for the decisive movement on the night of the 1st December, 1805. Napoleon had watched the reckless false step being made by his foes with unfeigned delight; 'that army is mine,' he proudly exclaimed. . . . The sun of Austerlitz rose on the 2nd, the light of victory often invoked by Napoleon. . . . The dawn of the winter's day revealed three large columns, suc-



DEATH OF NELSON

(From painting by A. W. Devis)

Vienna towards the close of November, having taken careful precautions to guard his rear. . . . By this time the Allies were around Olmütz, the Archdukes were not many marches away, and a Prussian army was nearly ready to move. Had the Russians and Austrians fallen back from Olmütz and effected their junction with the Archdukes, they could, therefore, have opposed the French with a force more than two-fold in numbers. . . . But the folly and presumption which reigned among the young nobles surrounding the Czar—Alexander was now at the head of his army—brought on the Coalition deserved punishment, and pedantry had its part in an immense disaster. The force of Napoleon appeared small, his natural line of retreat was exposed, and a theorist in the Austrian camp persuaded the Czar and the Austrian Emperor, who was at the head of his troops at Olmütz, to consent to a magnificent plan of assailing Napoleon by the well-known method

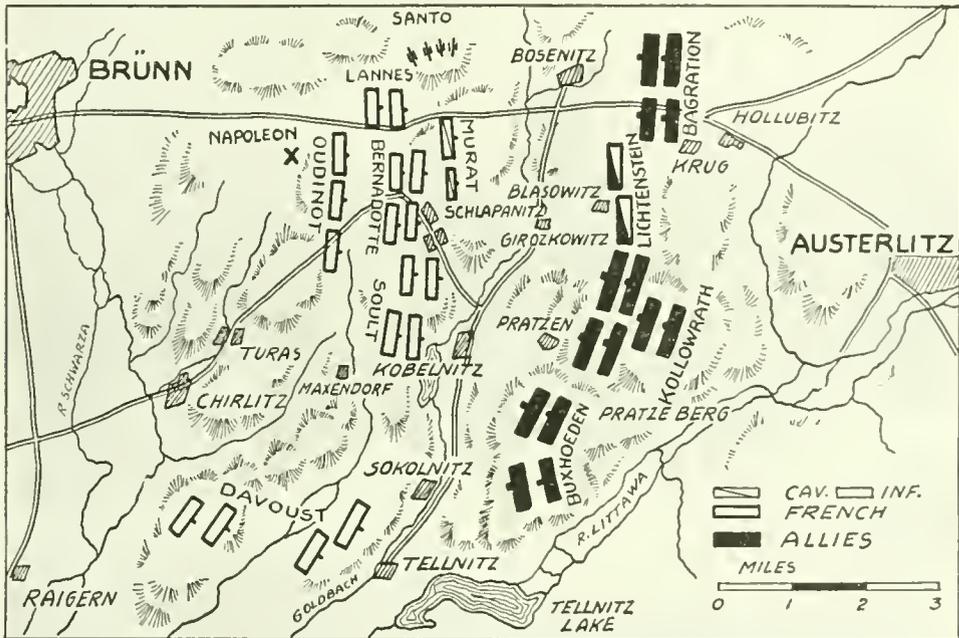
ceeded by a fourth at no great distance, toiling through a tract of marshes and frozen lakes, to outflank Napoleon's right on the Goldbach, the allied centre, on the tableland of Prätzen, immediately before the French front, having been dangerously weakened by this great turning movement. The assailants were opposed by a small force only, under Davoust, one of the best of the marshals. . . . Ere long Napoleon, who, like a beast of prey, had reserved his strength until it was time to spring, launched Soult in force against the Russian and Austrian centre, enfeebled by the detachment against the French right and exposed to the whole weight of Napoleon's attacks; and Prätzen was stormed after a fierce struggle, in which Bernadotte gave the required aid to Soult. The allied centre was thus rent asunder. Lannes meanwhile had defeated the allied right. . . . Napoleon now turned with terrible energy and in overwhelming strength against the four columns,

that had assailed his right, but had begun to retreat. His victorious centre was aided by his right, now set free; the Russians and Austrians were struck with panic, a horrible scene of destruction followed, the flying troops were slain or captured in thousands, and multitudes perished, engulfed in the lakes, the French artillery shattering their icy surface. The rout was decisive, complete, and appalling; about 80,000 of the Allies were engaged; they lost all their guns and nearly half their numbers, and the remains of their army were a worthless wreck. Napoleon had only 60,000 men in the fight. . . . The memorable campaign of 1805 is, perhaps, the grandest of Napoleon's exploits in war."—W. O'C. Morris, *Napoleon*, ch. 7.—See also AUSTRIA: 1798-1806.

"If he [Napoleon] had really hoped to throw an army on English soil under the momentary protection of his fleet, that project was ended: but

ALSO IN: C. Adams, *Great campaigns in Europe, from 1796 to 1870*.—D. P. Barton, *Bernadotte*.—E. J. de la Gravière, *Sketches of the last naval war*, v. 2.—A. T. Mahan, *Influences of sea power upon the French Revolution*, v. 2.—Baron de Marbot, *Memoirs*, v. 1.—Lord Nelson, *Dispatches and letters*, v. 6-7.—W. C. Russell, *Nelson and the naval supremacy of England*.—R. Southey, *Life of Nelson*, v. 2.—A. Thiers, *History of the consulate and empire*, v. 2, bk. 22.—H. F. B. Wheeler and A. M. Broadley, *Napoleon and the invasion of England, 1805-1806 (December-August)*.—Peace of Pressburg.—Humiliation of Austria.—Formation of the Confederation of the Rhine.—Extinction of the Holy Roman empire.—Goading of Prussia to war. See GERMANY: 1805-1806; 1806 (January-August).

1805-1806 (December-September).—Dethronement of the Naples dynasty.—Joseph Bonaparte



BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ, DECEMBER 2, 1805

if at heart he despised that Revolutionary legacy, the 'freedom of the seas and the invasion of England,' if he always intended to destroy Great Britain, not by direct attack on land or sea, but by isolating her through the destruction of her continental allies, he might still be furious that his best efforts had resulted in so trivial a display, and that this fiasco by sea might be considered as a presage of similar results in the coming land campaign. History must accept this dilemma: either England or France was the author of the Russian and Austrian alliance which brought in those wars that drenched European soil with human blood. Either Pitt, by his subsidies and diplomacy, turned an army intended for the invasion of England against his continental allies, or else Napoleon taunted and exasperated them into a coalition for his own purposes. If the latter be true, then all the thousand indications that the French Emperor was never serious about the invasion are trustworthy."—W. M. Sloane, *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, v. 2, p. 360.

as imperial viceroy.—Napoleon's decrees concerning Italy.—His efforts toward making the pope a vassal king.—"Hardly had the signatures been appended to the treaty of peace at Pressburg when he [Napoleon] announced on the day following—and, characteristically enough, in a mere military order issued to the army—that the Bourbon dynasty in the kingdom of Naples had ceased to reign. The pretext for this step had, it must be acknowledged, been furnished by the Neapolitan court itself. Pressed by both English and Russians, Queen Caroline had determined upon risking all to gain all and, setting aside the promise made to France in August to remain neutral, opened the port of her capital to Russian and British troops. This had taken place in the midst of the war, and hence Napoleon's course in sending Masséna with a large body of troops across the Neapolitan frontier was capable of justification according to the laws of war. The outcome of it was that the effects of the victory of Austerlitz made themselves felt here as elsewhere, for the Czar, still crushed

by his defeat, recalled his troops from Naples to Corfu, and the English, following his example, also evacuated the port and sailed for Sicily, leaving to the mercy of the exasperated foe those whose fate had been confidently put in their keeping. No answer was received to the letter in which the queen made submission to the Emperor imploring his clemency, and in the middle of February, 1806, Joseph Bonaparte, who had put in an appearance with the army, took, as Imperial Viceroy, immediate possession of the capital whence the legitimate reigning family had shortly before taken flight. Only a few weeks later, before the end of March, and the Bourbon troops which offered resistance on the peninsula had been overcome and Sicily alone was left under dominion of Caroline and the English. On March 30, 1806, Napoleon

within the limits of the newly-conquered Venetian territory twelve titular duchies: Dalmatia, Istria, Friuli, Cadore, Belluno, Conegliano, Treviso, Feltre, Bassano, Vicenza, Padua, and Rovigo, and four similar ones in the kingdom of Naples: Gaeta, Otranto, Taranto, and Reggio, one in the principality of Lucca, and three in Parma and Piacenza. One fifteenth part of the revenue from these lands was to serve as endowment to the incumbent. Besides these Napoleon reserved to himself domains in Venetia amounting in value to 30,000,000 francs, and in Lucca amounting to 4,000,000, and in addition 1,200,000 francs annual tribute to be furnished by the kingdom of Italy and 1,000,000 by Naples. These titled estates and these funds were intended for use as rewards for conspicuous acts of service. The recipients of these favours—and who these



MURAT AT AUSTERLITZ

(From painting by H. Chartier)

apprised the Senate by letter of his determination to set his brother Joseph upon the throne as monarch of Naples and Sicily. This meant, as the letter itself implied, that the kingdom would henceforth be included within the sphere of Napoleonic power, since it expressly stated that the new king of the Two Sicilies should remain a Grand Dignitary of France. In view of this the law providing that the two crowns, the French and the Neapolitan, should never be united upon one head might as well never have existed. Together with this decree there were submitted to the Senate several others concerning Italy. One of these dealt with the question of incorporating the Venetian territory with the kingdom of Italy. Another had as its object the assignment of the principality of Guastalla to the Princess Borghese and her husband. Still others disclosed an entirely new and special purpose on the part of the head of the State. Napoleon, that is to say, proposed to found

were to be will shortly appear—acquired thereby, it is true, no prerogatives of any kind, but title and revenue were assured to the heirs in direct male line. This new feudal system had little more than the name in common with the ancient and obsolete one and should not be confused with it. Of especial significance, however, was the international element in it, for, according to it, citizens of one state could be transferred with their claims to another, French marshals and officials might acquire a legitimate share in state revenues of Italy, and but little later in those of Poland and Germany also—an additional proof that Napoleon's idea of an empire had long since been extended beyond the boundaries of France. Madame de Rémusat, speaking in her 'Memoires' of the new nobility, pauses to remark: 'Our country came before long to seem to Napoleon nothing more than a great province of the empire which he had resolved upon bringing into submission to himself.'

But in nothing did this imperial design disclose itself more clearly than in Napoleon's conduct toward the Pope. After the expulsion from Naples of the legitimate Royal House the entire Italian peninsula had become subject to the will of the conqueror with the exception of the States of the Church. It soon became evident, however, that herein also the rule was to be carried out, and all misgivings on that score received but too speedy confirmation in the bestowal of the Neapolitan principalities of Ponte Corvo and Benevento upon the French dignitaries Bernadotte and Talleyrand, without regard to the suzerainty of the Pope. It yet remained to be seen whether Pius would consent to play a rôle like that of Joseph Bonaparte as vassal king under Napoleon. Acceptance of this arrangement would mean possible continuation of the temporal power of the Pope, rejection, supposably its sacrifice to the design of the great potentate for a world empire. That the Pope could not be counted upon as a docile tool in the hands of the Corsican had already been shown in the recent war when Pius, demanding for himself unconditional neutrality, had raised a protest against the French, who, disregarding his attitude, occupied Ancona on their way toward Naples. Far from submitting quietly to such abuse, he had publicly affirmed that as the father of all believers, to observe political impartiality was his duty. In addition to these acts of contumacy Pius, adducing the decisions of the Council of Trent, had refused in June, 1805, Napoleon's request to dissolve the marriage of his youngest brother Jerome with Miss Patterson, an American. Such perversity on the part of the pontiff exasperated the Emperor, who considered himself, in contrast with his republican predecessors, to have made sufficient conciliatory advances. After his victory over the coalition he had the statement promulgated at Rome that he had occupied Ancona because the military forces of the Papal See would have been insufficient to hold the port against the English or the Turks,—i.e., against the Protestants and Infidels,—and because he, Napoleon, regarded himself as protector of the Church. Notwithstanding all this, Pius still refused to comprehend and, with unrefined suavity, requested the return of the Legations as compensation for his good offices at the time of the coronation. And this time Napoleon spoke in terms quite unmistakable. Writing February 13, 1806, he says: 'All Italy is to be subject to my law. I shall in no wise interfere with the independence of the Papal See, but upon condition that your Holiness shall show toward myself in things temporal the same respect which I observe toward your Holiness in things spiritual. . . . Your Holiness is sovereign of Rome, but I am its emperor.' And to Fesch, who was now his representative at the Papal court, he gave orders to demand the expulsion of all subjects of England, Russia, Sweden, and Sardinia, and the closing of the port of Rome to ships of these nations, adding that Joseph had instructions to uphold him by force of arms. The Roman pontiff was, moreover, to trouble himself no further with political affairs, since his protection had been assumed by Napoleon against the whole world. 'Say to him,' he continues, 'that my eyes are open and that I do not allow myself to be imposed upon except in so far as I desire; say to him that I am Charlemagne, the Sword of the Church, their Emperor, and that I propose to be treated as such.' Among those surrounding Joseph at this time was Miot de Melito, who says that Napoleon spoke freely in his correspondence with his brother in regard to his real intentions. He had thoughts of going to Rome in order to

have himself crowned as Emperor of the West, which would imply the entire relinquishment of temporal power on the part of the Pope, who would have to be satisfied with the chief spiritual authority alone and a few million francs income as compensation. This scheme had been confidentially revealed in Rome, but the cardinals had declared against it and were resolved rather to die than to live under such conditions. The strictest secrecy was maintained about the whole matter. Only to the second letter above mentioned did Pius reply to the effect that Napoleon was indeed Emperor of the French but in nowise Roman Emperor, and that any such close relation with himself as he demanded would deprive the Papal See of its authority in other countries. One concession, however, was made to the oppressor: Consalvi, the Pope's Secretary of State, having been indicated by Napoleon as the moving spirit in the resistance to him, was deposed from his office. Relations remained strained and eventually resulted in complete rupture."—A. Fournier, *Napoleon the First*, pp. 327-331.—See also PAPACY: 1808-1814.

ALSO IN: C. Botta, *Italy during the consulate and empire of Napoleon*.—P. Colletta, *History of the kingdom of Naples*.—J. H. Rose, *Bonaparte and the conquest of Italy* (*Cambridge modern history*, v. 8).

1806 (January-October).—Napoleon's triumphant return to Paris.—Death of Pitt.—Peace negotiations with England.—King-making and prince-making by the Corsican Cæsar.—On December 27th, the day after the signing of the Treaty of Presburg, Napoleon left Vienna for Paris. "En route for Paris he remained a week at Munich to be present at the marriage of Eugene Beauharnais to the Princess Augusta, daughter of the King of Bavaria. Josephine joined him, and the whole time was passed in fêtes and rejoicings. On this occasion he proclaimed Eugene his adopted son, and, in default of issue of his own, his successor in the kingdom of Italy. Accompanied by Josephine, Napoleon re-entered Paris on the 26th of January, 1806, amidst the most enthusiastic acclamations. The national vanity was raised to the highest pitch by the glory and extent of territory he had acquired. The Senate at a solemn audience besought him to accept the title of 'the Great'; and public rejoicings lasting many days attested his popularity. An important political event in England opened new views of security and peace to the empire. William Pitt, the implacable enemy of the Revolution, had died on the 23rd of January, at the early age of 47; and the Government was entrusted to the hands of his great opponent, Charles James Fox. The disastrous results of the war of which Pitt had been the mainstay probably hastened his death. After the capitulation of Ulm he never rallied. The well-known friendship of Fox for Napoleon, added to his avowed principles, afforded the strongest hopes that England and France were at length destined to cement the peace of the world by entering into friendly relations. Aided by Talleyrand, who earnestly counselled peace, Napoleon made overtures to the English Government through Lord Yarmouth, who was among the détenus. He offered to yield the long-contested point of Malta—consenting to the continued possession of that island, the Cape of Good Hope, and other conquests in the East and West Indies by Great Britain, and proposing generally that the treaty should be conducted on the *uti possidetis* principle: that is, allowing each party to retain whatever it had acquired in the course of the war. Turkey acknowledged Napoleon as Emperor and

entered into amicable relations with the French nation; and what was still more important, Russia signed a treaty of peace in July, influenced by the pacific inclinations of the English Minister. Napoleon resolved to surround his throne with an order of nobles, and to place members of his family on the thrones of the conquered countries adjoining France in order that they might become parts of his system and co-operate in his plans. Two decrees of the 31st of March declared Joseph Bonaparte King of Naples, and Murat Grand Duke of Berg and Cleves. Louis Bonaparte was made King of Holland a few months afterwards, and Jerome King of Westphalia in the following year. The Princess Pauline received the principality of Guastalla, and Talleyrand, Bernadotte, and Berthier those of Benevento, Ponte-Corvo, and Neuchâtel. Fifteen dukedoms were created and bestowed on the most distinguished statesmen and generals of the empire, each with an income amounting to a fifteenth part of the revenue of the province attached to it. These became grand fiefs of the empire. Cambacérés and Lebrun were made Dukes of Parma and Placenza; Savary, Duke of Rovigo; Junot, of Abrantes; Lannes, of Montebello, &c. The manners of some of these Republican soldiers were ill adapted to courtly forms, and afforded amusement to the members of the ancient and legitimate order. . . . Napoleon's desire to conciliate and form alliances with the established dynasties and aristocracies of Europe kept pace with his daring encroachments on their hitherto exclusive dignity. Besides the marriage of Eugene Beauharnais to a Princess of Bavaria, an alliance was concluded between the hereditary Prince of Baden and Mademoiselle Stephanie Beauharnais, a niece of the Empress. The old French noblesse were also encouraged to appear at the Tuileries. During the Emperor's visit at Munich the Republican calendar was abolished and the usual mode of computing time restored in France. . . . The negotiations with England went on tardily, and the news of Fox's alarming state of health excited the gravest fears in the French Government. Lord Lauderdale arrived in Paris, on the part of England, in the month of August; but difficulties were continually started, and before anything was decided the death of Fox gave the finishing blow to all hope of peace. Lord Lauderdale demanded his passports and left Paris in October."—R. H. Horne, *History of Napoleon*, ch. 26.

ALSO IN: M^{me} de Rémusat, *Memoirs*, v. 2, ch. 16-21.—Duke of Rovigo, *Memoirs*, v. 1, pt. 2, ch. 18-21.—P. Lanfrey, *History of Napoleon*, v. 2, h. 15.

1806 (October).—Subjugation of Prussia at Jena.—Napoleon's policy in Germany.—Advance into Poland. See GERMANY: 1806 (October); (October-December).

1806-1807.—Napoleon's campaign against the Russians.—Eylau and Friedland. See GERMANY: 1806-1807; 1807 (February-June).

1806-1810.—Commercial warfare with England.—British orders in council and Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees.—"Continental system."—"As the war advanced, after the Peace of Amiens, the neutrals became bolder and more aggressive. American ships were constantly arriving at Dutch and French ports with sugar, coffee, and other productions of the French and Spanish West Indies. And East India goods were imported by them into Spain, Holland, and France. . . . By the rivers and canals of Germany and Flanders goods were floated into the warehouses of the enemy [France], or circulated for the supply of his customers in neutral countries. . . . It was a general

complaint, therefore, that the enemy carried on colonial commerce under the neutral flag, cheaply as well as safely; that he was enabled not only to elude British hostilities, but to rival British merchants and planters in the European markets; that by the same means the hostile treasuries were filled with a copious stream of revenue; and that by this licentious use of the neutral flag, the enemy was enabled to employ his whole military marine for purposes of offensive war, without being obliged to maintain a squadron or a ship for the defence of his colonial ports. . . . Such complaints made against neutral states found a powerful exposition in a work entitled 'War in Disguise and the Frauds of the Neutral Flag,' supposed to have been written by Mr. James Stephen, the real author of the orders in Council. The British Government did not see its way at once to proceed in the direction of prohibiting to neutral ships the colonial trade, which they had enjoyed for a considerable time; but the first step was taken to paralyse the resources of the enemy, and to restrict the trade of neutrals, by the issue of an order in Council in May 1806, declaring that all the coasts, ports, and rivers from the Elbe to Brest should be considered blockaded, though the only portion of those coasts rigorously blockaded was that included between the Ostend and the mouth of the Seine, in the ports of which preparations were made for the invasion of England. The northern ports of Germany and Holland were left partly open, and the navigation of the Baltic altogether free. Napoleon, then in the zenith of his power, saw, in this order in Council, a fresh act of wantonness, and he met it by the issue of the Berlin decree of November 21, 1806. In that document, remarkable for its boldness and vigour, Napoleon charged England with having set at nought the dictates of international law, with having made prisoners of war of private individuals, and with having taken the crews out of merchant ships. He charged this country with having captured private property at sea, extended to commercial ports the restrictions of blockade applicable only to fortified places, declared as blockaded places which were not invested by naval forces, and abused the right of blockade in order to benefit her own trade at the expense of the commerce of Continental states. He asserted the right of combating the enemy with the same arms used against himself, especially when such enemy ignored all ideas of justice and every liberal sentiment which civilisation imposes. He announced his resolution to apply to England the same usages which she had established in her maritime legislation. He laid down the principles which France was resolved to act upon until England should recognise that the rights of war are the same on land as on sea. . . . And upon these premises the decree ordered, 1st, That the British islands should be declared in a state of blockade. 2nd, That all commerce and correspondence with the British islands should be prohibited; and that letters addressed to England or Englishmen, written in the English language, should be detained and taken. 3rd, That every British subject found in a country occupied by French troops, or by those of their allies, should be made a prisoner of war. 4th, That all merchandise and property belonging to British subjects should be deemed a good prize. 5th, That all commerce in English merchandise should be prohibited, and that all merchandise belonging to England or her colonies, and of British manufacture, should be deemed a good prize. And 6th, That no vessel coming direct from England or her colonies be allowed to enter any French port, or

any port subject to French authority; and that every vessel which, by means of a false declaration, should evade such regulations, should at once be captured. The British Government lost no time in retaliating against France for so bold a course; and, on January 7, 1807, an order in Council was issued, which, after reference to the orders issued by France, enjoined that no vessel should be allowed to trade from one enemy's port to another, or from one port to another of a French ally's coast shut against English vessels; and ordered the commanders of the ships of war and privateers to warn every neutral vessel coming from any such port, and destined to another such port, to discontinue her voyage, and that any vessel, after being so warned, which should be found proceeding to another such port should be captured and considered as lawful prize. This order in Council having reached Napoleon at Warsaw, he immediately ordered the confiscation of all English merchandise and colonial produce found in the Hanseatic Towns. . . . But Britain, in return, went a step further, and, by order in Council of November 11, 1807, declared all the ports and places of France, and those of her allies, and of all countries where the English flag was excluded, even though they were not at war with Britain, should be placed under the same restrictions for commerce and navigation as if they were blockaded, and consequently that ships destined to those ports should be liable to the visit of British cruisers at a British station, and there subjected to a tax to be imposed by the British Parliament. Napoleon was at Milan when this order in Council was issued, and forthwith, on December 17, the famous decree appeared, by which he imposed on neutrals just the contrary of what was prescribed to them by England, and further declared that every vessel, of whatever nation that submitted to the order in Council of November 11, should by that very act become denationalised, considered as British property, and condemned as a good prize. The decree placed the British islands in a state of blockade, and ordered that every ship, of whatever nation, and with whatever cargo, proceeding from English ports or English colonies to countries occupied by English troops, or going to England, should be a good prize. This England answered by the order in Council of April 26, 1800, which revoked the order of 1807 as regards America, but confirmed the blockade of all the ports of France and Holland, their colonies and dependencies. And then France, still further incensed against England, issued the tariff of Trianon, dated August 5, 1810, completed by the decree of St. Cloud of September 12, and of Fontainebleau of October 10, which went the length of ordering the seizure and burning of all British goods found in France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Spain, and in every place occupied by French troops. . . . The princes of the Rhenish Confederation hastened to execute it, some for the purpose of enriching themselves by the wicked deed, some out of hatred towards the English, and some to show their devotion towards their master. From Carlsruhe to Munich, from Cassel to Dresden and Hamburg, everywhere, bonfires were made of English goods. And so exacting were the French that when Frankfort exhibited the least hesitation in carrying out the decree, French troops were sent to execute the order. By means such as these [known as the Continental System of Napoleon] the commerce of the world was greatly deranged, if not destroyed altogether, and none suffered more from them than England herself."—L. Levi, *History of British commerce*, pt. 2, ch. 4 (with appended text of orders and decrees).—"The object

of the Orders in Council was . . . twofold: to embarrass France and Napoleon by the prohibition of direct import and export trade, of all external commerce, which for them could only be carried on by neutrals; and at the same time to force into the Continent all the British products or manufactures that it could take. . . . The whole system was then, and has since been, roundly abused as being in no sense a military measure, but merely a gigantic exhibition of commercial greed; but this simply begs the question. To win her fight Great Britain was obliged not only to weaken Napoleon, but to increase her own strength. The battle between the sea and the land was to be fought out on Commerce. England had no army wherewith to meet Napoleon; Napoleon had no navy to cope with that of his enemy. As in the case of an impregnable fortress, the only alternative for either of these contestants was to reduce the other by starvation. On the common frontier, the coast line, they met in a deadly strife in which no weapon was drawn. The imperial soldiers were turned into coast-guards-men to shut out Great Britain from her markets; the British ships became revenue cutters to prohibit the trade of France. The neutral carrier, pocketing his pride, offered his service to either for pay, and the other then regarded him as taking part in hostilities. The ministry, in the exigencies of debate, betrayed some lack of definite conviction as to their precise aim. Sometimes the Orders were justified as a military measure of retaliation; sometimes the need of supporting British commerce as essential to her life and to her naval strength was alleged; and their opponents in either case taunted them with inconsistency. Napoleon, with despotic simplicity, announced clearly his purpose of ruining England through her trade, and the ministry really needed no other arguments than his avowals. 'Salus civitatis suprema lex.' To call the measures of either not military, is as inaccurate as it would be to call the ancient practice of circumvallation unmilitary, because the only weapon used for it was the spade. . . . The Orders in Council received various modifications, due largely to the importance to Great Britain of the American market, which absorbed a great part of her manufactures; but these modifications, though sensibly lightening the burden upon neutrals and introducing some changes of form, in no sense departed from the spirit of the originals. The entire series was finally withdrawn in June, 1812, but too late to avert the war with the United States, which was declared in the same month. Napoleon never revoked his Berlin and Milan decrees, although by a trick he induced an over-eager President of the United States to believe that he had done so. . . . The true function of Great Britain in this long struggle can scarcely be recognized unless there be a clear appreciation of the fact that a really great national movement, like the French Revolution, or a really great military power under an incomparable general, like the French Empire under Napoleon, is not to be brought to terms by ordinary military successes, which simply destroy the organized force opposed. . . . If the course of aggression which Bonaparte had inherited from the Revolution was to continue, there were needed, not the resources of the Continent only, but of the world. There was needed also a diminution of ultimate resistance below the stored-up aggressive strength of France; otherwise, however procrastinated, the time must come when the latter should fail. On both these points Great Britain withstood Napoleon. She shut him off from the world, and by the same act prolonged her own powers of endur-

ance beyond his power of aggression. This in the retrospect of history was the function of Great Britain in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period; and that the successive ministries of Pitt and his followers pursued the course best fitted, upon the whole, to discharge that function, is their justification to posterity."—A. T. Mahan, *Influence of sea power upon the French Revolution and empire*, v. 2, ch. 18-19.—See also CONTINENTAL SYSTEM OF NAPOLEON; TARIFF: 1789-1826; U. S. A.: 1804-1809.

ALSO IN: H. Adams, *History of the United States*, v. 3, ch. 4, 16, v. 4, ch. 4.—Lord Brougham, *Life and times*, by himself, v. 2, ch. 10.

1806.—Creation of Jewish assembly of Notables by Napoleon. See JEWS: France: 1806.

1806-1909.—Conseils des prud'hommes.—Arbitration council. See ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION, INDUSTRIAL: France.

1807.—Talleyrand.—Rupture with Napoleon.



TALLEYRAND

—Napoleon "was greatly aided by his foreign minister, Talleyrand, another of the remarkable figures of this remarkable epoch. Talleyrand was born in Paris in 1754, the scion of an ancient and powerful family. A childhood fall had so crippled him that the usual line of noble advancement, the army, was closed to him. His family, therefore, directed his studies for the church. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was Bishop of Autun, and was chosen the representative of the clergy of his diocese to the Estates General. The world of politics proved so much more attractive to him than his prospects in the church that two years later (1791) he resigned his Bishop's see and sought employment in diplomacy. After five years of vicissitude, at one time on special mission to London, at another (it is reported) selling buttons on the streets of New York to make a living, he was appointed by the influence of Barras—the same man who so advanced Napoleon's fortunes—minister of foreign affairs. There he remained for three years, gaining valuable experiences and following the prevailing custom of lining his pockets

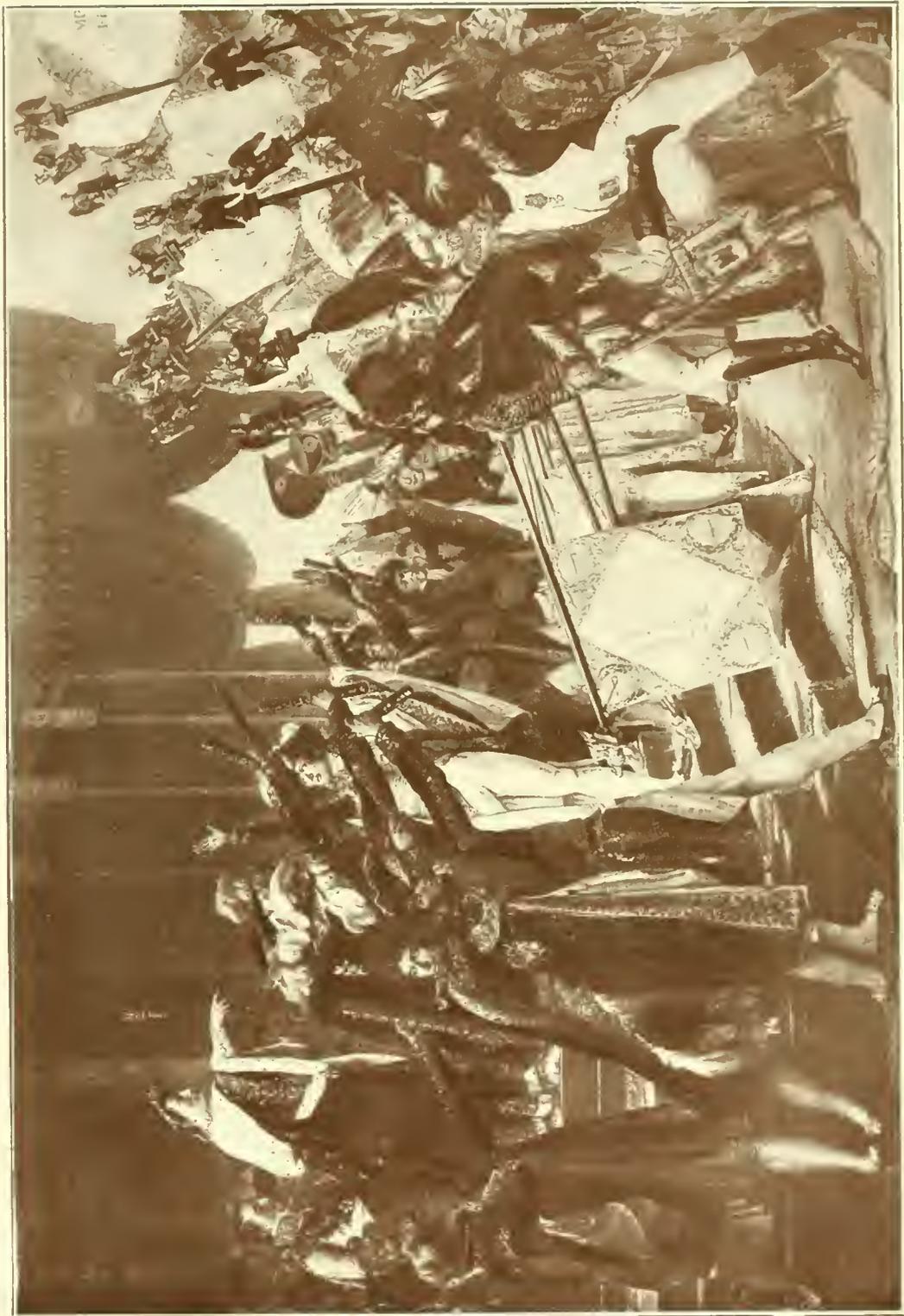
with bribes. When he realized the depth of unpopularity into which the Directory had sunk, he resigned his post (1799) and associated himself, though in a minor capacity, with the conspiracy of Sieyès and Napoleon. He was not at once appointed minister of foreign affairs during the provisional consulate, for the taint of his reputation for official corruption and private immorality made him undesirable. In December, however, the new government, needing badly the benefit of his experience, reinstated him in his old office, and Napoleon as First Consul continued him there. For diplomacy under Napoleon, Talleyrand was well suited. He was unemotional and cynical, thoroughly familiar with diplomatic forms and procedure, unscrupulous, and endowed with a philosophic ability to detach himself from the event of the moment and discern the general trend of affairs. He had, withal, a genuine love of France and sought according to his understanding to advance her interests. The close alliance between him and Napoleon, formed in the winter of 1799-1800, continued until the ambitions of the conqueror passed the bounds of what Talleyrand believed to be expediency: then, 1807, Talleyrand left office and with calm cynicism watched the successive stages of the Emperor's downfall."—L. H. Holt and A. W. Chilton, *Brief history of Europe from 1789 to 1815*, pp. 195-196.

ALSO IN: C. Dupuis, *Le ministère de Talleyrand en 1814*.—R. M. Johnston, *French Revolution*.—B. de Lacombe, *Talleyrand the man*.—F. Loliée, *Prince Talleyrand and his times*.—J. McCabe, *Talleyrand, a biographical study*.—C. K. McHarg, *Life of Prince Talleyrand*.—Idem, *Memoirs of Talleyrand*, v. 1.—Idem, *Correspondence of Prince Talleyrand and Louis XVIII*.

1807 (February-September).—Turkish alliance.—Ineffective attempts of England against Constantinople and in Egypt. See TURKEY: 1806-1807.

1807 (June-July).—Treaties of Tilsit with Russia and Prussia.—Latter shorn of half its territory.—Formation of kingdom of Westphalia.—Secret understandings between Napoleon and the tsar. See GERMANY: 1807 (June-July).

1807 (July-December).—Apparent power and real weakness of Napoleon's empire.—"The dangers . . . that lay hid under the new arrangement of the map of Europe [by the Treaty of Tilsit], and in the results of French conquests, were as yet withdrawn from almost every eye; and the power of Napoleon was now at its height, though his empire was afterwards somewhat enlarged. . . . If England still stood in arms against it, she was without an avowed ally on the Continent; and, drawing to itself the great Power of the North, it appeared to threaten the civilized world with that universal and settled domination which had not been seen since the fall of Rome. The Sovereign of France from the Scheldt to the Pyrenees, and of Italy from the Alps to the Tiber. Napoleon held under his immediate sway the fairest and most favored part of the Continent; and yet this was only the seat and centre of that far-spreading and immense authority. One of his brothers, Louis, governed the Batavian Republic, converted into the kingdom of Holland; another, Joseph, wore the old Crown of Naples; and a third, Jerome, sat on the new throne of Westphalia; and he had reduced Spain to a simple dependency, while, with Austria humbled and Prussia crushed, he was supreme in Germany from the Rhine to the Vistula, through his confederate, subject, or allied States. This enormous Empire,



DISTRIBUTION OF THE EAGLES BY NAPOLEON

(After painting by J. L. David)

with its vassal appendages, rested on great and victorious armies in possession of every point of vantage from the Niemen to the Adige and the Garonne, and proved as yet to be irresistible; and as Germany, Holland, Poland, and Italy swelled the forces of France with large contingents, the whole fabric of conquest seemed firmly cemented. Nor was the Empire the mere creation of brute force and the spoil of the sword; its author endeavoured, in some measure, to consolidate it through better and more lasting influences. Napoleon, indeed, suppressed the ideas of 1789 everywhere, but he introduced his Code and large social reforms into most of the vassal or allied States; he completed the work of destroying Feudalism which the Revolution had daringly begun; and he left a permanent mark on the face of Europe, far beyond the limit of Republican France, in innumerable monuments of material splendour. . . . Nor did the Empire at this time appear more firmly established abroad than within the limits of the dominant State which had become mistress of Continental Europe. The prosperity of the greater part of France was immense; the finances, fed by the contributions of war, seemed overflowing and on the increase; and if sounds of discontent were occasionally heard, they were lost in the universal acclaim which greeted the author of the national greatness, and the restorer of social order and welfare. . . . In the splendour and success of the Imperial era, the animosities and divisions of the past, disappeared, and France seemed to form a united people. If, too, the cost of conquest was great, and exacted a tribute of French blood, the military power of the Empire shone with the brightest radiance of martial renown; Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland could in part console even thinned households. . . . The magnificent public works with which Napoleon adorned this part of his reign increased this sentiment of national grandeur; it was now that the Madeleine raised its front, and the Column, moulded from captured cannon; . . . and Paris, decked out with triumphal arches, with temples of glory, and with stately streets, put on the aspect of ancient Rome, gathering into her lap the gorgeous spoils of subjugated and dependent races. . . . Yet, notwithstanding its apparent strength, this structure of conquest and domination was essentially weak, and liable to decay. The work of the sword, and of new-made power, it was in opposition to the nature of things. . . . The material and even social benefits conferred by the Code, and reform of abuses, could not compensate vanquished but martial races for the misery and disgrace of subjection; and, apart from the commercial oppression [of the Continental System, which destroyed commerce in order to do injury to England], . . . the exasperating pressure of French officials, the exactions of the victorious French armies, and the severities of the conscription introduced among them, provoked discontent in the vassal States on which the yoke of the Empire weighed. . . . The prostration, too, of Austria and Prussia . . . had a direct tendency to make these powers forget their old discords in common suffering, and to bring to an end the internal divisions through which France had become supreme in Germany. . . . The triumphant policy of Tilsit contained the germs of a Coalition against France more formidable than she had yet experienced. At the same time, the real strength of the instrument by which Napoleon maintained his power was being gradually but surely impaired; the imperial armies were more and more filled with raw conscripts and ill-affected allies, as their size increased

with the extension of his rule; and the French element in them, on which alone reliance could be placed in possible defeat, was being dissipated, exhausted, and wasted. . . . Nor was the Empire, within France itself, free from elements of instability and decline. The finances, well administered as they were, were so burdened by the charges of war that they were only sustained by conquest; and, flourishing as their condition seemed, they had been often cruelly strained of late, and were unable to bear the shock of disaster. The seaports were beginning to suffer from the policy adopted to subdue England. . . . Meanwhile, the continual demands on the youth of the nation for never-ceasing wars were gradually telling on its military power; Napoleon, after Eylau, had had recourse to the ruinous expedient of taking beforehand the levies which the conscription raised; and though complaints were as yet rare, the anticipation of the resources of France, which filled the armies with feeble boys, unequal to the hardships of a rude campaign, had been noticed at home as well as abroad. Nor were the moral ills of this splendid despotism less certain than its bad material results. . . . The inevitable tendency of the Empire, even at the time of its highest glory, was to lessen manliness and self-reliance, to fetter and demoralize the human mind, and to weaken whatever public virtue and mental independence France possessed; and its authority had already begun to disclose some of the harsher features of Cæsarian despotism."—W. O'C. Morris, *French Revolution and first empire*, ch. 12.—"Notwithstanding so many brilliant and specious appearances, France did not possess either true prosperity or true greatness. She was not really prosperous; for not only was there no feeling of security, a necessary condition for the welfare of nations, but all the evils produced by so many years of war still weighed heavily on her. . . . She was not really great, for all her great men had either been banished or put to silence. She could still point with pride to her generals and soldiers, although the army, which, if brave as ever, had gradually sunk from the worship of the country and liberty to that of glory, and from the worship of glory to that of riches, was corrupt and degenerate; but where were her great citizens? Where were her great orators, her great politicians, her great philosophers, her great writers of every kind? Where, at least, were their descendants? All who had shown a spark of genius or pride had been sacrificed for the benefit of a single man. They had disappeared; some crushed under the wheels of his chariot, others forced to live obscurely in some unknown retreat, and, what was graver still, their race seemed extinct. . . . France was imprisoned, as it were, in an iron net, and the issues were closed to all the generous and ardent youth that had either intellectual or moral activity."—P. Lanfrey, *History of Napoleon*, v. 3, ch. 5.

ALSO IN: H. A. Taine, *Modern regime*, v. 1, bk. 1, ch. 2, bk. 3, ch. 3.

1807-1808.—Napoleon's plottings in Spain for the theft of the crown.—Popular rising. See SPAIN: 1807-1808.

1807-1808 (August - November).—Denmark, Portugal and Austria brought into the Napoleonic system.—Sweden accepts a truce.—Annexation of Tuscany.—Seizure of the papal marches.—Napoleon's "Treaty of Tilsit had secured Russia and Prussia; his alliances guaranteed Holland, Spain, Etruria (Tuscany), and northern Italy. There remained only Denmark, Portugal, Austria, and Sweden. Beginning immediately after the Treaty of Tilsit, he put pressure upon these

states until he brought them one by one into his system. . . . The Danish government's final decision was determined by Great Britain's action. The British government, learning of Napoleon's intentions toward Denmark, decided to forestall him. It therefore ordered a fleet and expeditionary force to Copenhagen to offer alliance, and in the event of refusal to cripple the Danish offensive power. This fleet arrived off Copenhagen August 3, 1807. As was expected, its offer of alliance was refused. . . . Five days later the Danes yielded, surrendering their fleet, and the British seized eighteen ships of the line, ten frigates, and forty-two smaller vessels. Denmark, of course, formally declared war upon Great Britain, and joined whole-heartedly Napoleon's alliance. [See also SWEDEN: 1807-1810.] . . . At the same time he was pressing Denmark, Napoleon was acting against Portugal, another gap in his continental blockade. . . . Like Denmark, Portugal, not allowed to maintain neutrality, was sure to lose with whichever belligerent she cast her fortunes. Napoleon expected her refusal and consequently signed a secret convention with Spain at Fontainebleau October 27, 1807, providing for military co-operation and the ultimate partition of Portugal. . . . The Portuguese government, recognizing the futility of resistance, prepared to flee. [See also PORTUGAL: 1807.] . . . Though Austria, with her single port of Trieste, could hardly be called one of the important trading countries, the moral advantage of her adhesion to the continental system was great. . . . By a convention signed at Fontainebleau October 11, 1807, all outstanding issues, especially those concerning boundaries in Illyria and Dalmatia, were settled, and Austria undertook to offer her mediation to the British government with a view to Anglo-French peace. When the British refused firmly such mediation, the Austrian ambassador withdrew from London. February 28, 1808, Austria accepted the principles of the continental blockade. . . . The pressure upon Sweden was exerted by Russia. February 10, 1808, Alexander demanded that Sweden withdraw from her alliance with Great Britain. Upon Sweden's refusal, Russian troops poured into Finland and in a quick campaign subjugated the country. June 17, 1808, Alexander endeavored to make his conquest agreeable to the Finns by promising them the enjoyment of their ancient rights and the convocation of their Diet. In November, 1808, Sweden accepted a truce, acknowledging the Russian occupation of Finland. Not until over a year later, however, after the abdication of the irreconcilable Swedish King Gustavus IV, did Sweden enter the continental system (January 6, 1810). [See also SWEDEN: 1807-1810.] Two other small possible gaps in the coast line Napoleon closed by outright annexation. The small Kingdom of Etruria (Tuscany, chief city Florence) had not been governed with the efficiency Napoleon expected. He therefore annexed it by decree May 30, 1808. To the south, the Pope had been sullenly hostile to Napoleon, even after the conclusion of the Concordat of 1801. Napoleon dealt with him arbitrarily. [In April, 1808, he detached the Northeastern papal provinces, known as the Marches, and added them to the Kingdom of Italy, although it was not until a year later that he annexed Rome and the adjoining provinces.]"—L. H. Holt and A. W. Chilton, *Brief history of Europe from 1789 to 1815*, pp. 252-254.

ALSO IN: D. P. Barton, *Bernadotte*.—C. Botta, *Italy during the consulate and empire of Napoleon*.

1807-1809.—American embargo and non-inter-

course laws. See U. S. A.: 1804-1809; 1808; 1808-1810; EMBARGO: First American embargoes.

1808.—Map of Napoleonic campaign in Germany. See GERMANY: 1907 (February-June).

1808 (May-September).—Bestowal of the Spanish crown on Joseph Bonaparte.—National revolt.—French reverses.—Flight of Joseph Bonaparte from Madrid.—Landing of British forces in the peninsula. See SPAIN: 1808 (May-September).

1808 (September-October).—Imperial conference and Treaty of Erfurt.—Assemblage of kings.—"Napoleon's relations with the Court of Russia, at one time very formal, became far more amicable, according as Spanish affairs grew complicated. After the capitulation of Baylen they became positively affectionate. The Czar was too clear-sighted not to understand the meaning of this gradation. He quickly understood that the more difficulties Napoleon might create for himself in Spain, the more would he be forced to make concessions to Russia. . . . The Russian alliance, which at Tilsit had only been an arrangement to flatter Napoleon's ambition, had now become a necessity to him. Each side felt this; hence the two sovereigns were equally impatient to meet again; the one to strengthen an alliance so indispensable to the success of his plans, the other to derive from it all the promised advantages. It was settled, therefore, that the desired interview should take place at Erfurt towards the end of September, 1808. . . . The two Emperors met on the 27th of September, on the road between Weimar and Erfurt. They embraced each other with that air of perfect cordiality of which kings alone possess the secret, especially when their intention is rather to stifle than to embrace. They made their entry into the town on horseback together, amidst an immense concourse of people. Napoleon had wished by its magnificence to render the reception worthy of the illustrious guests who had agreed to meet at Erfurt. He had sent thither from the storehouses of the crown, bronzes, porcelain, the richest hangings, and the most sumptuous furniture. He desired that the Comédie-Française should heighten the brilliant effects of these fêtes by performing the chief masterpieces of our stage, from 'Cinna' down to 'La Mort de César,' before this royal audience. . . . All the natural adherents of Napoleon hastened to answer his appeal by flocking to Erfurt, for he did not lose sight of his principal object, and his desire was to appear before Europe surrounded by a court composed of kings. In this cortege were to be seen those of Bavaria, of Wurtemberg, of Saxony, of Westphalia, and Prince William of Prussia; and beside these stars of first magnitude twinkled the obscure Pleiades of the Rhenish Confederation. The reunion, almost exclusively German, was meant to prove to German idealists the vanity of their dreams. Were not all present who had any weight in Germany from their power, rank, or riches? Was it not even hinted that the Emperor of Austria had implored the favour, without being able to obtain it, of admission to the conferences of Erfurt? This report was most improbable. . . . The kings of intellect came in their turn to bow down before Cæsar. Goethe and Wieland were presented to Napoleon; they appeared at his court, and by their glory adorned his triumph. German patriotism was severely tried at Erfurt; but it may be said that of all its humiliations the one which the Germans most deeply resented was that of beholding their greatest literary genius decking himself out with Napoleon's favours [the decoration of the Legion of Honour, which Goethe ac-

cepted]. . . . The theatrical effect which Napoleon had in view in this solemn show at Erfurt having once been produced, his principal object was attained, for the political questions which remained for settlement with Alexander could not raise any serious difficulty. In view of the immediate and certain session of two such important provinces as those of Wallachia and Moldavia, the Czar, without much trouble, renounced that division of the Ottoman Empire with which he had been tantalised for more than a year. . . . He bound himself . . . by the Treaty of Erfurt to continue his co-operation with Napoleon in the war against England (Article 2), and, should it so befall, also against Austria (Article 10); but the affairs in Spain threw every attack upon England into the background. . . . The only very distinct engagement which the treaty imposed on Alexander was the recognition of 'the new order of things established by France in Spain.'—P. Lanfrey, *History of Napoleon*, v. 3, ch. 10.

ALSO IN: Prince Talleyrand, *Memoirs*, v. 1.

1808 (September - December).—Napoleon's overwhelming campaign against Spanish armies.—Surrender of Madrid.—Reinstatement of Joseph. See SPAIN: 1808 (September-December). 1808-1809.—Siege of Saragossa. See SPAIN: 1808-1809 (December-March).

1808-1809.—Reverses in Portugal.—Napoleon in the field.—French victories resumed.—Check at Corunna. See SPAIN: 1808-1809 (August-January).

1809 (January-September).—Re-opened war with Austria.—Napoleon's advance to Vienna.—Defeat at Aspern and victory at Wagram.—Peace of Schönbrunn.—Fresh acquisitions of territory. See GERMANY: 1809 (January-June); (April-July); (July-September); AUSTRIA: 1809-1814.

1809 (February-July).—War in Aragon.—Siege of Gerona.—Wellington's check to the French in Spain and Portugal.—Passage of the Douro.—Battle of Talavera. See SPAIN: 1809 (February-June); (February-July).

1809 (May).—Annexation of the States of the Church.—Removal of the pope to Savona. See PAPACY: 1808-1814; ROME: Modern city: 1808-1814.

1809 (August-November).—Battles of Almonacid, Puerto de Baños, Ocana, Alba de Tormes. See SPAIN: 1809 (August-November).

1809 (December).—Withdrawal of the English from Spain into Portugal. See SPAIN: 1809 (August-December).

1809-1814.—Napoleon's conquest of Dalmatia.—Reforms in the Illyrian provinces. See DALMATIA: 1797-1814.

1810.—Hostility to English in Indian affairs. See INDIA: 1805-1816.

1810 (January).—Sweden accepts Napoleon's continental system. See SWEDEN: 1807-1810.

1810 (February-December).—Annexations of territory to the empire: Holland, the Hansa towns, and the Valais in Switzerland.—Other changes in the map of Germany.—France reaches her greatest limits.—"The annexation of Holland (1810) [see NETHERLANDS: 1806-1810] was soon followed by that of the territory at the mouths of the Elbe, the Ems, and the Weser, including the Grand-Duchy of Oldenburg, and the three remaining free Imperial cities, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen. With these acquisitions [Valais in Switzerland, Papal States and the Marches] in Italy and North Germany, France reached her greatest limits. Her Empire embraced 130 Departments, of which more than a quarter

(46) were alien to her in race and language. Her population was estimated at over 42,000,000 souls, about two-thirds of whom inhabited France proper. Napoleon was master of Europe from Hamburg to the frontiers of Spain. He was supreme in Italy, whose territory either was annexed to France, under his personal rule as King of Italy, or was held by vassals, as in Naples. In Central Europe he was Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. He was Mediator of the Swiss Confederation. The Kings of Spain and Westphalia were his brothers. The King of Naples (Murat) was his brother-in-law. His marriage with the Archduchess Marie-Louise, in March, 1810, allied him with the Habsburgs, the first royal House in Europe."—C. S. Terry, *Short history of Europe*, p. 50.—"The English," said Napoleon, 'have torn asunder the public rights of Europe; a new order of things governs the universe. Fresh guarantees having become necessary to me, the annexation of the mouths of the Scheldt, of the Meuse, of the Rhine, of the Ems, of the Weser, and of the Elbe to the Empire appears to me to be the first and the most important. . . . The annexation of the Valais is the anticipated result of the immense works that I have been making for the past ten years in that part of the Alps.' And this was all. To justify such violence he did not condescend to allege any pretext—to urge forward opportunities that were too long in developing, or to make trickery subserve the use of force—he consulted nothing but his policy; in other words, his good pleasure. To take possession of a country, it was sufficient that the country suited him; he said so openly, as the simplest thing in the world, and thought proper to add that these new usurpations were but a beginning, the first, according to his own expression, of those which seemed to him still necessary. And it was Europe, discontented, humbled, driven wild by the barbarous follies of the continental system, that he thus defied, as though he wished at any cost to convince every one that no amicable arrangement or conciliation was possible; and that there was but one course for governments or men of spirit to adopt, that of fighting unto death."—P. Lanfrey, *History of Napoleon*, v. 4, ch. 2.

ALSO IN: D. P. Barton, *Bernadotte*.

1810-1812.—Continued hostile attitude towards the United States. See U. S. A.: 1810-1812

1810-1812.—War in the peninsula.—Map of campaign.—Wellington's lines of Torres Vedras.—French retreat from Portugal.—English advance into Spain. See SPAIN: 1809-1810 (October-September); 1810-1812

1810-1812.—Napoleon's divorce from Josephine and marriage to Marie-Louise of Austria.—Rupture with the tsar and preparations for war with Russia.—"Napoleon now revived the idea which he had often entertained before, of allying himself with one of the great ruling families. A compliant senate and a packed ecclesiastical council pronounced his separation from Josephine Beauharnais, who retired with a magnificent pension to Malmaison, where she died. As previous marriage proposals to the Russian court had not been cordially received, Napoleon now turned to Austria. The matter was speedily arranged with Metternich, and in March, 1810, the archduchess Maria Louisa arrived in France as the emperor's wife. The great importance of the marriage was that it broke the last links which bound Russia to France, and thus overthrew the alliance of Tilsit. Alexander had been exasperated by the addition of Western Galicia to the grand-duchy of Warsaw, which he regarded as a step

towards the restoration of Poland, and therefore as a breach of the engagement made at Tilsit. The annexation of Oldenburg, whose duke was a relative of the Czar, was a distinct personal insult. Alexander showed his irritation by formally deserting the continental system, which was more ruinous to Russia than to almost any other country, and by throwing his ports open to British commerce (Dec. 1810). . . . The chief grievance to Russia was the apparent intention of Napoleon to do something for the Poles. The increase of the grand-duchy of Warsaw by the treaty of Vienna was so annoying to Alexander that he began to meditate on the possibility of restoring Poland himself, and making it a dependent kingdom for the Czar, in the same way as Napoleon had treated Italy. He even went so far as to sound the Poles on the subject; but he found that they had not forgotten the three partitions of their country, and that their sympathies were rather with France than with Russia. At the same time Napoleon was convinced that until Russia was subdued his empire was unsafe, and all hopes of avenging himself upon England were at an end. All through the year 1811 it was known that war was inevitable, but neither power was in a hurry to take the initiative. Meanwhile the various powers that retained nominal independence had to make up their minds as to the policy they would pursue. For no country was the decision harder than for Prussia. Neutrality was out of the question, as the Prussian territories, lying between the two combatants, must be occupied by one or the other. The friends and former colleagues of Stein were unanimous for a Russian alliance and a desperate struggle for liberty. But Hardenberg, who had become chancellor in 1810, was too prudent to embark in a contest which at the time was hopeless. The Czar had not been so consistent in his policy as to be a very desirable ally; and, even with Russian assistance, it was certain that the Prussian frontiers could not be defended against the French, who had already garrisons in the chief fortresses. Hardenberg fully sympathised with the patriots, but he sacrificed enthusiasm to prudence, and offered the support of Prussia to France. The treaty was arranged on the 24th of February, 1812. Frederick William gave the French a free passage through his territories, and undertook to furnish 20,000 men for service in the field, and as many more for garrison duty. In return for this Napoleon guaranteed the security of the Prussian kingdom as it stood, and held out the prospect of additions to it. It was an unnatural and hollow alliance, and was understood to be so by the Czar. Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, and other friends of Stein resigned their posts, and many Prussian officers entered the service of the Czar. Austria, actuated by similar motives, adopted the same policy, but with less reluctance. After this example had been set by the two great powers, none of the lesser states of Germany dared to disobey the peremptory orders of Napoleon. But Turkey and Sweden, both of them old allies of France, were at this crisis in the opposition. . . . The Swedes were threatened with starvation by Napoleon's stern command to close their ports not only against English, but against all German vessels. Bernadotte, who had just been adopted as the heir of the childless Charles XIII, determined to throw in his lot with his new country, rather than with his old commander. He had also hopes of compensating Sweden for the loss of Finland by wresting Norway from the Danes, and this would never be agreed to by France. Accordingly Sweden prepared to support the cause of Alexan-

der."—R. Lodge, *History of modern Europe*, ch. 24, sect. 38, 41.—"Napoleon's Russian expedition should not be regarded as an isolated freak of insane pride. He himself regarded it as the unfortunate effect of a fatality, and he betrayed throughout an unwonted reluctance and perplexity. 'The war must take place,' he said, 'it lies in the nature of things.' That is, it arose naturally, like the other Napoleonic wars, out of the quarrel with England. Upon the Continental system he had staked everything. He had united all Europe in the crusade against England, and no state, least of all such a state as Russia, could withdraw from the system without practically joining England. Nevertheless, we may wonder that, if he felt obliged to make war on Russia, he should have chosen to wage it in the manner he did, by an overwhelming invasion. For an ordinary war his resources were greatly superior to those of Russia. A campaign on the Lithuanian frontier would no doubt have been unfavourable to Alexander, and might have forced him to concede the points at issue. Napoleon had already experienced in Spain the danger of rousing national spirit. It seems, however, that this lesson had been lost on him."—J. R. Seeley, *Short history of Napoleon*, ch. 5, sect. 3.—"Warnings and cautions were not . . . wanting to him. He had been at several different times informed of the desperate plans of Russia and her savage resolve to destroy all around him, provided he could be involved in the destruction of the Empire. He was cautioned, with even more earnestness, of the German conspiracies. Alquier transmitted to him from Stockholm a significant remark of Alexander's: 'If the Emperor Napoleon should experience a reverse, the whole of Germany will rise to oppose his retreat, or to prevent the arrival of his reinforcements.' His brother Jerome, who was still better situated for knowing what was going on in Germany, informed him, in the month of January, 1811, of the proposal that had been made to him to enter into a secret league against France, but the only thanks he received from Napoleon was reproach for having encouraged such overtures by his equivocal conduct. . . . Marshal Davout and General Rapp transmitted him identically the same information from Hamburg and Dantzic. But far from encouraging such confidential communications, Napoleon was irritated by them. . . . 'I do not know why Rapp meddles in what does not concern him [he wrote]. . . . I beg you will not place such rhapsodies under my eyes. My time is too precious to waste on such twaddle.' . . . In presence of such hallucination, caused by pride and infatuation, we seem to hear Macbeth in his delirium insulting the messengers who announced to him the approach of the enemy's armies."—P. Lanfrey, *History of Napoleon*, v. 4, ch. 6.—"That period ought to have been esteemed the happiest of Napoleon's life. What more could the wildest ambition desire? . . . All obeyed him. Nothing was wanting to make him happy! Nothing, if he could be happy who possessed not a love of justice. . . . The being never existed who possessed ampler means for promoting the happiness of mankind. Nothing was required but justice and prudence. The nation expected these from him, and granted him that unlimited confidence which he afterwards so cruelly abused. . . . Instead of considering with calmness and moderation how he might best employ his vast resources, he ruminated on projects beyond the power of man to execute; forgetting what innumerable victims must be sacrificed in the vain attempt. . . . He aspired at universal despotism, for no other reason than he-

cause a nation, isolated from the continent and profiting by its happy situation, had refused to submit to his intolerable yoke. . . . In the hope of conquering that invincible enemy, he vainly endeavoured to grasp the extremities of Europe. . . . Misled by his rash and hasty temper, he adopted a false line of politics, and converted in the north, as he had done before in the south, the most useful and powerful of his allies into a dangerous enemy."—E. Labaume, *Circumstantial narrative of the campaign in Russia*, pt. 1, bk. 1.

ALSO IN: C. Joynville, *Life and times of Alexander I*, v. 2, ch. 3.—I. de Saint Amand, *Memoirs of the Empress Marie Louise*.

1812.—Extent of empire.—Map of Napoleon's campaign. See EUROPE: Modern: Map of central Europe in 1812.

1812 (June).—Captive pope brought to Fontainebleau. See PAPACY: 1808-1814.

1812 (June-August).—Defeat by the English in Spain at Salamanca.—Abandonment of Madrid by King Joseph. See SPAIN: 1812 (June-August).

1812 (June-December).—Napoleon's Russian campaign.—Advance to Moscow.—Burning of the city.—Retreat and its horrors. See RUSSIA: 1812 (June-September); (September).

1812-1813 (December-March).—Napoleon's return from Russia.—Measures for creating a new army.—"Whilst Europe, agitated at once by hope, by fear, and by hatred, was inquiring what had become of Napoleon, whether he had perished or had been saved, he was crossing in a sledge—accompanied by the Duke of Vicenza, the Grand Marshal Duroc, Count Lobau, General Lefevre-Desnouettes, and the Mameluke Rustan—the vast plains of Lithuania, of Poland, and of Saxony, concealed by thick furs; for if his name had been imprudently uttered, or his countenance recognised, a tragical catastrophe would have instantly ensued. The man who had so greatly excited the admiration of nations, who was the object of their . . . superstition, would not at that moment have escaped their fury. In two places only did he allow himself to be known, Warsaw and Dresden. . . . That he might not occasion too great surprise, he caused himself to be preceded by an officer with a few lines for the 'Moniteur,' saying that on December 5 he had assembled his generals at Smorgoni, had delegated the command to King Murat, only so long as military operations were interrupted by the cold, that he had traversed Warsaw and Dresden, and that he was about to arrive in Paris to take in hand the affairs of the Empire. . . . Napoleon followed close on the steps of the officer who was to announce his arrival. On December 18, at half-past 11 P. M., he entered the Tuileries. . . . On the next morning, the 19th, he received the ministers and grandees of the court . . . with extreme hauteur, maintaining a tranquil but severe aspect, appearing to expect explanations instead of affording them himself, treating foreign affairs as of minor consequence, and those of a domestic nature as of principal import, demanding some light upon these last,—in short, questioning others in order to avoid being questioned himself. . . . On Sunday, the 20th of December, the second day after his arrival, Napoleon received the Senate, the Council of State, and the principal branches of the administration," which severally addressed to him the most fulsome flatteries and assurances of support. "After an infuriated populace basely outraging vanquished princes, nothing can be seen more melancholy than these great bodies prostrating themselves at the feet of a power, bestowing upon it a degree of

admiration which increases with its errors, speaking with ardour of their fidelity, already about to expire, and swearing to die in its cause when they are on the eve of hailing the accession of another. Happy are those countries whose established Constitutions spare them these humiliating spectacles!" As speedily as possible, Napoleon applied himself to the recreation of his lost army, by anticipating the conscription for 1814, and by making new calls upon the classes which had already furnished their contingents. All his measures were submissively sanctioned by the obsequious Senate; but many murmurs of discontent were heard among the people, and some movements of resistance needed to be put down. "However, when the enlightened classes of a country approve a measure, their support is extremely efficacious. In France, all those classes perceiving that it was necessary energetically to defend the country against a foreign enemy, though the Government had been still more in the wrong than they were, the levies were effected, and the high functionaries, sustained by a moral acquiescence which they had not always obtained, fulfilled their duty, though in heart full of sad and sinister forebodings."—A. Thiers, *History of the consulate and the empire*, v. 4, bk. 47.

ALSO IN: Duchess d'Abrantes, *Memoirs of Napoleon*, v. 2, ch. 43.

1812-1813.—Germanic rising against Napoleon.—War of Liberation.—Lützen.—Bautzen.—Dresden.—Leipsic.—Retreat of the French from beyond the Rhine. See GERMANY: 1812-1813, to 1813 (October-December).

1813 (February-March).—New Concordat signed and retracted by the pope. See PAPACY: 1808-1814.

1813 (June-November).—Defeat at Vittoria and in the Pyrenees.—Retreat from Spain. See SPAIN: 1812-1814.

1813 (November-December).—Dutch independence regained. See NETHERLANDS: 1813.

1814 (January).—Pope set free, to return to Rome. See PAPACY: 1808-1814.

1814.—"The Marie-Louises."—The attitude of the people toward the empire and Napoleon.—"In spite of all deficiencies, of the 50,000 conscripts who passed through the depot of Courbevoine in the space of three months, only 1 per cent. deserted. What a testimony to the honour of the soldiers of 1814! . . . The nickname of 'Marie-Louises' was given to these poor little soldiers who had been hurriedly torn from their homes and formed into regiments, and a fortnight later were hurled into the thick of battle, and this name of 'Marie-Louise' they wrote large in their blood across the page of history. Those cuirassiers who could hardly sit their horses and whose furious charge crushed five hostile squadrons at Valjouan, they were Marie-Louises. Those cavalry were Marie-Louises of whom General Delort said, 'No one but a madman would expect me to charge with such cavalry,' and who burst through Montereau like a flood overthrowing the Austrian battalions massed in the streets. It was a Marie-Louise who stood in his place immovable under a heavy fire, indifferent alike to the noise of the bullets and the sight of men struck down beside him, and who answered Marshal Marmont, 'I would fire as much as any one else, only I don't know how to load my musket.' It was a Marie-Louise who took General Olsufjew prisoner at Champaubert, and would hand him over to none but to the Emperor himself. The conscripts of the 28th Regiment at the battle of Bar-sur-Aube, with no weapon but their bayonets, held the woods of Lévigny against four times their own number.

and they were Marie-Louises. The 14th Regiment of the Young Guard at the battle of Craonne remained for three hours on the crest of a plateau within close range of the enemy's guns while the grape shot mowed down 650 men out of 920: they also were Marie-Louises. The Marie-Louises went coatless in bitter frost; ill-clad and ill-fed they tramped bare-footed through the snow, they scarcely knew how to use their weapons, and day after day they fought stern and bloody battles. Yet through the whole campaign they uttered no word of complaint, and in the ranks there was no murmur against the Emperor. Truly, France has the right to feel proud of her Marie-Louises. Chateaubriand has said 'Such was my opinion of the genius of Napoleon, and of the courage of our soldiers, that I never dreamed it possible that a foreign invasion would be finally successful; I thought, however, that this invasion would make France realize so clearly the danger in which Napoleon's ambition had placed her that her people would themselves carry out their own redemption.' These opinions were wrong, and these hopes vain. If peace had been signed at Châtillon, no matter what the conditions were, France would have been freed from war, and her sons would have returned to their homes and to their work: from such a France Napoleon would have had nothing to fear. Again, if the enemy had been driven back across the Rhine, the pride and enthusiasm of the nation over their new victories would have relieved him of all anxieties. In spite of the incitements to rebellion and the alluring promises of the royalist placards, in spite of the disasters and the prevailing misery, the majority of Frenchmen certainly neither desired the fall of the empire nor loved the name of the Bourbons. . . . Even though a certain number of people disliked the despotic rule of the Emperor, they were not on that account anxious to place themselves under the thumb of a king; and though people wished to gain liberty, they also wished to retain equality. The mass of the nation disliked the continual wars and the high taxes imposed under the empire, but they heartily dreaded a revival of the old-fashioned titles, of the local tyranny of the squires, and of the power of the priests. The peasants did not care a rap that the Chamber was dumb, the Senate servile, or Rovigo arbitrary, or that some books were prohibited and some persons banished by a simple administrative order. In Paris the whole population was on the side of the Emperor. Three times during December and January Napoleon went on foot through the poorer quarters of the town; his calmness inspired the crowds with confidence, and he was received with cheers, while working-men pressed forward to offer him their services, and the only sign of disapproval was the silence of a few of the bourgeoisie. On January 25 the Emperor received the officers of the Parisian National Guard. These officers, who were not all by any means zealous supporters of the Government, were assembled to the number of nine hundred in the Hall of the Marshals. The Emperor announced that he was going to place himself at the head of the army, and with the help of God, and aided by the valour of his troops, he hoped to drive the enemy across the frontier; then, taking the Empress by one hand and the King of Rome by the other, he said, 'To the courage of the National Guard I entrust the Empress and the King of Rome—my wife and my son,' he added in a voice broken with emotion. At these words the enthusiasm of the audience could no longer be restrained. . . . On the following day the impression created by the Emperor's words

was found to be so deep and lasting that some people set to work to counteract it, and tried to make out that the imposing demonstration in the Hall of the Marshals was nothing more or less than a well-staged theatrical scene. The departure of the Emperor at four o'clock on the morning of January 25 to take command of the army restored the public confidence. Napoleon had been for so long invincible that people could not believe that he would fail to retrieve his fortunes now that France was invaded.'—H. Houssaye, *Napoleon and the campaign of 1814*, pp. 24-28.

1814 (January-March).—Allied invasion.—Capitulation of Soissons.—Its bearing upon the fate of France.—Napoleon's campaign of defense.—Cause lost.—Surrender of Paris.—'The battle of Leipzig was the overthrow of the French rule in Germany; there only remained, as evidence of what they had lost, 150,000 men, garrisons of the fortresses of the Vistula, the Oder, and the Elbe. Each success of the allies had been marked by the desertion of one of the peoples that had furnished its contingent to the Grand Army of 1812: after Prussia, Austria; at Leipzig the Saxons: the French had not been able to regain the Rhine except by passing over the bodies of the Bavarians at Hanau. Baden, Wurtemberg, Hesse, and Darmstadt declared their defection at nearly the same time; the sovereigns were still hesitating whether to separate themselves from Napoleon, when their people and regiments, worked upon by the German patriots, had already passed into the allied camp. Jerome Bonaparte had again quitted Cassel; Denmark found itself forced to adhere to the Coalition. Napoleon had retired to the left bank of the Rhine. Would Alexander cross this natural frontier of revolutionary France? 'Convinced,' says M. Bogdanovitch, 'by the experience of many years, that neither losses inflicted on Napoleon, nor treaties concluded with him, could check his insatiable ambition, Alexander would not stop at setting free the involuntary allies of France, and resolved to pursue the war till he had overthrown his enemy.' The allied sovereigns found themselves reunited at Frankfort, and an immediate march to Paris was discussed. Alexander, Stein, Blücher, Gneisenau, and all the Prussians were on the side of decisive action. The Emperor Francis and Metternich only desired Napoleon to be weakened, as his downfall would expose Austria to another danger, the preponderance of Russia on the Continent. Bernadotte insisted on Napoleon's dethronement, with the ridiculous design of appropriating the crown of France, traitor as he was to her cause. England would have preferred a solid and immediate peace to a war which would exhaust her in subsidies, and augment her already enormous debt. These divergencies, these hesitations, gave Napoleon time to strengthen his position. After Hanau, in the opinion of Ney, 'the allies might have counted their stages to Paris.' Napoleon had re-opened the negotiations. The relinquishment of Italy (when Murat on his side negotiated the preservation of his kingdom of Naples), of Holland, of Germany, and of Spain, and the confinement of France between her natural boundaries of the Rhine and the Alps; such were the 'Conditions of Frankfort.' Napoleon sent an answer to Metternich, 'that he consented to the opening of a congress at Mannheim: that the conclusion of a peace which would insure the independence of all the nations of the earth had always been the aim of his policy.' This reply seems evasive, but could the proposals of the allies have been serious? Encouraged by disloyal Frenchmen, they published the declaration of

Frankfort, by which they affirmed 'that they did not make war with France, but against the preponderance which Napoleon had long exercised beyond the limits of his empire.' Deceitful assurance, too obvious snare, which could only take in a nation weary of war, encrusted by twenty-two years of sterile victories, and at the end of its resources! During this time Alexander, with the deputies of the Helvetic Diet summoned at Frankfort, discussed the basis of a new Swiss Confederation. Holland was already raised by the partisans of the house of Orange, and entered by the Prussians. The campaign of France began."—A. Rambaud, *History of Russia*, v. 2, ch. 12.—"The campaign of 1814 in France, in which the courage of Napoleon's soldiers rivalled the genius of their leader, was divided into three distinct phases. The first phase lasted from January 25 to February 8, and was marked by the threatening advance of the allies. In vain had Napoleon conquered at Brienne, in vain had he held his own at La Rothière against three times his own numbers. His armies were in retreat, the situation appeared desperate, and the end of the war loomed near and inevitable. Napoleon felt himself powerless to stay the advance of the armies of Bohemia and Silesia, which had effected a junction with each other: he could no longer rely on his troops and could scarcely rely on himself. His one and only hope was that the enemy might commit a blunder. The second phase, which was marked by a succession of victories, lasted from February 9 to 26. The whole feature of the campaign was changed: the allies had committed the strategic fault for which Napoleon had been watching, and, instead of advancing on Paris by converging lines, had moved apart and separated their armies. The Emperor threw himself upon Blücher, worsted him in four successive fights, then turned on Schwarzenberg and drove him back in retreat on Chaumont and Langres. On February 26 the hosts of the coalition were beaten and separated, the army of Bohemia retreating towards the east, and the army of Silesia committed to a flank march in which it risked annihilation. Napoleon had won ten battles in twenty days and restored the balance of the campaign; he had seized the initiative and hoped for victory. The third phase of the campaign opened by the action at Bar-sur-Aube on February 27, and ended at the battle of Paris on March 30. In this phase the fortune of war turned against the Emperor, and his magnificent manoeuvres, combined with the heroic efforts of his soldiers, resulted only in Pyrrhic victories. There were, however, many alternations in the campaign, and many gleams of hope pierced the darkness. Three times the indomitable genius of Napoleon was on the point of restoring the fight, and three times the allies were on the brink of disaster, but fortune was on their side and saved them from defeat."—H. Houssaye, *Napoleon and the campaign of 1814*, pp. vii-viii.—"It was the firmness of Alexander which maintained the Coalition, it was the military energy of Blücher which saved it. Soon after his disasters he received reinforcements from the army of the North, and took the offensive against the marshals; then, hearing of the arrival of Napoleon at La Ferté Gaucher, he retreated in great haste, finding an unexpected refuge at Soissons, which had just been taken by the army of the North. At Craonne (March 7) and at Laon (10th to 12th March), with 100,000 men against 30,000, and with strong positions, he managed to repulse all the attacks of Napoleon."—A. Rambaud, *History of Russia*, v. 2, ch. 12.—"Soissons commanded the main road from Paris to Mons, and was consid-

ered an important strategical point. . . . Unfortunately the old fortifications of Soissons were in an absolutely useless condition. All the outer works had been destroyed, and the maintenance of the ramparts was the business of the town council, who only maintained them in so far as they helped in the collection of the octroi duties. . . . It was only in the middle of January 1814 that any steps were taken to put Soissons in a state of defence. A commission of generals was sent from Paris, and began the works most urgently needed. The breaches were repaired, banquettes and embrasures were constructed, the counterscarp was revetted, some houses were burnt close outside the ramparts, and two outworks were built in front of the Rheims gate. A garrison was allotted, consisting of 4,000 conscripts and National Guards with eight field-pieces. In spite of these works, and largely owing to the lack of discipline of the garrison, Winzingerode captured Soissons on February 14. General Rusca was killed, and a panic set in among the troops, who escaped along the Compiègne road. Winzingerode took possession of the town, but on February 16, on hearing of Blücher's defeats, he evacuated it and retired on Rheims, and Soissons was reoccupied by Moritz on February 19. Napoleon was surprised and annoyed that the Russians should have been able to capture Soissons so easily, and gave orders that the town should be put in a thorough state of defence. The Minister of War sent a Colonel Müller to Soissons to inspect the place. His report made it evident that Soissons had been captured owing to the neglect of some simple precautions, and that the place could be put in a state of defence in a few hours, and that the first necessity was to appoint an able and determined commandant. The Minister's choice fell upon Brigadier-General Moreau, who was not particularly able and who was absolutely lacking in determination. . . . Moreau did not carry out to the full the instructions of the Minister of War. . . . Like many others, Moreau thought that he had plenty of time available, even when Soissons was already surrounded with enemies. . . . At 9 a.m. on March 2 the outposts reported the simultaneous arrival of two hostile columns: Winzingerode's Russians were coming from Rheims and Bülow's Prussians from Laon. It has been mentioned that these generals had planned a concerted march upon Soissons, and they arrived under the walls of the town with admirable punctuality at the hour agreed upon. . . . The resistance offered by the garrison forced them [Winzingerode and Bülow] to give up the hope of capturing the place by a *coup de main*, as they had done on February 14; and, on the other hand, twelve hours' continued bombardment had not succeeded in making a breach. . . . The two generals thought that perhaps negotiations might give the town into their hands, and Bülow consequently sent a flag of truce. Captain Mertens appeared at the gate of Croüy and demanded to be taken to the governor. . . . When a soldier begins to have doubts as to where his duty lies, he is in imminent danger of considering nothing but his own interests. Moreau . . . considered that an honourable capitulation which would save the town from the horror of pillage and preserve a fine body of troops for the Emperor, would suit his personal interest and would cast no reflection upon his honour as a soldier. Moreau asked for a delay of some hours in order to call together the council of defence; Captain Mertens raised no objection to this delay and returned to the Prussian lines. . . . Moreau assembled the council of defence, laid before them

Bülow's letter, and explained his view of the situation. . . . [This council of defence was still in session] when a fresh envoy was announced. This time it was Colonel Lowenstern, who had left the Russian cantonments. . . . Lowenstern had brought the following letter from Winzingerode: 'Before ordering the assault, and in hopes of saving Soissons from the horrors of pillage and massacre, I suggest that you should surrender the town to the united army of North Germany.' . . . Moreau laid this letter before the council of defence, which passed a resolution to the effect that 'In view of the weakness of the garrison, the lack of resources of the fortress, and the strength of the besiegers, resistance was obviously impossible, and, in consequence, the enemy's proposals ought to be accepted.' . . . The allies did not wait for the French to leave in order to make use of the advantages which the capitulation gave them. At midday Bülow began the construction of a second bridge under the guns of the town opposite the Rheims suburb. This bridge was completed during the night, and a third bridge was commenced on the following morning, the 4th; so the allies had in all, counting the bridge at Soissons, four bridges available in the neighbourhood of the fortress. . . . Although night was falling, the troops began at once to cross the Aisne by the Soissons bridge, and the passage continued during the whole of the following day and the succeeding night, by means of this bridge and the other three temporary ones. . . . On the morning of March 5 there remained on the left bank of the Aisne two regiments of infantry and six of Cossacks; the majority of the Cossacks crossed at Berry-au-Bac, and the remainder, with the infantry, managed, with great difficulty, to get across at Vailly. Meanwhile Napoleon and Marmont, who did not know of the surrender of Soissons, had continued their march in pursuit of Blücher's army. On March 4 the Emperor arrived at Fismes with the Old Guard, Ney's corps, and the cavalry of the Guard, thus blocking the road to Berry-au-Bac, while one brigade of cavalry advanced towards Rheims, from which it drove the enemy during the night. On the left, Marmont and Mortier crossed the Ourcq at 6.30 a.m., and their cavalry pursued the Russian rear-guard to within five miles of Soissons. When they reached Hartennes the marshals learnt of the capitulation, and Marmont stopped the pursuit and wrote to Berthier as follows: 'This regrettable event, which deprives us of the success we were on the point of achieving, is bound to alter the Emperor's plans.' . . . The Emperor was furious. On the following day he wrote to the Minister of War as follows: 'The enemy's situation was desperate, and we were in hopes that we should to-day reap the reward of several days' fatigue, but the treason or the folly of the commandant of Soissons has given this fortress to the enemy.' . . . The Emperor's anger was natural; he himself said that the capitulation of Soissons saved Blücher's army; Marmont was of opinion that the fate of France and the issue of the campaign turned upon Soissons holding out for thirty-six hours; and Thiers has stated that, next to the battle of Waterloo, the capitulation of Soissons is the most disastrous event of French history. These opinions are perhaps exaggerated, but it cannot be denied that the surrender of this town saved Blücher's army from disaster. This conclusion is drawn from French documents, and is also borne out by the majority of Russian and German papers.'—H. Houssaye, *Napoleon and the campaign of 1814*, pp. 117-118, 120, 122, 126-127, 129-131, 133-137.—'At Craonne, however, the Rus-

sian loss amounted to 5,000 men, the third of their effective force. The battle of Laon cost them 4,000 men. Meanwhile, De Saint Priest, a general in Alexander's service, had taken Rheims by assault, but was dislodged by Napoleon after a fierce struggle, where the émigré commander was badly wounded, and 4,000 of his men were killed (13th March). The Congress of Châtillon-sur-Seine was opened on the 28th of February. Russia was represented by Razoumovski and Nesselrode, Napoleon by Caulaincourt, Austria by Stadion and Metternich. The conditions proposed to Napoleon were the reduction of France to its frontiers of 1792, and the right of the allies to dispose, without reference to him, of the reconquered countries. Germany was to be a confederation of independent States, Italy to be divided into free States, Spain to be restored to Ferdinand, and Holland to the house of Orange. 'Leave France smaller than I found her? Never!' said Napoleon. Alexander and the Prussians would not hear of a peace which left Napoleon on the throne. Still, however, they negotiated. Austria and England were both agreed not to push him to extremities, and many times proposed to treat. After Napoleon's great success against Blücher, Castle-reagh declared for peace. 'It would not be a peace,' cried the Emperor of Russia; 'it would be a truce which would not allow us to disarm one moment. I cannot come 400 leagues every day to your assistance. No peace, as long as Napoleon is on the throne.' Napoleon, in his turn, intoxicated by his success, enjoined Caulaincourt only to treat on the basis of Frankfort—natural frontiers. . . . As fortune returned to the allies, the congress was dissolved (10th of March). The Bourbon princes were already in France; Louis XVIII. was on the point of being proclaimed. Alexander, tired of seeing the armies of Bohemia and Silesia fly in turn before thirty or forty thousand French, caused the allies to adopt the fatal plan of a march on Paris, which was executed in eight days. Blücher and Schwartzberg united, with 200,000 men, were to bear down all opposition on their passage. The first act in the drama was the battle of Arcis-sur-Aube, where the Russians took six guns from Napoleon. The latter conceived a bold scheme, which perhaps might have saved him if Paris could have resisted, but which was his ruin. He threw himself on the rear of the allied army, abandoning to them the route to Paris, but reckoning on raising Eastern France, and cutting off their retreat to the Rhine. The allies, uneasy for one moment, were reassured by an intercepted letter of Napoleon's, and by the letters of the Parisian royalists, which revealed to them the weakness of the capital. 'Dare all!' writes Talleyrand to them. They, in their turn, deceived Napoleon, by causing him to be followed by a troop of cavalry, continued their march, defeated Marmont and Mortier, crushed the National Guards of Pauthod (battle of La Fère-Champenoise), and arrived in sight of Paris. Barclay de Tolly, forming the centre, first attacked the plateau of Romainville, defended by Marmont; on his left, the Prince of Wurtemberg threatened Vincennes; and on his right, Blücher deployed before Montmartre, which was defended by Mortier. The heights of Chaumont and those of Montmartre were taken; Marmont and Mortier with Monecy were thrown back on the ramparts. Marmont obtained an armistice from Colonel Orlof, to treat for the capitulation of Paris. King Joseph, the Empress Marie-Louise, and all the Imperial Government had already fled to the Loire. Paris was recommended 'to the generosity of the allied monarchs';

the army could retire on the road to Orleans. Such was the battle of Paris; it had cost, according to M. Bogdanovitch, 8,400 men to the allies, and 4,000 to the French (30th March). . . . The allied troops maintained a strict discipline, and were not quartered on the inhabitants. Alexander had not come as a friend of the Bourbons—the fiercest enemy of Napoleon was least bitter against the French; he intended leaving them the choice of their government. He had not favoured any of the intrigues of the émigrés, and had scornfully remarked to Jomini, 'What are the Bourbons to me?'—A. Rambaud, *History of Russia*, v. 2, ch. 12.—See also AUSTRIA: 1809-1814.

ALSO IN: M. de Beauchamp, *Narrative of the invasions of France*.—C. Dupuis, *Le ministère de Talleyrand en 1814*.—A. Fournier, *Napoleon the First*.—H. Houssaye, *Napoleon and the campaign of 1814*.—C. Joyneville, *Life and times of Alexander I*, v. 3.—J. Philippart, *Campaign in Germany and France*, v. 1-2.—Duke de Rovigo, *Memoirs*, v. 3, pt. 2.—N. Young, *Napoleon in exile*.

1814 (January-May).—Desertion of Napoleon by Murat.—Murat's treaty with the allies.—French evacuation of Italy. See ITALY: 1814.

1814 (February-April).—Reverses in the south.—Wellington's invasion. See SPAIN: 1812-1814.

1814 (March-April).—Friendly reception of the allies in Paris.—Collapse of the empire.—Abdication of Napoleon.—Treaty of Fontainebleau.—“At an early hour in the morning [of the 31st of March], the Allied troops had taken possession of the barriers, and occupied the principal avenues leading to the city. Picquets of the Cossacks of the Guard were stationed at the corners of the principal streets. Vast multitudes thronged the Boulevards, in anxious and silent expectation of pending events. The royalists alone were active. The leaders, a small band indeed, had early assembled in the Place Louis XV., whence, with Bourbon banners displayed, they proceeded along the principal streets, haranguing the people and National Guard; but though not interfered with by the police,—for all seemed to feel that the Imperial government was at an end,—they were listened to with such perfect indifference, that many began to think their cause absolutely hopeless. It was between ten and eleven o'clock when the procession began to enter the city. Light horsemen of the Russian Guard opened the march; at the head of the main column rode the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. . . . Then followed 35,000 men, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, the élite of the armies, in all the pride and circumstance of war and conquest. At first the multitude looked on in silent amazement; but the affability of the officers, above all, the condescending manner of the Czar, dispelled any fear they might still entertain; and shouts of ‘Vive Alexander!’ began to be heard; cries of ‘Vive le Roi de Prusse!’ were soon added. . . . The shouts of welcome increased at every step. The conquerors were now hailed as liberators; ‘Vivent les Allies!’ ‘Vivent nos libérateurs!’ sounded through the air, mingled at last with the long-forgotten cry of ‘Vive le Roi!’ ‘Vivent les Bourbons!’ . . . The Emperor Alexander had no sooner seen the troops file past on the Place Louis XV., than he repaired to the hôtel of Talleyrand, where in the evening, a council was assembled to deliberate on the important step next to be taken, and on the best mode of turning the glorious victories achieved to an honourable and beneficial account. . . . The points discussed were: 1. The possibility, on sufficient guarantees, of a peace with Napoleon; 2.

The plan of regency under Marie Louise; and, 3. The restoration of the Bourbons. The choice was not without difficulties. The first plan was easily dismissed; as the reception of the Allies proved clearly that the power of Napoleon was broken. The second seemed more likely to find favour, as promising to please the Emperor of Austria; but was finally rejected, as being, in fact, nothing more than a continuance of the Imperial reign under a different title. Against the restoration of the Bourbons, it was urged that the nation at large had evinced no desire for their recall, and seemed to have almost forgotten them. This, Talleyrand said, was owing entirely to the Congress of Chatillon, and the negotiations carried on with Napoleon; introducing at the same time, the Abbé de Pradt and Baron Louis, who fully confirmed the assertion. On being asked how he expected to obtain a declaration in favour of the exiled family, Talleyrand replied, that he was certain of the Senate; and that their vote would influence Paris, the example of which would be followed by all France. Alexander having on this assurance taken the opinion of the King of Prussia and Prince Schwarzenberg, signed a declaration to the effect that ‘the Allies would treat no more with Napoleon Bonaparte, or with any member of his family.’ A proclamation was issued at the same time, calling on the Conservative Senate to assemble and form a provisional government, for the purpose of drawing up a constitution suitable to the wishes of the French people. This the Allies promised to guarantee; as it was their wish, they said, to see France ‘powerful, happy, and prosperous.’ A printer was ready in attendance; and before dark, this memorable decree was seen placarded in all the streets of Paris. The inconstant populace had not even waited for such a signal, and had been already engaged in destroying the emblems of the Imperial government; an attempt had even been made to pull down the statue of Napoleon from the summit of the column of Austerlitz, in the Place Vendôme! The decisive impulse thus given, events moved rapidly forward. Caulaincourt's zealous efforts in favour of his master could effect nothing after the declaration already noticed. On the 2d, he took his departure for Fontainebleau; having, however, received the assurance that Napoleon would be suitably provided for. . . . The funds rose five per cent., and all other public securities in proportion, on the very day after the occupation of the capital; and wherever the Allied Sovereigns appeared in public, they were loudly cheered and hailed as liberators. From the first, officers of the Allied armies filled the public walks, theatres, and coffee-houses, and mixed with the people as welcome guests rather than as conquering invaders. The press, so long enslaved by Napoleon, took the most decided part against its oppressor; and from every quarter injurious pamphlets, epigrams, and satires, now poured upon the fallen ruler. Madame de Staël had characterised him as ‘Robespierre on horseback’; De Pradt had more wittily termed him ‘Jupiter Scapin’; and these sayings were not forgotten. But by far the most vivid sensation was produced by Chateaubriand's tract of ‘Bonaparte and the Bourbons’; 30,000 copies of which are said to have been sold in two days. In proportion as the popular hatred of the Emperor evinced itself, grew the boldness of his adversaries. On the first of April, the Municipal Council of Paris met and already declared the throne vacant; on the next day, the Conservative Senate formed a Provisional Government, and issued a decree, declaring, first, ‘That Napoleon Bonaparte had forfeited the throne and

the right of inheritance established in his family; 2d, That the people and army of France were disengaged and freed from the oath of fidelity which they had taken to him and his constitution.' . . . The members of the Legislative Assembly who happened to be in Paris, followed the example of the Senate. The Assembly had been dissolved in January, and could not meet constitutionally unless summoned by the Sovereign; this objection was, however, set aside, and the Assembly having met, ratified the act of deposition passed by the Senate. All the public functionaries, authorities and constituted bodies in and near Paris, hastened to send in their submission to the new powers; it was a general race in which honour was not always the prize of speed; for every address, every act of submission sent in to the new government, teemed with invectives against the deposed ruler. . . . It was in the night between the 2d and 3d, that Caulaincourt returned from his mission, and informed Napoleon of the events which had passed. . . . In what manner the Emperor received these fatal tidings we are not told. . . . At first it would seem that he entertained, or affected to entertain, thoughts of resorting to arms; for in the morning he reviewed his Guard, and addressed them in the following terms:—'Officers and soldiers of my Old Guard, the enemy has gained three marches on us, and outstripped us at Paris. Some factious men, emigrants whom I had pardoned, have surrounded the Emperor Alexander; they have mounted the white cockade, and would force us to do the same. In a few days I shall attack the enemy, and force them to quit the capital. I rely on you: am I right?' The troops readily replied with loud cheers to this address, calling out 'To Paris! to Paris!' but the Marshals and senior officers were by no means so zealous in the cause. . . . The Generals and Marshals . . . followed the Emperor to his apartments after the review; and having advised him to negotiate with the Allies, on the principle of a personal abdication, ended by informing him, that they would not accompany him if he persisted in the proposed attack on Paris. The scene which followed seems to have been of a very undignified description. Napoleon was almost convulsed with rage; he tore and trampled under foot the decree of the Senate; vowed vengeance against the whole body, who should yet, he said, be made to pay for their deed of 'felony'; but ended, nevertheless, by ignobly signing the abdication demanded of him. We say ignobly; for nothing can be more debasing in character, than to sink down from a very tempest of passion to tame submission. . . . The act of abdication was worded in the following terms: 'The Allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon is the sole obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend from the throne, to quit France, and even to relinquish life, for the good of the country, which is inseparable from the rights of his son, from those of the regency in the person of the Empress, and from the maintenance of the laws of the empire. Done at our Palace of Fontainebleau, 4th April, 1814. Napoleon.' Caulaincourt, Marshals Ney and M'Donald, were appointed to carry this conditional abdication to Paris. . . . The commissioners on returning to Fontainebleau found the Emperor in his cabinet, impatiently awaiting the result of his mission. Marshal Ney was the first to speak; and in that abrupt, harsh and not very respectful tone which he had lately assumed towards his falling sovereign, told him at once, that 'France, the army and the cause of peace, demanded his unconditional abdication.' Caulaincourt added, that the full sovereignty of the Isle of Elba, with a

suitable establishment, had been offered by the Emperor Alexander; and Marshal M'Donald, who had so zealously defended the cause of his master, confirmed the statement,—declaring also that, 'in his opinion, the Imperial cause was completely lost, as they had all three'—the commissioners—'failed against a resolution irrevocably fixed.' 'What!' exclaimed Napoleon, 'not only my own abdication, but that of Marie Louise, and of my son? This is rather too much at once.' And with these words he delayed the answer till next day, intending, he said, to consider the subject, and consult the army. . . . Words ran high between the fallen chieftain and his former 'subordinates; there were altercations, recriminations, and painful scenes, and it was only when Napoleon had signed the following unconditional abdication that perfect calm was restored:—'The Allied Sovereigns having declared that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of a general peace, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares, that he renounces, for himself and his heirs, the throne of France and Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, not even that of life itself, which he is not willing to make for the interest of France. Napoleon. Fontainebleau, 6th April 1814.' This deplorable document is written in so agitated and faltering a hand as to be almost illegible.—J. Mitchell, *Fall of Napoleon*, v. 2, bk. 3.—'On April 11, the formal act of abdication was delivered to the allies, and the treaty, generally known as the Treaty of Fontainebleau, was signed at Paris by Metternich for Austria, Nesselrode for Russia, and Hardenberg for Prussia, and by Ney, Macdonald and Caulaincourt for Napoleon, Napoleon himself ratifying it on the following day. It was not signed by any English representative, but it was ratified by England on April 27 so far as the stipulations with regard to Elba and the Italian duchies were concerned. There is no doubt that during the night between April 12 and 13 Napoleon endeavoured to poison himself; but the poison which he had kept with him for a long time had lost its efficacy. He remained after this a passive spectator of events. The Treaty of Fontainebleau is so important a document, and has been so little understood, that it is necessary to give a full account of it. It consists of eighteen articles. The first article declares that Napoleon Bonaparte renounces for himself, his successors and descendants, as well as for each of the members of his family, all rights of sovereignty and domination over the French Empire, the Kingdom of Italy, and all other countries. He and his consort are to preserve during their life the titles of Emperor and Empress, and the members of his family the titles with which they have been invested. He is to possess during his life the island of Elba in complete sovereignty, and is to receive an annual revenue of two millions of francs from the 'Grand Livre' of France, the Empress to have the reversion. The duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla are to be given in complete sovereignty to the Empress Marie Louise, and after her, to her son and to his descendants. The Bonaparte family is to receive an income of two millions and a half in land or revenue, of which they shall have the absolute property; they are also to keep whatever property they may possess. Josephine is to receive an income of a million, independently of her lands and other property. Eugène Beauharnais is to have an establishment outside France. The corvette which carries Bonaparte to the island of Elba is to remain his property, and he may take with him a guard of 400 men. The Frenchmen who go with him to Elba are to lose their

nationality if they do not return to France within three years. This treaty was, as we shall see, shamefully violated, but it should be mentioned that it was never formally recognized by Louis XVIII."—O. Browning, *Fall of Napoleon*, pp. 137-138.

ALSO IN: M. de Bourrienne, *Private memoirs of Napoleon*, v. 4.—Duke of Rovigo, *Memoirs*, v. 4, pt. 1.—A. Sorel, *Mme. de Staël*.—Prince Talleyrand, *Memoirs*, v. 2, pt. 7.

1814 (April-June).—Departure of Napoleon for Elba.—Louis XVIII called to the throne.—Settlement of the constitution.—Evacuation of France by the allies.—Treaty of Paris.—Determination of the new boundaries of the kingdom.—“At length the fateful morning of April 20 dawned. Napoleon bitterly complained to the Austrian commissioner that his wife and child had not been allowed to join him, and that the guns and stores had been withdrawn from the island of Elba, thus leaving him without defence. He did not wish for a kingdom, and had therefore not asked for Corsica, but he wished for protection against the Barbary pirates. As he spoke again about his separation from his wife and child, tears rolled down his cheeks. He then said to Campbell, ‘I have been a bitter enemy of your nation. I avow it, but I am so no longer. I esteem you English more than all other nations. I am separated from the Empress in order to leave me in Elba without defence. If they act with trickery towards me I shall ask for an asylum in England. Do you think they will receive me there?’ Campbell replied that the sovereign and the nation would always keep their engagements with generosity and fidelity. ‘Yes,’ remarked Napoleon. ‘I feel sure that they will not refuse me.’ He then paced up and down the room, and eventually said, ‘Well, we will leave to-day.’ Then followed the famous ‘Adieux de Fontainebleau.’ The door of his study opened, the aide-de-camp called out ‘L’Empereur!’ and he passed with a salute and a smile to the head of the stairs and down into the court towards his carriage, which was drawn up between two ranks of the Old Guards. Calling for the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, and for the foreign representatives, he addressed them in the well-known speech which need not here be produced in full. He began, ‘I bid you farewell. For twenty years I have found you always brave and faithful, marching in the path of glory. . . . As for you soldiers, be always faithful in the path of duty and honour. Serve your new sovereign with fidelity. The sweetest occupation of my life will be henceforth to make known to posterity all the great things you have done, and my only consolation will be to learn all that France will do for the glory of its name. You are all my children; I would embrace you all, but I will embrace you all in the person of your general.’ He then kissed General Petit on both cheeks. ‘I will embrace these eagles which have served us as guides in so many dangers and days of glory.’ He then gave a long loving embrace to the standard, and finally lifted up his left hand and said, ‘Adieu! Keep me in your remembrance.’ The carriage set off at a gallop. Of the men and officers, some wept, some were silent, and some cried, ‘Vive l’Empereur!’ The first night was spent at Briare in a large hotel, the second night at Nevers, and the third at Roanne. . . . Napoleon and his suite left Fréjus in carriages at sunset on April 28. The barge of the English man-of-war, the *Undaunted*, met them at the beach. He embarked with Captain Ussher and General Bertrand, and was received with a salute of twenty-one

guns. . . . On the afternoon of May 3 they arrived off Porto Ferrajo, the capital of Elba, but it was too calm for the frigate to enter the harbour. The next morning he rowed round the harbour, and when he returned to the ship determined on the flag of Elba, argent a bend gules, charged with three bees or, perhaps a reminiscence of his own family coat. He landed finally in his new dominion at two in the afternoon.”—O. Browning, *Fall of Napoleon*, pp. 136-142.—“On the day that Napoleon abdicated [April 11, 1814], the Senate, so-called guardian of the constitution, obsequious and servile to the Emperor in his days of fortune, turned to salute the rising sun, and in solemn session proclaimed Louis XVIII King of France. The allies, who had conquered Napoleon and banished him to a petty island in the Mediterranean, thought they were done with him for good and all. But from this complacent self-assurance they were destined to a rude awakening. . . . Louis XVIII, the new king, tried to adapt himself to the greatly altered circumstances of the country to which he now returned in the wake of foreign armies after an absence of twenty-two years. He saw that he could not be an absolute king as his ancestors had been, and he therefore granted a Charter to the French, giving them a legislature and guaranteeing certain rights which they had won and which he saw could not safely be withdrawn. His régime assured much larger liberty than France had ever experienced under Napoleon. Nevertheless certain attitudes of his and ways of speaking, and the actions of the royalists who surrounded him, and several unwise measures of government, soon rendered him unpopular and irritated and alarmed the people. He spoke of himself as King *by the grace of God*, thus denying the sovereignty of the people; he dated his first document, the Charter, from ‘the nineteenth year of my reign,’ as if there had never been a Republic and a Napoleonic Empire; he restored the white flag and banished the glorious tricolor which had been carried in triumph throughout Europe. What was much more serious, he offended thousands of Napoleon’s army officers by retiring or putting them on half-pay, many thus being reduced to destitution, and all feeling themselves dishonored. Moreover many former nobles who had early in the Revolution emigrated from France and then fought against her received honors and distinctions. Then, in addition, the Roman Catholic clergy and the nobles of the court talked loudly and unwisely about getting back their lands which had been confiscated and sold to the peasants, although both the Concordat of 1802 and the Charter of 1814 distinctly recognized and ratified these changes and promised that they should not be disturbed. The peasants were far and away the most numerous class in France, and they were thus early alienated from the Bourbons by these threats at their most vital interest, their property rights, which Napoleon had always stoutly maintained. Thus a few months after Napoleon’s abdication the evils of his reign were forgotten, the terrible cost in human life, the burdensome taxation, the tyranny of it all, and he was looked upon as a friend, as a hero to whom the soldiers had owed glory and repute and the peasants the secure possession of their farms. In this way a mental atmosphere hostile to Louis XVIII, and favorable to Napoleon, was created by a few months of Bourbon rule. Napoleon, penned up in his little island, took note of all this.”—C. D. Hazen, *French Revolution and Napoleon*, pp. 350-362.—When Napoleon was on his way to exile, the royalists were in conflict with

the national sovereignty party in the commission chosen by the Senate to draw up a constitution.—“The pretender’s agent, Abbé de Montesquieu, failed to win acceptance of the principle that royal right is superior to the nation’s will; and the formula adopted was as follows: ‘The French people freely call to the throne of France, Louis Stanislas Xavier de France, brother of the late king, and, after him, the other members of the house of Bourbon.’ Thus they did not recognize in the king whom they elected the title of Louis XVIII., and did not admit that between him and his brother, Louis XVI., there had been a rightful king, the poor child who died in the Temple and whom royalists called Louis XVII. The reign of Louis Stanislas Xavier was to date from the day when he swore allegiance to the Constitution: the executive power was vested in the king, who shared the legislative power with the Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The Constitution sanctioned individual liberty, freedom of worship and the press, the sale of national goods, the public debt, and proclaimed oblivion of all acts committed since the beginning of the Revolution. The principles of 1789 were maintained, and in the sad state of France there was nothing better to be done than to rally round this Constitution, which was voted by the Senate, April 6, and accepted by the Legislature. . . . The Senate’s lack of popularity gave the royalist party hope that the act of April 6 might be retracted, and at this time that party won a faint success in a matter on which they laid great stress. Count d’Artois was on his way to Paris, and declared that he would not lay aside the white cockade on entering. . . . D’Artois . . . insisted on being recognized, unconditionally, as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, as he had entered Paris without making terms; but this time the Senate and temporary government did not yield. They intended that the prince should make a solemn promise, in his brother’s name, in regard to the Constitution. The czar interfered and explained to D’Artois that the allies were pledged to the Senate and the nation, and he was forced to submit and receive the lieutenant-generalcy of the kingdom from the Senate, ‘until Louis Stanislas Xavier of France should accept the Constitutional Charter.’ . . . The next question was to fix the terms of peace. . . . The enemy held nothing but Paris and the unfortified towns, French garrisons still occupying all the strongholds of France, old and new, and several important places far beyond the Rhine. . . . This was a powerful means of gaining, not the preservation of the natural frontiers, which could no longer be hoped for, but at least an important advance on the limits of the ancient monarchy. Unluckily a movement . . . broke out all over France, to claim the immediate evacuation of her soil by foreign armies;—an impatience which allowed no time for bargaining in the matter, and which precipitated an agreement (April 23) with the allied powers “to leave the French dominion as it had been on the 1st of January, 1792, in proportion as the places still occupied beyond those limits by French troops should be evacuated and restored to the allies. . . . This compact surrendered to the allies, without any compensation, 53 strongholds, 12,600 pieces of ordnance, arsenals and magazines filled with vast supplies.” The new king, calling himself Louis XVIII., arrived in Paris on the 3d of May, from England, where he had latterly resided. Negotiations for a definite treaty of peace were opened at once. “At Metternich’s suggestion, the allies decided to conclude their arrangements with France in Paris, and to

reserve general arrangements with Europe for a congress at Vienna [see VIENNA, CONGRESS OF]. . . . The royal council directed Talleyrand to try to win for the northern frontier those million people promised beyond the old limits; but Louis XVIII., by angering the czar, completed the sad work of April 23. . . . Accordingly, when France demanded a solid frontier, including the South of Belgium, . . . Lord Castlereagh absolutely refused, and was supported by Prussia, hostile to France, and by Austria, indifferent on that score, but disposed to follow England in everything. Russia did not side with France. . . . The allies were willing to grant, in place of the old dominion of the monarchy, on the Rhine side, the line of the Queich, which opened communication with Landau, and to the southeast the department of Vaucluse (once County Venaissin) given up by the Pope, besides Chambéry and a part of Savoy; finally, in the Jura region, Montbéliard. This made nearly 600,000 people. As for the colonies, England reluctantly returned Martinique, Guadeloupe, and the Isle of Bourbon, but refused to restore the Isle de France [or Mauritius, captured in 1810]. . . . The English declared that they would also keep Malta, taken from France, and the Cape of Good Hope, wrested from Holland. . . . Secret articles provided that Holland, under the rule of the House of Orange, should be increased by the countries ceded by France, between the sea, the French frontier of 1790, and the Meuse (Austrian Netherlands and Liège). The countries ceded by France on the left bank of the Rhine were to be divided . . . among the German states. Austria was to have the country bounded by the Po, Ticino, and Lake Maggiore, that is, the old Venetian states, Milan, and Mantua. The territory of the former Republic of Genoa was to be given to the King of Sardinia. Such was the end of the wars of the Empire. Republican France reached the goal of the old monarchy, the natural limits of ancient Gaul; the Empire lost them.”—H. Martin, *Popular history of France*, v. 2, ch. 17.—“The Peace of Paris [signed May 30] was followed by some subsidiary treaties. . . . By a Convention of June 3rd between Austria and Bavaria, Maximilian Joseph restored to Austria the Tyrol with the Vorarlberg, the principality of Salzburg, the district of the Inn and the Hausrück. During the visit of the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia to London in June, it was agreed that the Article of the Peace of Paris stipulating the agrandissement of Holland, should be carried out by the annexation of Belgium to that country, an arrangement which was accepted by the Sovereign of the Netherlands, July 21st 1814.”—T. H. Dyer, *History of modern Europe*, bk. 7, ch. 16.

ALSO IN: E. Bourgeois, *History of modern France*.—E. E. Crowe, *History of the reigns of Louis XVIII and Charles X*, v. 1.—A. de Lamartine, *History of the Restoration*, v. 1-2, bk. 13-14.—N. Young, *Napoleon in exile: Elba*.

1814-1815.—Ten months of Bourbon rule and its follies.—Return of Napoleon from Elba.—Flight of the king.—Hundred days.—Preparations for war.—“The peace of Paris did not endure a year. Ten months of Bourbon rule, vengeful, implacable, stupid; alike violent in act and in language; sufficed to bring France once more to the brink of revolution. Two acts alone are sufficient to demonstrate the folly of the royalists—the resumption of the white flag, and the changing of the numbers of the regiments. A prudent king would have adopted the tricolour when he agreed to a constitutional charter, and would have

refrained from wounding military sensibility by destroying the numbers of the regiments. But more stupid than these acts was the political policy pursued, a policy which aroused on all sides suspicions of what was worse than the grinding but gilded despotism of Napoleon—namely, that the Government favoured a forcible resumption of the confiscated lands, the restoration of tithes, and of the abolished exactions and imposts of feudalism. It has been surmised, and with much reason, that had Napoleon not reappeared a popular movement would have extorted from the king a really constitutional government. In that case France might have taken some real steps towards a free government, and the bases of liberty rather than of equality might have been laid. But while the Powers were wrangling at Vienna, and the Bourbons were irritating France, Napoleon was watching from Elba for the opportunity of resuming empire. It was not in the nature of the man to yield passively to anything, even to the inevitable. So long as a chance remained he looked out keenly for the propitious hour. He selected Elba as a residence because thence 'he could keep an eye upon France and upon the Bourbons.' It was his duty, he said, to guard the throne of France for his family and for his son. Thus, in making peace at Fontainebleau, he only bowed to a storm he could not then resist, and cherished in his mind the project of an imperial restoration. The hour for which he waited came at length. In February, 1815, he had arrived at the conclusion that with the aid of the army he could overthrow the Bourbons, whose government, he said, was good for priests, nobles, and countesses of the old time, but worth nothing to the living generation. The army, he knew, was still, and would be always, devoted to him. . . . He had weighed all the chances for and against the success of his enterprise, and he had arrived at the conclusion that he should succeed; for, 'Fortune had never deserted him on great occasions.' It has been said that his departure was precipitated by a report of the dissolution of the Congress of Vienna. . . . It is possible, indeed, that the rumour of an intention to confine him upon an island in the Atlantic may have exercised some influence over him; but the real reasons for the selection of the 26th of February were that he was tired of inactivity, and convinced that the favourable moment had arrived. Therefore, instructing Murat to second him by assuming a strong position in front of Ancona, he embarked his faithful Thousand, and set sail for France. On the 1st of March he landed on the shores of the Gulf of Juan, and on the 20th he entered the Tuileries. As he had predicted, the army rallied to the tricolour; the generals could neither restrain nor guide their soldiers; the Bourbon dukes and princes, and the brave Duchess of Angoulême—the 'only man of the family'—were utterly powerless before the universal military disaffection; and one after the other they were chased out of France. The army had restored Napoleon. Louis XVIII. drove out of Paris by the road to St. Denis on the 10th, a few hours before Napoleon, on the 20th, drove in by the Barrier of Italy; and on the 23rd, after a short stay at Lille, the King was safe in Ghent. 'The great question is,' wrote Lord Castlereagh to the Duke of Wellington three days afterwards, while yet in ignorance of the event, 'can the Bourbons get Frenchmen to fight for them against Frenchmen?' The result showed that they could not. In the then state of France the army was master of France. Louis and his ministers had done nothing to conciliate, and al-

most everything to irritate, the people; and even so early as November, 1814, Wellington did not see what means the King had of resisting the attack of a few hundred officers determined to risk everything. During the period occupied by Napoleon in passing from Elba to Paris, the conduct of the sovereigns and diplomatists assembled at Vienna offered a striking contrast to the weakness and inaptitude of the Bourbons. . . . That there was fear in Vienna is manifest, but the acts of the Allied Powers show that fear speedily gave place to resolution. For, as early as the 12th of March, before the Allies knew where Napoleon was, or anything about him, except that he was somewhere at large in France, they drew up that famous declaration, and signed it the next day, in which they declared that he had broken the sole legal tie to which his existence was attached, and that it was possible to keep with him 'neither peace nor truce.' 'The Powers, in consequence,' so runs this document, 'declare that Napoleon Buonaparte is placed beyond the pale of civil and social relations, and that, as a common enemy and disturber of the peace of the world, he has delivered himself over to public justice.' This declaration, which has been the subject of vehement criticism, was the natural consequence of the prevailing and correct appreciation of Napoleon's character. There was not a nation in Europe which felt the slightest particle of confidence or trust in him. Hence this declaration, made so promptly, was drawn up in ignorance of any professions he might make, because, beforehand, Europe felt that no professions of his could be relied on. The news of his success was followed by a treaty, adopted on the 25th of March, renewing the alliance of Chaumont, whereby Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia bound themselves to provide each 150,000 men; to employ, in addition, all their resources, and to work together for the common end—the maintenance of the Treaty of Paris, and of the stipulations determined on and signed at the Congress of Vienna. Further, they engaged not to lay down their arms but by common consent; nor before the object of the war should have been attained; nor, continues the document, 'until Buonaparte shall have been rendered absolutely unable to create disturbance, and to renew attempts for possessing himself of supreme power in France.' All the Powers of Europe generally, and Louis XVIII. specially, were invited to accede to the treaty; but, at the instance of Lord Castlereagh, the Four Great Powers declared in the most solemn manner that, although they desired to see his Most Christian Majesty restored to the throne, and also to contribute to that 'auspicious result,' yet that their 'principles' would not permit them to prosecute the war 'with a view of imposing any particular Government on France.' With Napoleon they refused to hold any communication whatever; and when he sent couriers to announce that he intended to observe existing treaties, they were stopped on the frontiers. . . . Wellington, on his own responsibility, acted for England, signed treaties, undertook heavy engagements in her name, and agreed to command an army to be assembled in Belgium; and having satisfied, as well as he could, the clamour of 'all' for subsidies from England, he took his departure from Vienna on the 20th of March, and arrived in Brussels on the 4th of April. The British Parliament and nation confirmed readily the proceedings of the Government and of the Duke of Wellington at Vienna. . . . Napoleon had formed a Ministry on the very evening of his return to the Tuileries. . . . He felt certain that war would ensue. Knowing

that at the moment when he returned from Elba a large part of the best troops of England were in America, that the German force on the Rhine was weak, and that the Russian armies were in Poland, he calculated that the Allied Powers would not be in a position to open the campaign, at the earliest, until the middle of July; and, for a moment, he hoped that, by working on the feelings of his father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria, and by rousing the anger of the Emperor Alexander against his allies, he would be able, if not to reduce his enemies to two, England and Prussia, at least to defer the period of hostilities until the autumn. . . . Before his great schemes of military preparation were half complete he found himself compelled by events to begin the war. What he actually did accomplish between March and June has been the subject of fierce controversy. His friends exaggerate, his enemies undervalue, his exertions and their results. But no candid inquirer can fail to see, that if his energetic activity during this period is far below that of the Convention when threatened by Europe, it is far above the standard fixed by his passionate critics. The real reason why he failed to raise a larger military force during the hundred days was that his genius worked upon exhausted materials. The nation, to use an expressive vulgarism, was 'used up.' . . . The proper conscription for 1815 had been levied in the autumn of 1813. The drafts on the rising generation had been anticipated, and hence there remained little available except the old soldiers. . . . The result of Napoleon's prodigious exertions to augment the military force of France appears to be this: Napoleon found ready to his hand a force of 223,072 men of all arms, officers included: that is 247,600 of the line, and 29,373 men ready to take the field. By the 13th of June he had raised this force to 276,082 men, officers included: that is 247,600 of the line, and 29,373 of the Imperial Guard. The number disposable for war was 108,130; and it therefore follows that Napoleon had increased the general effective by 53,010 men, and that part of it disposable for war by 43,130."—G. Hooper, *Waterloo*, bk. 1, ch. 1.

ALSO IN: O. Browning, *Fall of Napoleon*.—N. Campbell, *Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba*.—E. E. Crowe, *History of the reigns of Louis XVIII and Charles X*, v. 1.—E. P. Guizot, *Memoirs of my time*, v. 1.—H. Houssaye, *Les Cent Jours*.—R. H. Horne, *Life of Napoleon*.—J. C. Ropes, *The First Napoleon*.—J. H. Rose, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic era*.—I. de Saint-Amand, *Duchess of Angoulême and the two restorations*.

1814-1815.—Congress of Vienna and the fruits of its labors. See VIENNA, CONGRESS OF.

1815 (Jan. 3).—Secret treaty with England and Austria in defence of the Peace of Paris. See VIENNA, CONGRESS OF.

1815 (June).—Campaign in Belgium.—The four phases.—Napoleon's defeat and overthrow at Waterloo.—The operations now about to open may perhaps be divided into four phases as follows: "First phase—The Emperor's strategical concentration, or assembly of the *Armée du Nord*. Second phase—Passage of the Sambre, and the separation of the Allied Armies by the *Armée du Nord*. Third phase—The offensive campaign against Marshal Blücher, culminating in the Battle of Ligny. Fourth and final phase—The offensive campaign against the Duke of Wellington, terminating in the Battle of Waterloo."—A. F. Becke, *Napoleon and Waterloo*, p. 107.—"The nearest troops of the Allies were the Prussian army in the Rhenish provinces, and the army of British, Dutch, Belgians, Brunswickers, and Hanoverians, occupy-

ing Belgium. Napoleon's scheme, the best in his desperate circumstances, was to expel the British and Prussians, who were moving west, from Belgium, win the Rhine frontier—to arouse the enthusiasm of all France—before the Austrians were ready, and carry the war out of France. The Duke of Wellington proceeded to Belgium, for the first and last time to measure his skill with Napoleon's, and Marshal Blücher took over from Kleist the command of the Prussians. The two armies, the Prussian and the British, took up a line extending from Liège to the sea. The country on this line was open along the west, affording by nature little means of resisting an invasion, but most of the fortresses commanding the roads had been put in a state of moderate repair. The Prussians held the line of the Meuse and Sambre to beyond Charleroi, the head-quarters being at Namur. They numbered about 117,000 men . . . with 312 guns. . . . The motley mass of the British and their allies numbered 106,000 men . . . with 106 guns. . . . So entirely ignorant were the allies of Napoleon's movements, that on the very day on which he burst across the frontier, Wellington wrote to the Czar, who was at Vienna, respecting the general invasion of France. At that time the frontier of France approached within six miles of Charleroi (which is itself but 34 miles by the main road from Brussels). The Charleroi road was not only the most direct to Brussels, but was unprotected by fortresses; and the line of the allied armies was weakest here at the point of junction between them. . . . It was against the central weak point that Napoleon resolved to move, down the basins of the Sambre and the Meuse. . . . The mass of the troops was being assembled within a league of the frontier, but behind some small hills which completely screened them from the enemy's outposts. To conceal his designs to the last moment, the line of sentries along the frontier was tripled, and any attempt to pass the line was forbidden under pain of death. The arrangements were being carried out by Soult, who on the 2nd June had been appointed chief of the staff. . . . The army concentrated on the frontier consisted (according to Colonel Chesney) of 90,000 infantry and 22,000 cavalry—in all 112,000 men—with 344 guns. . . . Napoleon, accompanied by his brother Jerome, arrived in the camp, and in the evening of the 14th his soldiers, already elated by his presence, were excited to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by an address from Napoleon. . . . A general order fixed the attack upon the allies' position for three o'clock in the following morning (15th)." At the appointed time "the French left was in motion, Reille proceeding from Solre down the right bank of the Sambre. He was soon brought into collision with the Prussian outposts near Thuin; he drove them back and secured at ten o'clock the bridge of Marchiennes." The movements of other corps were delayed by various causes. Nevertheless, "of the Prussians only Ziethen's corps, and of Wellington's army only Perponcher's Dutch-Belgians, were as yet near the menaced position; while 40,000 French had passed the Sambre at Marchiennes and 70,000 more were entering Charleroi. When Reille deployed in front of Gosselies, the Prussians called in their detachments and retired from it upon Fleurus, . . . leaving open the road through Quatre Bras to Brussels. Ney, who had just come up, then took command of the left, . . . which was now directed upon Quatre Bras; and Napoleon galloped off to the road between Charleroi and Fleurus, where the retiring Prussians were concentrating. . . . At dark Ziethen [with the First Prussian corps] still

held Fleurus with his advanced guard, and the wood on its south, the bulk of his troops lay for the night upon the hill of Ligny, above the village of Bry. His loss during the day's manœuvring has been estimated at 2,000. On the French left, Ney . . . had come in contact with the advance guard of Wellington's army, a battalion of Nassauers and a light battery, in front of the village of Frasnes, two miles from Quatre Bras, the name applied to the farm-buildings at the intersection of the four main roads,—Brussels, Nivelles, Charleroi, Namur. . . . After a few cannon-shots the outpost fell back from Frasnes to Quatre Bras." Ney, after a reconnoissance, postponed attack until morning. "It had been intended by Napoleon that the whole army should have crossed the Sambre before noon; but from the several delays, . . . when night fell on the 15th, half of the cavalry of the guard, two of Grouchy's reserve divisions, Lobau's corps, and one-half of Gérard's corps were still on the south of the river. Ap-



MARSHAL NEY

parently relying on secret information from Paris—which contradicted the rumours that Napoleon was about to join the army—Wellington had been lulled into a false security, and the reports as to the concentration had been neglected. News of the enemy's advance across the Sambre did not reach him till three o'clock in the afternoon of the 15th, when the Prince of Orange in person reported the skirmish at Thuin. As he did not yet know the point of concentration, the British general, 'never precipitate or nervous' (Hooper), merely issued orders for all the troops to be in readiness. . . . At night intelligence was received from Mons that the French concentration was at Charleroi, and orders were issued for the immediate movement of the troops. . . . Wellington and the Prince of Orange, with several of the staff officers, went—it is said, to prevent a panic in Brussels—to the Duchess of Richmond's ball, where 'Belgium's capital had gathered then her beauty and her chivalry,' and, 'while all went merry as a marriage bell,' the staff officers stole away one by one. The Duke himself, 'throwing away golden

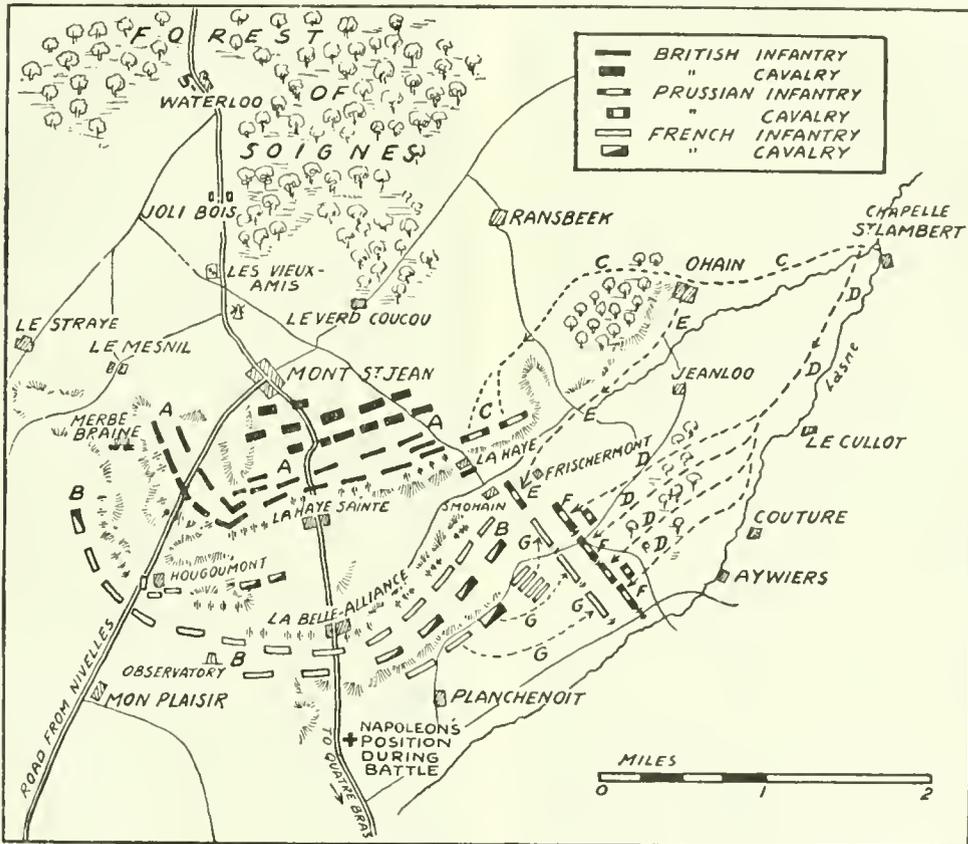
minutes' (Hamley), as if to show his confidence in his fortunes, remained to a late hour to return thanks after supper for the health of the Prince Regent of Great Britain, which the Prince of Orange proposed. . . . Blücher had received, at his head-quarters at Namur, news on the morning of the 14th of the French concentration, and he had ordered forward the corps of Pirch and Thielemann. . . . Napoleon did not foresee Blücher's promptitude, and nothing was done in the early morning of the 16th to proceed with the execution of the intended surprise. . . . No orders were issued by the Emperor till eight, when Napoleon's resolution was taken,—to strike at the Prussians, who would, he believed, if defeated, retire upon their natural base of communications, through Namur and Liège, and he would thus be left to deal separately with the British, who could not move from their base, the sea. The French army was to advance in two wings, the left under Ney, the right under Grouchy, with the reserve under the Emperor himself. Ney was to capture Quatre Bras, reconnoitre the Brussels road, and hold himself in readiness to march to Brussels, which Napoleon hoped to be able to enter the following morning. . . . Napoleon had 64,000 men to attack the position at Ligny; Ney on the left wing had 45,000 for Quatre Bras; Lobau had 10,000 to support either wing of the Grand Army; 5,000 troops were in the rear; and the victorious wing, whether Ney's or Grouchy's, was to wheel round and manœuvre in the direction of the other. Thielemann having come up before the French delivered their attack, Blücher had 85,000 men on the field. Wellington arrived at Quatre Bras (which is 20 miles from Brussels) at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. As Marshal Ney gave no sign of an imminent attack, Wellington galloped over, about seven miles, to confer with Blücher. . . . Wellington, after some discussion, in which he expressed his disapproval of Blücher's position, agreed to move to the rear of the Prussians, to act as a reserve, if his own position at Quatre Bras were not attacked. . . . He reached Quatre Bras when his own position was being assailed, and no help could be sent to Blücher. . . . At about three o'clock, when the heavy cannonade a few miles to the west intimated that a desperate battle was in progress at Quatre Bras, the signal for attack [on the Prussians, at Ligny] was given. The French left sped forward with impetuosity; the resistance was vigorous but futile, and the enemy streamed through the village. Blücher immediately moved forward fresh troops and retook the village, but was unable to retain it. . . . Thrice the Grenadiers forced their way into and through the village, but only to be driven back again." But "Blücher gradually exhausted his reserves, and when, in the dusk, Napoleon saw the last battalion moved forward and the ground behind Ligny vacant, he exclaimed, 'They are lost!' The Guards and the Cuirassiers were immediately ordered to attack," and the wearied Prussian infantry were broken by their onset. "The fugitives fled precipitately over the fields and along the roads to the east, and the order for the whole to retire was immediately given. . . . Blücher himself gathered a few of his squadrons to check the hot pursuit near Sombreffe, and thrice led them to the charge. His squadrons were broken, and after the last charge his horse fell dead, and the veteran marshal lay under it. His aid-de-camp, Nostitz, stood by him, and covered him with a cloak; the Cuirassiers galloped past without noticing him. . . . Gneisenau, who took temporary command from the accident to Blücher, ordered a retreat upon Wavre, with the

view of joining Bülow's corps and keeping open the communications with Wellington. . . . The loss on each side has been very variously estimated. Napoleon put his own loss at 7,000 men, Charras puts it at 11,000, and the loss of the Prussians at 18,000. The retreat upon Wavre abandoned the communications with Namur and Liège, through which the Prussian supplies came from the lower Rhine, for a new line by Louvain, but it kept the Prussians on a line parallel to the road on which Wellington must retreat, and thus still enabled the two armies to aid each other. 'This noble daring at once snatched from Napoleon the hoped-for fruits of his victory, and the danger Ligny had for a few hours averted was left impending over him' (Chesney)."—H. R. Clinton, *War in the Peninsula and Wellington's campaigns in France and Belgium*, ch. 12.—On Wellington's return to Quatre Bras from his interview with Blücher, he found, as stated above, that the Prince of Orange had already become desperately engaged with the superior forces of Ney. "The Duke's presence gave new life to the battle, and when Picton's division, followed by the Brunswickers and Van Merle's Belgian horse, arrived, he took the offensive, pushing forward right up to the edge of the farm of Gemioncourt. Ney, reinforced by the rest of Reille's corps and part of Kellerman's cavalry, violently retorted, and in the charge, which partially broke into spray before the squares, Wellington ran the risk of death or capture. But he leaped his horse over the 92d Highlanders lining the ditch on the Namur road, while his gallant-pursuers, cut up by the infantry fire, were killed or driven off. Ney was further reinforced by more guns and cavalry, and Wellington's brigades continued to arrive in parcels. The Marshal was always superior in horsemen and cannon, but after 5 o'clock his opponent had larger numbers of foot. Holding firmly to the cross-roads and the highway to Namur, Wellington became the stronger as the day waned; and when the Guards emerged from the Nivelles road and the Allies pressed forward, Ney, who had no fresh troops, was driven back, and his antagonist remained at sundown master of the whole field of battle. The position was maintained, but the cost was great, for there were no fewer than 4,600 killed and wounded, more than half being British soldiers. The thunder of cannon to the eastward had also died away, but none knew as yet at Quatre Bras how Blücher had fared at the hands of his redoubtable foe. Wellington, who slept at his head-quarters in Genappe, was on the field and scrutinising his outposts at daybreak on the 17th. Soon after came a report, confirmed a little later, that the Prussians had retreated on Wavre. . . . Napoleon had a belief that Blücher would retreat upon Liège, which caused him at a late hour in the day to despatch Grouchy to that side, and thus touch was lost. While the French were cooking and Napoleon was pondering, definite intelligence was brought to Wellington, who, learning for certain that Blücher was at Wavre, promised to stand fast himself at Mont St. Jean and fight, if Blücher would support him with two corps. The intrepid Marshal replied that he would come with his whole army, and Wellington got the famous answer before night. Thus was made, between generals who thoroughly trusted each other, that combination which led to the Battle of Waterloo. It was no chance combat, but the result of a deliberate design, rendered capable of execution, even when Blücher was wounded, by his resolve to retreat upon Wavre, and by Napoleon, who acted on conjecture that the Prussians would hurry towards

their base at Liège. The morning at Quatre Bras was peaceful; the Allies cooked their food before starting rearward. Wellington, it is said, lay down for a moment, and snatched perhaps a little sleep. There was no stir in front or on the exposed left flank; and, covered by a strong display of horsemen, the Allied divisions tramped steadily towards Mont St. Jean. . . . The retreat continued all day. A thunderstorm, so often a precursor of Wellington's battles, deluged the fields with rain, and pursuer and pursued struggling through the mire, were drenched to the skin by nightfall. . . . The results of two days' warfare may be thus summed up. Napoleon had inflicted a defeat, yet not a decisive defeat, upon the Prussians, who escaped from his ken to Wavre. He had then, at a late hour on the 17th, detached Grouchy with 33,000 men to follow them, and Grouchy at night from Gembloux reported that they had retired in three directions. Moving himself in the afternoon, Napoleon, uniting with Ney, had pursued Wellington to Mont St. Jean, and slept in the comfortable belief that he had separated the Allies. At that very time Wellington, who had assembled his whole force except 17,000 men, . . . was in close communication with Blücher, and intended on the 18th to stop Napoleon by delivering battle, and to hold him fast until Blücher could cut in on his right flank and rear. Thus it was the Allies who were united practically, and the French army which was separated into two groups unable to support each other. . . . The tempest which burst over the retreating columns on the 17th followed them to their bivouacs and raged all night, and did not cease until late on the fateful Sunday. Wellington, mounting his faithful Copenhagen at break of day, rode from the village of Waterloo to the field, where the armies on both sides, protected by watchful sentries, were still contending with the mischiefs inflicted by the storm. The position was the crest of a gentle slope stretching from Smobain to the Nivelles road, having upon and in advance of its right the château, garden, and wood of Hougoumont, and in the centre, where the Charleroi road cut through the little ridge, the farm of La Haye Sainte. Both these posts were occupied, but the latter, unfortunately, not so solidly as Hougoumont. . . . The position was well filled by the 69,000 men of all arms and 156 guns which were present that day. Napoleon, who slept at the farm of Caillou, and who had been out on foot to the front during the night, was also early in the field, and glad of the gift which he thought fortune had placed in his hands. When Reille had joined him from Genappe, he had 72,000 men, all admirable soldiers, and 240 guns, with which to engage in combat, and he reckoned that the chances were ninety to ten in his favour. He mounted his charger, reconnoitred his opponent's position, and then gave the orders which, promptly and finely obeyed, disclosed the French array. . . . It was now nearly eleven o'clock, and, although his opponent knew it not, Wellington had got news of the march from Wavre of Bülow, whose leading troops were actually, at that time, close to the wood of St. Lambert on the French right; while Grouchy was at Sart les Walhain, between Gembloux and Wavre. It is not practicable here to give a full account of the battle of Waterloo; we can only describe its broad outlines. The first gun was fired about twenty or thirty minutes past eleven, and preluded a dashing and sustained attack on Hougoumont, which failed to carry the house, garden, or orchard, but did gain the wood. It was probably intended to divert attention from the attack on the left and

centre, which Ney, massing his guns opposite the British left, was preparing to execute. Wellington watched and in some measure controlled the fight for Hougomont, and then rode off to the centre, taking post at a solitary tree which grew near the Charleroi road above La Haye Sainte. Ney at half past one sent forward the whole of D'Erlon's corps, and although some of them pushed close up to and over the Wavre road, stormed the orchard of La Haye Sainte and took the Pappelotte farm, yet at the critical moment Sir William Ponsonby's Union Brigade of horse charged into the French infantry, already shattered by the fire

came the unexpected and unwelcome information that the whole Prussian army was approaching. . . . The signs of danger on his right flank, the punishment of D'Erlon's corps, the ineffectual attempt upon the British Guards in and about Hougomont, were followed by a kind of pause and the combat reverted to cannonading and skirmishing. But towards four o'clock Napoleon, increasing the fire of his artillery, threw forward a mass of cavalry, forty squadrons, and then began that series of reiterated onsets of horse which lasted for two hours. . . . Twice they were driven down the slope, and the third time, when they



BATTLE OF WATERLOO, JUNE 18, 1815

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| <p>A. British position on the morning of the 18th.</p> <p>B. French position on the morning of the 18th.</p> <p>C. Blücher's march to join with the British.</p> <p>D. Advance of Bulow's Corps from St. Lambert to occupy covered position.</p> | <p>E. Advance and attack of Ziethen's corps toward end of the battle.</p> <p>F. Attack of Bülow's corps on the French right flank.</p> <p>G. Movement of French reserves to oppose Bulow's corps.</p> |
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of Picton's troops, and the net result of the combined operation was that two eagles and 3,000 prisoners were captured, while nearly that number of killed and wounded remained on the ground. On the other side of La Haye Sainte the Household Brigade, led by Lord Anglesea in person, charged in upon and routed a large body of French cuirassiers. The grand attack thus completely failed, and the centre, like the right, remained intact. It was just before this combat began that Napoleon saw something like troops towards St. Lambert and despatched two brigades of light cavalry to reconnoitre. A Prussian staff officer was caught beyond Planchenoit, and from him

came on, they were strengthened by Kellerman and Guyot until they reached a force of 77 squadrons, or 12,000 men; but these also were repulsed, the British horse, what remained of them, charging when the French were entangled among the squares and disordered by the musketry and guns. Four times these fine troopers charged, yet utterly failed to penetrate or move a single foot battalion. But some time before the final effort, Ney by a fierce attack got possession of La Haye Sainte, and thus, just as the cavalry were exhausted, the French infantry were established within sixty yards of the Allied centre. And although the Emperor was obliged to detach one-

half of his Guard to the right, because Blücher had brought into play beyond Planchenoit against Lobau nearly 30,000 men, still the capture of La Haye Sainte was justly regarded as a grave event. Wellington during the cavalry fight had moved three brigades on his right nearer to Hougomont, and had called up Chassé and his Belgians to support them; and it was a little before this time that he cried out to Brigadier-General Adam, 'By G—, Adam, I think we shall beat them yet!' . . . The crisis of the battle had come for Napoleon. Unable after eight hours' conflict to do more than capture La Haye Sainte; hardly pressed by the Prussians, now strong and aggressive; owing such success as he had obtained to the valour and discipline of his soldiers—the Emperor delivered his last stroke, not for victory—he could no longer hope to win—but for safety. He sent forward the last ten battalions of his Guard to assail the British right, and directed the whole remaining infantry force available to attack all along the line. The Guard marched onward in two columns, which came successively in contact with their opponents. Napier's guns and the British Guards, who rising from the ground showed across the head of the first column, fired heavily and charging drove them in confusion back towards La Belle Alliance; and the second column, struck in flank by the musketry of the 52nd and 95th was next broken by a bayonet charge and pursued by Colonel Colborne to and beyond the Charleroi road. As Ziethen's Prussians were falling upon the French near Pappelotte, and Pirch and Bülow wrestling with the Imperial Guard in Planchenoit, Wellington ordered the whole of the British line to advance. The cheers arising on the right where he was, extended along the front and gave new strength to the wearied soldiers. He led the way. As he neared the Charleroi road, the riflemen, full of Peninsular memories, began to cheer him as he galloped up, but he called out, 'No cheering, my lads; forward and complete your victory.' He found that good soldier, Colborne, halted for a moment before three squares of the rallied Imperial Guard. 'Go on, Colborne,' he said; 'better attack them, they won't stand.' Nor did they. Wellington then turned to the right, where Vivian's Light Cavalry were active in the gloom, and we next find him once more with the 52nd near Rossomme, the farthest point of the advance, where that regiment halted after its grand march over the battlefield. Somewhere on the highway he met Blücher, who had so nobly kept his word, and it was then that Gneisenau undertook to chase the fugitives over the frontier. The French, or perhaps we should say the Napoleonic army, was destroyed, and the power which its mighty leader had built up on the basis of its astonishing successes was gone for ever."—G. Hooper, *Wellington*, ch. 9.

ALSO IN: A. F. Beck, *Napoleon and Waterloo*.—O. Browning, *Fall of Napoleon*.—A. M. Chiquet, *Recollections of Baron de Frényilly*.—C. C. Chesney, *Waterloo lectures*.—R. P. Dunn-Pattison, *Napoleon's marshals*.—A. Fournier, *Napoleon the First*.—D. Gardner, *Quatre Bras, Ligny, and Waterloo*.—G. R. Gleig, *Story of the battle of Waterloo*.—A. Grouard, *Critique de la campagne de 1815*.—H. Houssaye, *Waterloo*.—V. Hugo, *Les Misérables*.—J. S. Kennedy, *Notes on the battle of Waterloo*.—W. H. Maxwell, *Life of Wellington*, v. 3.—W. O'C. Morris, *Great commanders of modern times and the campaign of 1815*.—L. Navez, *Les Champs de bataille de la Belgique*, II.—J. C. Ropes, *Campaign of Waterloo*.—J. H. Rose, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic era*.—W. Siborne,

History of the war in France and Belgium in 1815.

1815 (June-August).—Napoleon's return to Paris.—Final abdication.—Personal surrender to the English.—Captivity at St. Helena.—"The vanquished army had lost 200 pieces of ordnance, and 30,000 men hors de combat or prisoners; as many more remained, independently of Grouchy's 35,000 men; but the difficulty was to rally them in presence of an enemy, that had taken lessons in audacity and activity from Napoleon himself. The loss of the allies was not less considerable, but there remained to them 150,000 men, the confidence of victory, and the certainty of being seconded by 300,000 allies, who were crossing the Rhine from Mentz to Bâle. Such was the issue of this struggle, commenced under such happy auspices, and which resulted more fatal to France than the battles of Poitiers and Azincourt. It must be admitted, that this disaster was the work of a multitude of unheard-of circumstances: if Napoleon can be reproached for certain faults, it must be allowed that fortune dealt cruelly with him in the lesser details, and that his enemies, in return, were as fortunate as they showed themselves skillful. However unjust be the spirit of party, we are forced to render homage to the merits of two generals, who, unexpectedly attacked in their cantonnements extending from Dinant and Liège to Renaix, near Tournay, had taken such wise measures as to be in condition next morning for giving battle to equal forces, and for afterwards conquering by an able concentration of the two armies. . . . In the very battle of Waterloo, the French might be censured for having attempted the first attack in masses too deep. This system was never successful against the murderous fire of English infantry and artillery. . . . There were likewise extraordinary charges of cavalry, which, being devoid of support, became heroic but useless struggles. Notwithstanding all this, it is almost certain that Napoleon would have remained master of the field of battle, but for the arrival of 65,000 Prussians on his rear; a decisive and disastrous circumstance, that to prevent was not entirely in his power. As soon as the enemy led 130,000 men on the battle-field, with scarcely 50,000 to oppose them, all was lost. . . . Napoleon had but one course left him, which was to direct Grouchy through the Ardennes on Laon, to collect at this point all that could be drawn from the interior, from Metz and from Rapp's corps, leaving but garrisons in Lorraine and Alsace. The imperial cause was very much shaken, but not entirely lost; should all Frenchmen determine on opposing Europe with the courage of the Spartans of Leonidas, the energy of the Russians in 1812, or of the Spaniards of Palafox. Unfortunately for them, as for Napoleon, opinion was very much divided on this subject, and the majority still believing that the struggle interested only the power of the emperor and his family, the fate of the country seemed of little consequence. Prince Jerome had collected 25,000 men in rear of Avesnes: he was ordered to lead them to Laon; there remained 200 pieces of artillery, beside those of Grouchy. . . . Reaching Laon on the 19th, where he had at first resolved to await the junction of Grouchy and Jerome, the emperor discussed, with the small number of the trustworthy who had followed him, the course he should adopt after this frightful disaster. Should he repair to Paris, and concert with the chambers and his ministers, or else remain with the army, demanding of the chambers to invest him with dictatorial power and an unlimited confidence, under the con-

viction that he would obtain from them the most energetic measures, for saving France and conquering her independence, on heaps of ruins? As it always happens, his generals were divided in opinion; some wished him to proceed to Paris, and deposit the crown into the hands of the nation's delegates, or receive it from them a second time, with the means of defending it. Others, with a better appreciation of the views of the deputies, affirmed, that far from sympathizing with Napoleon, and seconding him, they would accuse him of having lost France, and would endeavor to save the country by losing the emperor. . . . Lastly, the most prudent thought that Napoleon should not go to Paris, but remain at the head of the army, in order to treat with the sovereigns himself, by offering to abdicate in favor of his son. It is said, that Napoleon inclined to the idea of remaining at Laon with the army; but the advice of the greatest number determined him, and he departed for Paris."—Baron de Jomini, *History of the campaign of Waterloo*, pp. 184-189.—"It was a moment of unrelieved despair for the public men who gathered round him on his return to Paris, and among these were several whose fame was of earlier date than his own. La Fayette, the man of 1789; Carnot, organizer of victory to the Convention; Lucien, who had decided the revolution of Brumaire, —all these met in that comfortless deliberation. Carnot was for a dictatorship of public safety, that is, for renewing his great days of 1793; Lucien too liked the Roman sound of the word dictator. 'Dare!' he said to his brother, but the spring of that terrible will was broken at last. 'I have dared too much already,' said Napoleon. Meanwhile, in the Chamber of Representatives the word was not dictatorship but liberty. Here La Fayette caused the assembly to vote itself permanent, and to declare guilty of high treason whoever should attempt to dissolve it. He hinted that, if the word abdication were not soon pronounced on the other side, he would himself pronounce the word 'déchéance.' The second abdication took place on June 22d. 'I offer myself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. My public life is finished, and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II, Emperor of the French.' On the 25th he retired to Malmaison, where Josephine had died the year before. He had by no means yet ceased to hope. When his son was passed over by the Chamber of Representatives, who named an executive commission of five, he protested that he had not intended to make way for a new Directory. . . . On the 27th he went so far as to offer his services once more as general, 'regarding myself still as the first soldier of the nation.' He was met by a refusal, and left Malmaison on the 29th for Rochefort, well furnished with books on the United States. France was by this time entering upon another Reign of Terror. Massacre had begun at Marseilles as early as the 25th. What should Napoleon do? He had been formerly the enemy of every other nation, and now he was the worst enemy, if not of France, yet of the triumphant faction in France. He lingered some days at Rochefort, where he had arrived on July 3d, and then, finding it impossible to escape the vigilance of the English cruisers, went on the 15th on board the 'Bellerophon' and surrendered himself to Captain Maitland. It was explained to him that no conditions could be accepted, but that he would be 'conveyed to England to be received in such manner as the Prince Regent should deem expedient.' He had written at the Île d'Aix the following characteristic letter to the Prince Regent:—"Royal Highness,—A prey to the factions which divide my country and to the enmity of the powers of Europe, I have ter-

minated my public career, and I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself at the hearth of the British people. I place myself under the protection of its laws, which I claim from your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.' It was perhaps the only course open to him. In France his life could scarcely have been spared, and Blücher talked of executing him on the spot where the Duc d'Eng-hien had fallen. He therefore could do nothing but what he did. His reference to Themistocles shows that he was conscious of being the worst enemy that England had ever had. Perhaps he remembered that at the rupture of the treaty of Amiens he had studied to envenom the contest by detaining the English residents in France. Still he might reflect, on the other hand, that England was the only great country which had not been trampled down and covered with massacre by his soldiers. It would have been inexcusable if the English Government had given way to vindictive feelings, especially as they could well afford to be magnanimous, having just won the greatest of all victories. But it was necessary to deprive him of the power of exciting new wars, and the experiment of Elba had shown that this involved depriving him of his liberty. The frenzy which had cost the lives of millions must be checked. This was the principle laid down in the declaration of March 15th, by which he had been excommunicated as a public enemy. It was therefore necessary to impose some restraint upon him. He must be separated from his party and from all the revolutionary party in Europe. So long as he remained in Europe this would involve positive imprisonment. The only arrangement therefore which would allow him tolerable personal comfort and enjoyment of life, was to send him out of Europe. From these considerations grew the decision of the Government to send him to St. Helena. An Act of Parliament was passed 'for the better detaining in custody Napoleon Bonaparte,' and another Act for subjecting St. Helena to a special system of government. He was 'kept on board the 'Bellerophon' till August 4th, when he was transferred to the 'Northumberland.' On October 15th he arrived at St. Helena, accompanied by Counts Montholon, Las Cases, and Bertrand, with their families, General Gourgaud, and a number of servants. In April, 1816, arrived Sir Hudson Lowe, an officer who had been knighted for bringing the news of the capture of Paris in 1814, as governor. The rest of his life, which continued till May 5, 1821, was occupied partly in quarrels with this governor, which have now lost their interest, partly in the task he had undertaken at the time of his first abdication, that of relating his past life. He did not himself write this narrative, nor does it appear that he even dictated it word for word. It is a report made partly by General Gourgaud, partly by Count Montholon, of Napoleon's impassioned recitals; but they assure us that this report, as published, has been read and corrected throughout by him. It gives a tolerably complete account of the period between the siege of Toulon and the battle of Marengo. On the latter period there is little, except a memoir on the campaign of 1815, to which the editors of the Correspondence have been able to add another on Elba and the Hundred Days."—J. R. Seeley, *Short history of Napoleon I.*, ch. 6, sect. 5.

ALSO IN: W. Forsythe, *History of the captivity of Napoleon*.—Count de Las Cases, *Life, exile and conversations of Napoleon*.—Count Montholon, *History of the captivity of Napoleon*.—B. E. O'Meara, *Napoleon in exile*.—J. H. Rose, *Detention of Napoleon at St. Helena*.—Lord Rosebery, *Napoleon:*

The last phase.—A. Thiers, *History of the consulate and the empire*, v. 5.

1815 (July-November).—English and Prussian armies in Paris.—Return of Louis XVIII.—Second Treaty of Paris.—Restoration of Napoleon's art-spoils.—Indemnity.—National debt.—Quadruple Alliance and the "Holy Alliance."—"The victorious Anglo-Prussian armies rapidly advanced upon the capital [and entered Paris July 7]; to reinforce them, Austrian troops crossed the Rhine, and Sardinian forces the Alps. Realising the hopelessness of resistance, Paris capitulated, and on July 8 readmitted Louis XVIII. as king. . . . The second Treaty of Paris (November 20, 1815) reduced her to her boundaries of 1700, installed an Allied army of occupation in her northeastern fortresses for a period not to exceed five years, exacted from her an indemnity of 700,000,000 francs, and compelled her to restore the works of art which the Revolutionary and Napoleonic armies had tastefully collected from the museums of the Continent. It has been calculated that the Bonapartist adventure of the Hundred Days cost France from first to last no less a sum than 1,570,000,000 francs. Only with the utmost difficulty did Wellington and Castlereagh prevent the Prussian and Austrian representatives at Paris from enforcing the cession of Alsace and Lorraine."—F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Main currents of European history*, pp. 107-108.—"Meanwhile the northeastern departments should be occupied by 150,000 allied troops at French expense. The ambassadors of Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria received the right to tender their joint advice to the government even upon matters of internal politics. These provisions were embodied in the second Treaty of Paris, of November 20, 1815. The four Powers on the same day agreed to meet from time to time to concert measures for the preservation of the peace of Europe. The experiences of the last two decades made the idea of new revolutions no mere specter of reactionary minds. The French government of the second Restoration was moved by the same spirit that directed the leaders of the first. Louis XVIII was not inclined to listen to the doctrine of vengeance and tried to profit by the lessons of the Hundred Days. Wellington used the great authority which the victory of Waterloo gave him to counsel moderation. In consequence the first ministry was led by Talleyrand and included Fouché. The elections for the choice of new deputies, however, resulted in a decided victory for the ultras and the chamber was 'more royalist than the King.'"—H. E. Bourne, *Revolutionary period in Europe*, p. 464.—"Although he [Louis XVIII] clung tenaciously to the forms of the ancient monarchy and the white flag of his family, he had common sense enough to retain Napoleon's legal and administrative reforms and the Napoleonic institutions of the Legion of Honor, the Bank of France, the Concordat, and the University. He recognized the imperial nobility as on an equal footing with that of the old régime. He confirmed the charter which the year before he had granted to France."—C. J. H. Hayes, *Political and social history of modern Europe*, v. 2, p. 16.—"France was not in such unfortunate condition as one who has followed in detail the last great campaigns of Napoleon might imagine. She was defeated but not crushed. The economic advantage of having millions of sturdy, thrifty peasants as small landed proprietors was already displaying itself. The emperor, too, had waged his wars almost to the last at the expense of his conquered foes, and it was certainly a tribute to his foresight and to his genius for finance that the French national debt in 1815 was only one-sixth as large as that of Great Britain.

The middle class took immediate advantage of the return of peace to extend their trade and to expand their business-interests. For these reasons, France rapidly rose under the restored Bourbons to a position of strength and prosperity hardly equaled in all Europe, despite bad harvests, political unrest, and foreign military occupation which continued three years after Waterloo."—*Ibid.*, p. 15.—"In the long era of peace which they secured men had time to forget that foreign domination and military despotism had been the counterpart of reform. The ideal of civil equality and social justice, which the deputies of 1789 had cherished, could now make its appeal with renewed force. The proof of its vitality is recorded in hundreds of great acts of legislation in the later years of the nineteenth century."—H. E. Bourne, *Revolutionary period in Europe*, pp. 464-465.—See also PARIS: 1814-1830.

"Before quitting Paris in the fall of this eventful year of 1815, the Allies signed two more documents of great significance in the future history of Europe, that establishing the Quadruple Alliance. The former proceeded from the initiative of Alexander I, of Russia, whose mood was now deeply religious under the influence of the tremendous events of recent years and the fall of Napoleon, which to his mind seemed the swift verdict of a higher power in human destinies. He himself had been freely praised as the White Angel, in contrast to the fallen Black Angel, and he had been called the Universal Saviour. He now submitted a document to his immediate allies, Prussia and Austria, which was famous for a generation, and which gave the popular name to the system of repression which was for many years followed by the powers that had conquered in the late campaign, a document unique in the history of diplomacy. Invoking the name of 'the very holy and indivisible Trinity,' these three years have brought to pass in Europe, and in view, especially, of the benefits which it has pleased Divine Providence to confer upon those states whose governments have placed their confidence and their hope in Him alone, 'having reached the profound conviction that the policy of the powers, in their mutual relations, ought to be guided by the sublime truths taught by the eternal religion of God our Saviour' solemnly declare 'their unchangeable determination to adopt no other rule of conduct, either in the government of their respective countries, or in their political relations with other governments than the precepts of that holy religion, the precepts of justice, charity, and peace'; solemnly declare, also, that those principles 'far from being applicable exclusively to private life, ought on the contrary to control the resolutions of princes, and to guide their steps as the sole means of establishing human institutions, and of remedying their imperfections.' Henceforth, accordingly, 'conformably to the words of Holy Scripture' the three monarchs will consider themselves as brothers and fellow citizens, 'united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity,' and will lend 'aid and assistance to each other on all occasions and in all places, regarding themselves, in their relations to their subjects and to their armies, as fathers of families.' Hence, their 'sole principle of conduct' shall be that 'of rendering mutual service and testifying by unceasing good will the mutual affection with which they should be animated. Considering themselves all as members of one great Christian nation, the three allied princes look upon themselves as delegates of Providence called upon to govern three branches of the same family,' namely, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. 'Their majesties recommend, therefore, to their peoples, as the sole means of enjoying that peace which springs from a good conscience and is alone endur-

ing, to fortify themselves each day in the principles and practice of those duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to men.' 'All those powers who wish solemnly to make avowal' of these 'sacred principles shall be received into this Holy Alliance with as much cordiality as affection.' This document, born of the religious emotionalism of the Tsar, has no parallel. Written in the form of a treaty, it imposes none of the practical obligations of a treaty, but is rather a confession of faith and purpose. Diplomats were amazed at its unworldly character. Ultimately, nearly all the powers of Europe signed it, more out of compliment to the Tsar than from any intellectual sympathy. Metternich pronounced it a 'sonorous nothing,' a 'philanthropic aspiration clothed in a religious garb,' an 'overflow of the pietistic feelings of the Emperor Alexander'; Castlereagh, a 'piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense'; Gentz, a bit of 'stage decoration.' Yet for a generation this Holy Alliance or 'diplomatic apocalypse' stood in the mind of the world as the synonym for the régime of absolutism and repression which prevailed in Europe. But that régime was not the outcome of the treaty of the Holy Alliance, but rather that of the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance concluded in the same year. The former was a dead letter from the moment of issue, and did not influence the policy, either domestic or foreign, of any state. Its author, Alexander I, was, moreover, in 1815 a liberal in politics who had been largely instrumental in forcing the restored Bourbon, Louis XVIII, to grant a constitution to France, and who was himself about to grant one to Poland. He was certainly at this moment far from thinking of inaugurating a system of repression. But the latter, the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, became under the manipulation of Metternich a stern and forbidding reality, as we shall see. The liberal newspapers of the Continent confused the two treaties, naturally enough, as Russia, Austria, and Prussia were signatories of both, and they came to speak with hatred of the Holy Alliance. The name excepted, however, the Holy Alliance is much less important than the Quadruple Alliance concluded November 20, 1815. Napoleon had been overthrown only by collective Europe, bound together in a great coalition. The episode of the 'Hundred Days,' occurring while the Congress of Vienna was laying the foundations of the new Europe, proved the necessity of the prolongation of that union. Hence, there appeared the 'Concert of Powers,' which for the next few years is the central fact in the international affairs of Europe."—C. D. Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 14-16. —See also HOLY ALLIANCE; ALX-LA-CHAPELLE: Congresses: 3; INTERNATIONAL LAW: 1792-1885.

Also in: E. Hertslet, *Map of Europe by treaty*, v. 1.—Prince Talleyrand, *Memoirs*, v. 3, pt. 9.

1815.—The influence of Napoleon.—His heritage to France and Europe.—"It will probably be admitted, even by the most strenuous opponent of French imperialism, that with two exceptions Napoleon has exercised a greater influence upon the political and social state of Europe than any other single man. Nothing in the achievements of the Consulate and the Empire was fraught with such tremendous consequence for the future of European civilization as the conquest of Gaul by Julius Caesar or the assumption of the imperial crown by Charlemagne; but then we must remember that Caesar and Charlemagne were operating upon political conditions which were still comparatively simple and susceptible of receiving a deep and durable impress from a powerful will, while Napoleon, living many centuries afterwards, suf-

fered the penalty of time. He was brought up against complex masses of tradition, political, social, and ecclesiastical, which had been hardened by ages of settled European life and were protected by the great vested interests of an old community. He affronted many things which Europeans were wont to consider respectable and even holy, monarchical sentiment, aristocratic caste, the Catholic Church, the sentiment of nationality. Much of his work was immediately undone upon his fall. All of it was compressed within a period of twenty years. But when all deductions have been made for ill-calculated plans, transitional expedients, and policies triumphantly cancelled by his opponents, there remains a residuum of durable political influences so great as immeasurably to overthrow any which can be ascribed to any other modern ruler of a European state. In saying this we do not mean to imply that there have not been minds in Europe of finer, higher, and more original quality. The most durable and successful features of Napoleon's statesmanship are not those parts which one might be tempted to call extravagantly Napoleonic, but those which seem to satisfy deep-seated needs and to crown long processes of historical development. . . . The great transfiguring ideas in politics, even where they originate with men of action, can seldom be safely used until they have survived some controversy and become the familiar property of political thought. It is therefore no more a condemnation of Napoleon's genius to observe that he merely worked with the ideas of the French Revolution than to say that he breathed the air and trod the earth. The supreme proof of his genius lies, on the contrary, in the fact that he harnessed the wild living spirit of the Revolution to his own career. . . .

The true greatness of Napoleon as a civil ruler lies in the fact, firstly that he saved for France the most valuable conquests of the French Revolution, social equality and industrial freedom, secondly that he brought to a conclusion the difficult operation of securing for the remodelled state the sanction and support of the Church, and thirdly that he gave to France a code of laws and a system of administration which remain substantially unchanged to-day. He saved equality which was a fierce national passion, and sacrificed liberty which had become a disease. The Code Napoléon, which he regarded as his main title to glory, is, so to speak, the last testament of the French Revolution. . . . Modern France is still very much as the Consulate left it. Parliamentary government has taken root, the Concordat has been denounced after an uneasy life of a hundred years, and some measure of decentralization has been effectually introduced into local government and the fabric of the University. The ideal of the lay state has become more widely held with the lapse of time, and is embodied in the scheme of compulsory secular education which the Third Republic owes to the oratory of Gambetta and the strenuous powers of Ferry. These changes, however, important though they be, have neither transformed the political spirit of France nor swept away the main blocks of Napoleonic granite, the Prefects, the Codes, the Legion of Honour, the *Lycée*. . . . One change, not of institutions but of political spirit, is certainly notable. France is no longer the firebrand of Europe."—H. A. L. Fisher, *Studies in history and politics*, pp. 198-201.—"There could never have been a national rising in Germany unless Napoleon had first broken the fetters which made all national movements in that country impossible. Spain learnt fitfully a similar lesson from the same source, and Russia became conscious of her national strength in her efforts to resist the invader. Fifteen years after Waterloo the

storm broke, and the eighty odd years which have succeeded the Revolution of 1830 [to 1912] are among the most remarkable that the world has ever known."—O. Browning, *History of the modern world*, p. 221.—See also EUROPE: Modern: Diffusion of revolutionary ideas, etc.

ALSO IN: D. Austrian, *Life and times of Juliette Recamier*.—A. F. Beck, *Napoleon and Waterloo*.—O. P. Browning, *Fall of Napoleon*.—O. P. Browning, *Napoleon*.—A. M. Chuquet, *La Jeunesse de Napoléon*.—A. M. Chuquet, *Recollections of Baron de Frénilly*.—A. M. Chuquet, *William, margrave of Baden, 1792-1859; La Campagne de 1812*.—G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France*.—R. P. Dunn-Pattison, *Napoleon's marshals*.—H. A. L. Fisher, *Bonapartism*.—H. A. L. Fisher, *Studies in history and politics*.—A. Fournier, *Napoleon the First*.—A. Grouard, *Critique de la campagne de 1815*.—C. D. Hazen, *French Revolution and Napoleon*.—H. Houssaye, *Napoleon and the campaign of 1814*.—H. Houssaye, *Les Cent Jours*.—H. Houssaye, *Waterloo*.—H. Houssaye, *l'ère Sainte-Hélène*.—H. de Manduit, *Les Derniers jours de la Grand Armée*.—L. C. F. Masson, *Joséphine, impératrice et reine*.—L. C. F. Masson, *L'Impératrice Marie Louise*.—L. C. F. Masson, *Napoleon et son fils*.—L. Navez, *Les Champs de Bataille de la Belgique, II*.—J. C. Ropes, *Campaign of Waterloo*.—J. H. Rose, *Bonaparte and the conquest of Italy (Cambridge modern history, v. 8)*.—Idem, *Detention of Napoleon at St. Helena*.—J. H. Rose, *Pitt and Napoleon*.—Idem, *Napoleonic empire (Cambridge modern history, v. 9)*.—Idem, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic era*.—Lord Rosebery, *Napoleon: The last phase*.—P. W. Sergeant, *Empress Josephine, Napoleon's enchantress*.—W. M. Sloane, *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*.—A. Sorel, *L'Armée de la république*.—A. Sorel, *L'Europe et la révolution française*.—A. C. Thibaudeau, *Bonaparte and the consulate*.

1815-1830. — Restored monarchy. — Louis XVIII and Charles X.—Career of the reactionaries.—Conquest of Algiers.—Ordinances of July.—Revolution.—Abdication and exile of the king.—"The royalists, after a quarter of a century of repression, now revenged themselves with truly French vehemence. In France a victorious party generally crushes its opponents; and the elections, held during the full swing of the royalist reaction, sent up to Paris a Legislative Assembly 'more royalist than the king himself.' Before it assembled, Louis XVIII, in spite of his promise only to punish those who were declared by the Assembly to be traitors, proscribed fifty-seven persons who had deserted to Napoleon in the 'Hundred Days.' . . . Of the proscribed men thirty-eight were banished and a few were shot. Among the latter the most illustrious was Marshal Ney, whose past bravery did not shield him from the extreme penalty for the betrayal of the military oath. . . . This impolitic execution rankled deep in the breasts of all Napoleon's old soldiers, but for the present all opposition was swept away in the furious tide of reaction. Brune, one of Napoleon's marshals, was killed by the royalist populace of Avignon; and the Protestants of the south, who were suspected of favouring Napoleon's home policy, suffered terrible outrages at Nîmes and Uzès in this 'white terror.' The restored monarchy had far stronger executive powers than the old system wielded before 1789, for it now drew into its hands the centralised powers which, under the Directory and the Empire, had replaced the old cumbrous provincial system; but even this gain of power did not satisfy the hot-headed royalists of the Chamber. They instituted judicial courts under a provost (prévôt), which

passed severe sentences without right of appeal. Dismissing the comparatively Liberal ministers Talleyrand and Fouché, Louis in September, 1816, summoned a more royalist ministry under the Duc de Richelieu, which was itself hurried on by the reactionaries. Chateaubriand fanned the flames of royalist passion by his writings, until the king even found it necessary to dissolve this mischievous Chamber, and the new deputies who assembled (February 1817) showed a more moderate spirit. France was soon delivered from the foreign armies of occupation, for the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, meeting at Aix-la-Chapelle (September 1818), in order to combat revolutionary attempts, decided that an early evacuation of French territory would strengthen the Bourbon rule in France; and they renewed the Quadruple Alliance, which aimed at upholding existing treaties. [See also AIX-LA-CHAPELLE: Congresses: 3.] The discontent in Germany and Italy awakened a sympathetic echo in France, which showed itself in the retirement of the Duc de Richelieu and the accession of a more progressive minister, Decazes (November 1819). This check to the royalist reaction was soon swept away by an event of sinister import. The Duc de Berry, second son of the Comte d'Artois, was assassinated (February 1820), as he was leaving the opera-house, by a fanatic who aimed at cutting off the direct Bourbon line. . . . His design utterly failed, for a posthumous son, the celebrated Comte de Chambord, was born in September 1820; and the only result was a new outburst of royalist fury. Liberty of the press was suspended, and a new complicated electoral system restricted the franchise to those who paid at least 1,000 francs a year in direct taxation: the Chamber of Deputies, a fifth part of which was renewed every year by an electorate now representing only the wealthy, became every year more reactionary, while the Left saw its numbers decline. The ultra-royalist ministry of Villèle soon in its turn aroused secret conspiracies, for the death of Napoleon (May 5, 1821) was now awakening a feeling of regret for the comparative liberty enjoyed in France during the Empire. Military conspiracies were formed, only to be discovered and crushed, and the veteran republican Lafayette was thought to be concerned in a great attempt projected in the eastern departments with its headquarters at Belfort; and the terrible society of the Carbonari secretly spread its arms through the south of France, where it found soil as favourable as in Italy itself. . . . A revolution in Spain held Ferdinand a prisoner in his palace at Madrid. Louis determined to uphold the throne of his Bourbon relative, and sent an army which quickly effected its object (1823). 'The Pyrenees no longer exist,' exclaimed Louis XVIII. In fact, everywhere in Europe absolutism seemed to be triumphant, and the elections of December 1823 sent up a further reinforcement to the royalist party; also the approaching end of the sensible old king foreshadowed a period of still more violent reaction under his hot-headed brother Charles. Louis XVIII. died on September 16, 1824. At his death the restoration seemed firmly established. . . . France had quickly recovered from twenty years of warfare, and was thought to have the strongest government in Europe. Always the chief of the reactionary nobles, Charles had said, 'It is only Lafayette and I who have not changed since 1789.' Honest, sincere, and affable as the new king was, yet his popularity soon vanished when it was seen how entirely he was under the control of his confessor; and the ceremonies of his coronation at Rheims showed that he intended to revive the almost forgotten past. In Guizot's words, 'Louis

XVIII. was a moderate of the old system and a liberal-minded inheritor of the 18th century: Charles X. was a true Émigré, and a submissive bigot.' Among the first bills which Charles proposed to the Chambers was one to indemnify those who had lost their lands in the Revolution. To give these lands back would have caused general unsettlement among thousands of small cultivators; but the former landowners received an indemnity of a milliard of francs, which they exclaimed against for its insufficiency just as loudly as the radicals did for its extravagance: by this tardy act of justice the State endeavoured to repair some of the unjust confiscations of the revolutionary era. . . . The attempts made by the Jesuits to regain their legal status in France, in spite of the prohibition dating from before the fall of the old régime, aroused further hostility to the king, who was well known to favour their cause. Nothing, however, so strengthened the growing opposition in the Chambers and in the country at large as a rigorous measure aimed at the newspapers, pamphlets, and books which combated the clerical reaction. These publications were to pay a stamp duty per page, while crushing fines were devised to ruin the offending critics. One of the leaders of the opposition, Casimir Périer, exclaimed against this measure as ruinous to trade: 'Printing would be suppressed in France and transferred to Belgium.' The king persevered in his mad enterprise: he refused to receive a petition from the most august literary society in Europe, the Académie Française, and cashiered its promoters as if they were clerks under his orders. Strange to say, the Chamber of Deputies passed the measure, while that of the Peers rejected it—an event greeted by illuminations all over Paris (April 1827). A few days afterwards, at a review of the National Guards in Paris, the troops raised cries for the liberty of the press and for the charter granted in 1815. The next day they were disbanded by royal command, but were foolishly allowed to retain their arms, which were soon to be used against the government. Charles next created seventy-six new peers to outvote his opponents in the Upper House. He also dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, but found the new members less pliable. Finally, Charles had to give way for the time, and accept a more moderate ministry under Martignac in place of the reactionary Villèle Cabinet. . . . Charles was soon able to dismiss this ministry, the last hope of conciliation, and formed (August 1829) a ministry under Count Polignac, one of whose colleagues was the General Bourmont who had deserted to the allies the day before Waterloo. The king's speech at the opening of the next session (March 1830) was curt and threatening, and the Chamber was soon prorogued. Reform banquets, a custom which the French borrowed from English reformers, increased the agitation, which the Polignac ministry vainly sought to divert by ambitious projects of invasion and partition of some neighbouring States. The only practical outcome of these projects was the conquest of the pirate stronghold of Algiers. This powerful fortress had been bombarded and reduced by Lord Exmouth with the British fleet in 1816, and the captives, mostly Italians, were released from that den of slave-dealers; but the Dey of Algiers had resumed his old habits, complaints from the French were met by defiance, and at last the French envoy quitted the harbour amid a shower of bullets. A powerful expedition effected a landing near the strongly-fortified harbour, and easily beat back the native attack; and then from the land side soon battered down the defences of the city [see BARBARY STATES: 1830]. Thus the city which had long been the terror of Mediterranean sailors

became the nucleus of the important French colony of Algeria (July 4, 1830). The design of Charles X and of his reactionary Polignac ministry to divert the French people from domestic grievances to foreign conquest needed the genius and strength of a Napoleon to ensure success. The mere fact of the expedition being under the command of the hated General Bourmont had made it unpopular. . . . So, although the victory was triumphantly announced throughout France, yet the elections sent up a majority hostile to the king. Nevertheless, with his usual blind obstinacy, Charles on the 25th July 1830 issued the famous ordinances which brought matters to a crisis. The first suspended the liberty of the press, and placed books under a strict censorship; the second dissolved the newly-elected Chamber of Deputies; the third excluded licensed dealers (patentés) from the franchise; the fourth summoned a new Chamber under the new conditions, every one of which violated the charter granted by the late king. The Parisians at once flew to arms, and raised barricades in the many narrow streets which then favoured street-defence. Marmont, hated by the people as being the first of Napoleon's marshals who had treated with the allies, was to quell the disturbances with some 20,000 troops of the line; but on the second day's fighting (July 28) the insurgents, aided by the disbanded National Guards and veterans of the empire, beat back the troops; and on the third day the royal troops, cut off from food and supplies, and exhausted by the heat, gave way before the tricolour flag; the defection of two line regiments left the Louvre unguarded; a panic spread among other regiments, and soon the tricolour floated above the Tuileries. Charles thereupon set the undignified example, soon to be followed by so many kings and princes, of giving way when it was too late. He offered to withdraw the hated ordinances, but was forced to flee from St. Cloud. He then tried the last expedient, also doomed to failure, of abdicating in favour of his little grandson the Duc de Bordeaux, since better known as the Comte de Chambord. Retiring slowly with his family to Cherbourg, the baffled monarch set out for a second and last exile, spent first at Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh, and ended at Göritz in Bohemia. More than 5,000 civilians and 700 soldiers were killed or wounded in these terrible 'three days' of July 1830, which ended all attempts to re-establish the tyranny of the old régime. The victims were appropriately buried in the Place de la Bastille. They freed not France alone, but dealt a fierce blow at the system of Metternich."—J. H. Rose, *Century of continental history*, ch. 23.

ALSO IN: E. E. Crowe, *History of the reigns of Louis XVIII and Charles X.*—G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France.*—J. R. Hall, *Bourbon restoration.*—A de Lamartine, *Restoration of monarchy in France*, v. 3-4.—M. F. Sanders, *Louis XVIII.*—Prince Talleyrand, *Memoirs*, v. 3-4.—D. Turnbull, *French revolution of 1830.*

1819-1838.—Explorations in the Pacific. See ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1810-1838.

1822.—Congress of Verona.—French intervention in Spain approved. See VERONA, CONGRESS OF.

1823-1826.—Railway transportation. See RAILROADS: 1823-1005.

1823-1827.—Intervention in Spain, to suppress the revolution and reinstate King Ferdinand. See SPAIN: 1814-1827.

1825.—Recognizes independence of Haiti. See HAITI, REPUBLIC OF: 1804-1880.

1827-1829.—Intervention on behalf of Greece.—

Battle of Navarino. See GREECE: 1821-1829; ADRIANOPLE, TREATY OF.

1830-1840.—Monarchy renewed under Louis Philippe.—Drift from the constitutional course.—Revolutionary outbreaks.—Louis Bonaparte.—Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, upon whom the Constitutional party set their hopes, was born in 1773. His father, a notorious Egalité, ended his career under the guillotine; his grandmother was the duchess of Orleans, sister-in-law of Louis XIV; and because of opposition this branch of the royal house was considered as a separate family. As early as 1814, Louis Philippe had determined to accept the throne in case it was offered him. The offer came in 1830 with the revolution of July. "Louis Philippe ascended the throne of the Bourbons as King, not of France, but of the French. He was supported by the heads of the Liberal Opposition and the leaders of the Napoleonic party who had returned from exile. The new monarchy was distinctly middle-class, finding favour with the manufacturers and shopkeepers, who dreaded a republic on the one hand and an aristocratic autocracy on the other. The supporters of the monarchy of July did not form a homogeneous body. They were composed of a party of movement and a party of reaction. The first, represented by Laffitte, Lafayette and Odilon Barrot, sympathised with the popular risings in different parts of Europe, and wished France to take the side of peoples against their Sovereigns. The second agreed with Louis Philippe in thinking that the Revolution of July had been closed on August 9th. The leaders of this party were Guizot, Casimir Périer and the Duc de Broglie. The King, however, was obliged to form his first Ministry from both sections, and we find that it included a number of incongruous names. It comprised Laffitte, Dupont de l'Eure, Bignon, Gérard, Molé, Casimir Périer, Dupin, Guizot, Broglie. Lafayette commanded the National Guard, as he had done in the days of the Revolution, and Odilon Barrot was Prefect of the Seine. This divergence of opinion became clearly shown in the attitude of the Government towards the Belgian Revolution of 1830. Some believed that they were bound to support a revolt which had directly sprung from their own. They called upon the King to declare himself a supporter of the democracy, to punish the Ministers of Charles X. who had signed the ordinances, and to prepare the way for a declaration of war against the Sovereigns and Ministers of the Holy Alliance. Polignac, Peyronnet, and two others were confined in the Château de Vincennes. The Chamber, at the end of September, had voted their accusation, and many were in favour of their death. The Chamber, however, presented an address to the King, recommending that capital punishment should be done away with, and Louis Philippe expressed his satisfaction. The agitation, however, continued. On October 17th rioters proceeded to the Palais Royal, crying 'Death to the Ministers!' and on the following day a mob of ruffians marched to Vincennes to execute the prisoners. They were resisted by Dumesnil, who declared that, if the gates were forced, he would blow the château into the air. In this crisis, which threatened the safety of the King, the Conservatives Broglie and Guizot determined to resign. Louis Philippe adopted a moderate course with tact and courage. He reconstituted the Ministry with Laffitte and Dupont de l'Eure at its head; but appointed as Minister of the Interior Montalivet, a man devoted to himself. Montalivet proposed a reform of the electorate, which, by reducing the property qualification for the franchise, doubled the number of voters, while his colleague

Mérilhou laid before the Chamber of Peers a scheme of public education which he thought would be popular in the country. At the same time the King resolutely opposed all violence. However, the trial of the Ministers took place on December 21st, before the Chamber of the Peers. They were condemned to imprisonment for life, but the extremists desired their death, and a revolt took place, which it required all the efforts of the army and the National Guard to keep in check. On February 14th, 1831, the anniversary of the death of the Duc de Berri, the Legitimists held a special service in the Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, when a collection was made for the soldiers of the Royal Guard who had been wounded in the days of the Revolution. The angry mob attacked the church and the presbytery, and on the following day the palace of the Archbishop was attacked, and Notre Dame itself was in danger of being sacked. . . . The result was to render the Liberals unpopular with the middle classes who governed the country. When the King refused to support the inhabitants of the Italian duchies of the Emilia against an Austrian intervention, Laffitte resigned. He was succeeded by Casimir Périer, the head of the Conservative party, a man of large fortune and commanding temper, clear head and energetic spirit, but possessed, above all, with the sense of authority and a passion for power. . . . He was always ready to take responsibility upon himself, even if it brought hatred with it, and aimed at the establishment of a free but regular government, a government of peace which encouraged no violence, either at home or abroad. He dissolved the Chamber on May 31st, 1831, and asked the electors to decide between the new monarchy and the old. The enlarged electoral body gave a decisive verdict, which disarmed, once and for all, the forces of Legitimism and at the same time repressed the Radicals. Meanwhile, the heads of the Opposition, Arago, Odilon Barrot and Laffitte, were returned to the Chamber. In fourteen months Casimir Périer had firmly established his authority over the Chamber, and the power of the Chamber over the Sovereign and the country. He carried to a practical result the programme of the Doctrinaires and the more Liberal Conservatives. To the democracy he opposed the army; to the revolutionaries the doctrines of Liberalism. He exercised a dictatorship, but a liberal dictatorship. He called to his side Dupin, Guizot and Thiers. Unfortunately his rule was short. . . . In the night of April 28th, 1832, an Italian steamer, the *Carlo Alberto*, landed in the neighbourhood of Marseilles the Duchesse de Berri, accompanied by some of her faithful supporters, such as Bourmont and Kergolay, with the object of recovering the crown for her son, the Duc de Bordeaux. She failed to rouse the south of France, but collected the chiefs of a new Vendéan insurrection at Nantes, and forced the Government to declare a state of siege in four Departments. . . . Reaching in this way the Château de Plassac, she issued to the people of La Vendée a summons to arms for May 24th. Only a few hundreds answered the call, and two engagements, one at La Chêne, the other at La Pénissière, sufficed to crush the movement. [See also ITALY: 1830-1832.] . . . The natural successor of Casimir Périer would have been Guizot, the leader of the Doctrinaires. But the King had the strongest objection to appointing him. He had got rid of one dictator and did not wish to subject himself to another. For four months, from June to October, 1832, the King strained every nerve to avoid entrusting the government to Guizot and his friends. . . . But events were too strong for him, and, after October 11th, he gave to Marshal

Soult the task of forming a Ministry. Broglie became Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thiers took the portfolio of the Interior, and Guizot that of Education. It was a 'Ministry of all the talents,' a triumph for the Doctrinaires. In February, 1833, Guizot was able to say, 'Insurrection is dead, the societies are dead, revolutionary propagandism is dead, and the revolutionary spirit is dead.' . . . In order to destroy the evil of unrest and all prospect of its revival, Guizot passed a law concerning primary education in June, 1833, which invited the Catholics to associate themselves with State officials in the work of establishing internal and social peace. . . . Thiers, on his side, urged the adoption of a system of public works at a cost of 100,000,000 francs to be spread over five years. But, in this very summer, the heads of the Republican party were stimulated to fresh efforts. The Ministry attempted to suppress activity by indicting twenty-seven of the Republican leaders before the Court of Assizes. They were all acquitted, and this gave new encouragement to the leaders, who thought the time had come to unfurl their standard. . . . In Lyons an insurrection lasted from April 9th to April 13th, and when news of the outbreak reached Paris barricades were raised there by the Republicans. Thiers adopted rigorous measures, arresting the most active members of the Society of the Rights of Man, and holding 40,000 soldiers in readiness to march. . . . Attempts of a similar kind made at St. Étienne, Clermont, Marseilles, Belfort, Luneville and elsewhere were extinguished with equal success. . . . Laws of great severity were passed against the carrying of arms and against the democratic journals. The elections which took place in May, 1834, produced a Parliament still more hostile to Republican ideas. It doubled the severity of previous Ministries. . . . The Government was determined to bring the whole of the offenders before a special High Court composed of the Chamber of Peers. Two thousand persons had been arrested, and 164 were brought to trial. The trial did not begin till March 5th, 1835, and was not concluded till January 23rd, 1836, by which time 4,000 witnesses had been examined. The offenders were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, but were all amnestied on the occasion of the marriage of the Duc d'Orléans, which took place on May 8th, 1836. While this trial was proceeding, on July 28th, 1835, as Louis Philippe was riding with the most distinguished members of the Court, the Government, and the army, to attend a review in honour of the Revolution of July, a so-called infernal machine was exploded in the Boulevard du Temple close to the head of the cortège. . . . Eighteen persons who were close to the King were killed, amongst them the ancient Marshal Mortier, Duc de Treviso, and many others were wounded. The King was slightly injured, but continued his progress with commendable courage. The author of this conspiracy was Joseph Fieschi, a Corsican adventurer of abandoned character, who had once served under Murat. He seemed to have had only two accomplices, who were guillotined with him on February 16th, and were regarded as martyrs by the Democrats and Socialists. The result of this conspiracy was the passing of the Laws of September, three in number, dealing respectively with courts of assize, trial by jury, and the Press. The first gave the Ministry power to create as many courts of assize as might be thought necessary for trying offenders against the security of the State; the second allowed condemnations to take place by a bare majority of the jury; and the third established in their most repulsive form the most stringent laws

against the Press. The Press law was directed equally against Legitimists and Republicans, both opponents of the Government, but the Legitimists, having a larger command of money, were less affected by it. . . . Meanwhile a third Party was being organised, consisting partly of men who could not make up their minds, and partly of men whose ambitions had been disappointed. These were favoured by Louis Philippe, who did not like the Doctrinaires. The consequence was that the Broglie Ministry was overthrown, and, in February, 1836, a new Ministry was formed, in which the Presidency of the Council and the portfolio of Foreign Affairs were held by Thiers. The first Ministry of Thiers lasted from February 22nd to September 6th, 1836. From the first there was dissension between the Sovereign and his Ministers. . . . The difference broke into a flame with reference to the civil war between the Carlists and the Cristinos, which still continued in Spain. Great Britain intervened, according to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance. As early as March 18th, 1836, Thiers protested to Lord Palmerston against the policy of the Quadruple Alliance, and reserved to France liberty of action with regard to Spain. In July he made preparations for the intervention. He increased the foreign legion, which the Government had lent to the Queen of Spain against the Carlists, and offered the services of a general to command the royal army. . . . On August 24th, Louis Philippe, having heard that Thiers had allowed it to be announced that a French army would enter Spain, had an official denial inserted in the *Moniteur*, without communicating with his Minister. Thiers, unable to send the army which he had promised, decided to keep his soldiers in arms at the foot of the Pyrenees, but the King ordered him to disband them. Nothing but resignation was possible. . . . A new Ministry was formed, with Molé as President of the Council and Guizot as Minister of Education. Molé was opposed to the Doctrinaires and devoted to the King; Guizot, the head of the Doctrinaires, was purposely kept in a subordinate position. . . . The policy of the King and of Molé had rendered France secure against the attempts of Republicans and Legitimists, but a new danger threatened it by the revival of Napoleonism, which might have been thought to have become extinct by the death of the Duke of Reichstadt, the son of the great Napoleon, in 1832. The head of the Napoleon family was now Prince Louis Napoleon, son of the younger brother of Napoleon, who had been King of Holland, and Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine."—O. Browning, *History of the modern world*, pp. 266-273.

ALSO IN: E. Wertheimer, *Duke of Reichstadt*. Louis Bonaparte "was born in 1808, recollected having seen his illustrious uncle before the battle of Waterloo, and was carefully educated in the Napoleonic cult. Lord Malmesbury, meeting him at his mother's house in Rome in 1820, found him already persuaded that it was his destiny to rule over France. . . . His mother's house in Rome was a centre of nationalist politics, and in 1831 Louis Bonaparte, together with Charles Napoleon, his elder surviving brother, took part in the rising in the Romagna which came to so swift and unsatisfactory a conclusion. The French revolution of 1830 prompted him to enter into relations with the Republican chiefs in Paris, and in the following year, by the death of the duke of Reichstadt, he became heir to the Imperial claims. . . . The Revolution of 1830 had been partially led by Bonapartists, and Louis Bonaparte was convinced that but for an untimely accident it would have resulted in the re-establishment of the Imperial dynasty. On

two separate occasions he attempted to appeal from the Government of France to the people and the army. In 1836 he was taken red-handed at Strasburg, having failed to suborn the garrison. In 1840, an enterprise carried out with a similar lack of circumspection failed ignobly at Boulogne. These disastrous miscarriages were sufficient to ruin a reputation. Louis Bonaparte had not only grossly miscalculated the elementary conditions of success, but he had appeared in a ridiculous and melodramatic light as a hare-brained adventurer. Nevertheless there is something impressive in the pertinacity of his fatalism, and in the skill with which, when placed upon his trial in 1840, he contrived to define his political position. 'One last word, gentlemen, I represent before you a principle, a cause, and a defeat. The principle is the sovereignty of the people; the cause, that of the empire; the defeat, Waterloo. You have recognized the principle, you have served the cause, you wish to avenge the defeat.' He maintained that he desired not to bring about an Imperial restoration, but to convolve a national congress which should decide upon the political destinies of France."—H. A. L. Fisher, *Bonapartism*, pp. 131-133.—See also EUROPE: Modern: Revolutionary movement for self-government.

ALSO IN: L. Blanc, *History of ten years, 1830-1840*.—G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France*.—F. P. Guizot, *Memoirs to illustrate the history of my own time*, v. 3-4.—W. Müller, *Political history of recent times*.

1830-1848.—Protective tariff. See TARIFF: 1830-1848.

1830-1898.—Colonization in Algeria.—Beginning of French African kingdom. See ALGERIA: 1830-1898.

1831.—Arbitration of United States claims as result of Napoleonic wars. See ARBITRATION, INTERNATIONAL: Modern period: 1831.

1831.—Expulsion of Jesuits. See JESUITS: 1769-1871.

1831-1832.—Intervention in the Netherlands.—Siege of Antwerp. See BELGIUM: 1830-1832.

1833-1840.—Turko-Egyptian question and its settlement. See TURKEY: 1831-1840.

1837.—Settlements in New Zealand. See NEW ZEALAND: 1825-1840.

1839.—Pastry War in Mexico. See MEXICO: 1828-1844.

1841-1848.—Limited electoral body and its corruption.—Agitation for reform.—Re-entry of France into the European concert.—"When, at the close of 1840, in the midst of an internal crisis aggravated by dangerous foreign complications, King Louis Philippe called upon Guizot to form a Ministry, the two men had decided that they were reciprocally necessary to one another, and also necessary to the maintenance of the institution which was the foundation-stone both of the parliamentary bourgeoisie and of the Orleans dynasty. . . . With rare frankness and without the slightest embarrassment, Guizot, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, announced to Parliament in the month of November his views on foreign policy, now identical with those of Louis Philippe which he used to criticise. 'Revolution and war, as methods of action, are obsolete for France. She would do herself a great wrong, if she persisted in making use of them. Her methods of influence to-day are, peace, the spectacle of a sound government reposing on a broad liberty. Let us not talk to our fellow-citizens of lands to conquer, or of great wars of revenge. Rather let France prosper, and live free, intelligent, full of spirit, and tranquil.' Guizot proceeded at once to apply this pacific programme to the European crisis, which the Eastern business had pro-

voke. . . . Perhaps he expected at first that the English Minister would facilitate his task by some further concession. Like Louis Philippe, who was corresponding secretly with Leopold and even with Metternich, he was in hopes even on November 6, 1840, that an indulgent Europe would allow Mehemet Ali to hold, besides Egypt, the pachalik of Acre and even Crete for his life. 'It is not the extent of the sacrifice, but the fact of it that matters'—this was the way he put it in London, in Vienna, and elsewhere, when trying to extract from the Courts of Europe some balm for the wounded pride of France. . . . Palmerston, who cared as little for the politeness of Guizot as for the anger of Thiers, refused to allow it. 'If we yielded,' he said, 'the French nation would think that we were yielding to her threats, and not to the prayers of Louis Philippe; . . . the only way to keep straight with such people is to make them understand that you are ready to repel force by force.' . . . Confronted by the enmity of the general public, of the friends of Thiers, and of Liberals irritated by the news from the East and the demands of Europe, Guizot found himself in a difficult situation, when the discussion on the foreign policy of France opened in the Chamber of Deputies. On November 25 the Ministry had to meet a fierce combined attack by Thiers and Berryer, who severely blamed Louis Philippe and his Ministers for having humiliated by their cowardice and lack of confidence in the people a great nation that was still capable of wiping out the disgrace of 1815. By dint of eloquence and coolness, like that of Molé in former days under his own attacks, Guizot succeeded in repelling the assaults. . . . In the midst of Guizot's manœuvres in Paris, an invaluable supporter turned up for him in London. On November 15, 1840, Queen Victoria wrote Palmerston a decisive though courteously worded letter, which brought her impetuous Minister to reason. 'My one ardent desire is for peace; I attach a high, nay, extreme importance to our coming to some conciliatory arrangement with our neighbours.' The advice was practically a command, to which Palmerston could only bow. . . . The time had now arrived for the re-entry of France into the European Concert, from which she had been excluded six months before, that she might secure this concession for her client, this sole surviving result of the victories of Ibrahim which Palmerston and Europe had been able to neutralise. . . . On March 5, 1841, the European Conference by a final minute annulled the Convention of July 15. On this essential point France received due satisfaction. If, owing to the resistance of Russia, she failed in obtaining her desire in the shape of a new treaty confirming the note of 1839, and proclaiming the integrity of the Ottoman Empire under the protection of Europe, she could watch at any rate the preparation of a treaty which was to close the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to all European fleets, and especially to Russian men-of-war. . . . On November 6, 1840, he [Guizot] announced his intention of repressing anarchy. The law-officers were entrusted to curb the violence of the Press, and keep a hand on assemblies and discussions tending to disorder. At the beginning of 1841, Jouffroy speaking officially on behalf of the majority in support of the same policy, approved of the Ministry abiding by the laws of September 1835, and shelving all electoral reform. . . . He prosecuted all newspapers and books that attacked the dynasty, in Paris or in the provinces. . . . As Metternich acutely remarked, the system of 'centralisation which was the essence of French political life,' enabled Guizot in spite of his unpopularity to carry out his designs and to secure their accept-

ance. He had, like Metternich, made up his mind to put 'an absolute veto upon all innovations in public life'; and henceforth Louis Philippe, willing to work with this Ministry, so long as he secured peace abroad, did not trouble himself about the possible demands of the Left and the Liberal party, as he had done in Molé's time. . . . From the day when the French bourgeoisie established itself in power by the aid of Louis Philippe, and by the same impulse forced the country to recognise its political and social privileges, it began to split up into segments and to obey varying influences. . . . This French bourgeoisie underwent an insensible transformation under the influences, religious, social, or economic, which had developed in so many different directions since the beginning of the nineteenth century. . . . These men sent their children to the Catholic Colleges, which continued to exist or had been revived, alongside of the State institutions where eclectic philosophy ruled, a sort of modernist State Catholicism, constructed, evolved and enacted by Victor Cousin. . . . If a bourgeois of this sort continued to adhere to an order of things which would guarantee the future well-being of their schemes, he was not prepared to sacrifice anything in its defence; this was a business to be left to Government, its prefects, and its functionaries. And gradually the habit of business on a large scale, the sense of affluence, the need for progress and the taste for it, disposed them to look with favour, even in politics, upon novelties which they would not have demanded, but which they were ready to accept. . . . All the men of the dynastic Left, from Odilon Barrot to Lafitte, during 1830 recommended political reform. . . . Guizot had scarcely come to power before a closer intimacy was set on foot between the partisans of the democracy, and these dissentient bourgeois who sought for popularity and novelty, among whom might now be reckoned, by the side of Thiers, Moderates like Dufaure and Passy, and above all Lamartine. . . . The most serious matter was that for the last ten years the democracy, especially the urban democracy, had been growing daily stronger and more conscious of its strength. The development of manufactures and commerce caused the working class to collect in the towns where business and luxury reigned. Between 1831 and 1846, the population of Paris increased by 300,000; and at Lyons, Marseilles, Lille, and Roubaix the rate of growth was the same. It was certainly not for their pleasure that the inhabitants of the French country-side flocked into districts destitute of light and air to earn a wretched wage in cramped workshops by long days' work, from which neither women nor the tenderest children were spared. But their number and their miserable condition aroused in themselves, and in the public, a sense of their needs, and of their value in the world. The singularly painful picture which Dr. Villermé drew in 1840, at the request of the Academy of Moral Sciences, of the physical and moral condition of the workers in certain manufactures marked the starting-point for the first working-class legislation ever passed in a French Parliament. To the cause of these masses of workers, whose lives it was alike their duty and their wish to ameliorate, many a writer devoted his labours and his talent. . . . For a Government that wished to be permanent, it was undoubtedly no easy task to find, among the various currents of opinion and of feeling which drove French society in various directions, the one to which it could best trust itself to escape shipwreck, to avoid collision with the middle classes on the one hand and the common folk, urban and rural, on the other. The situation being such, Guizot, while

supported and approved by the King, could devise nothing better than to remain in port, out of the way of the inconstant and capricious waves of public opinion raised by aspirations which he was determined to ignore. . . . [The shelter by which he (Guizot) hoped] to preserve safely the institutions created by the Orleans Monarchy, consisted of the 'country' as constituted by law, with electors paying 200 francs in taxes, and deputies chosen from those who payed 500 francs on their revenue. What they most wanted, in order to avoid the squalls that might still reach them from the ocean, was the solid break-water of a good stout majority."—E. Bourgeois, *History of modern France*, v. 1, pp. 228-232, 234, 237-244.

ALSO IN: G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France*.

1842.—Construction of railways.—Six great companies. See RAILROADS: 1823-1905.

1842.—Treaty with China. See ASIA: 1500-1900.

1842-1848.—Death of the duke of Orleans.—War in Algeria.—Defeat and capture of Abd-el-Kader.—The Spanish marriage.—Elections of 1846.—Revolution of 1848.—"In July, 1842, the Duke of Orleans, an amiable and deservedly beloved prince, was thrown from his carriage and killed, and a child of four years became the heir to the most burdensome of crowns. . . . The Duke of Nemours, the least distinguished of the king's sons, was named regent. The national feeling had been deeply wounded by the events of 1840. M. Guizot sought to compensate for this by various acquisitions in the Pacific. But little success resulted. [See PACIFIC OCEAN: 1800-1914; also MARQUESAS ISLANDS.] In the Society Islands, at Tahiti, an English missionary had excited the natives against the French. He was driven from the island (1844); but his reports made a stir in the English Parliament, and the French cabinet committed the blunder of asking the Chambers to vote an indemnity for a man who had caused the blood of French soldiers to be shed. Other similar concessions increased the public irritation. . . . The recognition of a right of visitation on the part of England, in 1841, for the repression of the slave-trade, excited so intense an opposition, that the Chamber forced the minister to cancel the treaty. For operations in Algeria, the minister had the good sense to choose an able and energetic man, General Bugeaud, who was capable of inspiring the Arabs with both fear and respect. Abd-el-Kader had violated his treaty, preached the Holy War, and, by the rapidity of his movements, spread terror through the province of Oran, and anxiety even to the gates of Algiers. The general pursued him without pausing as far as the western mountains, pacified that difficult region, and drove the enemy back into the desert. Having taken refuge in Morocco, Abd-el-Kader induced its emperor to take up arms in his cause. France replied to these provocations by the bombardment of Tangier and Mogadore, and by the victory of Isly, which General Bugeaud gained against much superior numbers. The Emperor made peace, and after a time, expelled Abd-el-Kader from his dominions. He was at once captured (November, 1847). [See also BARBARY STATES: 1830-1846.] Good relations with England were unwisely disturbed by the marriage of the Duke of Montpensier with the sister of the queen of Spain. The younger branch of the house of Bourbon was eager to inherit the fortune of the elder branch in the Peninsula, and to deprive an English candidate of the reversion of Spain, as though time had not divested princely unions of almost all importance. England manifested great discontent at being out-

witted. The ministry then, alarmed at the isolation in which France was about to be placed, made advances to Austria, and to win her, sacrificed to her Switzerland and Italy. Switzerland was then trying to reform her constitution so as to give more authority to the central power. But M. Guizot combated the Liberal party and favored the Sonderbund (the Separatists, 1847). The Austrians had occupied Ferrara and committed odious deeds of violence at Milan (February, 1848). M. Guizot contented himself with negotiating in favor of the victims. Thus France became the ally of an empire whose policy was then entirely one of oppression. . . . The elections of 1846, carefully prepared and conducted by the administration, gave it a majority. But it was becoming evident that in the *pays légal*, that is, in the small body of electors (220,000), the political sense was being lost, and calculation was taking the place of patriotism; the electors sold their votes to the deputies; the elected, their suffrage to the ministers; and the representative institutions were vitiated at their source. The president of the Council, upheld by a factitious majority, assumed a haughty tone toward the opposition in Parliament. He had, at the time of the elections, made many promises of reforms. The deputies of the left centre and of the dynastic left, directed by M. Thiers and M. Odilon Barrot, challenged him to fulfil his promises. They demanded the revision of certain taxes, the electoral and parliamentary reforms vainly proposed at each session since 1842. The minister rejected these inoffensive claims; the opposition replied by seventy banquets held in the most important cities, at which the grievances of the country were set forth. Paris belonged entirely to the opposition. A journal established by the Conservatives could not support itself. Even in that party itself disaffection showed itself. Several influential members of the majority went over to the opposition, and among the ministry itself several members objected to this extreme policy. But the presiding minister at the opening of the session of 1848 persisted in his irritating course. Exciting debates kept public opinion in a tumult for six weeks. External events, the victory of the Liberals in Switzerland, the movement in Italy, which was striving to escape from the oppression of Austria, reacted upon France. The opposition attempted a final demonstration,—the banquet of the twelfth arrondissement of Paris. The ministry prevented the meeting; immense crowds immediately gathered, and here and there disturbances broke out. On the evening of the 23d of February a Liberal ministry was appointed under the presidency of M. Thiers. But those who had commenced the movement found themselves unable to control it. The direction of the outbreak passed from their hands into those of experienced conspirators and veterans of the barricades, fighting men, who rushed into the crowd of the boulevards. To a shot fired upon the guard of the Foreign Office, the troops answered by a volley which cut down fifty inoffensive bystanders. At the sight of their dead bodies borne through the streets, amid cries of vengeance, the people of the faubourgs flew to arms. Marshal Bugeaud, commanding the army, had already taken proper steps to repress the riot, when, in the night of the 23rd and 24th, he received from the new ministry the order to withdraw his troops to the Tuileries. Rather than obey this senseless order, he resigned his command, and the resistance was paralyzed. The national guard did nothing; the Revolution followed. Abandoned by the Parisian bourgeoisie, Louis Philippe believed himself to be also abandoned by all France. At

noon he abdicated and departed, protected by a few regiments, without being followed or molested [the monarchy of Louis Philippe had lasted for eighteen years]. The Duke of Orleans was dead, the Prince of Joinville and the Duke of Aumale absent. There were left, with the Duke of Nemours, not a popular prince, and the young Duke of Montpensier, a woman and a child, the Duchess of Orleans and the Count of Paris. The duchess presented herself before the Chamber with the Count of Paris, but the insurgents followed her there and caused a provisional government to be proclaimed, composed of M. Dupont (de l'Eure), Arago, Lamartine, Crémieux, Ledru-Rollin and Garnier-Pagès. Thus through the incapacity of the government and the audacity of a party, France had, instead of a reform regularly carried out by the public authorities, a new insurrection which was to arrest work, destroy millions, shed blood, and interrupt the peaceful progress of the country."—V. Duruy, *History of France*, pp. 641-644.—See also EUROPE: Modern: Political revolution of 1848.

ALSO IN: M. Caussidière, *Memoirs*, v. 1.—G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France*.—F. P. Guizot, *France under Louis Philippe*.—R. Mackenzie, *Nineteenth century*, bk. 3.

1842-1914.—Colonial expansion in the Pacific. See PACIFIC OCEAN: 1800-1914.

1843.—Recognition of Hawaiian independence. See HAWAIIAN ISLANDS: Discovery and early history.

1845.—Expulsion of Jesuits. See JESUITS: 1769-1871.

1845-1847.—Government construction of telegraph lines. See TELEGRAPHS AND TELEPHONES: 1845-1847.

1848.—Review of suffrage movement.—Inauguration of universal manhood suffrage.—Woman as man's equal. See SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: France: 1302-1848; RAMBOUILLET, HÔTEL DE.

1848 (February-May).—Three months of provisional government.—Extraordinary measures.—Absolutism.—Creation of the Ateliers Nationaux.—Consequences.—On the morning of February 24th—the morning of the king's flight—M. de Lamartine, entering the Palais Bourbon, where the Chamber of Deputies held its meetings, found in the vestibule seven or eight persons waiting for him. "Who they were we are not told—or what they were, except that they belonged to the newspaper press. Even the names of the papers with which they were connected are not expressly stated—though the 'National' and 'Réforme' are indicated. They demanded a secret conference. Lamartine took them into a distant apartment." There they "proposed to him to substitute for Louis-Philippe the Comte de Paris as king, and the Duchess of Orleans as regent, and to place him [Lamartine] over them as minister." "Lamartine does not appear to have been surprised at the proposal. He does not appear to have doubted the power of seven or eight journalists to dethrone a king, create a regent, and appoint a minister! And he was right. The 'National' and the 'Réforme,' whose representatives stood before him, did more than all this, a couple of hours after. . . . He objected to their scheme that such an arrangement would not last, and declared himself in favour of a republic, based on universal suffrage; . . . they expressed their conviction, and separated, agreed, apparently, on the course of action to be pursued." A few hours later, the Chamber was invaded by a body of rioters, fresh from the sack of the Tuileries. The Duchess of Orleans, who had presented herself at the Chamber with her two children, fled before them. "M.

Sauzet, the President, disappeared. Lamartine [who was speaking] remained in the tribune, and desired Dupont de l'Eure to take the vacant chair." Thereupon a Provisional Government was appointed, in some fashion not clearly detailed. It underwent certain changes, by unexplained additions, within the following day or two, but "in the 'Moniteur' of February 27 (the third day of the existence of the Provisional Government), its members are arranged thus:—MM. Arago, Dupont de l'Eure, Albert (ouvrier), F. Marrast, F. Flocon, Lamartine, Marie, L. Blanc, Crémieux, Ledru Rollin, Garnier Pagès. . . . Within two days after its formation it was on the brink of ruin under an attack from the Terrorists [or Red Republicans, who assumed the red flag as their standard]. . . . The contest had left the members of the government in a state of mind which M. de Lamartine thinks peculiarly favourable to wise legislation. . . . 'Every member of the Council sought [he says], in the depths of his heart and of his intellect, for some great reform, some great legislative, political, or moral improvement. Some proposed the instantaneous abolition of negro slavery. Others, the abolition of the restrictions imposed by the laws of September upon the press. Some, the proclamation of fraternity among nations, in order to abolish war by abolishing conquest. Some, the abolition of the qualification of electors. And all, the principles of mutual charity among all classes of citizens. As quickly as these great democratic truths, rather felt than discussed, were converted into decrees, they were printed in a press set up at the door of the council-room, thrown from the windows to the crowd, and despatched by couriers through the departments.' . . . The important decrees, which actually bear date February 25 or 26, and which may therefore be referred to this evening of instinct, inspiration, and enthusiasm, are these:—The 18th, which sets at liberty all persons detained on political grounds. The 19th, by which the government—1, Engages to secure the existence of the operative (ouvrier) by employment; 2, Engages to secure employment (garantir du travail) to all citizens; 3, Admits that operatives ought to combine in order to enjoy the fruits of their labour; 4, And promises to return to the operatives, whose property it is, the million which will fall in from the civil list. The 22nd, which dissolves the Municipal Guards. The 26th, which declares that the actual government of France is republican, and that the nation will immediately be called on to ratify by its votes this resolution of the government and of the people of Paris. The 29th, which declares that Royalty, under any name whatever, . . . is abolished. . . . And the 30th, which directs the immediate establishment of national workshops (ateliers nationaux). We confess that we agree with Lamartine in thinking that they bear the stamp of instinct much more than that of reason. . . . The declaration that the actual government of France was republican . . . was palpably untrue. The actual government of France at that time was as far removed from republicanism as it was possible for a government to be. It was a many-headed Dictatorship—a despotic oligarchy. Eleven men—some appointed in the offices of a newspaper, and the others by a mob which had broken into the Chamber of Deputies—ruled France, during three months, with an absoluteness of which there is no other example in history. . . . They dissolved the Chamber of Deputies; they forbade the peers to meet; they added 200,000 men to the regular army, and raised a new metropolitan army of 20,000 more at double the ordinary pay; to meet this

expense they added 35 centimes to the direct taxes; they restricted the Bank from cash payments; they made its paper a legal tender, and then required it to lend them fifty millions; . . . they altered the hours of labour throughout France, and subjected to heavy fines any master who should allow his operatives to remain at work for the accustomed period . . . The necessary consequence of the 19th decree, promising employment to all applicants, was the creation of the ateliers nationaux by the 30th. These workshops were immediately opened in the outskirts of Paris. A person who wished to take advantage of the offers of the Government took from the person with whom he lodged a certificate that he was an inhabitant of the Département de la Seine. This certificate he carried to the mairie of his arrondissement, and obtained an order of admission to an atelier. If he was received and employed there, he obtained an order on his mairie for forty sous. If he was not received, after having applied at all of them, and found them all full, he received an order for thirty sous. Thirty sous is not high pay; but it was to be had for doing nothing; and hopes of advancement were held out. Every body of eleven persons formed an escouade; and their head, the escouadier, elected by his companions, got half a franc a day extra. Five escouades formed a brigade; and the brigadier, also elected by his subordinates, received three francs a day. Above these again were the lieutenants, the chefs de compagnie, the chefs de service, and the chefs d'arrondissement, appointed by the Government, and receiving progressively higher salaries. Besides this, bread was distributed to their families in proportion to the number of children. The hours supposed to be employed in labour were nine and a half. . . . To suppose that such an army . . . could be regularly organised, fed, and paid, for months in idleness, and then quietly disbanded, was a folly of which the Provisional Government was not long guilty. They soon saw that the monster which they had created could not be subdued, if it could be subdued at all, by any means short of civil war. . . . 'A thunder-cloud (says M. de Lamartine) was always before our eyes. It was formed by the ateliers nationaux. This army of 120,000 work-people, the great part of whom were idlers and agitators, was the deposit of the misery, the laziness, the vagrancy, the vice, and the sedition which the flood of the revolution had cast up and left on its shores.' . . . As they were managed, the ateliers nationaux, it is now admitted, produced or aggravated the very evils which they professed to cure or to palliate. They produced or continued the stagnation of business which they were to remedy; and, when they became absolutely intolerable, the attempt to put an end to them occasioned the civil war which they were to prevent."—N. W. Senior, *Journals kept in France and Italy, 1848-1852*, v. 1, pp. 14-50.—"The National Workshops . . . were a source of ultimate disappointment to those who had looked to them to solve the complex labor problems of the modern industrial system. Conceded by the Provisional Government against its will, and to gain time, that Government did not intend that they should succeed. Their creation was intrusted to the Minister of Commerce, Marie, a personal enemy of Louis Blanc, who [Marie], according to his own admission, was willing to make this experiment in order to render the latter unpopular and to show workmen the fallacy of his theories of production, and the dangers of such theories for themselves. The scheme was represented as Louis Blanc's though it was denounced

by him, was established especially to discredit him, and was a veritable travesty of his ideas. Blanc wished to have every man practice his own trade in real factories, started by state aid. They should be engaged in productive enterprises; moreover, only men of good character should be permitted to join these associations. Instead of this, the Government simply set men of the most varied sorts—cobblers, carpenters, metal workers, masons, to labor upon unproductive tasks, such as making excavations for public works. They were organized in a military fashion, and the wages were uniform, two francs a day. It was properly no system of production that was being tried, but a system of relief for the unemployed, who were very numerous owing to the fact that many factories had had to close because of the generally disturbed state of affairs. The number of men flocking to these National Workshops increased alarmingly: 25,000 in the middle of March; 66,000 in the middle of April; over 100,000 in May. As there was not work enough for all, the number of working days was reduced for each man to two a week, and his total wage for a week fixed at eight francs.”—C. D. Hazen, *Modern Europe*, p. 409.

ALSO IN: L. Blanc, *Historical revelations*, 1848.—G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France*.—A. D. Lamartine, *History of the revolution of 1848*.—Marquis of Normandy, *A year of revolution*, v. 1.—J. P. Simpson, *Pictures from revolutionary Paris*.

1848 (April-December).—Constituent national assembly and the constitution of the second republic.—Insurrection of the workmen of the Ateliers Nationaux.—Dictatorship of Cavaignac.—Appearance of Louis Napoleon.—Election to the presidency of the republic.—The election by universal suffrage of a constituent national assembly, twice deferred on account of fears of popular turbulence, took place on the 23d of April, and resulted in the return of a very Conservative majority, largely composed of Napoleonists, Legitimists and Orleanists. The meeting of the assembly was opened on May 7th. “The moderates were anxious to invest M. de Lamartine with a dictatorial authority,” which he declined. “Eventually an executive commission of five was appointed. . . . The commission consisted of Arago, Garnier Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru Rollin. . . . This conciliatory executive commission was elected by the Assembly on the 10th of May. On the 15th, the ‘conciliated’ mob broke into the chamber, insulted the deputies, turned them out, proclaimed a provisional government, and then marched to the Hôtel de Ville, where they were installed with due revolutionary solemnity;” but the National Guard rallied to the support of the government, and the insurrection was promptly suppressed. “Eleven vacancies in the Assembly had to be filled in the department of the Seine, on account of double returns. These elections produced fresh uneasiness in Paris. Eighth on the list stood Louis Napoleon Bonaparte; and among the names mentioned as candidates was that of Prince de Joinville, the most popular of the Orleans princes. The executive commission appears to have been more afraid of the latter than of the former; and to prevent the disagreeable circumstance of France returning him to the Assembly as one of her representatives, they thought themselves justified in declaring the whole Orleans family incapable of serving France in any capacity. . . . Louis Napoleon, on the first proclamation of the Republic, had at once offered his services; but was by the Provisional Government

requested to withdraw, as his great name might trouble the republic. . . . Two Bonapartes had been elected members for Corsica, and three sat in the Assembly; but, as the next heir of the Emperor, Louis Napoleon caused them much uneasiness. . . . Already mobs had gone about the Boulevard crying ‘Vive l’Empereur.’ The name of Bonaparte was not unpopular with the bourgeoisie; it was a guarantee of united and strong government to all. On his election, Louis Napoleon wrote to the President of the Assembly: a phrase in his letter gave considerable offence. Some days before, Lamartine had proposed his exclusion from the Assembly and the country; but, as it appeared he was in no way implicated in the seditious cries, they voted his admission by a large majority. The phrase which gave umbrage was: ‘If the country imposes duties upon me, I shall know how to fulfil them.’ . . . However, by a subsequent letter, dated the 15th, he restored confidence, by saying he would resign rather than be a cause of tumult. But the real difficulties of the government arose from a different cause. The National Assembly bore with impatience the expense of the Ateliers Nationaux: it was enough to submit to the factious spirit of those bodies; but it was too much to pay them for keeping on foot an organized insurrection, ever ready to break out and deluge the capital in blood. The executive commission had been desirous of finding means gradually to lessen the numbers receiving wages; and on the 12th of May, it was resolved to close the lists. The commission foresaw that if the Ateliers were at once abolished, it would produce a rebellion in Paris; and they hoped, first, by preventing any more being inscribed, and then by setting them to task-work, that they should gradually get the numbers reduced. . . . But the Assembly would not wait; they ordered all the workmen between 18 and 25 years old, and unmarried, to be drafted into the army, or to be discharged; and they were breaking them up so rapidly, that if the workmen wanted to fight it was evident that it must be done at once or not at all. . . . General Cavaignac, who had been sent for from Africa, was on his arrival in Paris named Minister at War, and had command of the troops. . . . Preparations for the conflict commenced on Thursday the 22nd of June; but it was noon of the following day ere the first shot was fired. It is said, that had the executive commission known what they were about, the heads of the insurrection might have been all arrested in the meantime, for they were walking about all day, and at one time met in the Jardin des Plantes. The fighting on the 23d continued all day, with much slaughter, and little practical result. . . . The extent of the insurgent lines swallowed up the troops, so that, though great numbers were in Paris, there appeared to be a deficiency of them, and loud complaints were made against the inefficiency of the executive commission. During the night the fighting ceased, and both parties were occupied in strengthening their positions. The Assembly was sitting in permanence; they were highly incensed against the executive commission, and wished them to send in their resignations; but the latter refused, saying it was cowardly to do so in the face of insurrection. The Assembly then formally deposed the commission, and appointed Cavaignac dictator; to which arrangement the executive commission at once assented. The General instantly ordered the National Guards to prevent assemblages in the streets, and that no one should go out without a pass: any one going about, out of uniform, without permission, was walked home.

In this manner many persons carrying ammunition to the insurgents were arrested. At noon, he sent a flag of truce with a proclamation, offering an amnesty to the rebels, at the suggestion of the ex-prefect Caussidière; but it was unhesitatingly rejected. This latter personage, though he was not among the barricades, was by many thought to be the head of the insurrection. The troops of the insurgents were managed with great military skill, showing that persons of military knowledge must have had the command; though no one knew who were their leaders. . . . During the early part of the day, the fighting was mainly on the southern side of the river. The church of St. Gervais and the bridges were carried with great slaughter, as well as the church of St. Severin, and their great head-quarters the Pantéon; and by four o'clock, the troops had conquered the whole of the south bank of the Seine. On the other side, a hot engagement was going on in the Faubourgs Poissonnière and St. Denis; these were carried with great loss at a late hour, whence the insurrection was forced back to its great stronghold, the Clos St. Lazare; which defied every effort of General Lamoricière to take it on Saturday. An unfinished hospital served as a citadel, and several churches and public buildings as out-posts; while the old city wall, which they had loop-holed, enabled them to fire on the troops in comparative security; but the buildings were breached with cannon, and the insurgents by four o'clock on Sunday were dispersed. . . . A desperate struggle was going on at a late hour in the Faubourg du Temple; and on the Monday morning the insurgents made a stand behind the Canal St. Martin, where they sent to treat on condition of retaining their arms. But Cavaignac would hear of no terms. It was thought, at one time, that they had surrendered; when some soldiers, going within the lines, were surprised and murdered. Hostilities at once began again, and the insurgents were finally subdued by one o'clock on Monday the 26th. The victory was dearly bought: 8,000 were ascertained to have been killed or wounded; and, as many bodies were thrown into the Seine unrecognised, this is much under the number. Nearly 14,000 prisoners were taken, and 3,000 of these died of gaol fever. . . . The excellent Archbishop of Paris, Denis Auguste Affre, fell a sacrifice to his Christian benevolence. Horrified at the slaughter, he, attended by two of his vicars carrying the olive-branch of peace, passed between the combatants. The firing ceased at his appearance; but, from the discharge of a single musket, it began again: he, nevertheless, mounted the barricade and descended into the midst of the insurgents, and was in the act of addressing them, when some patriot, fearing the effect of his exhortations, shot him from a window. . . . General Cavaignac, immediately after the pacification of Paris, laid down the temporary dictatorship with which he had been invested by the Assembly; but their gratitude for the salvation of society led them to appoint him President of the Council, with the power to name his own Ministry. He at once sent adrift all the red republican party, and chose a Ministry from among the moderate class of republicans; to which he afterwards added some members of the old opposition. . . . Prince Louis Napoleon was again thrust upon the Assembly, by being elected for Corsica; but he wrote a letter on the 8th of July, saying, that though he did not renounce the honour of one day sitting as a representative of the people, he would wait till the time when his return to France could not in any way serve as a pretext to the enemies of the republic. . . . On Tuesday, the 26th of September,

shortly after the president had taken his seat, Louis Napoleon appeared quietly in the chamber, and placed himself on one of the back benches. . . . The discussion of the constitution, which had been referred to a committee, was the only subject of interest, except the important question of how the president should be elected. It was proposed by some that the assembly itself should elect a president, a proposition which was eventually negated by a large majority. The real object was to exclude Louis Napoleon, whose great name gave him every chance of success, if an appeal were made to the universal suffrage of the nation, which the republicans distrusted. Another amendment was moved to exclude all pretenders to the throne; on which, allusion being made to Louis Napoleon, he mounted the rostrum, and denied that he was a pretender. . . . The red republicans were desirous of having no president, and that the constituent assembly itself should name the ministers. It was not the only constitutional point in dispute: for weeks and months the debate on the constitution dragged its weary length along; amendments were discussed, and the work when turned out was, as might have been expected, a botch after all. . . . It was eventually agreed, that to give validity to the election of a president it should be necessary that he should have more than a half of all the votes given; that is to say, more votes than all the other candidates put together; if not, the assembly was to choose between the highest candidate on the list and his competitors, by which means they hoped to be able to get rid of Bonaparte. . . . The constitution was proclaimed on the 10th of November. . . . The legitimist and Orleanist parties refused to start a candidate for fear of weakening Bonaparte, and thus throwing the choice into the hands of the assembly, who would choose General Cavaignac. Both these parties gave the former at least a negative support; and as M. Thiers declared that nine-tenths of the country were opposed to the General as too revolutionary, it was clear that in the country itself reaction was going on faster than in the assembly. . . . Louis Napoleon's chief support was from the inhabitants of the country districts, the peasantry. . . . On the 10th of December, 5,534,520 votes were recorded for Louis Napoleon. General Cavaignac had 1,448,302. Then came Ledru Rollin; then Raspail. Lamartine got 17,914; 23,210 were disallowed, as being given for some of the banished royal family. The total number of voters was 7,440,471."—E. S. Caley, *European revolution of 1848*, v. 1, ch. 4-5.—See also EUROPE: Modern: Political revolution of 1848.

ALSO IN: J. F. Corkran, *History of the constituent national assembly from May, 1848*.—Marquis of Normandy, *Year of revolution*, v. 2, ch. 13-15.—H. C. Lockwood, *Constitutional history of France*, ch. 5, and app. 8.

1848-1875.—Final victory of principal of universal suffrage. See SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: France: 1848-1875.

1849.—Intervention at Rome, to crush the revolutionary republic and restore the pope.—French capture and occupation of the city. See ITALY: 1848-1849; ROME: Modern city: 1849.

1849-1850.—Disagreement with England in Greece.—Don Pacifico affair. See GREECE: 1846-1850.

1849-1851.—Monarchical assembly elected.—Repressive measures.—Franchise law of 1850.—Napoleon's conflict with the assembly.—Prelude to the coup d'état.—"The French had thus selected a Prince as President, an innovation in the

art of government. In the following May [1849] they did an equally astonishing thing in the election of a Legislative Assembly. This Assembly of 750 members contained about 500 Monarchists, who were divided into Legitimists, Orleanists, and a few Bonapartists; about 70 moderate Republicans of the kind that had thus far controlled the Republic, and about 180 Socialists. Thus the first legislature elected under the new Constitution of the Republic was overwhelmingly monarchical. Only 70 could be held to be sincerely attached to the present form of government. The explanation of this remarkable result lies in the fact that the Days of June were still very vivid in men's minds. The mass of Frenchmen voted for monarchical candidates because they believed that the Republic was dangerous to order and property. Thus both the President and the majority of the Assembly were, by reason of their very being, enemies of the Constitution under which they were elected. The situation was one that could not permanently endure. The three years that elapsed between the inauguration of the President and the coup d'état of 1851, which virtually ushered in the Empire, though it was not formally proclaimed until a year later, were a period not of legislative and social reform, but of adroit and tortuous factional politics, played not for the advancement of France, but for the advantage of party. . . . At first the President and the monarchical majority cooperated against the republican party, which each felt to be the real enemy. Opportunities for doing this were not slow in presenting themselves. Some of the Republicans unwisely attempted an insurrection against the Government, June 13, 1849. This was easily put down. Following up their victory, the authorities proceeded to cripple the Opposition severely. Thirty-three of their representatives were arrested and deprived of their seats in the Legislative Assembly. Their journals were suppressed. Public meetings were forbidden for a year, an order renewed several times later. As school-teachers had been effective friends of the Republic all over France, education was largely reorganized with a view of bringing it more closely under the control of the clergy, friends of monarchy. Paris was declared under martial law, which gave greater actual power than ever to the President. This removal of the republican leaders rendered easy the passage of further repressive legislation. The Assembly next enacted the Franchise Law of 1850. This provided that to be a voter one must have resided in a given commune for three years, and that that fact must be proved by the presence of one's name on the tax list. This law virtually abolished universal suffrage and re-established in a roundabout way a property qualification. It deprived over three million workmen, one-third of the electorate, of the suffrage, either because they paid no taxes or because to get work they had frequently to change their residence and could not, therefore, meet the three-year residence qualification. Those thus disfranchised, of course, bitterly hated the Assembly. [See also SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: France: 1848-1875.] Another law was then passed restricting the freedom of the press by re-establishing the requirement of a preliminary deposit of 50,000 francs from all editors. This stamped out of existence most of the cheap newspapers of the Republicans and Socialists, as they could not meet the qualification. Having silenced the Republicans, the victors, President and Assembly, fell to warring with each other. This conflict, showing itself in many minor matters, became most pronounced and bitter over the question of a revision of the Constitution. The Con-

stitution forbade the re-election of the President at the end of his four-year term. Louis Napoleon had no desire to retire to private life. He believed that if only this article were stricken out the immense majority of Frenchmen would re-elect him. He demanded that this clause be revised by the Assembly. The Assembly refused. The President was balked in his ambition of continuing in power by peaceful means. He now showed that he was ready to resort to any means to that end. He planned and carried out with extraordinary precision and success a remarkable coup d'état. In order to discredit the Assembly with the people, he demanded that the law limiting the suffrage, which he himself had strongly urged, be repealed. This was refused, the Assembly not wishing to stultify itself so conspicuously. The President, with audacious duplicity, then posed as the guardian of the Constitution, as the representative of the principle of universal suffrage. He believed that the workmen would not intervene in behalf of the Assembly if he should attack it."—C. D. Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 201-203.

ALSO IN: G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France*.

1850.—Garrison of Rome. See ROME: Modern city: 1850-1870.

1850.—Turkish demands in behalf of Latin monks in Jerusalem. See JERUSALEM: 16th-20th centuries.

1851.—Plot of the coup d'état.—"In the beginning of the winter of 1851 France was still a republic; but the Constitution of 1848 had struck no root. There was a feeling that the country had been surprised and coerced into the act of declaring itself a republic, and that a monarchical system of government was the only one adapted for France. The sense of instability which sprang from this belief was connected with an agonising dread of insurrections. . . . Moreover, to those who watched and feared, it seemed that the shadow on the dial was moving on with a terrible steadiness to the hour when a return to anarchy was, as it were, pre-ordained by law; for the Constitution required that a new president should be chosen in the spring of the following year. . . . In general, France thought it best that, notwithstanding the Rule of the Constitution, which stood in the way, the then President should be quietly re-elected; and a large majority of the Assembly, faithfully representing this opinion, had come to a vote which sought to give it effect; but their desire was baffled by an unwise provision of the Republican Charter which had laid it down that no constitutional change should take place without the sanction of three-fourths of the Assembly. By this clumsy bar the action of the State system was hampered, and many whose minds generally inclined them to respect legality were forced to acknowledge that the Constitution wanted a wrench." The President of the republic, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, "had always wished to bring about a change in the Constitution, but, originally, he had hoped to be able to do this with the aid and approval of some at least of the statesmen and eminent generals of the country." But, "although there were numbers in France who would have been heartily glad to see the Republic crushed by some able dictator, there were hardly any public men who believed that in the President of the Republic they would find the man they wanted. Therefore his overtures to the gentlemen of France were always rejected. Every statesman to whom he applied refused to entertain his proposals. Every general whom he urged always said that for whatever he did he must have 'an

order from the Minister of War.' The President being thus rebuffed, his plan of changing the form of government with the assent of some of the leading statesmen and generals of the country degenerated into schemes of a very different kind; and at length he fell into the hands of persons of the quality of Persigny, Morny, and Fleury. . . . The President had been a promoter of the law of the 31st of May, restricting the franchise, but he now became the champion of universal suffrage. To minds versed in politics this change might have sufficed to disclose the nature of the schemes upon which the Chief of the State was brooding; but, from first to last, words tending to allay suspicion had been used with great industry and skill. From the moment of his coming before the public in February 1848, the Prince laid hold of almost every occasion he could find for vowing, again and again, that he harbored no schemes against the Constitution. . . . It was natural that in looking at the operation which changed the Republic into an Empire, the attention of the observer should be concentrated upon the person who, already the Chief of the State, was about to attain to the throne; and there seems to be no doubt that what may be called the literary part of the transaction was performed by the President in person. He was the lawyer of the confederacy. He no doubt wrote the Proclamations, the Plebiscites, and the Constitutions, and all such like things; but it seems that the propelling power which brought the plot to bear was mainly supplied by Count de Morny, and by a resolute Major, named Fleury. M. Morny was a man of great daring, and gifted with more than common powers of fascination. He had been a member of the Chamber of Deputies in the time of the monarchy; but he was rather known to the world as a speculator than as a politician. He was a buyer and seller of those fractional and volatile interests in trading adventures, which go by the name of 'Shares.' . . . He knew how to found a 'company,' and he now undertook to establish institutions which were destined to be more lucrative to him than any of his former adventures. . . . It seems, however, that the man who was the most able to make the President act, to drive him deep into his own plot, and fiercely carry him through it, was Major Fleury. . . . He was daring and resolute, and his daring was of the kind which holds good in the moment of danger. If Prince Louis Bonaparte was bold and ingenious in designing, Fleury was the man to execute. . . . The language held by the generals who declared that they would act under the authority of the Minister of War and not without it, suggested the contrivance which was resorted to. Fleury determined to find a military man capable of command, capable of secrecy, and capable of a great venture. The person chosen was to be properly sounded, and if he seemed willing, was to be admitted into the plot. He was then to be made Minister of War, in order that through him the whole of the land forces should be at the disposal of the plotters. Fleury went to Algeria to find the instrument required, and he so well performed his task that he hit upon a general officer who was christened, it seems, Jacques Arnaud Le Roy, but was known at this time as Achille St. Arnaud. . . . He readily entered into the plot. From the moment that Prince Louis Bonaparte and his associates had entrusted their secret to the man of Fleury's selection, it was perhaps hardly possible for them to flinch, for the exigencies of St. Arnaud, formerly Le Roy, were not likely to be on so modest a scale as to consist with the finan-

cial arrangements of a Republic governed by law, and the discontent of a person of his quality with a secret like that in his charge would plainly bring the rest of the brethren into danger. He was made Minister of War. This was on the 27th of October. At the same time M. Maupas or de Maupas was brought into the Ministry. . . . Persigny, properly Fialin, was in the plot. He was descended on one side of an ancient family, and disliking his father's name he seems to have called himself for many years after the name of his maternal grandfather. . . . It was necessary to take measures for paralyzing the National Guard, but the force was under the command of General Perrot, a man whose honesty could not be tampered with. To dismiss him suddenly would be to excite suspicion. The following expedient was adopted: the President appointed as Chief of the Staff of the National Guard, a person named Vieyra. The past life and the then repute of this person were of such a kind, that General Perrot, it seems, conceived himself insulted by the nomination, and instantly resigned. That was what the brethren of the Elysée wanted. On Sunday, the 30th, General Lawastine was appointed to the command. . . . His function was—not to lead the force of which he took the command but—to prevent it from acting. . . . Care had been taken to bring into Paris and its neighborhood the regiments most likely to serve the purpose of the Elysée, and to give the command to generals who might be expected to act without scruples. The forces in Paris and its neighborhood were under the orders of General Magnan. . . . From time to time the common soldiery were gratified with presents of food and wine, as well as with an abundance of flattering words, and their exasperation against civilians was so well kept alive that men used to African warfare were brought into the humor for calling the Parisians 'Bedouins.' There was massacre in the very sound. The army of Paris was in the temper required. It was necessary for the plotters to have the concurrence of M. St. Georges, the director of the state printing-office. M. St. Georges was suborned. Then all was ready. On the Monday night between the 1st and 2d of December, the President had his usual assembly at the Elysée. Ministers who were loyally ignorant of what was going on were mingled with those who were in the plot. . . . At the usual hour the assembly began to disperse, and by eleven o'clock there were only three guests who remained. These were Morny (who had previously taken care to show himself at one of the theatres), Maupas, and St. Arnaud, formerly Le Roy. There was, besides, an orderly officer of the President, called Colonel Beville, who was initiated in the secret. . . . They were to strike the blow that night. . . . By and by they were apprised that an order which had been given for the movement of a battalion of gendarmerie, had duly taken effect without exciting remark. . . . The President entrusted a packet of manuscripts to Colonel Beville, and despatched him to the state printing-office. It was in the streets which surround this building that the battalion of gendarmerie had been collected. When Paris was hushed in sleep, the battalion came quietly out, and folded round the state printing-office. From that moment until their work was done the printers were all close captives, for no one of them was suffered to go out. . . . It is said that there was something like resistance, but in the end, if not at first, the printers obeyed. Each compositor stood whilst he worked between two policemen, and, the manuscript being cut into many pieces, no

one could make out the sense of what he was printing. By these proclamations the President asserted that the Assembly was a hot-bed of plots; declared it dissolved; pronounced for universal suffrage; proposed a new constitution; vowed anew that his duty was to maintain the Republic; and placed Paris and the twelve surrounding departments under martial law. In one of the proclamations he appealed to the army, and strove to whet its enmity against civilians, by reminding it of the defeats inflicted upon the troops in 1830 and 1848. The President wrote letters dismissing the members of the Government who were not in the plot; but he did not cause these letters to be delivered until the following morning. He also signed a paper appointing Morny to the Home Office. . . . The order from the Minister of War was probably signed by half-past two in the morning, for at three it was in the hands of Magnan. At the same hour Maupas (assigning for pretext the expected arrival of foreign refugees), caused a number of Commissaries to be summoned in all haste to the Prefecture of Police. At half-past three in the morning these men were in attendance. . . . It was then that, for the first time, the main secret of the confederates passed into the hands of a number of subordinate agents. During some hours of that night every one of those humble Commissaries had the destinies of France in his hands; for he might either obey the Minister, and so place his country in the power of the Elysée, or he might obey the law, denounce the plot, and bring its contrivers to trial. Maupas gave orders for the seizure at the same minute of the foremost Generals of France, and several of her leading Statesmen. Parties of the police, each under the orders of a Commissary, were to be at the doors of the persons to be arrested some time beforehand, but the seizures were not to take place until a quarter past six. . . . At the appointed minute, and whilst it was still dark, the designated houses were entered. The most famous generals of France were seized. General Changarnier, General Bedeau, General Lamoricière, General Cavaignac, and General Leflô were taken from their beds, and carried away through the sleeping city and thrown into prison. In the same minute the like was done with some of the chief members and officers of the Assembly, and amongst others with Thiers, Miot, Baze, Colonel Charras, Roger du Nord, and several of the democratic leaders. Some men believed to be the chiefs of secret societies were also seized. The general object of these night arrests was that, when morning broke, the army should be without generals inclined to observe the law, that the Assembly should be without the machinery for convoking it, and that all the political parties in the State should be paralyzed by the disappearance of their chiefs. The number of men thus seized in the dark was seventy-eight. Eighteen of these were members of the Assembly. Whilst it was still dark, Morny, escorted by a body of infantry, took possession of the Home Office, and prepared to touch the springs of that wondrous machinery by which a clerk can dictate to a nation. Already he began to tell 40,000 communes of the enthusiasm with which the sleeping city had received the announcement of measures not hitherto disclosed. When the light of the morning dawned, people saw the Proclamations on the walls, and slowly came to hear that numbers of the foremost men of France had been seized in the night-time, and that every General to whom the friends of law and order could look for help was lying in one or other of the prisons. The newspapers, to which a man

might run in order to know truly what others thought and intended, were all seized and stopped. The gates of the Assembly were closed and guarded, but the Deputies, who began to flock thither, found means to enter by passing through one of the official residences which formed part of the building. They had assembled in the Chamber in large numbers, and some of them having caught Dupin, their reluctant President, were forcing him to come and take the chair, when a body of infantry burst in and drove them out, striking some of them with the butt-ends of their muskets. . . . Driven from their Chamber, the Deputies assembled at the Mayoralty of the 10th arrondissement. There, upon the motion of the illustrious Berryer, they resolved that the act of Louis Bonaparte was a forfeiture of the Presidency, and they directed the judges of the Supreme Court to meet and proceed to the judgment of the President and his accomplices. These resolutions had just been voted, when a battalion of the Chasseurs de Vincennes entered the courtyard. . . . An aide-de-camp of General Magnan came with a written order directing the officer in command of the battalion to clear the hall, to do this if necessary by force, and to carry off to the prison of Mazas any Deputies offering resistance. . . . The number of Deputies present at this moment was 220. The whole Assembly declared that they resisted, and would yield to nothing short of force. . . . They were carried off, some to the Fort of Mount Valerian, some to the fortress of Vincennes, and some to the prison of Mazas. . . . By the laws of the Republic, the duty of taking cognizance of offences against the Constitution was cast upon the Supreme Court. The Court was sitting, when an armed force entered the hall, and the judges were driven from the bench, but not until they had made a judicial order for the impeachment of the President."—A. W. Kinglake, *Invasion of the Crimea*, v. 1, ch. 14.

ALSO IN: G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France*.—E. Ténot, *Paris in December, 1851*, ch. 1-4.—V. Hugo, *Napoleon the Little*.—M. de Maupas, *Story of the coup d'état*.—B. Jerrold, *Life of Napoleon III*, v. 3, bk. 8.

1851.—Triumph of the coup d'état.—Destruction of the second republic.—"The second part of the Coup d'Etat, which drenched the boulevards with innocent blood, has cast a shade of horror over the whole transaction that time has been unable to efface. Paris is never so reduced in a crisis, whether the cause be just or unjust, that she is bereft of hands to erect and defend barricades in her streets. In the Faubourg St. Antoine an incipient rising on the 2d [of December] was suppressed immediately by the troops. The volcanic district from the Hôtel de Ville northward to the boulevards also showed signs of uneasiness, and throughout the morning of the 3d the military were busy pulling down partially completed barricades and dispersing small bodies of insurgents. There seems to be little question that the army was embittered against the populace. If this were so, the proclamation circulated by the president through the ranks on the 2d was not calculated to appease it. He styled the soldiers as the 'flower of the nation.' He pointed out to them that his interests and theirs were the same, and that they had suffered together in the past from the course of the Assembly. He reminded them of the years 1830 and 1848, when the army had fought the people in the streets of Paris, and concluded by an allusion to the military grandeur of the Bonapartes. During the afternoon of the 3d and morning of the 4th the troops remained

inactive, pending orders from the minister of war, and in this interval several strong barricades were erected in the restless quarters. On the afternoon of the 4th the boulevards, from the Madeleine to the Rue du Sentier, were occupied by a great body of troops awaiting orders to move east through the Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle upon the barricaded district. The soldiers stood at ease, and the officers lounged about, smoking their cigars. The sidewalks, windows, and balconies were crowded with men, women, and children, thoughtless on-lookers of the great military display. Suddenly a single shot was heard. It was fired from a window near the Rue du Sentier. The troops at the head of the column faced sharply to the south, and commenced a deliberate fusillade upon the crowded walks and balconies. The battalions farther west caught the murderous contagion, until the line of fire extended into the Boulevard des Italiens. In a few moments the beautiful boulevards were converted into a bloody pandemonium. The sidewalks were strewn with corpses and stained with blood. The air was rent with shrieks and groans and the breaking of glass, while the steady, incessant rattling of the musketry was intensified by an occasional cannon-shot, that brought down with a crash the masonry from some fine façade. This continued for nearly twenty minutes, when a lack of people to kill seems to have restrained the mad volleys of the troops. If any attempt was made by officers to check their men, it was wholly unavailing, and in some cases miserable fugitives were followed into buildings and massacred. Later in the day the barricades were attacked, and their defenders easily overcome. By nightfall insurgent Paris was thoroughly cowed. These allegations, though conflicting with sworn statements of Republicans and Imperialists, can hardly be refuted. The efforts of the Napoleonic faction to portray the thoughtless crowd of the boulevards as desperate and bloody-minded rebels have never been successful, while the opposition so brilliantly represented by the author of 'Histoire d'un Crime' have been too fierce and immoderate in their accusations to win public credence. The questions as to who fired the first shot, and whether it was fired as a signal for, or a menace against the military, are points on which Frenchmen of different political parties still debate. It is charitable to accept M. Hugo's insinuation that the soldiery were drunk with the president's wine, even though the fact implies a low state of discipline in the service. To what extent was the president responsible for the boulevard horror? M. Victor Hugo and M. de Maupas do not agree upon this point, and it seems useless to discuss it. Certain facts are indisputable. We know the army bore small love toward the Parisians, and we know it was in the streets by order of the president. We know that the latter was in bad company, and playing a dangerous game. We may discard M. Victor Hugo's statement as to the orders issued by the president from the Elysée on the fatal day, but we cannot disguise the fact that the boulevard horror subdued Paris, and crowned his cause with success. In other words, Louis Napoleon was the gainer by the slaughter of unoffending men, women, and children, and in after-years, when referring to the 4th of December, he found it for his interest to distort facts, and make figures lie. . . . Louis Napoleon had expressly stated in the proclamation that astonished Paris on the 2d that he made the people judge between him and the Assembly. The citizens of France were called upon to vote on the 20th and 21st of December 'Yes' or 'No' to the

question as to whether the president should be sustained in the measures he had taken, should be empowered to draw up a new constitution, and should retain the presidential chair for a period of ten years."—H. Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe*, ch. 2.

ALSO IN: V. Hugo, *History of a crime*.—E. Ténot, *Paris in December, 1851*, ch. 5-6.—M. de Maupas, *Story of the coup d'état*, v. 2, ch. 18-24.—Count H. de Viel Castel, *Memoirs*, v. 1, ch. 4.

1851-1852.—Transportation and exile of republicans.—Dictator's constitution for France.—Rapid progress of despotism.—Second empire ordained.—Elevation of Napoleon III to the throne.—The struggle was over: terror of the victors followed. Thirty-two departments were in a stage of siege. More than 100,000 citizens were languishing in prison. Trial followed trial in rapid succession, the cases being classed under three heads: 1st, persons found armed, or against whom serious charges existed; 2d, persons charged with minor offences; 3d, dangerous persons. The first class was judged at once by a council of war, the second sent to various tribunals, the third transported without trial. Many prisoners were not even questioned. Numbers were set free; but multitudes were still held. Under these conditions the date of the plébiscite, December 20 and 21, approached. Notices were posted to the effect that 'any person seeking to disturb the polls or to question the result of the ballot would be tried by a council of war.' All liberty of choice was taken from the electors, many of whom were arrested on suspicion of exciting others to vote against the president of the republic. When the lists were published it was found that the 'ayes' had carried the day, although many did not vote at all. Indubitably the figures were notably swelled by violence and fraud. . . . December 31, ex-Minister Baroche presented the result of the ballots to the prince-president,—a strange title now given to Louis Napoleon, for the time being, in lieu of another. . . . Next day, January 1, 1852, Archbishop Sibour celebrated a Te Deum in Notre Dame, the prince-president sitting under a canopy. . . . While the man of December 2 lodged in the palace of kings, the chief representatives of the republic were cast into exile. The executors of the plot treated the captive representatives very differently according as they were conservative or republican. When the prisoners were told that a distinction was to be made among them, they honorably refused to give their names, but they were betrayed by an usher of the Assembly. The republicans were then sent to Mazas, and treated like common thieves, M. Thiers alone being allowed a bed instead of the ordinary hammock. The other party were soon set free, with but few exceptions, and on the 8th of January the generals imprisoned at Ham, with their companion, Questor Baze, were sent to Belgium. Next day a series of proscriptions came out. All persons 'convicted of taking part in the recent insurrections' were to be transported, some to Guiana, some to Algiers. A second decree expelled from France, Algiers, and the French colonies, 'as a measure of public safety,' sixty representatives of the Left, including Victor Hugo and certain others, for whom it was reserved to aid in the foundation of a third republic. A third decree commanded the temporary absence from France and Algiers of eighteen other representatives, including the generals, with Thiers, De Rémusat, and several members of the Left, among them Edgar Quinet and Emile de Girardin. . . . The next step was to establish the famous 'mixed commissions' in every province.

These commissions were to try the numerous prisoners still held captive. . . . The mixed commissions of 1852, as the historian of the coup d'état (M. Eugène Ténot) declares, 'decided, without legal proceedings, without hearing of witnesses, without public trial, the fate of thousands and thousands of republicans.' They have left the indelible memory of one of the most monstrous events known in history. An act equally extraordinary in another way was the promulgation of the new constitution framed by the dictator alone (January 14, 1852). . . . The constitution of 1852 began by a 'recognition, confirmation, and guarantee of the great principles proclaimed in 1789, which are the foundation of the public rights and laws of France.' But it did not say one word about the freedom of the press, nor about freedom of clubs and association. . . . 'The government of the French republic is intrusted to Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte for the term of ten years.' In the preface Louis Napoleon threw aside the fiction of irresponsibility 'which deceives public sentiment'; the constitution therefore declares the leader of the state responsible to the French people, but omits to say how this responsibility may be realized; the French people have no resource save revolution. . . . The legislative body was to consist of 262 members (one for each 3,500 electors), chosen for five years by universal suffrage. This body would vote upon the laws and taxes. Louis Napoleon, having profited so largely by the repeal of the law of May 31, could scarcely refuse to retain direct universal suffrage, but he essentially altered its character by various modifications. He also so reduced the importance of the only great body still elective, that he had little or nothing to fear from it. Another assembly, the Senate, was to be composed of eighty members, which number might be increased to 150. The senators were irremovable, and were to be chosen by the president of the republic, with the exception of cardinals, marshals, and admirals, who were senators by right. The president might give each senator an income of 30,000 francs. The Senate was the guardian of the constitution and of 'the public liberty.' . . . The executive power chose all mayors, and was at liberty to select them outside the town council. In fact, the constitution of 1852 surpassed the constitution of the year VIII. as a piece of monarchic reaction. It entailed no consulate, but an empire.—dictatorship and total confiscation of public liberty. . . . Despotism spread daily in every direction. On the 17th of February the liberty of the press was notably reduced, and severe penalties were affixed to any infraction. In fact, the press was made dependent on the goodwill of the president. Education was next attacked, a decree of March 9, 1852, stripping the professors of the University of all the pledges and principles granted by the First Empire. . . . The new power, in 1852, labored to turn all the forces of the country to material interests, while it stifled all moral interests. It suppressed education and the press, and constantly stimulated the financial and industrial movement. . . . Numberless railroad companies now sprang to life, and roads were rapidly built upon a grand scale. The government adopted the system of grants on a long term of years,—say ninety-nine,—plus the guarantee of a small rate of interest. In everything the cry was for instant success, at any cost. Great financial operations followed on the heels of the first grants to railroad companies. . . . This year's budget, like the constitution, was the work of a single man. The dictator settled it by a decree; then, having ordered the elections for his Chamber of Deputies,

just before his constitution went into operation, he raised the universal state of siege (March 28). This was only a feint, for his government was a permanent state of siege. . . . The official candidates presented, or rather imposed, were generally elected; the republicans failed to vote throughout a great part of the country. . . . March 29, the prince-president proceeded to install the great state bodies at the Tuileries. It was thought that he would hint in his speech that he expected the title of Emperor, but he left that point vague, and still talked of preserving the republic. . . . During the session a rumor was current that Louis Napoleon was to be proclaimed emperor on the 10th of May, after the distribution of eagles to the army; but this was not carried out. The dictator had no desire to be made emperor in this fashion. He meant to do it more artfully, and to make it seem that the nation forced the accomplishment of his wishes upon him. He therefore undertook a fresh journey through the provinces. . . . The watchword was everywhere given by the authorities and influential persons, whose example was imitated by the crowd, irreconcilable opponents keeping silent. . . . He returned to Paris, October 16, and was received in state at the Orleans station. The official bodies greeted him with shouts of 'Long live the Emperor!' . . . Next day, the following paragraph appeared in the 'Moniteur': 'The tremendous desire for the restoration of the empire manifested throughout France, makes it incumbent upon the president to consult the Senate upon the subject.' The Senate and Legislature were convened November 4; the latter was to verify the votes, should the Senate decide that the people must be consulted in regard to a change in the form of government, which no one doubted would be the case. . . . The Senate . . . passed a decree for the submission of the restoration of the hereditary empire for popular acceptance (November 7); the senators then went in a body to St. Cloud to inform the prince-president of this decision. . . . The people were then called upon to vote for the plébiscite decreed by the Senate (November 20 and 21). Republican and legitimist protests were circulated in despite of the police, the government publishing them in the official organ, the 'Moniteur,' as if in defiance, thinking that the excessive violence of the republican proscribers of London and Guernsey would alarm the peace-loving public. The result of the vote was even greater than that of December 20, 1851; the authenticity of the figures may indeed be doubted, but there is not a doubt that there was really a large majority in favor of the plébiscite. France abandoned the struggle! On the evening of December 1, the three great state bodies, the two Chambers and the State Council, went to St. Cloud, and the president of the Legislature presented the result of the ballot to the new emperor, who sat enthroned, between his uncle Jerome and his cousin Napoleon."—H. Martin, *Popular history of France*, v. 3, ch. 15.

ALSO IN: G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France*.—H. C. Lockwood, *Constitutional history of France*, ch. 6, and app. 9.

1852.—Treaty on Schleswig-Holstein question. See DENMARK: 1848-1862.

1852-1870.—Character of Napoleon III.—Brilliant social life and economic advance to compensate for political repression.—His home and foreign policies.—"The President who, by the endless witchery of a name, by a profitable absence of scruples, and by favorable circumstances, had known how to become an Emperor, was no mere vulgar adventurer, but was a man of ideas

as well as audacity, of generosity as well as egoism, of humanitarian aspirations for the betterment of the world, as well as of a vivid perception of the pleasures of personal advancement. . . . He declared his desire to finish the work his uncle had been forced to leave unfinished, to restore order, so sadly compromised by the unstable, feverish régimes since 1815—and this he could only do, he held, by exercising autocratic power—and then to cap the structure with liberty in all its plenitude. The history of the Second Empire falls into these two divisions—autocracy unlimited from 1852 to 1860, and a growing liberalism from 1860 to 1870, when the Empire collapsed, its programme woefully unrealized. . . . Political life was completely stamped out, intellectual independence well-nigh extinguished. Repression was all-powerful and endlessly pervasive. France was no longer a land of freedom. For several years she breathed a mephitic atmosphere of intellectual humiliation and effacement. In return for all this Napoleon [III] sought to entertain and divert and enrich France. His government was 'both repressive and progressive—repressive of whatever imperiled his power, progressive in devotion to whatever might adorn and strengthen it.' . . . The Tuileries . . . became the center of a court life probably the most brilliant and luxurious of the nineteenth century. Fête followed fête in swift succession. Life could not be more lavish or more gay. Sumptuous and showy, the balls, dinners, military parades, illuminations were, it was given out, not mere self-indulgence for the favored few, but were of advantage to all France. Did they not encourage business and trade? A shower of gold wherever it fell was considered highly fructifying. Some criticized, asking if it was worth while to overthrow parliament in order to put an orchestra in its place. . . . But pleasure did not engross the attention of the new sovereign. His reign was distinguished by a spirit of great enterprise, kindly feeling for the masses, good works of benefit to the different classes of society. The Emperor was no incorrigible conservative like Metternich, but a very modern man, anxious that his reign should be memorable for works of utility, of improvement. He had a genuine love for humanity, a sincere desire to help those who are heavy laden. He founded hospitals and asylums freely, and relief societies of various kinds for the poor. The free distribution of medicines was provided for. In 1864 laborers were given for the first time in French history the right to strike, which has proved a most important weapon in their hands for the betterment of their conditions. Banks were organized from which landed proprietors, both great and small, might obtain loans on easy terms to enable them to carry on improvements in agriculture. The railways, denounced by Thiers as 'the costly luxury of the rich,' 'toys for the Parisians,' were extended in a few years from a mileage of 2,000 to one of 6,000. Steamboat lines were established to enlarge the markets of France by transatlantic commerce. Canals were begun. For the Emperor was distinctly a man of his age, responsive to new ideas, and sincerely enthusiastic in promoting all the progress in the arts and trades which the marvelous discoveries of modern science rendered possible. No class of the population was ignored in these schemes. In Napoleon's opinion, preceding governments had failed precisely because they had considered only a class—the Legitimist monarchy only the aristocracy, the Orleanist monarchy only the rich bourgeoisie. The Empire, he said, stood for no class, but for the nation in all its entirety. A great international

exposition was held in Paris in 1855, bringing thousands of visitors to Paris, and giving a distinct impulsion to material progress by its impressive revelation of the wealth of the tools at man's disposal. A grandiose scheme for the modernization and beautification of Paris was projected, which, carried out by Baron Haussmann, made it the most attractive and comfortable capital in Europe. This transformation of the capital, indeed, was one of the principal undertakings of the Second Empire, an undertaking in process of execution during the entire course of the reign. All these enterprises greatly stimulated commerce. An era of unwonted speculation now set in. The Stock Exchange reflected vividly the buoyancy and daring of the period. Fortunes were made quickly, and of a size hitherto unknown in France. Thus, in an air of general prosperity, of economic expansion, of multifarious activity, men forgot their loss of lib-



NAPOLÉON III
(Painting by Chappel)

erty, and even the great famines, great floods, and important business failures which occurred during this period did not produce the usual unrest. They were regarded as merely the reverse of what was, in the main, a most attractive picture."—C. D. Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 206-212.—See also PARIS: 1852-1870.—"The first four years of the Empire were marked by steady material progress. The Emperor had been recognized by foreign Powers, and in conjunction with England had carried to a successful conclusion a war for the preservation of the integrity of Turkey. At the Congress of Paris held at the conclusion of the Crimean campaign, Napoleon appeared as the arbiter of Europe. He then stood at the summit of his fortune. He had represented the Crimean war correctly enough as conceived in the traditional vein of French diplomacy. It was to the advantage of France that Russia should not be the predominant influence in Constantinople, for to rule in Constantinople was to rule in the Mediterranean, and the Mediterranean was as much a French as an English interest. He had defended the rights of

the Latin Church in the East, and accumulated a treasury of merit with the Vatican from which he intended to make long drafts. After an unpopular and ignoble peace France had emerged once more warlike and victorious, the leader of a crusade, the champion of the Latin Church, the defender of the sacred places of Palestine. . . . His marriage with a beautiful Spanish lady [Mlle. Eugénie de Montijo] had been welcome to the Catholic party, and the birth of a son was an additional touch to his prosperity. If Napoleon III had been content to act upon the maxim which he enunciated at Bordeaux and to keep the peace, it is probable that his dynasty might still be reigning in France. Unfortunately for himself, he was so far possessed of the Napoleonic tradition as to desire to reverse the treaties of 1815 and to promote the cause of nationalities. He told Lord

Wallachia under a foreign prince, who might shape an independent Roumanian nation. [See RUMANIA: 1856-1875.] On a visit to Osborne he took occasion to suggest to Prince Albert a vast redistribution of power on the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Spain might take Morocco, England might annex Egypt, Austria might find compensation for certain losses in Europe by the acquisition of part of Syria. By a hint here and a hint there he sowed in the minds of the diplomats of Europe the conviction that he was determined to upset the map and enlarge the boundaries of France. In his own cloudy intelligence there was always one burning question—the liberation of Italy. The problem was fatally bound up with the destinies of his house, for Italian policy marked the first stage in the road which led to the cataclysm of the Empire. The Italian ques-



EMPERESS EUGÉNIE AND THE LADIES OF HER COURT

(Painting by Winterhalter)

Cowley early in his reign that 'he was determined not to fall as Louis-Philippe had done by an ultra-pacific policy; that he knew well that the instincts of France were military and domineering, and that he was resolved to gratify them.' Revolutionary schemes of foreign policy floated like storm-driven clouds across the surface of his unquiet spirit. Among Lord John Russell's papers there is a document purporting to be a translation of a series of questions issued by Napoleon III on the possibility of a French expedition conquering and holding Australia. He threw out hints to Spain, that he might view without displeasure an invasion of Portugal, if Catalonia were ceded to France. He pressed England not once but twice to make the restoration of Poland a *sine qua non* of peace with Russia. [See also POLAND: 1863-1866.] Against the advice of Thouvenel, his ambassador at Constantinople, and despite the unconcealed opposition of Persigny, his envoy in London, he advocated the union of Moldavia and

tion was one of peculiar delicacy. The unity of Italy demanded not only the expulsion of Austria from Lombardy and Venice, but the expulsion of the Bourbons from Naples and Sicily and the abolition of the temporal power of the Papacy. The question was intimately bound up with French party feeling. The Radicals, led by Prince Napoleon, the Emperor's nephew, were vehemently attached to the cause of Italian liberation, and were prepared, largely through the influence of Manin, and his friend Henri Martin the historian, to accept Liberation at the hands of the Piedmontese monarchy. The Clericals, on the other hand, would not hear of any interference with the Papal dominion, and, in deference to their wishes, Napoleon, when President of the Republic, had dispatched a French force to crush the Roman democracy, and to restore the Pope to his former power. He could not, then, without contradicting his earlier policy, consent to the evacuation of Rome by the French troops who had been dis-

patched to defend the Pope against the surging tide of Italian democracy. Nor again could the Imperial Government acquiesce in the expulsion of the Bourbons from Naples without grave offence to the Legitimist party, and Napoleon specially desired to seduce the Legitimists from their allegiance to the white flag. The problem therefore, before the French Emperor was by no means simple. He wished to expel Austria from North Italy, to aggrandize Piedmont, and to indemnify France for her assistance by the annexation of Savoy. But while throwing this sop to the Nationalist and Radical parties of France, he must take care not to offend the Clericals and Legitimists. He conceived, therefore, of an Italy liberated from Austria and constituted as a federation under the nominal suzerainty of the Pope, an Italy containing as its main elements the kingdom of Naples, the Papal States, and a Piedmont stretching from the Alps to the Adriatic. It is significant of his divided will that he retained Walewsky at the head of his Foreign Office, though he knew him to be of the Clerical persuasion and opposed to the advancement of Piedmont. This was an idle dream. Napoleon underrated the strength of the national feeling in Italy, and overrated the power of France to contain it within bounds. His whole course of action was calculated to secure for France the minimum of advantage and for himself the maximum of odium. He encouraged Count Cavour to lay before the Congress of Paris in 1856 a reasoned statement of the abuses prevailing in the Papal States, with a view to exciting the indignation of Europe against an indefensible anachronism. Then, two years later, meeting the great statesman very secretly at Plombières, he pledged himself to assist Piedmont if she were attacked by Austria, and to extend her borders to the Adriatic. The war broke out in 1859, and directly led to the unification of Italy under Victor Emmanuel. The land of Dante owes more than it is willing yet to acknowledge to the Third Napoleon. He gave the shock which set the revolutionary forces in motion; he raised the wind and reaped the whirlwind. . . . Even before the outbreak of the Italian war, Napoleon had not altogether pleased the Clericals. He had declined to relax the irksome tutelage of the Organic Articles; the civil marriage was maintained; nor would he permit to the Catholics that measure of educational control for which their political leaders were striving. But now he had completely lost the clerical allegiance. He had permitted one of his publicists to write against the temporal dominion of the Pope; he had sanctioned the incorporation of the Romagna, which was one portion of that dominion, in the Italian kingdom, and had permitted Edmond About to cover the Papal administration with his brilliant and pointed ridicule. The conquest of Naples by Garibaldi, and the defeat of a Papal force led by a French officer at Castellidardo, filled the Catholic and royalist world with passionate indignation; and a new Vendée organized itself under the shadow of the Vatican. And while he had thus lost the support of the great conservative connexion in France, his diplomacy had excited grave distrust among the Powers of Europe."—H. A. L. Fisher, *Bonapartism*, pp. 149-154, 156.

1853-1856.—Crimean War. See RUSSIA: 1853-1854, to 1854-1856.

1856.—Relation to European commission on navigation of the Danube. See DANUBE: 1850-1916.

1856-1877.—Napoleon III advocates union of Moldavia and Wallachia.—Interest in Rumanian

independence. See RUMANIA: 1856-1875; 1866-1914.

1857-1860.—Operations with England in China. See CHINA: 1856-1860.

1858.—Orsini attempt to assassinate Napoleon III. See ENGLAND: 1858-1859.

1858.—Commercial treaty with Japan. See JAPAN: 1857-1862.

1858-1886.—Conquest of Tonkin and Cochin-China. See INDO-CHINA: B. C. 218-A. D. 1880; also below: 1875-1889.

1859.—Alliance with Sardinia and war with Austria.—Acquisition of Savoy and Nice. See ITALY: 1856-1859; 1859-1861; AUSTRIA: 1856-1859.

1860.—Treaty of commerce with England.—"As the Italian war alienated the Clericals, so the treaty of commerce with England in 1860 estranged the manufacturers. Napoleon had been convinced by the logic of free-trade economics, and believed that by a series of commercial treaties he would be able to secure a great extension of French industry and commerce. His motives, however, were not purely scientific. He reckoned that a treaty with England would tend to dispel any clouds of dissatisfaction which might have collected over Savoy. He was aware indeed that, with the exception of the wine-growers of the South, industrial opinion was totally unprepared for such a reduction of duties as that which was embodied in the famous treaty of commerce which he drew up in concert with Richard Cobden. Nevertheless he carried through the negotiations secretly, swiftly, and in defiance of public opinion. He knew that he wanted the goodwill of England, and he believed that France would come to admit that a lowering of the tariff wall between the two great countries was all to her advantage. When Cobden told him of the statue to Peel with its inscription, 'He bettered the lot of the labouring and suffering classes by lowering the price of the necessaries of life,' the Emperor said that that was the reward which he coveted most, but that unfortunately in France they made revolutions and did not know how to make reforms. Having estranged the Clericals and the manufacturers, Napoleon turned to the support of the Liberals. It had been part of his original design to relax the tension of despotism when his power was thoroughly established, and by degrees to associate the representatives of the people in the task of government; and this idea was now commended to him not only by his own failure of physical health, but also by the desire of conciliating an important body of political opinion."—H. A. L. Fisher, *Bonapartism*, pp. 157-159.—See also TARIFF: 1860.

ALSO IN: G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France*.

1860-1870.—Modifications of the imperial constitution.—"Originally . . . the power of the Legislative Body was limited to voting and rejecting as a whole the laws submitted to it by the Executive; there was no such thing as criticism or control of the general policy of the reign: but the year 1860 opened a period of development in the direction of liberty; by a decree of the November of that year the Emperor permitted the Deputies to draw up an address in answer to his speech, giving them thereby the opportunity to criticise his policy; by that of December 1861 he allowed them to vote the budget by sections, that is to say, to discuss and, if desirable, reject its items; by that of January 1867 he substituted for the Address the right of questioning the Ministers, who might be delegated to the Chamber by

the Emperor to take part in certain definite discussions; lastly, by that of September 1869 he gave to the Legislative Body the right of initiating laws, removed the restrictions hitherto retained on the right of amendment and of questions, and made the Ministers responsible to the Chamber. Thus the Constitution was deliberately modified, by the initiative of the Emperor himself, from the form of imperial despotism to that of parliamentary monarchy: this modified Constitution was submitted to a plébiscite in May, 1870, and once more the people ratified the Empire by over seven million votes against a million and a half."—G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France*, ch. 7, sect. 3.

1861-1867.—Intervention in Mexico and its humiliating failure. See MEXICO: 1861-1867.

1862.—Commercial treaty with Germany. See TARIFF: 1853-1870.

1863.—Shimonoseki affair in Japan. See JAPAN: 1863-1868.

1864-1914.—Red Cross and relief work. See RED CROSS.

1866.—Withdrawal of troops from Rome. See ITALY: 1862-1866.

1866.—Latin union and the silver question. See BIMETALLISM; MONEY AND BANKING: Modern: 1853-1874.

1866-1870.—Territorial concessions demanded from Germany.—Luxemburg question.—War temporarily averted. See GERMANY: 1866-1870; LUXEMBURG: 1780-1914.

1867.—Last defense of papal sovereignty at Rome.—Defeat of Garibaldi at Mentana. See ITALY: 1867-1870.

1868.—Treaty with Madagascar. See MADAGASCAR: 1810-1894.

1868-1907.—Social insurance.—Workmen's compensation. See SOCIAL INSURANCE: Details for various countries: France: 1868-1907.

1869-1894.—Panama canal operations. See PANAMA CANAL: 1860-1894.

1870 (June-July).—Hohenzollern incident.—Ems dispatch.—French unpreparedness and isolation.—Declaration of war against Prussia.—"From 1866 to 1870 the idea that ultimately a war would come between Prussia and France became familiar to the people and governments of both countries. Many Frenchmen desired 'revenge for Sadowa.' Prussians were proud and elated at their two successful wars, and intensely conscious of their new position in Europe. The newspapers of both countries during the next four years were full of crimination and recrimination, of abuse and taunt, the Government in neither case greatly discouraging their unwise conduct, at times even inspiring and directing it. Such an atmosphere was an excellent one for ministers who wanted war to work in, and both France and Prussia had just such ministers. Bismarck believed such a war inevitable, and in his opinion, it was desirable as the only way of completing the unification of Germany, since Napoleon would never willingly consent to the extension of the Confederation to include the South German states. All that he desired was that it should come at precisely the right moment, when Prussia was entirely ready, and that it should come by act of France, so that Prussia could pose before Europe as merely defending herself against a wanton aggressor. With responsible statesmen in such a temper it was not difficult to bring about a war. And yet the Franco-Prussian War broke most unexpectedly, like a thunderstorm, over Europe. Undreamed of July 1, 1870, it began July 15. It came in a roundabout way. The Spanish

throne was vacant, as a revolution had driven the monarch, Queen Isabella, out of that country. On July 2, news reached Paris that Leopold of Hohenzollern, a relative of the King of Prussia, had accepted the Spanish crown. Bismarck was behind this Hohenzollern candidacy, zealously furthering it, despite the fact that he knew Napoleon's feeling of hostility to it. Great was the indignation of the French papers and parliament and a most dangerous crisis developed rapidly. Other powers intervened, laboring in the interests of peace. On July 12, it was announced that the Hohenzollern candidacy was withdrawn. The tension was immediately relieved; the war scare was over. Two men, however, were not pleased by this outcome: Bismarck, whose intrigue was now foiled and whose humiliation was so great that he thought he must resign and retire into private life, and Gramont, the French minister of foreign affairs, a reckless, blustering politician who was not satisfied with the diplomatic victory he had won, but wished to win another which would increase the discomfiture of Prussia. The French ministry now made an additional demand that the King of Prussia should promise that this Hohenzollern candidacy should never be renewed. The King declined to do so and, in a despatch from Ems, authorized Bismarck to publish an account of the incident. Here was Bismarck's opportunity which he used ruthlessly and joyously to provoke the French to declare war. [By omitting parts of the Ems despatch he made it seem to be a curt account of negotiations abruptly terminated.] His account, as he himself says, was intended to be 'a red flag for the Gallic bull.' The effect of its publication was instantaneous. It aroused the indignation of both countries to fever heat. The Prussians thought that their King, the French that their ambassador had been insulted. As if this were not sufficient the newspapers of both countries teemed with false, abusive, and inflammatory accounts. The voice of the advocates of peace was drowned in the general clamor. The head of the French ministry declared that he accepted this war 'with a light heart.' This war, declared by France on July 15, grew directly out of mere diplomatic fencing. The French people did not desire it, only the people of Paris, inflamed by an official press. Indeed, until it was declared, the French people hardly knew of the matter of dispute. It came upon them unexpectedly. The war was made by the responsible heads of two Governments. It was in its origin in no sense national in either country. Its immediate occasion was trivial. But it was the cause of a remarkable display of patriotism in both countries."—C. D. Hazen, *Fifty years of Europe, 1870-1919*, pp. 25-27.—"If the 'Ems dispatch' roused the French, it also profoundly stirred the Germans. A wave of indignation swept over all Germany at what was believed to be the insolent conduct of the French Ambassador, and the South Germans enthusiastically joined their northern brethren in the common war against their hereditary foe. Men fell into their places promptly and were transported with amazing rapidity to the frontier. What the French Minister of War had said of the readiness of the French armies [that all was in readiness "down to the last button on the last gaiter of the last soldier"] was, in reality, true only of the German, as about a million men were mobilized in Germany within two weeks without the slightest disorder. . . . On the other side of the Rhine all was disorder and confusion; soldiers could not find their officers; cannon were without ammuni-

tion; horses without harness; means of transport were lacking, the food supply was insufficient; officers were not provided with the necessary maps. So badly disorganized was the French War Office that those called to the colors were frequently obliged to travel across the country in order to get their uniforms. Instead of everything being ready 'to the last button,' chaos reigned in the French armies. To the amazement and chagrin of France, she found herself completely isolated, as all the other nations immediately declared their neutrality. Popular opinion, too, the world over, favored the Germans as defenders of their country against French aggression. To gain England's sympathy Bismarck published an unsigned treaty with Napoleon III showing how the latter was contemplating the annexation of Belgium, the neutrality of which Prussia was scrupulously respecting."—J. S. Schapiro, *Modern and contemporary European history*, pp. 190-191.—See also EUROPE: Modern; Wars of the great powers.

ALSO IN: W. Müller, *Political history of recent times*, sect. 25.—G. B. Malleson, *Refounding of the German empire*, ch. 11.—W. Rüstow, *War for the Rhine frontier*, v. 1, ch. 6.

1870 (July-August).—Disastrous opening of the war.—Defeats at Wörth, Spicheren and Gravelotte.—Bazaine's army shut up in Metz.—July 23d Napoleon intrusted the regency to the empress for the period of his absence from Paris. . . . On the 28th, . . . accompanied by his son, [he] left for Metz, to assume command of the army. . . . The army consisted of eight corps. Of these, the 1st, under Marshal MacMahon, was stationed at Strasburg; the 2d, under General Frossard, at St. Avold; the 3d, under Marshal Bazaine, at Metz; the 4th, under General Ladmirault, at Diedenhofen (Thionville); the 5th, under General Faily, at Bitsch; the 6th, under Marshal Canrobert, in the camp at Châlons; the 7th, under General Felix Douay, at Belfort; the 8th.—the Imperial Guard—under General Bourbaki, at Nancy. Accordingly, the French forces were divided into two groups, the larger stationed on the Moselle, and the smaller in Alsace. To the latter belonged the 1st and 7th corps, both of which were placed under the command of Marshal MacMahon, with orders to prevent the crown prince's army from entering Alsace. The larger group comprised the 2d, 3d, and 4th corps. . . . The 6th and 8th were to have formed the reserve; but the greatly superior numbers of Prince Frederic Charles and Steinmetz, who were advancing against this larger group, necessitated the immediate bringing of those corps to the front. The connection between the two groups was to be maintained by the 5th corps, stationed at Bitsch. Skirmishing of the advanced posts and collisions between reconnoitering parties began on the 10th of July. The most important of these minor engagements was that at Saarbrücken, on the 2d of August [the French claiming a victory]. . . . August 4th the crown prince crossed the French frontier and attacked the town of Weissenburg, on the little river Lauter. . . . Weissenburg was successfully carried by Prussian and Bavarian battalions combined, and the Geisberg by sixteen battalions of Prussians alone. . . . August 5th MacMahon with his corps took up his position at Wörth, fortifying the heights westward from Sauerbach, together with the villages of Froschweiler and Elsasshausen, in the intention of meeting at that place the advancing columns of the crown prince, whose attack he expected on the 7th. To strengthen his army sufficiently for the

task required of it he endeavored bring up General Felix Douay's corps from Belfort and Mühlhausen, and that of General Faily from Bitsch; but only one division of the former arrived in time, and a division of the latter which was sent to his support did not reach the neighborhood of the battle-field until the evening of the 6th, in time to afford a partial protection on the retreat. Consequently, MacMahon was left with not more than 45,000 men to face the crown prince's whole army. . . . On the morning of the 6th the advance guard of the 5th corps became involved in a sharp action with the enemy," and "from a mere skirmish of the advance guard resulted the decisive battle of Wörth. . . . After Wörth itself had been carried, the fighting was most severe around the fortified village of Froschweiler. This was finally taken, and a desperate charge of the French cuirassiers repulsed. Thereupon MacMahon's army broke and fled in wild confusion, some toward the passes of the Vosges, others to Strasburg or Bitsch. . . . The trophies of victory were numerous and valuable: 200 officers and 9,000 men prisoners. . . . and the army-chest with 222,000 francs in gold. . . . The French lost 6,000 dead and wounded; the German loss was 480 officers and 10,153 men—a loss greater than that of Sadowa. . . . MacMahon, with about 15,000 of his defeated troops, reached Zabern on the morning of the 7th, and set out thence for Châlons, whither Generals Douay and Faily were also directed* to lead their forces. A new army was to be formed at that point, and northern Alsace was abandoned to the crown prince's victorious troops. The Badish division received orders to march against Strasburg, and by the 9th the whole corps was assembled before that city, Hagenau having been taken by the cavalry on the way. . . . Preparations for a siege were made, a regular siege corps being formed . . . and placed under the command of General Werder. With the remainder of the third army the crown prince left Wörth on the 8th of August, marched through the unguarded passes of the Vosges, and entered Nancy on the 10th. . . . Detachments were left behind to blockade Bitsch and Pfalzburg. At Nancy the prince rested for a few days and waited for decisive news from the Saar and Moselle. A second victory was won on the 6th of August at Spichern [or Forbach]. Like the battle of Wörth, this action was not the result of a strategical combination, but rather of a misunderstanding. . . . Frossard [whose corps was encountered at Spichern] fell back on Metz by way of Saargemünd. Bazaine, who, although not more than seven or eight miles from the field of battle, had made no attempt to come to Frossard's assistance, led his corps to the same place. In this battle, owing to the unfavorable nature of the ground, the losses of the conquerors were heavier than those of the conquered. The Germans had 223 officers and 4,648 men dead, wounded, and missing; while the French, according to their own reports, lost 240 officers and 3,820 men, 2,000 of whom were taken prisoners. August 7th the victors continued their forward march, capturing great stores of provisions in Forbach. On the 9th St. Avold was taken, and foraging parties advanced almost to Metz. Marching through the Rhenish Palatinate, part of Prince Frederic Charles's army directed its course toward Metz by way of Saarbrücken, and part through Saargemünd. . . . In the imperial headquarters at Metz the greatest consternation prevailed. . . . It was [finally] decided to concentrate five army corps on the right bank of the Moselle,

at Metz, and to form a second army, consisting of four corps, under MacMahon's command, in the camp at Châlons. The first line of defence on the Rhine and Saar had been abandoned, and France was to be defended on the Moselle. By this decision Alsace and Lorraine were surrendered to the foe at the very outset." On the 9th of August the French emperor transferred the chief command from himself to Marshal Bazaine, while Lebœuf at the same time withdrew from the direction of the staff. Simultaneously, at Paris, the Gramont-Ollivier ministry resigned, and was succeeded by a cabinet formed under the presidency of Count Palikao (General Montauban). "New levies were called into the field, comprising all unmarried men between the ages of 25 and 30 not already enrolled in the 'garde mobile.' . . . In the German head-quarters . . . it was resolved in some way to make Bazaine's army harmless, either by shutting him up in Metz or by pushing him northward to the Belgian frontier. . . . The task was a difficult one. . . . All depended upon what course Bazaine might conclude to pursue, and the energy with which he executed his plans. It was his purpose to leave Metz with the field army and join MacMahon at Châlons. There would then be 300,000 French at that place to block the German march to Paris. In that event the Germans would have to leave 60,000 men before Metz . . . and Diedenhofen, and would not have enough left to venture an attack on the united and well-intrenched armies at Châlons. Accordingly, the union of those two armies must be prevented at any price, and Bazaine be attacked before Metz. The execution of this plan led to the severe fighting near that city—the battle of Colombey-Nouilly (Borny), on the 14th, Vionville on the 16th, and Gravelotte on the 18th." The battle of Gravelotte was "the first battle in the war in which a pre-arranged plan [Moltke's] was actually carried out. . . . It was a brilliant victory, and followed by important results. Bazaine's army was shut up in the fortress and among the outlying forts, and rendered unavailable for further service in the field. The losses of the French amounted to about 13,000 men, including 600 officers; the German loss was 890 officers and 19,260 men, of whom 320 officers and 4,900 men were killed outright. The number of combatants on the side of the French was about 140,000, on the side of the Germans 178,818, the former having 550, and the latter 822 cannon. It must be remembered, however, that the French occupied a position very much of the nature of a fortress, which had to be carried by storm."—W. Müller, *Political history of recent times*, sect. 25.

ALSO IN: H. von Moltke, *Franco-German War of 1870-71*, sect. 1.—A. Borbstaedt and F. Dwyer, *Franco-German War*, ch. 10-29.—H. C. Bailey, *Forty years after*, ch. 1-3.—E. Ollivier, *Franco-Prussian War and its hidden causes*.

1870 (August-September). — Investment of Metz by the Germans.—Disastrous attempt of MacMahon to rescue Bazaine.—Catastrophe at Sedan.—"The huge, stubborn, vehement and bloody conflict waged in the rural tract between the northern edges of the Bois de Vaux and the Forest of Jaumont, which the French Marshal called the 'Defence of the Lines of Amanvillers,' the French Army, 'the Battle of St. Privat,' and the Germans the battle of 'Gravelotte—St. Privat,' established the mastery of the latter over 'the Army of the Rhine.' Marshal Bazaine had not proved strong enough to extricate the Army he was suddenly appointed to command from the false position in which it had been placed by the

errors and hesitations of the Emperor and Marshal Lebœuf. . . . The German leaders forthwith resolved, and acted on the resolve, to take the largest advantage of success. When the broadening day showed that the French were encamped under the guns of the fort, and that they did not betray the faintest symptom of fighting for egress on any side, the place was deliberately invested. . . . Soon the blockade was so far completed that only adventurous scouts were able at rare intervals to work their way through the German lines. As early as the forenoon of the 19th, the King had decided to form what came to be called the 'Army of the Meuse' out of the Corps which were not needed to uphold the investment of Metz, and thus place himself in a condition to assail the French Army collecting at Châlons. . . . This formidable force was put under the command of the Crown Prince of Saxony, who had shown himself to be an able soldier. Consequently, there remained behind to invest Bazaine, seven Corps d'Armée and a Division of Reserve under General von Kummer. . . . One Army had been literally imprisoned, another remained at large and behind it were the vast resources of France. Three Marshals were cooped up in the cage on the Moselle; one, MacMahon, and the Emperor were still in the field; and upon the forces with them it was resolved to advance at once, because prudence required that they should be shattered before they could be completely organized, and while the moral effect of the resounding blows struck in Alsace and Lorraine had lost none of its terrible power. Therefore the King and General von Moltke started on the morrow of victory to march on Paris through the plains of Champagne."—G. Hooper, *Campaign of Sedan*, ch. 10.—"While the German invasion had thus been rolling from Lorraine into the flats of Champagne, the shattered right wing of the army of the Rhine, with reinforcements sent off from Paris, had been drawn together in the well-known plains made memorable by the defeat of Attila. By 20 Aug. the first and fifth French corps marched rapidly from the Upper Moselle to the Marne, had been joined by the seventh corps from Belfort and by the twelfth formed in and despatched from Paris; and this force, numbering perhaps 130,000 men, with from 400 to 500 guns, had been concentrated round the great camp of Châlons. MacMahon was given the supreme command, and the first operations of the experienced chief showed that he understood the present state of affairs and were in accord with the rules of strategy. Bazaine, he knew, was in peril near Metz, and certainly had not attained the Meuse; and he was at the head of the last army which France could assemble for the defence of her capital. In these circumstances, impressed perhaps by the grand memories of the campaign of 1814, he most properly resolved to fall back towards Paris; but as Bazaine was possibly not far distant, and a position on the flank of the German advance might afford a favourable opportunity to strike, he withdrew northwards on the 21st to Rheims, in the double hope that he would approach his colleague and threaten the communications of the advancing enemy. This, we repeat, was following the art of war, and had MacMahon firmly adhered to his purpose, there would have been no Sedan and no treaty of Frankfurt. Unhappily the marshal, a hero in the field, was deficient in real strength of character, and at this critical moment evil counsels and false information shook, and at last changed, a resolve that ought to have never faltered. A new administration had

been formed in Paris, and Palikao, the minister of war, devoted to the Empire, and especially bent on satisfying the demands of the excited capital, which passionately insisted on the relief of Bazaine, had conceived a project by which he hoped that his great object would be effected and the 'dynasty' be restored in popular opinion. The army of the Meuse, he argued, was near that stream, round Verdun; the third army was far away to the south; there was a considerable interval between the two masses; and the army of Châlons, then at Rheims, was not far from the Upper Meuse. In those circumstances it was quite practicable, should MacMahon rapidly advance to the Meuse, to overpower with his largely superior force the army of the Meuse before support could be sent from the distant third army; and the enemy in his path being swept aside, the marshal could then descend on Metz, fall with the collected strength of the army of Châlons on the divided fragments of the investing force, and triumphantly effect his junction with Bazaine, having routed, perhaps, the first and second armies before the third could appear on the scene. The defiles and woods of the Argonne and the Ardennes, stretching between the French and the German armies, Palikao insisted, would form a screen to conceal the advance of the army of Châlons, and would greatly facilitate the proposed movement. This project reached MacMahon on 21 Aug., and may be pronounced one of the most reckless ever designed by a desperate gambler in war. . . . MacMahon at first refused to listen to what he condemned as a hopeless project; but bad advisers found their way to him, and his resolution was already yielding when a calamitous event fixed his shifting purpose. A despatch from Bazaine, obscure and untrue, announced that he was on his way northward. MacMahon inferred that his beleaguered colleague had left Metz and eluded his foes, and, thinking that he would reach Bazaine before long, in an evil hour for France and for himself, he consented to attempt the march to the Meuse."—W. O'C. Morris, *Campaign of Sedan (English Historical Review, April, 1888)*.—"It was not until the afternoon of August 23 that MacMahon's army passed through Rheims. Anxious, and knowing that everything depended on speed, he addressed some columns as they toiled onwards, reminding them that French soldiers had marched thirty miles a day under the sun of Africa. The difference, however, was great between raids made by a few light regiments and the advance of a raw unwieldy mass; and though the marshal endeavoured to hurry them forward, he was confronted with almost insurmountable obstacles. Scarcely had the army made a march towards establishing itself at Bethniville, on the Suipe, when commissariat difficulties obliged him to re-approach the line of the railway. He made a movement on his left, and reached Rethel on the 24th, in order to obtain for his troops several days' subsistence. This distribution occupied the whole of the 25th. . . . As the direction of the French movement could not now be concealed, at this point MacMahon made arrangements for marching with all possible rapidity. It may be doubted, however, whether Napoleon himself, at the head of the grand army, could have made the haste which the marshal designed with his raw and partly demoralized troops. . . . His army was altogether unequal to forced marches, and moved at this critical moment with the sluggishness inherent in its defective organization. Encumbered with stragglers, badly pioneered, and checked by hin-

drances of every kind, it made hardly ten miles a day; and it was the 27th of August before its right column, still far from the Meuse, passed through Vouziers, and the left reached Le Chêne. . . . On the 27th it was openly boasted of in Paris that MacMahon had gained at least forty-eight hours' start of the Crown Prince, and his coming success was firmly counted on by the imperialist cabinet, whereas, in reality, the whole scheme was foiled beforehand by Von Moltke's and General Blumenthal's prompt combination. . . . If in fighting, in the boldness of their cavalry, the activity of their staff, the cool firing of infantry, and the skilful tactical use of their guns, the superiority of the Germans to their antagonists had been already proved; it only required the contrast now presented between the movements of the two armies to show, that in no point had the difference of training and moral feeling told more in favour of the invaders than in that of the marching, on which the elder Napoleon so often relied for his advantage over these very Germans. . . . Between the 27th and the morning of the 20th, the right column of the French army had only its outposts at Buzancy, while the left, though its outposts touched Stenay, was only at Stonne and Beaumont, both columns spreading a long way backward; in other words, they were still a march from the Meuse, which they ought to have passed three days before, and their rearward divisions were yet distant. The German armies, from the 26th to the 20th, made astonishing exertions to close on MacMahon as he crossed towards the Meuse, and success was already within their grasp. The force of the Crown Prince of Saxony, in two columns, had reached the Meuse at Dun on the 27th, and was thus in a position to arrest and retard the vanguard of the French whenever it attempted to cross the river. Meanwhile the army of the Crown Prince of Prussia, hastening forward by Varennes and Grand Prè, and to the left by Senue and Suipe, had arrived close to the line of march of MacMahon's right column, and by the evening of the 28th had occupied it about Vouziers. A step farther, and this immense army would be upon the positions of the luckless French, who, assailed in flank and rear by superior numbers, could not fail to be involved in terrible disaster. . . . MacMahon [on the 27th], observing that the enemy so completely surrounded him, felt more than ever satisfied that it would be impossible to carry out the plan which had been prescribed to him at Paris; and to save, if possible, the sole army which France had at her disposal, he accordingly resolved to turn back in a westerly direction. . . . The same evening he sent . . . [a] telegram to the Count Palikao, at Paris. . . . In reply to this, the government sent a telegram to the emperor at eleven o'clock the same night, telling him that if they abandoned Bazaine there would certainly be a revolution in Paris, and they would themselves be attacked by all the enemy's forces. . . . The emperor admits that he could unquestionably have set this order aside, but 'he was resolved not to oppose the decision of the regency, and had resigned himself to submit to the consequences of the fatality which attached itself to all the resolutions of the government.' As for MacMahon, he again bowed to the decision intimated to him from Paris, and once more turned towards Metz. These orders and counter-orders naturally occasioned further delay, and the French headquarters had reached no farther than Stonne on the 28th. . . . On Monday, August 20, De Failly occupied the country between Beaumont and

Stonne, on the left bank of the Meuse; while the main body of the French army, under MacMahon in person, had crossed the river, and were encamped on the right bank at Vaux, between Mouzon and Carignan, and on the morning of the 30th the emperor telegraphed to Paris that a brilliant victory might be expected. MacMahon's position was in a sharp wedge of country formed by the confluence of the rivers Meuse and Chiers, and it was his intention to advance towards Montmédy. The other part of his army was close to the river on its left bank. . . . The battle—or rather series of battles, for the fighting extended over three days—which was to decide whether or not he would reach Metz and liberate Bazaine, began in earnest a little before noon on Tuesday, August 30.—H. M. Hozier, *Franco-Prussian War*, v. 1, ch. 13.—“The retreating French were concentrated, or rather massed, under the walls of Sedan, in a valley commonly called the Sink of Givonne. The army consisted of twenty-nine brigades, fifteen divisions, and four corps d'armée, numbering ninety thousand men. ‘It was there,’ says Victor Hugo, ‘no one could guess what for, without order, without discipline, a mere crowd of men, waiting, as it seemed, to be seized by an immensely powerful hand. It seemed to be under no particular anxiety. The men who composed it knew, or thought they knew, that the enemy was far away. Calculating four leagues as a day's march, they believed the Germans to be at three days' distance. The commanders, however, towards nightfall, made some preparations for safety. The whole army formed a sort of horse-shoe, its point turning towards Sedan. This disposition proved that its chiefs believed themselves in safety. The valley was one of those which the Emperor Napoleon used to call a “bowl,” and which Admiral Van Tromp designated by a less polite name. No place could have been better calculated to shut in an army. Its very numbers were against it. Once in, if the way out were blocked, it could never leave it again. Some of the generals,—General Wimpfen among them—saw this, and were uneasy; but the little court around the emperor was confident of safety. . . . “At worst,” they said, “we can always reach the Belgian frontier.” The commonest military precautions were neglected. The army slept soundly on the night of August 31. At the worst they believed themselves to have a line of retreat open to Mézières, a town on the frontier of Belgium. No cavalry reconnoissance was made that night; the guards were not doubled. The French believed themselves more than forty miles from the German army. They behaved as if they thought that army unconcentrated and ill-informed, attempting vaguely several things at once, and incapable of converging on one point, namely, Sedan. They thought they knew that the column under the Prince of Saxony was marching upon Châlons, and that the Crown Prince of Prussia was marching upon Metz. But that night, while the French army, in fancied security, was sleeping at Sedan, this is what was passing among the enemy. By a quarter to two A. M. the army of the Prince of Saxony was on its march eastward with orders not to fire a shot till five o'clock, and to make as little noise as possible. They marched without baggage of any kind. At the same hour another division of the Prussian army marched, with equal noiselessness, from another direction on Sedan, while the Würtembergers secured the road to Mézières, thereby cutting off the possibility of a retreat into Belgium. At the same moment, namely, five o'clock,—on all the hills around Sedan, at

all points of the compass, appeared a dense dark mass of German troops, with their commanders and artillery. Not one sound had been heard by the French army, not even an order. Two hundred and fifty thousand men were in a circle on the heights round the Sink of Givonne. They had come as stealthily and as silently as serpents. They were there when the sun rose, and the French army were prisoners.’ [Victor Hugo, *Choses Vues*.]—The battle was one of artillery. The German guns commanded every part of the crowded valley. Indeed the fight was simply a massacre. There was no hope for the French, though they fought bravely. Their best troops, the Garde Impériale, were with Bazaine at Metz. Marshal MacMahon was wounded very early in the day. The command passed first to General Ducrot, who was also disabled, and afterwards to Wimpfen, a brave African general who had hurried from Algeria just in time to take part in this disastrous day. He told the emperor that the only hope was for the troops to cut their way out of the valley; but the army was too closely crowded, too disorganized, to make this practicable. One Zouave regiment accomplished this feat, and reached Belgium. That night—the night of September 1—an aide-de-camp of the Emperor Napoleon carried this note to the camp of the king of Prussia:—Monsieur Mon Frère,—Not having been able to die in midst of my troops, it only remains for me to place my sword in the hands of your Majesty. I am your Majesty's good brother, Napoleon. . . . With Napoleon III. fell not only his own reputation as a ruler, but the glory of his uncle and the prestige of his name. The fallen emperor and Bismarck met in a little house upon the banks of the Meuse. Chairs were brought out, and they talked in the open air. It was a glorious autumn morning. The emperor looked care-worn, as well he might. He wished to see the king of Prussia before the articles of capitulation were drawn up: but King William declined the interview. When the capitulation was signed, however, he drove over to visit the captive emperor at a château where the latter had taken refuge. Their interview was private; only the two sovereigns were present. The French emperor afterwards expressed to the Crown Prince of Prussia his deep sense of the courtesy shown him. He was desirous of passing as unnoticed as possible through French territory, where, indeed, exasperation against him, as the first cause of the misfortunes of France, was so great that his life would have been in peril. The next day he proceeded to the beautiful palace at Cassel called *Wilhelmshöhe* [or *William's Height*]. It had been built at ruinous expense by Jérôme Bonaparte while king of Westphalia, and was then called *Napoleon's Rest*. . . . Thus eighty thousand men capitulated at Sedan, and were marched as prisoners into Germany; one hundred and seventy-five thousand French soldiers remained shut up in Metz, besides a few thousand more in Strassburg, Phalsbourg, Toul, and Belfort. But the road was open to Paris, and thither the various German armies marched, leaving the Landwehr, which could not be ordered to serve beyond the limits of Germany, to hold Alsace and Lorraine, already considered a part of the Fatherland.”—E. W. Latimer, *France in the nineteenth century*, ch. 12.—“The German army had lost in the battle of Sedan about 460 officers and 8,500 men killed and wounded. On the French side the loss sustained in the battle and at the capitulation amounted according to their returns to the following: Killed 3,000 men; wounded 14,000; prisoners (in the

battle) 21,000; prisoners (at the capitulation) 83,000; disarmed in Belgium 3,000; total 124,000."—*Franco-German War: German official account*, pt. 1, v. 2, p. 408.—See also STATISTICS: Vital statistics.

ALSO IN: G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France*.—G. Fitz-George, *Plan of the battle of Sedan, with memoirs*.—A. Forbes, *My experiences of the war between France and Germany*, v. 1, pt. 1, ch. 4.—A. Borbstaedt and F. Dwyer, *Franco-German War*, ch. 30-40.—G. B. Malleson, *Refounding of the German empire*, ch. 14.—H. C. Bailey, *Forty years after*, ch. 4-5.

1870 (September).—**Revolution at Paris.—Collapse of the empire.—Council of Government and National Defense instituted.**—At Paris, the whole truth of the tremendous disaster at Sedan was but slowly learned. On the afternoon of Saturday, September 3, Count de Palikao intimated a little part of it, only, "in a statement to the Corps Législatif, announcing that Marshal Bazaine, after a vigorous sally, had been obliged to retire again under the walls of Metz, and that Macmahon, after a series of combats, attended by reverses and successes—having at the outset driven a part of the enemy's army into the Meuse—had been compelled to retreat to Sedan and Mézières, a portion of his army having taken refuge in Belgium. The junction of the two armies had therefore not been made. The situation was serious, calmly observed the Minister of War, but not hopeless. Not hopeless! when the truth was that one army was blockaded and the other prisoner, and that there were no reserves. . . . At a midnight sitting Count de Palikao, still determined to conceal a portion of the truth, intimated that part of Marshal Macmahon's army had been driven back into Sedan, that the remainder had capitulated, and that the Emperor had been made prisoner. M. Jules Favre met this announcement of fresh disasters by a motion, declaring the Emperor and his dynasty to have forfeited all rights conferred by the Constitution, demanding the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee invested with the governing power, and having for its special mission the expulsion of the enemy from French territory, and further maintaining General Trochu in his post as Governor of Paris. The Chamber then adjourned till the morrow. But Paris had touched one of those crises when, as Pascal says, a grain of sand will give a turn to history and change the life of nations, and the morrow brought with it the downfall of the Ministry, of the dynasty, of the Empire, and of that bizarre constitutional edifice which had been kept waiting so long for its complemental crown. . . . It had been intimated that the Corps Législatif would reassemble at noon, before which time numerous groups collected on the Place de la Concorde, and eventually swelled to a considerable crowd. The bridge leading to the Palais Bourbon was guarded by a detachment of mounted gendarmes, and numerous sergents-de-ville. . . . Battalions of National Guards having, however, arrived, the gendarmes, after flourishing their swords, opened their ranks and allowed them to pass, followed by a considerable portion of the crowd, shouting 'Vive la République!' and singing the 'Chant du Départ.' The iron gates of the Palais Bourbon having been opened to admit a deputation of National Guards, the crowd precipitated itself forward, and in a few minutes the steps and courtyard were alike invaded. Cries of 'Vive la Garde Nationale!' 'Vive la Ligne!' 'Vive la République!' resounded on all sides, and the soldiers who occupied the court of the Palais Bour-

bon, after making a show of resistance, ended by hoisting the butt ends of their rifles in the air in sign of sympathy, joining at the same time in the shouts of the crowd, while the latter, encountering no further opposition, proceeded to invade the passages of the Chamber, at the moment Count de Kératry was attacking the Ministry for surrounding the Corps Législatif with troops and sergents-de-ville, contrary to the orders of General Trochu. Count de Palikao, having explained the relative positions of the Governor of Paris and the Minister of War, introduced a bill instituting a Council of Government and National Defence, composed of five members elected by the Legislative Body, the ministers to be appointed with the approval of the members of this Council, and he, Count de Palikao, to occupy the post of Lieutenant-General. M. Jules Favre having claimed priority for the motion which he had introduced the day before, M. Thiers, pleading the necessity for union, next moved that:—'In view of existing circumstances, the Chamber appoints a Commission of Government and National Defence. A Constituent Assembly will be convoked as soon as circumstances permit.' The Chamber having declared in favour of their urgency, these several propositions were eventually referred to the Bureau, and the sitting was suspended. It was during this period that the crowd penetrated into the Salles des Quatre Colonnes and de la Paix. . . . At half-past two, when the sitting was resumed, the galleries were crowded and very noisy. The members of the Left only were in their places. It was in vain the President attempted to obtain silence, in vain the solemn huissiers commanded it, MM. Gambetta and Crémieux appeared together at the tribune, and the former begged of the people to remain quiet. . . . A partial silence having been secured, Count de Palikao, followed by a few members of the majority, entered the Chamber, but did not essay to speak. . . . A minute or two afterwards, the clamour arose again, and a noisy multitude commenced invading the floor of the hall. . . . Nothing was left to the President but to put on his hat and retire, which he did, together with Count de Palikao and the members by whom the latter had been accompanied. By this time the Chamber was completely invaded by National and Mobile Guards, in company with an excited crowd, whose advance it was in vain now to attempt to repel. M. Jules Favre, having mounted the tribune, obtained a moment's silence. 'No scenes of violence,' cried he; 'let us reserve our arms for our enemies.' Finding it utterly impossible to obtain any further hearing inside the Chamber, M. Gambetta, accompanied by the members of the Left, proceeded to the steps of the peristyle, and there announced the dethronement of the Emperor to the people assembled outside. Accompanied by one section of the crowd, they now hurried to the Hôtel de Ville, and there installed themselves as a Provisional Government, whilst another section took possession of the Tuileries—whence the Empress had that morning taken flight—as national property. A select band of Republicans, mindful of what Count—now Citizen—Henri Rochefort had done to bring Imperialism into disrepute, proceeded to the prison of Sainte Pélagie and conducted the author of the Lanterne, and other political prisoners, in triumph to the Hôtel de Ville. The deputies who quitted the Chamber when it was invaded by the mob, met that same afternoon at the President's residence, and sent a deputation to the Hôtel de Ville, with a proposal to act in common with the new Government. This proposition was, however,

declined, on the score of the Republic having been already proclaimed and accepted by the population of Paris. At an evening meeting of nearly two hundred deputies, held under the presidency of M. Thiers, MM. Jules Favre and Simon attended on the part of the Provisional Government to explain that they were anxious to secure the support of the deputies, whom they hinted, however, could best serve their country in the departments. After this unequivocal rebuff, the deputies, who had in the meantime been apprised that seals had been placed on the doors of the Corps Législatif, saw that nothing remained to them but to protest, and protest they accordingly did against the events of the afternoon. . . . Not one of the two hundred deputies present so much as dared suggest the breaking of the seals and the assembling in the Legislative Chamber. . . . The Government which grasped the reins of power on the utter collapse of Imperial institutions was a mob-named one in the fullest sense of the term, the names having been chalked by the populace on the pillars of the portico of the Palais Bourbon during that invasion of the Chamber on the Sunday afternoon which resulted in the overthrow of the Imperial régime. The list appears to have been accepted by the principal members of the Left, who, although they would have preferred disassociating themselves from M. Rochefort, nevertheless felt that it was impossible to leave him out of the combination, and therefore adroitly—and not inappropriately, as the safety of Paris was especially in their keeping—made it embrace all the deputies for Paris, save, as M. Jules Simon observed, the most illustrious—meaning M. Thiers, who refused to join it. . . . The Government of National Defence, as it elected to style itself, on M. Rochefort's suggestion, was composed of the following members:—General Trochu, president; Jules Favre, Vice President and Minister for Foreign Affairs; Emanuel Arago; Crémieux, Minister of Justice; Jules Ferry, Secretary; Leon Gambetta, Minister of the Interior; Garnier-Pagès; Glais-Bizoin; Eugène Pelletan; Ernest Picard, Minister of Finance; Henri Rochefort; and Jules Simon, Minister of Public Instruction. Subsequently it associated with it General Le Flô, Minister of War; Admiral Fourichon, Minister of Marine; M. Dorian, Minister of Public Works; and M. Magnin, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. These, with Count de Kératry, charged with the Prefecture of Police, M. Etienne Arago, appointed Mayor of Paris, composed altogether no less than eighteen members, upwards of two-thirds of whom were Bretons, advocates, or journalists. . . . For some days the new Government was prodigal of proclamations and decrees. Its first acts were to close the doors of the Palais Bourbon and the Palais du Luxembourg, and dissolve the Corps Législatif and abolish the Senate as bouches inutiles politiques, to issue proclamations to the army, or rather the débris of one, justifying the Revolution and appealing to the troops to continue their heroic efforts for the defence of the country, and to the National Guard, thanking them for their past, and asking for their future patriotism. It released all functionaries from their oaths, dismissed the ambassadors at foreign courts, appointed prefects in all the departments, and new mayors in the twenty arrondissements of the capital, proclaimed the complete liberty of the press, ordered all Germans not provided with special permission to remain, to quit the departments of the Seine and Seine-et-Oise within four-and-twenty hours. . . . It pressed forward the provisioning of the city and its works

of defence, increased the herds of sheep and oxen and the stores of corn and flour, provisionally abolished all local customs and octroi dues, and fixed the price of butcher's meat, armed the outer forts and the enceinte, blew up or mined all the bridges and fired all the woods in the environs, razed thousands of houses to the ground, felled roadside trees, and constructed huge barricades with them; laid in fact all the beautiful suburbs in waste; listened to the thousand and one wild schemes put forth by patriotic madmen for exterminating the invaders, and launched a huge captive balloon, which hovered daily over Paris to give timely notice of their dreaded arrival."—H. Vizetelly, ed., *Paris in peril*, ch. 1.

ALSO IN: J. Favre, *Government of the national defence, June-October*.—W. Rüstow, *War for the Rhine frontier*, v. 2, ch. 22.

1870 (September-October).—Futile striving for allies and for peace without territorial sacrifices.—Investment of Paris.—Gambetta's organization of defense in the Provinces.—Bazaine's surrender at Metz.—"The Government of National Defence . . . imagined that the fall of the Empire would simplify the cruel position of France towards the enemy. The Dynasty which had declared war being reversed, and the men now in power having been throughout opposed to war and in favour of German unity, and now demanding nothing but peace, what motive could the King of Prussia have to continue the invasion of France? It was further to be considered that free France would defend her integrity to the last drop of her blood; that she would voluntarily give up neither an inch of her territory nor a stone of her fortresses. Such were the ideas which the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Jules Favre, expressed on the 6th of September, in a circular addressed to the French agents in foreign countries. The Cabinet of Berlin was not slow in disabusing him of these convictions. Far from accepting the view that the Emperor Napoleon was the sole promoter of war, Count Bismarck, in two despatches of the 13th and of the 16th of September, threw the responsibility of the conflict on the French nation. He stated that the vast majority of the Chambers had voted for war, and that the Emperor was justified in assuring the King that he had been forced into a war to which he was personally averse. . . . In order to be secure against future aggression, Germany would ask for guarantees from the French nation itself, and not from a transitory Government. . . . In any case, Germany would require Strasburg and Metz. Thus the accession to power of the Republican Government did not modify the reciprocal positions of the two belligerents. Nevertheless, hope was entertained in Paris that the friendly intervention of the great powers might induce the victor to soften his rigour"; but intervention was declined by the Berlin Cabinet and not undertaken. "On the 19th of September the investment of Paris was completed. At the desire of the French Government, the English Cabinet applied to the German head-quarters, with the object of obtaining for M. Jules Favre an interview with Count Bismarck. This request having been granted, the two statesmen held conferences, on the 19th and 20th of September, at Ferrières, a castle of Baron Rothschild near Meaux. During these interviews the French Minister was sentimental and the German Minister coldly logical. They could not come to an agreement on any single point. . . . The Government of Paris . . . again proclaimed that France would not cede an inch of her territory. Meanwhile, in consequence

of the investment of Paris, the Government of National Defence was divided into two parts; some of its Delegates withdrew to Tours, forming a delegation of the central Government which remained in Paris. The German armies had continued their onward march, as well as their operations against the fortresses. Toul capitulated on the 23rd and Strasburg on the 28th of September. On the 5th of October, King William had established his headquarters at Versailles." Meantime "the Government of National Defence made a last attempt to secure allies, or at least the help of powerful mediators. With this object M. Thiers, who had placed himself at the disposal of the Administration of the 4th of September, was sent on a mission to the European Courts. From the 12th of September till the 20th of October, the old statesman visited in succession London, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Florence. In none of these cities were his measures attended with happy results." At St. Petersburg and at London he was told—and he was himself convinced—"that the King of Prussia was compelled to consider the public opinion of Germany, and that France would have to resign herself to territorial sacrifices." He returned to France to advise, and to procure authority for, a conference with the German Chancellor. But events had already occurred which aggravated the forlorn condition of France. "The youngest and most enterprising member of the Government of Paris, M. Gambetta, had left the Capital on the 8th of October in a balloon for Tours. It was his intention to organise national defence in the Provinces. The day after his arrival at Tours, he issued a fiery Proclamation to the French people. . . . With an energy that called forth universal admiration, the Government of Tours, over which Gambetta presided as Dictator, organised resistance, formed a new army, and gathered together every possible resource for defence both in men and in materials. All these efforts could not arrest the progress of the invasion. From the 11th to the 31st of October, the Germans took successively Orleans, Soissons, Schlestadt and Dijon. Round Paris they repulsed the sallies of Malmaison, Champigny, and le Bourget. But all these defeats of heroic soldiers waned when compared to the appalling and decisive catastrophe of Metz. After the battle of Gravelotte, Marshal Bazaine had unsuccessfully attempted several sallies. . . . On the 7th of October, after an unfortunate battle at Woippy, lasting nine hours, Bazaine considered the situation desperate. His only thought was to obtain the most favourable conditions he could, and with this object he sent General Boyer to the headquarters at Versailles." After two weeks of negotiation, "on the 21st of October, the army encamped within the walls of Metz found itself without provisions. . . . Negotiations with Prince Frederick Charles, nephew of the King and Commander-in-chief of the besieging Army, were opened on the 25th, and terminated on the 27th of October. The conditions were identical with those of Sedan: capitulation of the town and its forts with all the material of war, all the army of the Rhine to be prisoners and the officers to be liberated on parole."—E. Simon, *Emperor William and his reign*, v. 2, ch. 13.—"The French Army of the Rhine at the time of the surrender still numbered 173,000 men, inclusive of 6,000 officers and 20,000 men remaining temporarily in Metz as sick or convalescent."—*Franco-German War: German official account*, pt. 2, v. 1, p. 201.

ALSO IN: A. Forbes, *My experiences of the war*

between France and Germany, v. 1, pt. 2.—H. C. Bailey, *Forty years after*, ch. 7-8, 10.

1870-1871.—War in the provinces.—Unsuccessful attempts to relieve the capital.—Distress in Paris.—Capitulation and armistice.—"The surrender of Metz and the release of the great army of Prince Frederick Charles by which it was besieged fatally changed the conditions of the French war of national defence. Two hundred thousand of the victorious troops of Germany under some of their ablest generals were set free to attack the still untrained levies on the Loire and in the north of France, which, with more time for organisation, might well have forced the Germans to raise the siege of Paris. The army once commanded by Steinmetz was now reconstituted, and despatched under General Manteuffel towards Amiens; Prince Frederick Charles moved with the remainder of his troops towards the Loire. Aware that his approach could not long be delayed, Gambetta insisted that Aurelle de Paladines should begin the march on Paris. The general attacked Tann at Coulmiers on the 9th of November, defeated him, and re-occupied Orleans, the first real success that the French had gained in the war. There was great alarm at the German headquarters at Versailles; the possibility of a failure of the siege was discussed; and 40,000 troops were sent southwards in haste to the support of the Bavarian general. Aurelle, however, did not move upon the capital: his troops were still unfit for the enterprise; and he remained stationary on the north of Orleans, in order to improve his organisation, to await reinforcements, and to meet the attack of Frederick Charles in a strong position. In the third week of November the leading divisions of the army of Metz approached, and took post between Orleans and Paris. Gambetta now insisted that the effort should be made to relieve the capital. Aurelle resisted, but was forced to obey. The garrison of Paris had already made several unsuccessful attacks upon the lines of their besiegers, the most vigorous being that of Le Bourget on the 30th of October, in which bayonets were crossed. It was arranged that in the last days of November General Trochu should endeavour to break out on the southern side, and that simultaneously the army of the Loire should fall upon the enemy in front of it and endeavour to force its way to the capital. On the 28th the attack upon the Germans on the north of Orleans began. For several days the struggle was renewed by one division after another of the armies of Aurelle and Prince Frederick Charles. Victory remained at last with the Germans; the centre of the French position was carried; the right and left wings of the army were severed from one another and forced to retreat, the one up the Loire, the other towards the west. Orleans on the 5th of December passed back into the hands of the Germans. The sortie from Paris, which began with a successful attack by General Ducrot upon Champigny beyond the Marne, ended after some days of combat in the recovery by the Germans of the positions which they had lost, and in the retreat of Ducrot into Paris. In the same week Manteuffel, moving against the relieving army of the north, encountered it near Amiens, defeated it after a hard struggle, and gained possession of Amiens itself. After the fall of Amiens, Manteuffel moved upon Rouen. This city fell into his hands without resistance. . . . But the Republican armies, unlike those which the Germans had first encountered, were not to be crushed at a single blow. Under the energetic command of Faidherbe the army of the north advanced again

upon Amiens. Goeben, who was left to defend the line of the Somme, went out to meet him, defeated him on the 23rd of December, and drove him back to Arras. But again, after a week's interval, Faidherbe pushed forward. On the 3rd of January he fell upon Goeben's weak division at Bapaume, and handled it so severely that the Germans would on the following day have abandoned their position, if the French had not themselves been the first to retire. Faidherbe, however, had only fallen back to receive reinforcements. After some days' rest he once more sought to gain the road to Paris, advancing this time by the eastward line through St. Quentin. In front of this town Goeben attacked him. The last battle of the army of the North was fought on the 19th of January. The French general endeavoured to disguise his defeat, but the German commander had won all that he desired. Faidherbe's army was compelled to retreat northwards in disorder; its part in the war was at an end. During the last three weeks of December there was a pause in the operations of the Germans on the Loire. . . . Gambetta . . . had . . . determined to throw the army of Bourbaki, strengthened by reinforcements from the south, upon Germany itself. The design was a daring one, and had the . . . French armies been capable of performing the work which Gambetta required of them, an inroad into Baden, or even the reconquest of Alsace, would most seriously have affected the position of the Germans before Paris. But Gambetta miscalculated the power of young, untrained troops, imperfectly armed, badly fed, against a veteran army. In a series of hard-fought struggles the army of the Loire under General Chanzy was driven back at the beginning of January from Vendôme to Le Mans. On the 12th, Chanzy took post before this city and fought his last battle. While he was making a vigorous resistance in the centre of the line, the Breton regiments stationed on his right gave way; the Germans pressed round him, and gained possession of the town. Chanzy retreated towards Laval, leaving thousands of prisoners in the hands of the enemy, and saving only the débris of an army. Bourbaki in the meantime, with a numerous but miserably equipped force, had almost reached Belfort. . . . Werder had evacuated Dijon and fallen back upon Vesoul; part of his army was still occupied in the siege of Belfort. As Bourbaki approached he fell back with the greater part of his troops in order to cover the besieging force, leaving one of his lieutenants to make a flank attack upon Bourbaki at Villersexel. This attack, one of the fiercest in the war, delayed the French for two days, and gave Werder time to occupy the strong positions that he had chosen about Montbéliard. Here, on the 15th of January, began a struggle which lasted for three days. The French, starving and perishing with cold, though far superior in number to their enemy, were led with little effect against the German entrenchments. On the 18th Bourbaki began his retreat. Werder was unable to follow him; Manteuffel with a weak force was still at some distance, and for a moment it seemed possible that Bourbaki, by a rapid movement westwards, might crush this isolated foe. Gambetta ordered Bourbaki to make the attempt: the commander refused to court further disaster with troops who were not fit to face an enemy, and retreated towards Pontarlier in the hope of making his way to Lyons. But Manteuffel now descended in front of him; divisions of Werder's army pressed down from the north; the retreat was cut off; and the unfortunate French general, whom a telegram from Gambetta removed from his com-

mand, attempted to take his own life. On the 1st of February, the wreck of his army, still numbering 85,000 men, but reduced to the extremity of weakness and misery, sought refuge beyond the Swiss frontier. The war was now over. Two days after Bourbaki's repulse at Montbéliard the last unsuccessful sortie was made from Paris. There now remained provisions only for another fortnight; above 40,000 of the inhabitants had succumbed to the privations of the siege; all hope of assistance from the relieving armies before actual famine should begin disappeared. On the 23rd of January Favre sought the German Chancellor at Versailles in order to discuss the conditions of a general armistice and of the capitulation of Paris. The negotiations lasted for several days; on the 28th an armistice was signed with the declared object that elections might at once be freely held for a National Assembly, which should decide whether the war should be continued, or on what conditions peace should be made. The conditions of the armistice were that the forts of Paris and all their material of war should be handed over to the German army; that the artillery of the enceinte should be dismantled; and that the regular troops in Paris should, as prisoners of war, surrender their arms. The National Guard were permitted to retain their weapons and their artillery. Immediately upon the fulfilment of the first two conditions all facilities were to be given for the entry of supplies of food into Paris. The articles of the armistice were duly executed, and on the 30th of January the Prussian flag waved over the forts of the French capital."—C. A. Fyffe, *History of modern Europe*, v. 3, ch. 6.

1870-1877.—Military organization.—Faults in the system.—Changes. See MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 26; WAR, PREPARATION FOR: 1872.

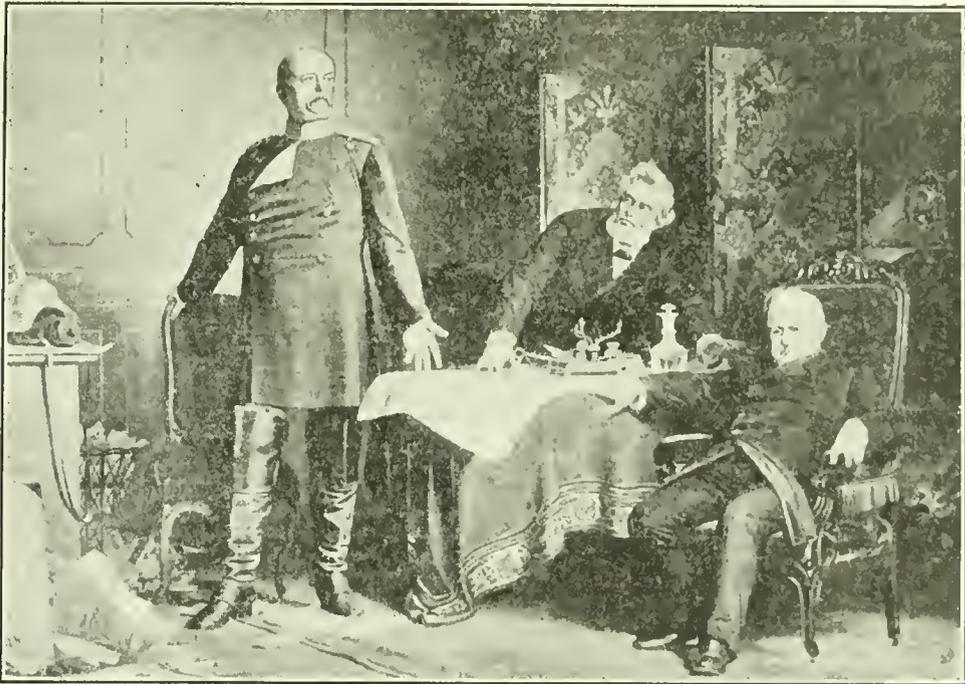
1870-1882.—Opposition to Italy. See TRIPLE ALLIANCE: Predicament of Italy.

ALSO IN: H. Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe*, ch. 29-30.—*Daily news correspondence of the war*, ch. 13-21.—Cassell's *History of the war*, v. 1, ch. 36, v. 2, ch. 1-18.—Comte d'Herrison, *Journal of a staff officer in Paris*.—E. B. Washburne, *Recollections of a minister to France*, v. 1, ch. 5-10.—J. A. O'Shea, *Iron-bound city*.—F. T. Marzials, *Life of Gambetta*, ch. 5.—H. von Moltke, *Franco-German War of 1870-71*, sects. 3-7.—T. G. Bowles, *Defence of Paris*.—W. Rüstow, *War for the Rhine frontier*, v. 3.—H. C. Bailey, *Forty years after*, ch. 10-11.—M. Busch, *Bismarck and the Franco-Prussian War*.

1871 (January-May).—Preliminaries of peace signed at Versailles.—Treaty of Frankfort.—Cession of Alsace and one-fifth of Lorraine.—Five milliards of indemnity.—“On the afternoon of January 28 [1871] the capitulation of Paris was signed, and an armistice agreed upon to expire on February 19 at noon. The provinces occupied by the armies of Bourbaki and Manteuffel were alone excluded from this agreement. On January 29 the German troops quietly took possession of the Paris forts. The regulars and mobiles became prisoners of war, with the exception of 12,000 men who were left under arms to preserve order. At the earnest request of Favre the National Guard were allowed to retain their arms. If Favre urged this as a measure to counteract the imperialistic ideas supposed to be still cherished by the prisoners returning from Germany, it was a political crime as well as a military folly. The National Guard became the armed Commune. . . . While the armies withdrew to the lines stipulated in the armistice, the elections went quietly forward. The assembly convened at

Bordeaux, and manifested a spirit that won for it universal respect. On February 17 M. Thiers was appointed chief of the executive power, and having named his ministry, he repaired to Versailles to arrange the preliminaries of peace. The conferences that followed with the German chancellor were perhaps the most trying ordeals to which the Frenchman had ever been subjected. No peace was possible save on the basis of the cession of miles of territory and the strongest of fortresses. France must also pay a war indemnity of no less than five milliards of francs. Bismarck, it is true, thought Thiers 'too sentimental for business, . . . hardly fit indeed to buy or sell a horse,' but no diplomatist, however astute, could have made better terms for stricken France. So thought the assembly at Bordeaux; and when Thiers an-

German troops marched out, and Paris was left to herself again. The war was over. Beyond the Rhineland, in Bavaria and Württemberg as well as in the north, all was joy and enthusiasm over the return of the army that had answered before the world the question, 'What is the German Fatherland?' On the 10th of May the definite treaty of peace was signed at Frankfort by which France ceded Alsace and a portion of Lorraine, including the fortresses of Metz and Strasburg, to her conqueror."—H. Murdock, *Reconstruction of Europe*, ch. 30.—The following are the heads of the Preliminary Treaty concluded at Versailles, to which the final Treaty of Frankfort conformed: "1. France renounces in favour of the German Empire the following rights: the fifth part of Lorraine including Metz and Thionville, and Alsace



BISMARCK DICTATING TERMS OF PEACE AT VERSAILLES, FEBRUARY, 1871

In conference with Thiers and Jules Favre

(Painting by C. Wagner)

nounced the result of his mission with a quivering lip, he had its sympathy and support. On the 2d of March the assembly formally ratified the peace preliminaries by a vote of 546 to 107. It had been stipulated in the armistice that the German troops should not occupy Paris. The extension of time granted by the Germans entitled them to some compensation, and the entry of Paris was the compensation claimed. The troops detailed for this purpose were not chosen at random. To the Frenchman who on the 1st day of March beheld them pass along the Avenue de Malakoff or the Champs Elysées it was an ominous pageant. It was a German and not a Prussian army that he beheld. . . . That night the Hessians smoked their pipes on the Trocadéro, and the Bavarians stacked their arms in the Place de la Concorde, while the lights blazing from the palace of the Elysée announced the German military headquarters. On the third day of the month, the Bordeaux Assembly having ratified the peace preliminaries, the

less Belfort. [See also ALSACE-LORRAINE: 1871.] 2. France will pay the sum of five milliards of francs, of which one milliard is to be paid in 1871 and the remaining four milliards by instalments extending over three years. 3. The German troops will begin to evacuate the French territory as soon as the Treaty is ratified. They will then evacuate the interior of Paris and some departments lying in the western region. The evacuation of the other departments will take place gradually after payment of the first milliard, and proportionately to the payment of the other four milliards. Interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum will be paid on the amount remaining due from the date of the ratification of the Treaty. 4. The German troops will not levy any requisitions in the departments occupied by them, but will be maintained at the cost of France. A delay will be granted to the inhabitants of the territories annexed to choose between the two nationalities. 6. Prisoners of war will be immediately set at lib-

erty. 7. Negotiations for a definitive Treaty of Peace will be opened at Brussels after the ratification of this Treaty. 8. The administration of the departments occupied by the German troops will be entrusted to French officials, but under the control of the chiefs of the German Corps of occupation. 9. The present Treaty confers upon the Germans no rights whatever in the portions of territories not occupied. 10. This Treaty will have to be ratified by the National Assembly of France."

—C. Lowe, *Prince Bismarck*, v. 1, ch. 9.
ALSO IN: E. Hertslot, *Map of Europe by treaty*, v. 3, no. 438, 446.

1871 (March-May).—**Insurrection of the communists of Paris.**—**Second siege and reduction of the capital.**—"On the 3d of March the German army of occupation—which had been in the assigned part of the city since the 1st—marched off through the Arc de Triomphe, and on the 7th the German headquarters were moved from Versailles. The great Franco-Prussian War was over . . . But before . . . peace could be attained, the country had yet to suffer from the so-called patriots of the Red Republicans worse outrage than it had endured at the hands of the German invaders. When the negotiations for the capitulation of Paris were in progress, Count Bismarck had warned M. Favre of the danger of allowing, as he proposed, the National Guard to retain their arms; and the members of the Government of National Defence might themselves have seen the risk they were incurring, had they calmly considered the various émeutes that had taken place during the siege, and in which the National Guard had always played such a conspicuous part on the side of disaffection. Now, in the full consciousness of their strength—somewhere about 100,000—and in their possession of a powerful artillery,—for during the German occupation they had, on the pretext of keeping them safe, got a large number of cannon into their hands,—they seemed determined to attempt the revival of the Reign of Terror. . . . The appointment of General d'Aurelle de Paladines as their commander gave great offence, and on the 9th March an attempt to place the tricolor on the column in the Place de la Bastille instead of the red flag of revolution led to an outbreak. A promise in the event of the cannon being given up, of the continuance of pay till 'ordinary work was resumed,' was disregarded, and the dismissal of D'Aurelle and the full recognition of the right of the National Guard to elect its own officers demanded. An effort of the government to seize the cannon in the Place des Vosges failed, and it was now clear enough that more energetic action than negotiations must take place. On the morning of the 18th March a large force of regular troops under Generals Vinoy and Lecomte proceeded to Montmartre and took possession of the guns; but the want of horses for their immediate removal gave time for the Reds to assemble and frustrate the effort, while, worst of all, a large number of the regular troops fraternized with the insurgents. General Lecomte and General Clément Thomas were taken prisoners and almost immediately shot. The outbreak, thus begun, spread rapidly; for, through some unaccountable timidity of the government, the government forces were withdrawn from the city, and the insurgents left free to act as they pleased. They seized General Chanzy at the Orleans railway station, took possession of the Ministry of Justice and the Hôtel de Ville, and threw up barricades round all the revolutionary quarters. The Central Committee of the National Guard, the leading man of which was Assi, . . . summoned the

people of Paris to meet 'in their comitia for the communal elections,' and declared their intention of resigning their power into the hands of the Commune thus chosen. The National Assembly removed from Bordeaux and held its sittings at Versailles; but bitter as was the feeling of the majority of the Deputies against the new turbulence, the position of affairs prevented any action from being taken against the insurgents. The removal of General d'Aurelle and the appointment of Admiral Saisset in his place was of no avail. A number of the inhabitants of Paris, styling themselves 'Men of Order,' attempted to influence affairs by a display of moral force, but they were fired on and dispersed. The Assembly was timid, and apparently quite unable to bring its troops into play. . . . Through Admiral Saisset concessions were offered, but the demands of the Communists increased with the prospect of obtaining anything. They now modestly demanded that they should supersede the Assembly wherever there was any prospect of collision of power, and be allowed to control the finances; and as a very natural consequence the negotiations were abandoned. This was on the 25th of March, and on the 26th the Commune was elected, the victory of the Reds being very easily gained, as hardly any of those opposed to them voted. Two days afterwards the Commune was proclaimed at the Hôtel de Ville, the members who had been elected being seated on a platform in red arm-chairs. The leading man of the new system was the honest but hot-headed and utopian Delescluze; Cluseret, a man of considerable military genius, who had led a life of a very wild nature in America, and who was the soul of the resistance when the actual fighting began, was Delegate of War; Grousset, of Foreign Affairs; and Rigault, of Public Safety. The new government applied itself vigorously to changes; conscription was abolished, and the authority of the Versailles government declared 'null and void.' Seeing that a desperate struggle must inevitably ensue, a very large number of the inhabitants of Paris quitted the city, and the German authorities allowed the prisoners from Metz and Sedan to return so as to swell the forces at the disposal of M. Thiers. They also intimated that, in view of the altered circumstances, it might again become necessary for them to occupy the forts they had already evacuated. The first shot in the second siege of Paris, in which Frenchmen were arrayed against Frenchmen, was fired on the 2d April, when a strong division of the Versailles army advanced against the National Guards posted at Courbevoie, and drove them into Paris across the Pont de Neuilly. During the ensuing night a large force of insurgents gathered, and were on the morning of the 3d led in three columns against Versailles. Great hopes had been placed on the sympathy of the regular troops, but they were doomed to disappointment. . . . The expedition . . . not only failed, but it . . . cost the Commune two of its leading men,—Duval, and that Flourens who had already made himself so conspicuous in connection with revolutionary outbreaks under the Empire and the Government of National Defence,—both of whom were taken and promptly shot by the Versailles authorities. The failure and the executions proved so exasperating that the 'Commune of Paris' issued a proclamation denouncing the Versailles soldiers as banditti. . . . They had ample means of gratifying their passion for revenge, for they had in their hands a number of leading men, including Darbois, Archbishop of Paris, and M. Bonjean, President of the Court of Cassation, and these—

two hundred in all—they proclaimed their intention of holding as hostages. M. Thiers was still hesitating, and waiting for a force sufficiently powerful to crush all opposition; and in this he was no doubt right, for any success of the Communists, even of the most temporary character, would have proved highly dangerous. The Germans had granted permission to the government to increase their original 30,000 troops to 150,000, and prisoners of Metz and Sedan had been pouring steadily back from Germany for this purpose. On the 8th April Marshal MacMahon took command of the forces at Versailles. A premature attack on the forts of Issy, Vanves, and Montrouge on the 11th failed, but on the 17th and 19th several of the insurgent positions were carried; on the 25th the bombardment of Issy and Vanves was begun, and from that time onwards operations against the city were carried on with the greatest activity, the insurgents being on all occasions put to the sword in a most merciless manner. Issy was taken on the 8th May, and Vanves on the 4th, and the enceinte laid bare. Inside Paris all this time there was nothing but jealousy. . . . First one leader, and then another, was tried, found wanting, and disgraced. . . . On the 21st May the defenders of the wall at the gate of St. Cloud were driven from their positions by the heavy artillery fire, and the besieging army, having become aware of the fact, pushed forward and secured this entrance to the city; and by the evening of the 22d there were 80,000 Versaillesists within the walls. Next day they gained fresh ground, and were ready to re-occupy the Tuileries and the Hôtel de Ville; but before this was possible the Communists, mad with despair, had resolved on that series of outrages against humanity that will make their names detested and their cause distrusted as long as the story of their crimes stands recorded in the annals of history. They had already perpetrated more than one act of vandalism. . . . On the 12th May, in accordance with a public decree, they had destroyed the private residence of M. Thiers with all its pictures and books; on the 16th the magnificent column erected in the Place Vendôme in memory of Napoleon I., and crowned by his statue, was undermined at one side and then pulled to the ground by means of ropes and utterly destroyed; and now on the 24th, in the last efforts of despairing rage, bands of men and women, still more frantic and eager for blood than were those of the Reign of Terror, rushed through the doomed city. Early in the morning the Tuileries, the Hôtel de Ville, the Ministry of Finance, the Palais d'Orsay, and other public and private buildings were seen to be on fire. The Louvre, too, with all its inestimable treasures, was in flames, and was saved with the greatest difficulty. If the Commune was to perish, it had clearly resolved that the city was to perish with it. Men and women marched about in bands with petroleum, and aided the spread of the conflagration by firing the city in different places. Heedless of the flames, the Versailles troops pressed on, eager, if possible, to save the lives of the 200 hostages, but, alas, in vain. A passion for blood had seized on the Commune, and its last expiring effort was to murder in cold blood, not only a large number of the hostages, but also batches of fresh victims, seized indiscriminately about the streets by bands of men and women, and dragged off to instant death. On the 26th Belleville was captured, and on the 27th and 28th the Cemetery of Père la Chaise was the scene of the final struggle,—a struggle of such a desperate nature—for there was no quarter—that,

for days after, the air of the district was literally fraught with pestilence. Many of the leaders of the Commune had fallen in the final contest, and all the others who were captured by the Versailles troops during the fighting were at once shot. Of the 30,000 prisoners who had fallen into the hands of the government, a large number, both men and women, were executed without mercy, and the rest distributed in various prisons to await trial, as also were Rossel, Assi, Grousset, and others, who were captured after the resistance was at an end. Cluseret succeeded in making good his escape. . . . Of the prisoners, about 10,000 were set free without trial, and the others were sentenced by various courts-martial during the following months and on through the coming year, either to death, transportation or imprisonment.”—H. Martin, *Popular history of France from the first revolution*, v. 3, ch. 24.

ALSO IN: G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in France*.—E. B. Washburne, *Recollections of a minister to France*, v. 2, ch. 5-7.—P. Vésinier, *History of the commune of Paris*.—P. O. Lissagaray, *History of the commune of 1871*.—W. P. Pettridge, *Rise and fall of the Paris commune*.—J. Leighton, *Paris under the commune*.

1871 (April-May).—Government of the commune in Paris.—“For the conduct of affairs the Communal Council divided itself into ten ‘commissions,’ of finance, war, public safety, external relations, education, justice, labour and exchange, provisions, the public service, and the general executive. Of these the most efficient appears to have been that of finance; by advances from the bank and by the revenues of the post, the telegraph, the octrois, &c., means were found to provide for the current expenditure. The other commissions were admittedly inefficient, and especially the one which was most important for the moment, that of war:—‘as to a general plan,’ says Lissagaray, ‘there never was one: the men were abandoned to themselves, being neither cared for nor controlled’; ‘at the Ministry,’ says Gastyne, ‘no one is at his place. They pass their time in running after one another. The most insignificant Lieutenant will take orders from nobody, and wants to give them to everybody. They smoke, chat and chaff. They dispute with the contractors. They buy irresponsibly right and left because the dealers give commissions or have private relations with the officials’; ‘in the army of Versailles,’ said a member of the Commune, ‘they don’t get drunk: in ours they are never sober’; ‘the administration of war,’ said another, ‘is the organisation of disorganisation’; ‘I feel myself,’ said Rossel, on resigning his command, ‘incapable of any longer bearing the responsibility of a command where every one deliberates and no one obeys. The central committee of artillery has deliberated and prescribed nothing. The Commune has deliberated and resolved upon nothing. The Central Committee deliberates and has not yet known how to act. . . . My predecessor committed the fault of struggling against this absurd situation. I retire, and have the honour to ask you for a cell at Mazas.’ The same incompetence, leading to the same result of anarchy, was displayed by the Executive Commission:—‘in less than a fortnight,’ said Grosset, ‘conflicts of every kind had arisen; the Executive Commission gave orders which were not executed; each particular commission, thinking itself sovereign in its turn, gave orders too, so that the Executive Commission could have no real responsibility.’ On April 20 the Executive Commission was replaced by a committee, composed of a delegate from each of the

nine other commissions; still efficiency could not be secured, and at the end of the month it was proposed to establish a Committee of Public Safety. This proposition was prompted by the traditions of 1793, and brought into overt antagonism the two conflicting tendencies of the Commune: there were some of its members who were ready to save the movement by a despotism, to secure at every cost a strong administration, and impose the Commune, if need be by terror, upon Paris and the provinces. . . . On the other hand there was a strong minority which opposed the proposal, on the ground that it was tantamount to an abdication on the part of the Communal Council. . . . The appointment of the Committee was carried by forty-five votes to twenty-three; many of those who voted for it regarded it as merely another 'Executive Commission,' subordinate to, and at any moment subject to dismissal by, the Commune; and so, in effect, it proved; it was neither more terrible nor more efficient than the body to which it succeeded; it came into existence on the 1st of May, and on the 9th the complaint was already advanced that 'your Committee of Public Safety has not answered our expectations; it has been an obstacle, instead of a stimulus'; on the 10th a new committee was appointed, with similar results; all that the innovation achieved was to bring into clear relief the fact that there existed in the Commune a Jacobin element ready to recur to the traditions of 1793, and to make Paris the mistress of France by the guillotine or its modern equivalent."—G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France*, pp. 267-270.

1871-1876.—Assembly at Bordeaux.—Thiers elected chief of the executive power.—Founding of the republic.—Recovery of order and prosperity.—Resignation of Thiers.—Election of Marshal MacMahon.—Plans of the monarchists defeated.—Adoption of the constitution of 1875.—"The elections passed off more quietly than was to be expected, and the Assembly which came together at Bordeaux on the 13th of February exactly represented the sentiment of the nation at that particular moment. France being eager for peace, the Assembly was pacific. It was also somewhat unrepresentative, for the Republic had been represented in the provinces only by Gambetta, the promoter of war to the knife, who had sacrificed the interests of the Republic to what he conceived to be the interests of the national honor. Politics had, in truth, been little thought of, and Thiers was elected in 27 departments upon very diverse tickets, rather on account of his opposition to the war and his efforts in favor of peace than on account of his fame as a liberal orator and historian. Moved by the same impulse, the Assembly almost unanimously appointed him Chief of the Executive Power of the French Republic, and intrusted to him the double task of governing the country and of treating with the German Emperor. . . . It was apparently in the name of the Republic that peace was negotiated and the Government gradually reconstructed. . . . The Assembly, however, which was all-powerful, held that to change the form of government was one of its rights. It might have been urged that the electors had scarcely contemplated this, and that the Monarchists were in the majority simply because they represented peace, while in the provinces the Republic had meant nothing but war to the hilt. But these distinctions were not thought of in the press of more urgent business, namely, the treaty which was to check the shedding of blood, and the rudiments of administrative reconstruction. No mon-

archy would have been willing to assume the responsibility of this Treaty. . . . The Right accordingly consented to accept the name of Republic as a makeshift, provided it should be talked about as little as possible. Thiers had come to think, especially since the beginning of the war, that the Republic was the natural heir of Napoleon III. . . . He had, however, been struck with the circumstance that so many Legitimists had been elected to the Assembly, and he was no more eager than they to stop to discuss constitutions. . . . He was the more disposed to wait, inasmuch as he saw in the Chamber the very rapid formation and growth of a group in which he had great confidence. Of these deputies M. Jules Simon has given a better definition than they could themselves formulate,—for this political philosopher has written a masterly history of these years. . . . Here is what Simon says of this party in the Assembly: 'There were in this body some five-score firm spirits who were alike incapable either of forsaking the principles whereon all society rests, or of giving up freedom. Of all forms of government they would have preferred constitutional monarchy, had they found it established, or could they have restored it by a vote without resort to force. But they quickly perceived that neither the Legitimists nor the Bonapartists would consent to the constitutional form; that such a monarchy could obtain a majority neither in the Parliament nor among the people. . . . Some of these men entertained for the Republic a distrust which, at first, amounted to aversion. Being persuaded, however, that they must choose between the Republic and the Empire . . . they did not despair of forming a Republic at once liberal and conservative. In a word, they thrust aside the Legitimate Monarchy as chimerical, Republican and Cæsarian dictatorship as alike hateful. . . . Of this party M. Thiers was not merely the head, but the body also.' . . . But there was another party, which, although the least numerous in the Assembly and split into factions at that, was the most numerous in the country,—the Republican party."—P. de Rémusat, *Thiers*, ch. 6-7.—"In the wake of Thiers followed such men as Rémusat, Casimir Périer, Léou Say, and Lafayette. This added strength made the Republicans the almost equal rivals of the other parties combined. So great was Thiers' influence that, despite his conversion to Republicanism, he was still able to control the Monarchical Assembly. A threat of resignation, so great was the dread of what might follow it, and so jealous were the Monarchists of two shades and the Imperialists of each other, was enough to bring the majority to the President's terms. It was under such political conditions that the infant Republic, during its first year, undertook the tasks of preserving peace, of maintaining internal order, of retrieving disaster, of tempting back prosperity and thrift to the desolated land, of relieving it of the burdens imposed by war, and, at the same time, of acquiring for itself greater security and permanency. The recovery of France was wonderfully rapid; her people began once more to taste sweet draughts of liberty; the indemnity was almost half diminished; and her industries, at the end of the year, were once more in full career. But the Republic was a long way from complete and unquestioned recognition. The second year of the Republic (1872-73) was passed amid constant conflicts between the rival parties. Thiers still maintained his ascendancy, and stoutly adhered to his defence of Republican institutions; but the Assembly was restive under him, and energetic attempts were made to bring about a fusion

between the Legitimists and the Orleanists. These attempts were rendered futile by the obstinacy of the Count of Chambord, who would yield nothing, either of principle or even of symbol, to his cousin of Orleans. The want of harmony among the Monarchists postponed the consideration of what should be the permanent political constitution of France until November of the year 1872, when a committee of thirty was chosen to recommend constitutional articles. Against this the Republicans protested. They declared that the Assembly had only been elected to make peace with Germany; . . . that dissolution was the only further act that the Assembly was competent to perform. This indicated the confidence of the Republicans in their increased strength in the country; and the fact that the Monarchists refused to dissolve shows that they were not far from holding this opinion of their opponents. Despite the rivalries and bitterness of the factions, the Republic met with no serious blow from the time of its provisional establishment in February, 1871, until May, 1873. Up to the latter period two thirds of the enormous indemnity had been paid, and the German force of occupation had almost entirely retired from French territory.

. . . But in May, 1873, a grave misfortune, alike to France and to the Republican institutions, occurred. At last the Monarchical reactionists of the Assembly had gathered courage to make open war upon President Thiers. Perceiving that his policy was having the effect of nourishing and adding ever new strength to the Republican cause, and that every month drifted them further from the opportunity and hope of restoring Monarchy or Empire . . . they now forgot their own differences, and resolved, at all hazards, to get rid of the Republic's most powerful protector. . . . The Duc de Broglie, the leader of the reactionary Monarchists, offered a resolution in the Assembly which was tantamount to a proposition of want of confidence in President Thiers. After an acrimonious debate, in which Thiers himself took part, De Broglie's motion was passed by a majority of fourteen. The President had no alternative but to resign; and thus the executive power, at a critical moment, passed out of Republican into Monarchical hands. Marshal MacMahon was at once chosen President. . . . MacMahon was strongly Catholic in religion; and so far as he was known to have any political opinions, they wavered between Legitimism and Imperialism—they were certainly as far as possible from Republicanism. Now was formed and matured a deliberate project to overthrow the young Republic, and to set up Monarchy in its place. All circumstances combined to favor its success. The new President was found to be at least willing that the thing should, if it could, be done. His principal minister, De Broglie, entered warmly into the plot. The Orleanist princes agreed to waive their claims, and the Count of Paris was persuaded to pay a visit to the Count of Chambord at his retreat at Frohsdorf, to acknowledge the elder Bourbon's right to the throne, and to abandon his own pretensions. The Assembly was carefully canvassed, and it was found that a majority could be relied upon to proclaim, at the ripe moment, Chambord as king, with the title of Henry V. The Republic was now, in the early autumn of 1873, in the most serious and real peril. It needed but a word from the Bourbon pretender to overthrow it, and to replace it by the throne of the Capets and the Valois. Happily, the old leaven of Bourbon bigotry existed in 'Henry V.' He conceded the point of reigning with parliamentary institutions, but he would not accept the tricolor as the flag of the restored mon-

archy. He insisted upon returning to France under the white banner of his ancestors. To him the throne was not worth a piece of cloth. To his obstinacy in clinging to this trifle of symbolism the Republic owed its salvation. The scheme to restore the monarchy thus fell through. The result was that the two wings of Monarchists flew apart again, and the Republicans, being now united and patient under the splendid leader-hip of Gambetta, once more began to wax in strength. It only remained to the Conservatives to make the best of the situation—to proceed to the forming of a Constitution, and to at least postpone to as late a period as possible the permanent establishment of the Republic. The first step was to confirm MacMahon in the Presidency for a definite period; and the 'Septennate,' giving him a lease of power for seven years—that is, until the autumn of 1880—was voted. . . . It was not until late in the year 1875 that the Constitution which is now the organic law of France was finally adopted [see FRANCE, CONSTITUTION OF]. The chief circumstance which impelled a majority of the Assembly to take this decisive step was the alarming revival of Imperialism in the country. This was shown in the success of Bonapartists in isolated elections to fill vacancies. Much as the Royalists distrusted a Republic, they dreaded yet more the restoration of the Empire; and the rapid progress made by the partisans of the Empire forced them to adopt what was really a moderate Republican Constitution. This Constitution provided that the President of the Republic should be elected by a joint convention of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies; that the Senate should consist of 300 members, of whom 75 were to be elected for life by the Assembly, and the remaining 225 by electoral colleges, composed of the deputies, the councillors-general, the members of the councils d'arrondissement, and delegates chosen from municipal councils; that the vacancies in the life senatorships should be filled by the Senate itself, while the term of the Senators elected by the colleges should be nine years, one third retiring every three years; that the Chamber of Deputies should consist of 533 members, and that the deputies should be chosen by single districts, instead of, as formerly, in groups by departments; that the President could only dissolve the Chamber of Deputies with the consent of the Senate; that money bills should originate in the Lower Chamber, and that the President should have the right of veto. The 'Septennate' organized and the Constitution adopted, the Assembly, which had clung to power for about five years, had no reason for continued existence, and at last dissolved early in 1876, having provided that the first general election under the new order of things should take place in February. . . . The result of the elections proved three things—the remarkable growth of Republican sentiment; the great progress made, in spite of the memory of Sedan, by the Bonapartist propaganda; and the utter hopelessness of any attempt at a Royalist restoration."—G. M. Towle, *Modern France*, ch. 4.—See also DEMOCRACY: Genesis of modern democracy.

ALSO IN: G. L. Dickinson, *Revolution and reaction in modern France*.—J. C. Bracq, *France under the third republic*.—J. Simon, *Government of M. Thiers*.—F. Le Goff, *Life of Thiers*, ch. 8-o.

1871-1906.—Political value of concordat lessened.—Desire to break it. See CONCORDAT: 1871-1000.

1872.—Reorganization of the army.—Universal military service. See WAR, PREPARATION FOR: 1872.

1874.—Treaties of peace and commerce with

Annamese government. See INDO-CHINA: B. C. 218-A. D. 1886.

1875-1889.—Stable settlements of the republic.—Presidencies of MacMahon and Grévy.—Military operations in Tunis, Madagascar and Tonkin.—Revision of the constitution.—Expulsion of the princes.—Boulangism.—Election of Sadi Carnot to the presidency.—“The last day of the year 1875 saw a final prorogation of this monarchist assembly which had established the Republic. It had been in existence nearly five years. The elections to the Senate gave a small majority to the Republicans. Those to the Chamber of Deputies (February, 1876) gave about two-thirds of its 532 seats to Republicans, mostly moderate Republicans. The ministry to which the leadership of this assembly was soon confided, was therefore naturally a ministry of moderate Republicans. M. Dufaure was prime minister, and M. Léon Say minister of finance. . . . The Dufaure ministry was not long-lived, being succeeded before the year 1876 closed, by a ministry led by M. Jules Simon, a distinguished orator and writer. The tenure of French cabinets in general has been so little permanent under the Third Republic, that in the nineteen years which have elapsed since the fall of the Empire, twenty-five cabinets have had charge of the executive government. . . . Few events had marked the history of the Simon ministry when, suddenly, in May, 1877, the President of the Republic demanded its resignation. Much influenced of late by Monarchist advisers, he had concluded that the moderate Republican cabinets did not possess the confidence of the chambers, and, feeling that the responsibility of maintaining the repose and security of France rested upon him, had resolved, rather than allow the management of the affairs of the country to fall into the hands of M. Gambetta and the Radicals, to appoint a ministry of conservatives, trusting that the country would ratify the step. A ministry was organized under the Duke of Broglie, and the Chamber of Deputies was first prorogued, and then, with the consent of the Senate, dissolved. The death of M. Thiers in September caused a great national demonstration in honor of that patriotic statesman, ‘the liberator of the territory.’ The result of the ensuing elections was a complete victory for the Republicans, who secured nearly three-fourths of the seats in the new Chamber. The Marshal, appointing a ministry composed of adherents of his policy who were not members of the Assembly, attempted to make head against the majority, but was forced in December to yield to the will of the people and of their representatives, and to recall M. Dufaure and the moderate Republicans to office. The year 1878 therefore passed off quietly, being especially distinguished by the great success of the universal exhibition held at Paris. . . . At the beginning of 1879 elections were held in pursuance of the provisions of the constitution, for the renewal of a portion of the Senate. . . . Elections were held for the filling of 82 seats. Of these the Republicans won 66, the Monarchist groups 16. This was a loss of 42 seats on the part of the latter, and assured to the Republicans a full control of the Senate. It had also the effect of definitively establishing the Republic as the permanent government of France. The Republican leaders therefore resolved to insist upon extensive changes in the personnel of the Council of State and the judiciary body. . . . When they also proposed to make extensive changes in other departments, Marshal MacMahon, who foresaw the impossibility of maintaining harmonious relations with the cabinets which the Republican majority would now de-

mand, took these new measures as a pretext, and, on January 30, 1879, resigned the office of President of the Republic. On the same day the Senate and Chamber, united in National Assembly, elected as his successor, for the constitutional term of seven years, M. Jules Grévy, president of the Chamber of Deputies a moderate Republican who enjoyed general respect. M. Grévy was 71 years old. M. Gambetta was chosen to succeed him as president of the Chamber. The cabinet was remodelled, M. Dufaure resigning his office and being succeeded by M. Waddington. In the reorganized ministry one of the most prominent of the new members was M. Jules Ferry, its minister of education. He soon brought forward two measures which excited violent discussion: the one dealing with the regulation of superior education, the other with the constitution of the Supreme Council of Public Instruction. . . . In March, 1880, the Senate rejected the bill respecting universities. The ministry, now composed of members of the ‘pure Left’ (instead of a mixture of these and the Left Centre) under M. de Freycinet, resolved to enforce the existing laws against non-authorized congregations. The Jesuits were warned to close their establishments; the others, to apply for authorization. Failing to carry out these decrees, M. de Freycinet was forced to resign, and was succeeded as prime minister by M. Ferry, under whose orders the decrees were executed in October and November, establishments of the Jesuits and others, to the number of nearly 300, being forcibly closed and their inmates dispersed.”—V. Duruy, *History of France*, pp. 666-670.—“At last France had an administration which lasted a little over two years. But Ferry was still intensely unpopular. He had become the successor of Gambetta and the exponent of the policy of Opportunism, which he tried to carry out with even more constructive statesmanship. But he was totally wanting in Gambetta’s magnetism, and his domineering ways made him hated the more. The Clericals opposed him as the ‘persecutor’ of the Catholic religion, and the Radicals thought he did not go far enough in his hostility to the Church. For Jules Ferry saw that the times were not ripe for disestablishment, and that the system of the *Concordat*, in vogue since Napoleon I, really gave the State more control over the Clergy than it would have in case of separation. The State would lose its power in appointments and salaries. Jules Ferry knew that the Church could be useful to him, and the politic Leo XIII, very different from Pius IX, was ready to meet him part way, though the Pope himself had to humor to a certain extent the hostility to the Republic of the French Monarchists and Clericals. Jules Ferry, like Gambetta, also had to put up with the veiled hostility of President Grévy, working in Parliament through the intrigues of his son-in-law Wilson. Moreover, Ferry was made to bear the odium for a long period of financial depression, which had lasted since 1882, starting with the sensational failure (*krach*) of a large bank, the Union générale. So his career was made a torture and he was vilified perhaps more than any man of the third Republic. The extremists had in time another grievance against Jules Ferry in his opposition to a radical revision of the constitution. The enemies of the Republic still feigned to believe, especially when the death of the comte de Chambord in 1883 had fused the Legitimists and Orleanists, that an integral revision would pave the way for a monarchical restoration. The Radicals demanded the suppression of the power of the Senate, whose consent was necessary to summon a constitutional convention. A Congress was sum-

moned in 1884 at which the very limited programme of the Ministry was put through. The changes merely eliminated from the constitution the prescriptions for senatorial elections. After this, by an ordinary statute, life-senatorships were abolished for the future, and some changes were made in the choice of senatorial electors. [After the fall of the Ferry cabinet, 1885, a law was passed providing for *scrutin de liste*; each department being entitled to a number of deputies proportioned to the number of its citizens, the deputies for each being chosen on a general or departmental ticket; and any prince of families formerly reigning in France were declared ineligible to the office of president, deputy or senator.] Jules Ferry was what would today be called an imperialist. . . . [He] thought that the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, formed in 1882, was going to isolate France permanently in Europe. So she was to regain her prestige by territorial annexations in the Sudan, the Congo, Madagascar [in accordance with the terms of the treaty signed in 1883, the foreign relations of the island were put under the control of France, while the queen of Madagascar retained control of internal affairs], Annam, and Tonkin. The French had some nominal rights on Tonkin since 1874, and disturbances there had caused a revival of activities. When the French officer Rivière was killed in an ambush in May, 1883, Jules Ferry sent heavy reinforcements and forced the King of Annam to acknowledge a French protectorate. This stirred up the Chinese, who also claimed Annam, and who caused the invasion of Tonkin by guerrillas supported by their own troops. After various operations in Tonkin the Treaty of Tien-tsin was signed with China in May, 1884, by which China made the concessions called for by the French. . . . While Jules Ferry in the spring of 1885 was actually negotiating a final peace with China on terms satisfactory to the French, the cession of Annam and Tonkin with a commercial treaty, and while he was categorically affirming in the Chamber of Deputies the success of military operations in Tonkin, a sudden dispatch from the East threw everything into a turmoil. General Brière de l'Isle telegraphed from Tonkin that the French had been disastrously defeated at Lang-son and General de Négrier severely wounded. The news proved to be a grievous exaggeration which was contradicted by a later dispatch some hours after, but the damage was done. On March 30, in the Chamber of Deputies, Jules Ferry was insulted and abused by the leaders of a coalition of anti-Republicans and Radicals. The 'Tonkinois,' as his vilifiers called him, disgusted and discouraged, made little attempt to defend himself and his Cabinet fell by a vote of 306 to 149. On April 4, the preliminaries of a victorious treaty of peace was signed with China. The fall of Jules Ferry was a severe blow to efficient government. It marked the end, for a long time, of any effort to construct satisfactory united Cabinets led by a strong man. It set a precedent for innumerable short-lived Ministries built on the treacherous sands of shifting groups. It paved the way for a deterioration in parliamentary management. It accentuated the bitter hatred now existing between the Union des gauches, as the united Gambetta and Ferry Opportunist groups called themselves, on the one hand, and the Radicals and the Extreme Left on the other. The Radicals, in particular, were influential, and one of their more moderate members, Henri Brisson, became the head of the next Cabinet. Brisson's name testified to an advance toward radicalism, but the Cabinet contained all sorts of

moderate and nondescript elements, dubbed a 'concentration' Cabinet. Its chief function was to tide over the elections of 1885, for a new Chamber of Deputies. In anticipation of this election Gambetta's long-desired *scrutin de liste* had been rather unexpectedly voted. The workings of the new method of voting were less satisfactory than had been anticipated. Republican dissensions and a greater union of the opposition caused a tremendous reactionary landslide on the first ballot. This was greatly reduced on the second ballot, so that the Republicans emerge with a large though diminished majority. But the old Left Centre had practically disappeared and the Radicals were vastly more numerous. The great divisions were now the Right, the moderate Union des gauches, the Radicals, and the revolutionary Extreme Left. The Brisson Cabinet was blamed for not 'working' the elections more successfully and it resigned at the time of President Grévy's re-election. He had reached the end of his seven years' term and was chosen again on December 28, 1885. He was to have troublesome experiences during the short time he remained in the Presidency. The Freycinet, Goblet, and Rouvier Cabinets, which fill the rest of Grévy's Presidency, were largely engrossed with a new danger in the person of General Boulanger. He first appeared in a prominent position as Minister of War in the Freycinet Cabinet. A young, brilliant, and popular though unprincipled officer, he soon devoted himself to demogogy and put himself at the head of the jingoes who called Ferry the slave of Bismarck. The expeditions of Tunis and Tonkin had, moreover, thrown a glamour over the flag and the army. Boulanger began at once to play politics and catered to the advanced parties, who adopted him as their own. He backed up the spectacular expulsion of the princes, which, as an answer to the monarchical progress, drove from France the heads of formerly reigning families and their direct heirs in line of primogeniture, and carried out their radiation from the army. [The Count of Paris and his son the Duke of Orleans, Prince Napoleon and his son Prince Victor were banished by presidential decree, June, 1886.] The populace cheered the gallant general on his black horse, and when Bismarck complained that he was a menace to the peace of Europe Boulanger's fortune seemed made. At a certain moment France and Germany were on the brink of war in the so-called Schnaebele affair. So, when Boulanger was left out of the Rouvier Cabinet combination in May, 1887, as dangerous, he played more than ever to the gallery as the persecuted saviour of France and, on being sent to take command of an army corps in the provinces at Clermont-Ferrand, he was escorted to the train by thousands of enthusiastic manifestants. Meanwhile, President Grévy was nearing a disaster. In October, 1887, General Caffarel, an important member of the General Staff, was arrested for participating in the sale of decorations. When Boulanger declared that the arrest of Caffarel was an indirect assault on himself, originally responsible for Caffarel's appointment to the General Staff, the affair got greater notoriety. The scandal assumed national proportions when it was found to involve the President's own son-in-law Daniel Wilson, well known to be a shady and tricky politician, who had the octogenarian President under his thumb. The matter reached the scale of a Cabinet crisis, since it was by an overthrow of the Ministry that the President could best be reached. Unfortunately, Grévy could not see that the most dignified thing for him to do was to resign, even though he was in no way involved in Wilson's misdemeanors.

For days he tried to persuade prominent men to form a Cabinet; he tried to argue his right and duty to remain. But finally the Chamber and Senate brought actual pressure upon him by voting to adjourn to specific hours in the expectation of a presidential communication. He bowed to the inevitable and retired from the Presidency [December 2, 1887] with the reputation of a discredited old miser, instead of the great statesman he had appeared on beginning his term of office."—C. H. C. Wright, *History of the third French republic*, pp. 86-95—"On the next day the houses met in National Assembly at Versailles to choose the successor of M. Grévy. . . . The most prominent candidates for the Republicans were M. Ferry and M. de Freycinet; the former, however, was unpopular with the country. The followers of both, finding their election impossible, resolved to cast their votes for M. Sadi Carnot, a Republican of the highest integrity and universally respected. M. Carnot, a distinguished engineer, grandson of the Carnot who had, as minister of war, organized the victories of the armies of the Revolution, was accordingly elected President of the French Republic. . . . The chief difficulties encountered by the cabinet arose out of the active propagandism exercised in behalf of General Boulanger. . . . His name . . . became the rallying-point of those who were hostile to the parliamentary system, or to the Republican government in its present form. Alarmed both by his singular popularity and by his political intrigues, the government instituted a prosecution of him before the High Court of Justice; upon this he fled from the country, and the dangers of the agitation in his favor were, for the time at least, quieted. On May 5, 1880, the one-hundredth anniversary of the assembly of the States-General was held at Versailles. On the next day, President Carnot formally opened the Universal Exhibition at Paris."—V. Duruy, *History of France*, pp. 676-677.—See also WORLD WAR; Causes: Indirect: f.

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1875-1919.—Struggle for proportional representation.—*Scrutin d'arrondissement* and *scrutin de liste*.—Agitation for electoral reform before and after the World War. See SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: France: 1875-1910.

1876-1890.—Study and development of armor on warships. See WARSHIPS: 1861-1892.

1877-1882.—Anglo-French control of Egyptian finances. See EGYPT: 1875-1882; 1882-1883.

1878-1881.—International conference on bimetalism (1878).—Attitude towards it. See MONEY AND BANKING: Modern: 1867-1893.

1879-1894.—Organization of Panama Canal Company.—Operations.—Bankruptcy of company. See PANAMA CANAL: 1869-1894.

1880.—Tahiti proclaimed a French colony. See TAHITI.

1881.—Bill authorizing postal savings banks under state control. See POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS: 1881.

1881-1895.—Territorial claims and acquisitions in Africa. See AFRICA: Modern European occupation: Later 19th century; 1884-1899; BELGIAN CONGO: 1876-1890; CAMEROONS: Occupation

by Germany; DAHOMEY; LIBERIA: 1892-1904; NIGERIA: 1882-1899; SOMALILAND: Peace with the Mullah; TUNIS: 1881-1898.

1882-1892.—Tariff legislation.—Protective measures. See TARIFF: 1871-1892.

1884.—Temporary control of Formosa. See FORMOSA: 1874-1910.

1889-1900.—First child welfare legislation. See CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 1880-1900.

1890.—French protectorate over Madagascar. See MADAGASCAR: 1810-1894.

1892-1893.—Panama canal scandal. See PANAMA CANAL: 1869-1894.

1893.—Interest and aggression in Siam. See SIAM: 1800-1892.

1893-1921.—French administration of Cochinchina. See INDO-CHINA: 1893-1921.

1894-1895.—Assassination of President Carnot.—Election and resignation of Casimir-Périer.—Election of Felix Faure to the presidency.—"On June 24, 1894, while at Lyons, whither he had gone to pay a state visit to an international exhibition, President Carnot was fatally stabbed by an underwitted Italian anarchist named Caserio Santo, and died within a few hours. Never were more futile and abominable crimes committed than those which sacrificed Carnot and McKinley. The customary promptness in the choice of a President . . . was observed in the election of Carnot's successor. The historic name and the social and financial position of the new chief magistrate, Jean Casimir-Perier, seemed to the monarchical sister-nations a guarantee of national stability and dignity. In reality the election brought about a more definite cleavage between rival political tendencies, Casimir-Perier, grandson of Louis-Philippe's great minister, obviously represented the Moderates, most of whom tried in all sincerity to carry out the *esprit nouveau* and a policy of good-will toward the Catholic Church. The Radicals said that this was playing into the hands of the Clericals, and to the Socialists Casimir-Perier was merely a hated capitalist. He was, moreover, unfortunately unfit for the acrimonies of political life. High-strung and emotional, he writhed under misinterpretation and abuse, and rebelled against the constitutional powerlessness of his office. He had never really wanted the Presidency and had accepted it chiefly through the personal persuasion of his friend the statesman Burdeau, who unfortunately died soon after his election. The brief Presidency of Casimir-Perier, lasting less than a year, was destined to see the beginning of the worst trial the French Republic had yet experienced, the famous Dreyfus case. . . . The Minister of War, General Mercier, who had recently committed some much-criticized administrative blunders, and who now wished to show his efficiency, caused the arrest of Dreyfus. Then, egged on by anti-Semitic newspapers which had got hold of Dreyfus's name, Mercier brought him before a court-martial. . . . With dramatic unexpectedness . . . (January 15), Casimir-Perier resigned the Presidency. During the whole Dreyfus affair Casimir-Perier had chafed because his ministers had constantly acted without keeping him informed, particularly when he was called upon by the German Government to acknowledge that it had had nothing to do with Dreyfus. He had lost by death the support of his friend Burdeau; he was discouraged by the campaign of abuse against him, especially the election as Deputy in Paris of Gérault-Richard, one of his most active vilifiers. In particular he felt that his own Cabinet, and above all its leader Dupuy, were false to him. A discussion in the Chamber concerning the duration of

the state guarantees to certain of the great railway companies ended in a vote unfavorable to the Cabinet, which resigned, whereupon Casimir-Perier seized the opportunity to go too. . . . Two days later the electoral Congress met at Versailles. The Radicals supported Henri Brisson. The Moderates and the Conservatives were divided between Waldeck-Rousseau and Félix Faure, but Waldeck-Rousseau having thrown his strength on the second ballot to Faure, the latter was elected. . . . Félix Faure's first Cabinet was led by the Republican Moderate Alexandre Ribot. It lasted less than a year and its history was chiefly noteworthy, at least in foreign affairs, by the increasing openness of the Franco-Russian *rapprochement* at the ceremonies of the inauguration of the Kiel Canal. In internal affairs there were some violent industrial disturbances and strikes. In October, 1895, the Moderates gave way to the Radical Cabinet of Léon Bourgeois."—C. H. C. Wright, *History of the third French republic*, pp. 114-116, 118-121.

1894-1896.—Final subjugation and annexation of Madagascar. See MADAGASCAR: 1894-1899.

1894-1906.—Dreyfus affair.—First trial and conviction.—Case reopened by Picquart in 1896.—Second trial, in 1899.—Vindication in 1906.—Significance of the affair.—"In October 1894, Alfred Dreyfus, an Alsatian Jew, and a captain in the artillery, attached to the General Staff, was arrested amid circumstances of unusual secrecy, was treated with great harshness, and was brought before a court-martial, where he was accused of treason, of transmitting important military documents to a foreign power, presumably Germany. The accusation rested on a document that had come into the possession of the War Office, and was soon to be famous as the 'bordereau,' a memorandum merely containing a list of several documents said to be inclosed. The bordereau bore no address, no date, nor signature, but it was declared to be in the known handwriting of Dreyfus. The court-martial, acting behind closed doors, found him guilty, and condemned him to expulsion from the army and to imprisonment for life. In January 1895 he was publicly degraded in a most dramatic manner in the courtyard of the Military School, before a large detachment of the army. His stripes were torn from his uniform, his sword was broken. Throughout this agonizing scene he was defiant, asserted his innocence, and shouted 'Vive la France!' He was then deported to a small, barren, and unhealthy island off French Guiana, in South America, appropriately called Devil's Island, and was there kept in solitary confinement. . . . No one questioned the justice of the verdict. The opinion was practically unanimous that he had received a traitor's deserts. Only the immediate family and circle of Dreyfus maintained that a monstrous wrong had been done, and demanded further investigation. Their protests passed unheeded. The case was considered closed.

"It was reopened in 1896 by Colonel Picquart, one of the youngest and most promising officers in the army, attached since June 1895 to the detective bureau, or Intelligence Department, of the General Staff. In the course of his duties he had become convinced that the 'bordereau' was not the work of Dreyfus, but of a certain Major Esterhazy, who was shortly shown to be one of the most abandoned characters in the army. Picquart informed his superior, the Minister of War, of this discovery. The military authorities, instead of investigating the matter, not wishing to have the case reopened, sent Picquart to Tunis and Algeria, the purpose apparently being to get him out of the

way. Colonel Henry was appointed to his place. By this time the public was becoming interested. Some of the documents in the famous case had found their way into print; the mysterious elements in the proceedings aroused curiosity and some uneasiness. Toward the end of 1897, Scheurer-Kestner, a vice-president of the Senate, who had become convinced of the innocence of Dreyfus, tried to have the case reopened. His efforts met with the blunt statement of the prime minister, Méline, that the Dreyfus case no longer existed, was a *chose jugée*. But the fact that a man of such importance, and such known integrity of character and mind, as Scheurer-Kestner, was convinced that a cruel wrong had been committed, was of unmistakable consequence. The wrath of the anti-Dreyfus party was increased; criminations and recriminations flew back and forth. Race hatred of the Jews, zealously fanned for several years by a group of journalists, fed the flames. Esterhazy was now brought before a court-martial, given a very travesty of a trial, and triumphantly acquitted, congratulated, *avec émotion*, by the members of the court itself (January 11, 1898). On the next day Colonel Picquart was arrested and imprisoned on charges made by Esterhazy. On the day following that, January 13th, Émile Zola, the well-known novelist, published a letter of great boldness and brilliancy, in which he made most scathing charges against the judges of both the Dreyfus and Esterhazy courts-martial, and practically dared the Government to prosecute him. His desire was thus to reopen the whole Dreyfus question. The Government prosecuted him in a trial which was a parody of justice, secured his condemnation to imprisonment and fine, and evaded the question of Dreyfus. The Zola condemnation was later quashed by a higher court on a mere technicality. He was later tried again, and again condemned (July 1898) by default, having fled to London. The Dreyfus case had not been reopened. Meanwhile, the Méline ministry had been overthrown, and the Brisson ministry had come into power, with Cavaignac as Minister of War. On July 7, 1898, Cavaignac, intending to settle this troublesome matter once for all, made a speech before the Chamber of Deputies in which, omitting all mention of the bordereau, he brought forward three documents as new proofs of the guilt of Dreyfus. His speech was so convincing that the Chamber, by a vote of five hundred and seventy-two to two, ordered that it should be posted in every one of the thirty-six thousand communes of France. The victory was overwhelming. Immediately, however, Colonel Picquart wrote to Cavaignac that he could prove that the first two documents cited had nothing to do with Dreyfus, and that the third was an outright forgery. He was rearrested. It was immediately after this that Zola was condemned for the second time, as stated above. Events now took a most sensational turn. At the end of August the newspapers of Paris contained the announcement that Colonel Henry had confessed that he had forged the document which Picquart had declared was a forgery and that then he had committed suicide. Cavaignac resigned, maintaining, however, that the crime of Henry did not prove the innocence of Dreyfus. The public was vastly disturbed by these events. Why was there any need of new proof to establish Dreyfus's guilt, and if the new proof was the work of crime, what about the original proof, the famous bordereau? At this juncture the case was referred to the Court of Cassation, the highest court in France. While it was deliberating, the President, Faure, known as an anti-Dreyfusite, died suddenly

under somewhat mysterious circumstances, and on February 18, 1899, Émile Loubet, known to be favorable to a reopening of the question, was chosen as his successor. Sensations showed no signs of abating. On June 2nd, Esterhazy, who had fled to England, announced that he had himself written the bordereau. The enemies of Dreyfus now asserted that he had simply been bribed by the Dreyfus party to make this declaration. On the next day the Court of Cassation annulled the decision of the court-martial of 1894, and ordered that Dreyfus be tried again before a court-martial at Rennes. Dreyfus was brought from Devil's Island, and his second trial began in August 1899. This new trial was conducted in the midst of the most excited state of the public mind in France, and of intense interest abroad. Party passions were inflamed as they had not been in France since the Commune. The supporters of Dreyfus were denounced frantically as slanderers of the honor of the army, the very bulwark of the safety of the country, as traitors to France. At the Rennes tribunal, Dreyfus encountered the violent hostility of the high army officers, who had been his accusers five years before. These men were desperately resolved that he should again be found guilty. The trial was of an extraordinary character. It was the evident purpose of the judges not to allow the matter to be thoroughly probed. Testimony, which in England or America would have been considered absolutely vital, was barred out. The universal opinion outside France was, as was stated in the London *Times*, 'that the whole case against Captain Dreyfus, as set forth by the heads of the French army, in plain combination against him, was foul with forgeries, lies, contradictions and puerilities, and that nothing to justify his condemnation had been shown.' Nevertheless, the court, by a vote of five to two, declared him guilty, 'with extenuating circumstances,' an amazing verdict. It is not generally held that treason to one's country can plead extenuating circumstances. The court condemned him to ten years' imprisonment, from which the years spent at Devil's Island might be deducted. Thus the 'honor' of the army had been maintained. President Loubet immediately pardoned Dreyfus, and he was released, broken in health. This solution was satisfactory to neither side. The anti-Dreyfusites vented their rage on Loubet. On the other hand, Dreyfus demanded exoneration, a recognition of his innocence, not pardon. But the Government was resolved that this discussion, which had so frightfully torn French society, should cease. Against the opposition of the Dreyfusites, it passed, in 1900, an amnesty for all those implicated in the notorious case, which meant that no legal actions could be brought against any of the participants on either side. The friends of Dreyfus, Zola, and Picquart protested vigorously against the erection of a barrier against their vindication. The bill, nevertheless, passed.

"Six years later, however, the Dreyfus party attained its vindication. The revision of the whole case was submitted to the Court of Cassation. On July 12, 1906, that body quashed the verdict of the Rennes court-martial. It declared that the charges which had been brought against Dreyfus had no foundation, that the bordereau was the work of Esterhazy, that another document of importance was a forgery, that the Rennes court-martial had been guilty of gross injustice in refusing to hear testimony that would have established the innocence of the accused. The case was not to be submitted to another military tribunal but was closed. The Government now restored

Captain Dreyfus to his rank in the army, or rather, gave him the rank of major, allowing him to count to that end the whole time in which he had been unjustly deprived of his standing. On July 21, 1906, he was invested with a decoration of the Legion of Honor in the very courtyard of the Military School, where eleven years before, he had been so dramatically degraded. Colonel Picquart was promoted brigadier-general, and shortly became Minister of War. Zola had died in 1903, but in 1908 his body was transferred to the Pantheon, as symbolizing a kind of civic canonization. Thus ended the 'Affair.' The Dreyfus case, originally simply involving the fate of an alleged traitor, had soon acquired a far greater significance. Party and personal ambitions and interests sought to use it for purposes of their own, and thus the question of legal right and wrong was woefully distorted and obscured. The Anti-Semites used it to inflame the people against the Jews. They won the support of the Clericals, ingeniously suggesting that the so-called anti-Religious legislation of the Third Republic, particularly that establishing secular education, was really the work of the Jews, influencing politicians by their money, and that the Jews were now getting control of the army, and that Dreyfus himself showed how they would use it for traitorous purposes. Further, reactionaries of all kinds joined the anti-Dreyfus party: Monarchists, anxious to discredit the Republic, that thus they might profit; so-called Nationalists, anxious to change the government along the lines of Boulangism and to adopt a vigorous foreign policy. On the other hand, there allied to the defense of Dreyfus those who believed in his innocence, those who denounced the hatred of a race as a relic of barbarism, those who believed that the military should be subordinate to the civil authority and should not regard itself above the law, as these army officers were doing; all who believed that the whole opposition was merely conducting an insidious, covert, dangerous attack upon the Republic, and all who believed that clerical influence should be kept out of politics."—C. D. Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 358-363.

ALSO IN: F. C. Conybeare, *Dreyfus case*.—A. Dreyfus, *Five years of my life*.—E. Zola, *L'Affaire Dreyfus*.—R. W. Hale, *Dreyfus story*.—G. Barlow, *History of the Dreyfus case*.—G. W. Stevens, *Tragedy of Dreyfus*.

1895.—Parliamentary or constitutional system. See PRESIDENT: France.

1895.—Cession of Kiang-hung by China. See CHINA: 1894-1895 (March-July).

1895.—Alliance with Russia.—The most important work of the new government was the arrangement of an alliance with Russia, which was conspicuously signified to the world by the union of the French and Russian fleets when they entered the German harbor of Kiel, on the 17th of June, to take part in the celebration of the opening of the Kaiser Wilhelm ship canal, between the Baltic and North seas (see GERMANY: 1895 [June]). This gave the greatest possible satisfaction to the nation, and powerfully strengthened the ministers for a time; but they were discredited a little later in the year by disclosures of waste, extravagance and peculation in the military department. Early in the autumn session of the Chamber of Deputies a vote was carried against them, and they resigned. A more radical cabinet was then formed, under M. Leon Bourgeois, president of the council and minister of the interior; with M. Berthelot holding the portfolio of foreign affairs, M. Cavaignac that of war, and M. Lockroy that of the marine.

1895-1896.—Hostility towards Italy in eastern and African policy. See ITALY: 1895-1896.

1896 (January).—Agreement with Great Britain concerning Siam. See SIAM: 1896-1899.

1896 (April-May).—Change of ministry.—Socialist gains.—“The cleavage between the two tendencies of the Republican Party became more marked. The Moderates joined forces with the Conservatives to oppose the schemes for social and financial reforms of the Radicals and of the representatives of the working classes. Prominent among these was the proposal for a progressive income tax. The Senate, naturally a more conservative body, was opposed to the Bourgeois Cabinet, which had a majority, though not a very steadfast one, in the Chamber of Deputies. The Senate, usually a nonentity in determining the fall of a cabinet, for once successfully asserted its power and, by refusing to vote the credits asked for by the Ministry for the Madagascar campaign, caused it to resign in April, 1896. The enemies of the Senate maintained that the Chamber of Deputies, elected by direct suffrage, was the only judge of the fate of a cabinet. But Bourgeois's hold was at best precarious and he seized the opportunity to withdraw. The Méline Cabinet which followed was a return to the Moderates supported by the Conservatives. Its opponents accused it of following what in American political parlance is called a ‘stand-pat’ policy, but it remained in office longer than any ministry up to its time, a little over two years. It afforded, at any rate, an opportunity for the adversaries of the Republic to strengthen their positions and encouraged the transformation of the Dreyfus case into a political instead of a purely judicial matter.”—C. H. C. Wright, *History of the third French republic*, pp. 121-122.—The May elections revealed Socialistic gains throughout France; the Parti Ouvrier alone reckoned more than eighteen hundred municipal councillors elected upon its collectivist program.

1896-1906.—Algerian encroachments on Morocco. See MOROCCO: 1896-1906.

1897 (June).—Renewal of the privileges of the bank of France. See MONEY AND BANKING: Modern: 1793-1920.

1897-1899.—Relations with China.—Cessions and concessions.—Lease of Kwang-chow-wan.—“Battle of Concessions.”—Demands for settlement at Shanghai.—Support of the “open door” commercial policy in China. See CHINA: 1897 (May-June); 1898 (February-December); (April-August); (May); 1898-1899; 1899-1900.

1898 (May-November).—General elections.—Fall of the Méline ministry.—Brisson ministry struggling with the Dreyfus question.—Coalition cabinet, with Dupuy as president of the council.—“Public opinion was becoming yet more violently excited [over the Dreyfus case]. France was divided into two great camps, the line of cleavage often estranging the closest friends and relatives. On the one side was a vast majority consisting of the Clericals, the jingoes or Nationalists, the anti-Semites, and the unreflecting mass of the population. On the other were ranged the ‘intellectuals,’ the Socialists who were now rallying to the cause of tolerance, the Jews, and the few French Protestants. The League of the Rights of Man stood opposed to the association of the *Patrie Française*. In the midst of this turmoil were held the elections of May, 1898, for the renewal of the Chamber of Deputies. The political coloring of the new body was not sensibly changed, but the open Dreyfusites were all excluded. The Moderates now generally dubbed themselves ‘Progressists.’ None the less at the first session the

now long-lived Méline Cabinet resigned after a vote requesting it to govern with fewer concessions to the Right. The next Cabinet was Radical, headed by Henri Brisson. His mind was not yet definitely made up on the matter of revision, and he gave concessions to the Nationalists by appointing as Minister of War Godefroy Cavaignac. This headstrong personage, proud of an historic name, undertook to manage the Cabinet and to prove once for all to the Chamber the guilt of Dreyfus. In his speech he relied mainly on the letter mentioned at the Zola trial as written by the Italian to the German *attaché*. Once more the Dreyfus affair seemed permanently settled, and once more the contrary proved to be the case. In August Cavaignac discovered, to his dismay, that the document he had sent to the Chamber, with such emphasis on its importance, was an out-and-out forgery of Henry. The latter was put under arrest and committed suicide. Discussion followed between Brisson, now converted to revision, and Cavaignac, still too stubborn to change his mind with regard to Dreyfus, in spite of his recent discovery. Cavaignac resigned as Minister of War, was replaced by General Zurlinden, who withdrew in a few days and was in turn succeeded by another general, Chanoine, thought to be in sympathy with the Cabinet. He in turn played his colleagues false and resigned unexpectedly during a meeting of the Chamber. Weakened by these successive blows the Brisson Cabinet itself had to resign, but its leader had now forwarded to the supreme court of the land, the Cour de Cassation, the petition of Dreyfus's wife for a revision of his sentence. The first step had at last been taken. The Criminal Chamber accepted the request and proceeded to a further detailed investigation. The Brisson Ministry was followed by a third Cabinet of the unabashed Dupuy.”—C. H. C. Wright, *History of the third French republic*, pp. 128-131.

1898 (June).—Sugar conference at Brussels. See SUGAR BOUNTIES.

1898 (September-November).—Nile question and England.—Marchand's expedition at Fashoda. See EGYPT: 1898 (September-November).

1898-1899 (June-June).—Convention with England defining possessions in West and North Africa.—Great empire in the Sudan and Sahara. See NIGERIA: 1882-1890.

1898-1912.—Economic and cultural development of Algeria under the French. See ALGERIA: 1898-1912.

1899 (February-June).—Death of President Faure.—Election of Loubet.—Revolutionary attempts of “Nationalist” agitators.—Waldeck-Rousseau ministry.—“President Faure died suddenly and under mysterious circumstances on February 16, 1899. He had opposed revision and his death, attributed to apoplexy, was a gain to the revisionists who were accused by his friends of having caused his murder. . . . The successor of Félix Faure, Emile Loubet, was elected on February 18, 1899, by a good majority over Jules Méline, the candidate of the larger number of the Moderates or ‘Progressists’ and of the Conservatives. Loubet was himself a man of Moderate views, but he was thought to favor a revision of the Dreyfus case. Among the charges of his enemies was that, as Minister of the Interior in 1892, he had held, but had kept secret, the famous list of the ‘Hundred and Four’ and had prevented the seizure of the papers of Baron de Reinach and the arrest of Arton. So Loubet's return to Paris from Versailles was amid hostile cries of ‘Loubet-Panama’ and ‘Vive l'armée!’ On February 23, after the state funeral of President Faure, a de-

tachment of troops led by General Roget was returning to its barracks in an outlying quarter of Paris. Suddenly the Nationalist and quondam Boulangerist Paul Déroulède, now chief of the Ligue des Patriotes and vigorous opponent of parliamentary government, though a Deputy himself, rushed to General Roget, and, grasping the bridle of his horse, tried to persuade him to lead his troops to the Elysée, the presidential residence, and overthrow the Government. Déroulède had expected to encounter General de Pellieux, a more amenable leader, and one of the noisy generals at the Zola trial. General Roget, who had been substituted at the last moment, refused to accede and caused the arrest of Déroulède, with his fellow Deputy and conspirator Marcel Habert. Meanwhile the Dreyfus case had been taken out of the hands of the Criminal Chamber and given to the whole Court. To the dismay of the anti-Dreyfusites the Court, as a body, annulled, on June 3, the verdict of the court-martial of 1894, and decided that Dreyfus should appear before a second military court at Rennes for another trial. Thus party antagonisms were becoming more and more acute. In addition Dupuy, the head of the Cabinet, seemed to be spiting the new President. On the day after the verdict of the Cour de Cassation, at the Auteuil races, President Loubet was roughly jostled by a band of fashionable young Royalists and struck with a cane by Baron de Christiani. A week later, at the Grand Prize races at Longchamps, on June 11, Dupuy, as though to atone for his previous carelessness, brought out a large array of troops, so obviously over-numerous as to cause new disturbances among the crowd desirous of manifesting its sympathy with the chief magistrate. More arrests were made and, at the meeting of the Chamber of Deputies the next day, the Cabinet was overthrown by an adverse vote. The ministerial crisis brought about by the fall of Dupuy was as important as any under the Third Republic because of its consequences in the redistribution of parties. . . . At last public opinion was astounded by the masterly combination made by Waldeck-Rousseau, Gambetta's former lieutenant, who of recent years had kept somewhat aloof from active participation in politics. He brought together a ministry of 'défense républicaine,' which its opponents, however, called a cabinet for the 'liquidation' of the Dreyfus case. The old policy of 'Republican concentration' of Opportunists and Radicals was given up in favor of a mass formation of the various advanced groups of the Left, including the Socialists. Waldeck-Rousseau was a Moderate Republican, whose legal practice of recent years had been mainly that of a corporation lawyer, but he was a cool-headed Opportunist. He realized the ill-success of the policy of the 'esprit nouveau,' and saw the necessity of making advances to the Socialists, who more and more held the balance of power. He succeeded in uniting in his Cabinet Moderates like himself, Radicals, and, for the first time in French parliamentary history, an out-and-out Socialist, Alexandre Millerand, author of the famous 'Programme of Saint-Mandé' of 1896, or declaration of faith of Socialism. Still more astounding was the presence as Minister of War, in the same Cabinet with Millerand, of General de Galliffet, a bluff, outspoken, and dashing aristocratic officer, a favorite with the whole army, but fiercely hated by the proletariat because of his part in the repression of the Commune. The first days of the new Cabinet were stormy and its outlook was dubious. The task of reconciling such divergent elements, even against a common foe, seemed an impossibility, until at last the Radicals

under Brisson swung into line. Such was the beginning of a Republican grouping which later, during the anti-Clerical campaign, was known as *le Bloc*, the united band of Republicans.—C. H. C. Wright, *History of the third French republic*, pp. 131, 134-138.—See also SOCIALISM: 1890-1908.

1899 (May-July).—Representation in the peace conference at The Hague. See HAGUE CONFERENCES: 1899; Constitution.

1899 (July).—Reciprocity treaty with the United States. See U. S. A.: 1899-1901.

1899-1900 (August-January).—Arrest and trial of revolutionary conspirators.—"The Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry took up the Dreyfus case with a queer combination of courage and weakness. . . . During the turmoil of the Dreyfus affair the Cabinet was, it seemed to many, unduly anxious over certain conspirators against the Republic. The symptoms of insubordination in high ranks in the army, linked with the Clerical manoeuvres, had encouraged the other foes of the Republic (spurred on by the Royalists), whether sincere opponents of the parliamentary régime like Paul Déroulède, or venal agitators such as the anti-Semitic Jules Guérin. But, certainly, above all objectionable were the proceedings of the Assumptionists, a religious order which had amassed enormous wealth, and which, by the various local editions of its paper *la Croix*, had organized a campaign of venomous slander and abuse of the Republic and its leaders. The Government, having got wind of a project of the conspirators to seize the reins of power during the Rennes court-martial, anticipated the act by wholesale arrests on August 12. Jules Guérin barricaded himself with some friends in a house in the rue de Chabrol in Paris, and defied the Government to arrest him without perpetrating murder. The grotesque incident of the 'Fort Chabrol' came to an end after thirty-seven days when the authorities had surrounded the house with troops to starve Guérin out and stopped the drains. In November a motley array of conspirators, ranging from André Buffet, representative of the pretender the Duke of Orléans, to butchers from the slaughter-houses of La Villette, were brought to trial before the Senate acting as a High Court of Justice, on the charge of conspiracy against the State. . . . Paul Déroulède and André Buffet were condemned to banishment for ten years and Jules Guérin to imprisonment for the same term. Two others, Marcel Habert and the comte de Lur-Saluces, who had taken flight, gave themselves up later and were condemned in 1900 and 1901, respectively. . . . The year 1899 had proved itself one of the most dramatically eventful in the history of the Republic. It was also to be one of the most significant in its consequences. For the new grouping of mutually jealous factions against a common danger had, in spite of the fiasco of the second Dreyfus case, shown a way to victory. And exasperation against the intrigues of the Clericals and the army officers was going to turn the former toleration of the 'esprit nouveau' into active persecution, especially as the Socialists and Radicals formed the majority of the new combination. In November, 1899, Waldeck-Rousseau laid before Parliament an Associations bill to regulate the organization of societies, which was intended indirectly to control religious bodies."—C. H. C. Wright, *History of the third French republic*, pp. 138, 140-142.

1899-1901.—Newfoundland French shore question. See NEWFOUNDLAND: 1899-1901.

20th century.—Status of education.—Workers' education.—Evening schools. See EDUCATION: Modern developments: 20th century: General education: France; Workers' education: France; Evening schools: France.

20th century.—State control of cities. See MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT: State control.

1900.—Elections of 1900.—Appearance of new group of Republican leaders.—Anti-clericalism and social reform become dominant policies.—“In the main the nation seems to have supported the Government in repelling the aggressive attacks of unbridled Clericalism, and in rejecting the pretensions of the Army to dictate French politics.”—*Spectator (London)*, Feb. 3, 1900.—“All Republican factions united to wage war against royalism. A coalition, known as the *bloc*, was formed in the Chamber, composed of all types of Republicans, Moderate, Radical, and Socialist, which pledged itself to support the ‘*Cabinet of Republican Defense*,’ organized in 1899 by Premier Waldeck-Rousseau. For the first time a Socialist, Alexandre Millerand, was included in the Ministry. The Cabinet declared its readiness ‘to defend energetically republican institutions,’ and ‘to put an end to all agitations the object of which, it is easily seen, is against the system of government consecrated by universal suffrage.’ A noteworthy group of new statesmen arose to face the situation. Waldeck-Rousseau, Aristide Briand, Georges Clémenceau, René Viviani, and Emile Combes. The policies of the *bloc*, which may be summed up as anti-clericalism and social reform, have been the policies of successive ministries down to the outbreak of the World War in 1914.”—J. S. Schapiro, *Modern and contemporary European history*, p. 256.—See also BLOC: French.

1900.—Award in the arbitration of French Guiana boundary dispute with Brazil. See BRAZIL: 1900.

1900.—Comparative statement of consumption of alcoholic drink. See LIQUOR PROBLEM: England, United States, France, etc.

1900-1904.—Abolition of the religious orders, and secularization of education, leading to separation of church and state.—Relations of church and state as fixed by the Concordat.—Control of property and education by religious orders.—Law of associations, restricting religious orders.—Protest of pope.—Enforcement of law of associations.—Abolition of all teaching by religious orders.—State monopoly of education.—The Dreyfus case had emphasized again the tendency of the Catholic church in France and especially the Jesuits and other religious orders to act as a rally-point for reactionaries. Hence by 1900 there was a wide-spread feeling that the church should be under the strict surveillance of the law. Hitherto the relations between the church and the government had been determined by the Concordat, negotiated by Napoleon I with Pope Pius VII in 1802, and by the Organic Statutes, promulgated by the French government at the same time. The former was in the nature of a treaty; the latter was not. The French government claimed rights under both; the Roman Church acknowledged no force in the Statutes that could be binding on itself. “The Concordat consists of a preamble and seventeen statutes. It is a reciprocal contract between the temporal and spiritual powers, and is therefore at the same time State law and Church law. The preamble states that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion is that of the great majority of the French people; it does not say that it is ‘the religion of France,’ as the Holy See would have

wished, and consequently it does not restore to the Catholic religion its former character of being a State religion. After establishing a new distribution of the French dioceses, it directs that the bishops shall be ‘nominated’ by the Government and ‘installed’ by the Pope. The alienation of ecclesiastical property, effected by the Revolution, is definitely sanctioned. In return the Government undertakes, as had already been done by the Constituent Assembly, to secure ‘a reasonable allowance to the bishops and curés, whose dioceses and parishes will be included in the new arrangement,’ and to take ‘measures to allow French Catholics to make foundations in favour of churches if they wish.’ As regards the Organic Statutes, promulgated at the same time as the Concordat, 18th April, 1802, they proclaim that no bull, pastoral letter, or writing of any kind from the Holy See shall be published in France without the authority of the Government; no council, general or special, shall be held without this authority. There must be no other delegate from Rome in France besides the Nuncio, the official representative of the Sovereign Pontiff. Any infraction on the part of the clergy of the provisions either of the Concordat or of French law is referred to the Council of State, who must decide if there has been any abuse. The Organic Statutes were equally concerned with questions relating to discipline, doctrine, and even dogma—which are purely spiritual questions. They therefore not only upheld the Declaration of 1682 as a declaration of the principles of the Gallican Church, but also expected all the professors to teach it in the seminaries. According to the Concordat, bishops had a right to appoint curés; the Organic Statutes obliged them to obtain the approval of the Government for their appointments. Although the Organic Statutes are, with the Concordat, part of one and the same State law, they must not be considered to be entirely on the same footing. The Concordat concluded between the two powers binds them together; the Organic Statutes, an exclusive product of the French Government, never received the sanction of the Papal authority. They were, on the contrary, a source of further quarrels with the Roman Court. Even in our days, they frequently lead to conflict, the representatives of the Church having refused, on various occasions, to recognise the validity of decisions made in virtue of these Statutes by the French Government.”—J. Legrand, *Church and state in France (Contemporary Review, May, 1901)*.—See also above: 1801-1804; CONCORDAT: 1515-1801.

While relations between the secular clergy and the government had been thus defined, nothing had been said about the religious orders, whose ownership of property and whose control of the education of French youth in their seminaries were steadily increasing. They formed a great alien body, bound together by the strictest ties of brotherhood, and owing allegiance to a power outside of the state, whose control over their consciences was naturally greater than that of the republican laws. The first step in bringing the church under the surveillance of the state consisted in the framing of the general law on associations, which would necessarily make these orders responsible to the government. The annulment of the Concordat seems at first not to have been contemplated. It was the result of the increasing volume of anti-clerical feeling aroused by the opposition of the church to the Bill of Associations, which made this legislation only the beginning of a protracted and heated battle be-

tween church and state in France. The beginning of this battle is to be found in a speech of the French prime minister, M. Waldeck-Rousseau, delivered at Toulouse October 28, 1900, in which he forecasts a bill to be brought up in the next session of the chambers, to regulate and restrict the religious orders in France. In explaining the necessity for such a bill he says, "The question is the rendering free, and subject only to the common law, all the associations which are in themselves lawful as regards the safety of the State. Another object of the same Bill is to cope with the peril which arises from the continuous development in a Democratic society of an organism which, according to a famous definition, the merit of which is due to our old Parliaments, 'tends to introduce into the State under the specious veil of a religious institution a political corporation the object of which is to arrive first at complete independence and then at the usurpation of all authority.' . . . The fundamental statute [the Concordat] determining the relations between the churches and the State should be exactly applied so long as it has not been altered, and we have always interpreted its spirit with the broadest tolerance. But as things are now going, what will remain of this pact of reciprocal guarantees? It had been exclusively confined to the secular clergy owing hierarchic obedience to their superiors and to the State and to questions of worship, the preparation for ecclesiastical functions and preaching in the churches." He goes on to say that this statute does not affect the monastic associations "covering the territory with a close network" which are gaining a dangerous control of property, and, through their seminaries, of the instruction of French youth. This last prerogative threatens the "moral unity" of the nation. He concludes, "If we attach so much importance to a Law on Association it is also because it involves the solution of at least a portion of the education question. This Bill is the indispensable guarantee of the most necessary prerogatives of modern society."

Late in December—a few days before the opening of debate on the bill in the chambers—the attitude of the church upon it was fully declared by the pope (Leo XIII), in a lengthy interview which M. Henri des Houx, one of the members of the staff of the *Matin*, was permitted to publish in that Paris journal. "After M. Waldeck-Rousseau's Toulouse speech, and in presence of the Associations Bill," said the pope, "I can no longer keep silent. It is my Apostolic duty to speak out. . . . Now, the Pope cannot consent to allow the French Government to twist the Concordat from its real intent and transform an instrument of peace and justice into one of war and oppression. The Concordat established and regulated in France the exercise of Catholic worship and defined, between the Church and the French State, mutual rights and duties. The religious communities form an integral part of the Apostolic Church as much as the secular clergy. . . . The Concordat is silent as to religious communities. This means that the regular clergy has no share in the special rights and relative privileges granted by the Concordat to the members of the secular ecclesiastical hierarchy. It does not mean that religious orders are to be excluded from the common law and put outside the pale of the State. . . . There was no need of mentioning the religious communities in the Concordat because these pious bodies were permitted to live under the shelter of the equal rights accorded to men and citizens by the fundamental clauses of your

Constitution. But if an exception is to be made to these solemn declarations in the case of certain citizens it is an iniquity towards the Church, an infraction of the intentions of the negotiators of 1801. Look at the countries with which the Holy See has signed no Concordat, and even at Protestant countries like England, the United States, and many another. Are religious communities there excluded from the liberties recognized as belonging to other citizens? . . . Why does France figure to-day by the side of the great nations in the concert of the Powers settling the Chinese question? Whence have your Ministry for Foreign Affairs and your representative in Peking the authority which gives weight to their opinion in the assembly of plenipotentiaries? What interest have you in the north of China? Are you at the head there in trade and industry? Have you many traders there to protect? No. But you are there the noblest champions of Christian civilization, the protectors of the Catholic missions. Your foreign rivals are envious of this privileged situation. They are seeking to dispute your rights laid down in treaties that assign to you the rôle of defenders of native missions and Christian settlements. . . . Hitherto your Governments had had a better notion of the importance of their rights. It is in the name of treaties guaranteeing them that they protested to me when the Chinese Emperor asked me to arrange diplomatic relations directly with the Holy See. Upon the insistence of M. de Freycinet, the then Minister, I refused, so fearful was I that France might believe, even wrongfully, that I wished in any way to diminish her prestige, her influence, and her power. In the Levant, at Constantinople, in Syria, in the Lebanon, what will remain of the eminent position held by your Ambassador and Consuls if France intends to renounce representing there the rights of Christianity? . . . M. Waldeck-Rousseau, in his Toulouse speech, spoke of the moral unity of France. Who has laboured more than I for it? Have I not energetically counselled Catholics to cease all conflict against the institutions which your country has freely chosen and to which it remains attached? Have I not urged Catholics to serve the Republic instead of combating it? I have encountered warm resistance among them, but I believe that their present weakness arises from their very lack of union and their imperfect deference to my advice. The Republican Government at least knows in what degree my authority has been effective towards bringing about that public peace and moral unity which is proclaimed at the very moment when it is seriously menaced. It has more than once thanked me. If the Pontifical authority has not been able entirely to accomplish the union so much desired I at least have spared no effort for it. Is there now a desire to reconstitute the union of Catholics against the Republic? How could I prevent this if, instead of the Republic liberal, equitable, open to all, to which I have invited Catholics to rally, there was substituted a narrow, sectarian Republic, governed by an inflamed faction governed by laws of exception and spoliation, repugnant to all honest and upright consciences, and to the traditional generosity of France? Is it thought that such a Republic can obtain the respect of a single Catholic and the benediction of the Supreme Pontiff? I still hope that France will spare herself such crises, and that her Government will not renounce the services which I have been able to render and can still render it. On several occasions, for instance, and quite recently, I have been

asked by the head of a powerful State to allow disregard of the rights of France in the East and Far East. Although compensations were offered to the Church and the Holy See, I resolved that the right of France should remain intact, because it is an unquestionable right, which France has not allowed to become obsolete. . . . But if in your country the religious orders, without which no Catholic expansion is possible, are ruined and suppressed, what shall I answer whenever such requests are renewed to me? Will the Pope be alone in defending privileges the possessors of which prize them so little?"

The threatened bill was brought forward by the government and debate upon it opened on January 15th, 1901. The most stringent clauses of the measure were translated and communicated to the *London Times* by its Paris correspondent, as follows:

"II. Any association founded on a cause, or for an illicit end, contrary to the laws, to public order, to good manners, to the national unity, and to the form of the Government of the Republic, is null and void.

"III. Any member of an association which has not been formed for a determined time may withdraw at any term after payment of all dues belonging to the current year, in spite of any clauses to the contrary.

"IV. The founders of any association are bound to publish the covenants of the association. This declaration must be made at the prefecture of the Department or at the sub-prefecture of the district which is the seat of the association. This declaration must reveal the title and object of the association, the place of meeting and the names, professions, and domiciles of the members or of those who are in any way connected with its administration. . . . The founders, directors, or administrators of an association maintained or reconstituted illegally after the verdict of dissolution will be punished with a fine of from 500f. to 5,000f. and imprisonment ranging from six days to a year. And the same penalty will apply to all persons who shall have favoured the assemblage of the members of the dissolved association by the offer of a meeting place. . . .

"X. Associations recognized as of public utility may exercise all the rights of civil life not forbidden in their statutes, but they cannot possess or acquire other real estate than that necessary for the object which they have in view. All personal property belonging to an association should be invested in bonds bearing the name of the owner. Such associations can receive gifts and bequests on the conditions defined by Clause 900 of the Civil Code. Real estate included in an act of donation or in testamentary dispositions, which is not necessary for the working of the association, is alienated within the period and after the forms prescribed by the decree authorizing acceptance of the gift, the amount thereby represented becoming a part of the association's funds. Such associations cannot accept a donation of real estate or personal property under the reserve of usufruct for the benefit of the donor.

"XI. Associations between Frenchmen and foreigners cannot be formed without previous authorization by a decree of the Conseil d'Etat. A special law authorizing their formation and determining the conditions of their working is necessary in the case, first of associations between Frenchmen, the seat or management of which is fixed or emanates from beyond the frontiers or is in the hands of foreigners; secondly, in the case of associations whose members live in common. . . .

"XIV. Associations existing at the moment of the promulgation of the present law and not having previously been authorized or recognized must, within six months, be able to show that they have done all in their power to conform to these regulations."

Discussion of the bill in the Chamber of Deputies was carried on at intervals during ten weeks, the government defeating nearly every amendment proposed by its opponents, and carrying the measure to its final passage on the 20th of March, by a vote of 303 to 220. On June 2, 1902, M. Waldeck-Rousseau resigned, and a new radical cabinet was formed by M. Émile Combes, who began to enforce the Law of Associations with energy. Some religious orders—teaching orders and others—had refused or neglected to register themselves and obtain authorization, as required by the law, and these were now to be closed. In many cases there was resistance to the closing of the unauthorized schools. In a few cases there was a refusal by military officers to obey commands for the assistance of their soldiery in enforcing the law. Magistrates, too, opposed the government, and a majority of the councils in the departments of France withheld their support. Nevertheless the government proceeded firmly in the matter and the provisions of the law were carried out. When the Chambers were reconvened in October the burning subject came up for fierce discussion, and the attitude and acts of the Combes Ministry were approved in the Chamber of Deputies by 329 against 233. That the people as a whole approved of the anti-clerical campaign was shown by the fact that elections for a section of the Senate, occurring early in January, 1903, went favorably for the government. M. Fallières was reelected president of that body, while M. Bourgeois was seated again in the presiding chair of the lower chamber. The Combes ministry was strengthened in its hold of power by the continued agitation that attended the execution of the Associations Law as applied to the religious orders and brotherhoods. Every where the closing of schools and religious houses was resisted with increasing determination. To facilitate a difficult process, the government, after a heated debate in the Chambers, for a fortnight published, in March, 1903, a list of the religious orders which would not be authorized to continue under the new law. This list included all the teaching, preaching, and contemplative orders, of Redemptorists, Capuchins, Benedictines, Dominicans, and Passionists. A few months later the same entire refusal of authorization to the teaching orders of women was voted, but by a diminished majority. The clericals, on their side, were as energetic as the parties of the government, and were supported very generally by the magistracy of the country at large, which dealt so leniently with the resistance and rioting provoked by the enforcement of the law that the government was left practically dependent on the army and the police. The army, too, was a doubtful instrument of authority in many cases, numerous officers of all grades resigning to escape the repugnant mandate of law. The most threatening situation arose in Brittany, consequent on the inauguration of a monument to Renan, which the Catholics regarded as an insult to the church. The interdiction of all teaching on the part of the religious orders was clinched by a bill, late in the year 1904, which made education a state monopoly, and forbade all members of religious orders, authorized or unauthorized, to engage in teaching. Naturally the Law of Associations had not been

carried out without wide-spread personal and economic distress. Thousands of monks and nuns were rendered homeless and destitute, and forced to emigrate or to take up secular professions. On the other hand the closing of the religious schools involved a great expenditure on the part of the state for new school-houses, and the government with difficulty succeeded in passing an act which laid the cost of this provision on the communes, instead of accepting it for the state at large.

ALSO IN: H. J. Laski, *Authority in the modern state*.

1900-1915.—Naval expenditures. See WAR, PREPARATION FOR: 1900-1915.

1901-1904.—French diplomacy in Morocco. See MOROCCO: 1901-1904.

1902.—Purchase of franchises and property of the French Panama Canal Company by the United States. See PANAMA CANAL: 1889-1903.

1902.—Railway projects in Abyssinia. See ABYSSINIA: 1902.

1902 (May).—Sugar bounty convention. See SUGAR BOUNTY CONFERENCE.

1902 (May).—Courtesies at the unveiling of the Rochambeau monument at Washington. See U. S. A.: 1902 (May).

1902 (October).—Treaty with Siam. See SIAM: 1902.

1902 (November).—Secret treaty with Italy. See WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 55.

1904.—Agreement with England concerning Nigeria. See NIGERIA: 1901-1913.

1904.—Treaty with Liberia.—Territorial acquisitions. See LIBERIA: 1892-1904.

1904-1906.—Growth of friendship between France and England through mutual fear of Germany.—Entente cordiale between France and England concerning foreign trade and colonial possessions.—Jealousy of Germany.—Algeciras congress on Morocco.—The unprecedented economic and colonial expansion of the three great European powers—England, France and Germany—at the end of the nineteenth century had brought them into conflict and competition at many points. But both France and England felt that Germany was a more serious enemy to both of them than either could be to the other. Hence, during the first few years of the twentieth century, France and England steadily drew closer together. "Neither in England nor in France is the principle of the understanding to be sought. Rather was it the fear of Germany which determined England—not only her King and Government but the whole of her people—to draw near to France."—A. Tardieu, *France and the alliances*, p. 46.—This new friendship culminated in the Entente Cordiale, which was signed April 8, 1904. This treaty had been largely arranged by King Edward VII. "He it was who both conceived and facilitated it, while still many believed that the moment was premature. Edward VII. has been both praised and attacked without stint. Perhaps he deserves neither the 'excess of honor nor yet the excess of abuse.' Among present sovereigns, he has one superiority, that of having gained experience in life before reigning. . . . He is not afraid of taking the initiative; and so far his initiative has been a success. The boldest example of it was his visit to Paris in 1903. Putting aside all objections, and being convinced of his success, he arrived in France amidst an atmosphere of uncertainty. When the first platoons of cuirassiers rode down the Champs Elysées, embarrassment and anxiety weighed on the public. The Nationalists had declared their intention of hissing. What

would be the result of a hostile manifestation? The King, as far as he was concerned, did not believe in the danger, and he was right. The Parisians accorded him, not an enthusiastic, but, from the first, a respectful, and soon a genial, reception. The road was clear. Two months later, Mr. Loubet paid King Edward a return visit. And, on welcoming his colleague, Mr. Delcassé, to London, Lord Lansdowne said to him: 'Now we are going to have some conversation.' As a matter of fact, there was conversation both in Paris and in London. . . . On the 8th of April, 1904, the agreement was signed, and its immediate publication produced a deep impression in Europe."—*Ibid.*, pp. 60-62.

The *Entente Cordiale* (see ENTENTE CORDIALE), recognizing as it did the right of France to keep order in Morocco, naturally annoyed Germany, who felt that she had as much right to Morocco as did France. In 1905 Emperor William paid a visit to Tangier, and pointedly recognized the sultan as the independent ruler of Morocco. Then he called for an international congress to settle the mutual rights of France and the other countries in Morocco. The congress met at Algeciras in 1906, and after granting both the independence of Morocco and the right of France to keep order, forbade annexation and established the "open door."—See also MOROCCO: 1905-1906; 1911-1912; 1911-1914; 1912-1919; ITALY: 1906: Part of Italy at Algeciras conference; MEDITERRANEAN SEA; U. S. A.: 1905-1906; WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 4.

1904-1908.—Separation of church and state.—Breach between the pope and the French government.—Law abrogating Concordat and decreeing separation of church and state.—Resistance of pope.—Results of separation.—The separation of church and state in France involved the nullification of the Concordat, negotiated by Napoleon I with Pope Pius VII in 1802 (see PAPACY: 1808-1814), and of what are known as the Organic Statutes, promulgated by the French Government at the same time. The former was in the nature of a treaty; the latter was not. The French government claimed rights under both; the Roman Church acknowledged no force in the Statutes that could be binding on itself.

MEASURES AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEPARATION AS RECOUNTED BY ITS ADVOCATES.—"The action of the Republic in suppressing the religious orders had produced strained relations between it and the Vatican. This was intensified by the 'nom-inavit nobis' controversy. In the Bulls instituting some bishops whom the President had nominated, and which had to have the sanction of the Government before they could be published and be valid in France, the Vatican had inserted the word 'nobis,' implying that the President had merely nominated the bishop to the Pope for appointment and that the appointment was really in the hands of the Pope. The French Government, under the guidance of M. Combes, the Premier and Minister of Public Worship, insisted that this word must be removed before the bull was sanctioned, and as both sides refused to yield no bishop was instituted. Relations were still further strained by the visit of the President to the King of Italy. . . . To visit the King was to insult the Pope by disregarding the protest made by him against the occupation of Rome. President Loubet was the first Roman Catholic ruler who ventured to disregard the feelings and protests of the Pope. From the 24th to the 28th April, 1904, M. Loubet was the guest of King Victor Emmanuel, and gave no intimation to the

Pope of his intention to visit Rome, and did not include a visit to the Vatican in his programme. On the 28th of April, Cardinal Merry del Val sent to the representatives of the Curia at the Courts of all the Roman Catholic powers in the world, to be communicated to the Governments to which they were commissioned, a protest against the action of the French Government [couched in terms which the French government felt to be insulting]. . . . The French Government replied by recalling its ambassador from the Vatican and breaking off diplomatic relations with the Pope.

"In the summer of the same year the friction between the French Government and the Vatican was increased by the cases of the bishops of Laval and Dijon. Bishop Geay of Laval, in his opening discourse in his cathedral, had proclaimed his adherence to the Republic and his desire to be the shepherd of all his flock. He denounced Orleanism and refused to support reactionaries at the elections. . . . He was summoned to appear at Rome. He submitted the summons to the Government, as he was required by the Organic Articles to do, and he was refused permission to leave his diocese. Subsequently, under threats of excommunication, he went, and was immediately informed by the Minister of Public Worship that his salary was stopped from the day he left his diocese without permission. A similar summons to Mgr. Le Nordez, Bishop of Dijon, led to similar results. . . .

"In the month of October, 1904, M. Combes, replying to several interpellations addressed to the Government, reviewed the history of the relations of the Vatican to the Republic since its foundation in 1870, and showed that there had been a continuous disregard of the Concordat and of the Organic Articles by the Vatican, and that clericalism had been the most inveterate enemy of the Republic. He showed that no stipulations could safeguard the rights of the State, which were denied by the doctrines of the Catholic Church. The confidence of the Chamber was expressed by a vote of 548 to 88. In November he introduced a Bill for the separation of Church and State, which was referred to a Commission, by which it was adopted on the 2nd December. In the middle of January, 1905, M. Combes, owing to resentment at certain incidents in connection with the administration of the army [the so-called 'delation scandal' revealing a widespread espionage of and discrimination against Catholic officers in the army carried on under the management of the Free Masons], carried a vote of confidence by a majority of only ten votes and resigned. Before the end of the month a new Cabinet under the presidency of M. Rouvier, retaining several members of M. Combes' administration, was formed, which asserted its determination to carry out the policy of its predecessor in its relations with the Vatican. The Chamber of Deputies referred to a new Commission all the Bills dealing with the question of Church and State which had been presented to it, including that of M. Combes. Instead of adopting any one of them, the Commission decided to draft its own Bill, and shortly afterwards presented to the Chamber a Bill which engaged the close attention of the deputies for several months in the spring and summer of the year 1905. It passed through the Chamber on the 3rd of July, and was sent to the Senate the following day. . . . The Senate made no alterations in the Bill, and it became law on the 6th of December, 1905."—J. A. Bain, *New Reformation*, ch. 17.—The bill guaranteed liberty of conscience

and freedom of worship, but withdrew the financial provision for the clergy hitherto made by the state, and the recognition of the Catholic church as the Church of France. This abrogated the Concordat. Arrangements for continuing Catholic worship, however, were made in the form of associations *cultuelles* (associations of worship) which were to be organized in each commune, and were to take over the personal property of the church, after it had been inventoried by officers of the state. In addition due financial provision was made for the clergy for a period of from five to eight years, to enable them to re-adjust their economic status, before final withdrawal of state funds. The feature which most angered the devout was the sacrilege involved in the inventory of the sacred utensils of the church. The controversy with the Pope, however, largely turned on the formation of the associations of worship which the Pope refused to sanction, and failure to form which left the church without any legal position whatever. "The law of the 9th of December, 1905, which put an end to the régime of the Concordat and substituted that of separation between Church and State, had been promulgated on the 11th of December, 1905. It was to come into effect a year after its promulgation. The Protestants and the Israelites had accepted it even before it was passed; but they represented an infinitesimal minority, and it was not that minority that the legislators had had in view when they framed the law of separation. The one question in the matter was that of the attitude that would be taken by the Catholics,—the counsels that would come to them from Rome.

"In the French Episcopate there were two opposing currents of opinion, one for acceptance of the law, under certain reserves, the other for resistance. In the latter part of November, 1905, some bishops met in Paris and agreed that energetic efforts must be made to prevent action at Rome on misinformation as to the situation of the Church in France and the state of mind prevailing in it. Monseigneur Fulbert Petit, Archbishop of Besançon, was their chosen envoy, and in the following January he repaired to Rome. There he met other bishops who had come to give counsels to the Pope that were not pacific; and he met, also, the Père Le Doré, former superior of the dissolved congregation of the Eudistes, well known for his uncompromising opinions and his aggressive temper, but who had been commissioned to convey to Rome the proceedings of the meeting of French cardinals at Paris, on the 28th of December, which showed a majority in favor of the acceptance of the law. At the same time, an important meeting of bishops was held at Albi, under the presidency of Mgr. Mignot, the majority at which meeting, notably the Archbishop who received them and the Archbishop of Toulouse, Mgr. Germain, made no secret of their desire to adjust themselves to the law, according to the expression of Cardinal Lecot.

"But nothing said or done drew the Pope from the silence which he kept. Then it was rumored that the head of the Church would reserve his decision until a general assembly of the French episcopate, which the French cardinals had advised, could be held, to propose a solution of the question. This, however, was contradicted positively by the party which urged resistance to the law.

"Such was the situation when the Government, obliged to act,—since the period of delay fixed by the law was only a year,—came to the first proceedings which the Act prescribed. Article 43

of the law provided for administrative rules, of which the part relating to inventories appeared logically the first, that being the operation which needed consideration before all others. The second part of the regulations had to do with the life pensions and temporary provisions accorded to the ministers of religion. The regulation concerning pensions and provisions was published in the *Journal Officiel* of January 20, 1906. [Article 11 of the Act assigned to priests or ministers of more than sixty years of age, who had been not less than thirty years in an ecclesiastical service salaried by the state, a yearly life pension of three-fourths of their former stipend. To those under sixty years of age and above forty-five, whose service had been for less than thirty years but not less than twenty, it assigned one-half of their previous compensation.] . . .

"The first executive act imposed on the Government was the inventorying of the property, movable and fixed, belonging to the State, to the departments or to the communes, of which the establishments of public worship had had the use. Article 3 of the law required this to be proceeded with immediately after its promulgation. This article had been voted in the Chamber and in the Senate by very large majorities, and, so to speak, without discussion, so rational and judicial it seemed to be. In fact, as the existence of the public establishments of worship came to an end with the régime of the Concordat, the succession to them was left open, and an inventory, descriptive and estimative, of their property, was a necessary measure preliminary to any devolution of such property, dependent on that succession. . . . Being one of those conservative measures which attack no right and leave a continuous state of things, there was no expectation of much feeling about it among Catholics. . . . Apparently, the consistent attitude on the part of Catholics, provisionally, at least, and until the Pope had spoken, would be one of calm, of prudence, of expectancy. Such was the purport of the instructions given by the bishops, even by the most combative. These latter, while condemning the law with vehemence, did not counsel a recourse to force against the agents appointed to make the inventory. They required but one thing of their priests and of the administrators of parish property, which was that they should not cooperate in the work, and that they should make declaration that their non-resistance did not imply acceptance of the law.

"On the 29th of December, 1905, a first decree for regulating the procedure was issued by the Council of State. This was followed by a circular from the Minister of Finance which, it must be confessed, roused a justifiable feeling among the Catholics. From one phrase in that circular it could be understood that the officials making the inventory were authorized to demand the opening of the tabernacles. M. Groussau questioned the Minister on the subject, and M. Merlou cleared away all misunderstanding by replying that officials were to accept the declaration of the curé of a church as to the contents of its tabernacle; and that they had been instructed to avoid everything that could give pain to pious minds. The Abbé Gayraud recognized that these decisions of the Government were in conformity with the instructions of the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, and the interpellation was withdrawn.

"The inventories were begun at once after this decision of the question of the tabernacles. At first there was no disorder. The bishops, notably those of Toulouse, of Rouen, of Albi, of Besançon,

of Arras and Chartres, and their curés, from their example, confined themselves to the reading of a protestation to the receiver of the registration, after which the receiver was left free to fulfil his mission. But soon, in some dioceses, particularly in Paris, in the West, and in one part of the Center, the inventorying was made the pretext for demonstrations more political than religious, organized by enthusiasts or by political cliques. Generally the clergy were passively present at these demonstrations. . . . These tumultuous manifestations, at the head of which the most conspicuous personalities of the reactionary opposition were often seen, ended by degenerating into veritable riots, necessitating the intervention of troops, and leading finally to bloody conflicts."—R. Wallier, *Le Vingtième Siècle Politique, Année 1906, pp. 123-132.*—It was not until February 17th that the silence of the pope on the matters that were agitating France and the papal church was broken. Then the encyclical "Vehementer nos," so named, according to custom, from its first word, was published. See PAPACY: 1906 (February).

MEASURES AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEPARATION AS RECOUNTED BY OPPONENTS.—"In the first period of his premiership M. Combes was not prepared either to denounce the Concordat or to separate the churches from the State, simply because he found public opinion not yet ripe for either measure. Later he thought he saw in adopting this course a means of prolonging his official existence, a matter of considerable importance to a country doctor like himself without large private resources. Having slaughtered nearly all religious congregations or prepared their ultimate extinction, Combes appeared to seek no further occupation for himself and to fortify his position by attacking the Church itself, whose secular clergy he had so recently praised and sought to protect from unfair and 'unjust concurrence or competition with the regulars!' Like Waldeck-Rousseau, Combes saw here an opportunity to 'save' the Republic from 'clerical reaction.' Throughout its whole discreditable history this third Republic of France has only been kept alive by being periodically 'saved' by some clever politician from 'perils' conjured up to terrorize the peasantry, who still recall the misery of their ancestors in the old régime and the misfortunes of France in the downfall of the first and second Empires. . . . The Pope protested, in March, 1904, against the bad faith and infamous aggressions of the French Government in the matter of religious education and those imparting it, and M. Delcassé, through the French Ambassador at the Vatican, protested against the Papal protest. In the following month M. Loubet, as President of the French Republic, visited the King of Italy at Rome, at the same time politely, but significantly, ignoring the existence of the Pope and the Vatican, at which court France then had accredited an Ambassador! Then followed the protest of the Vatican, addressed directly to the French Government, and the protest simultaneously sent to all the powers where Papal Nuncios are in residence. . . .

"In March, 1904, had arisen the trouble in the Diocese of Dijon, France, which culminated in students of the diocesan seminary refusing to receive ordination from the hands of the Bishop, Mgr. Le Nordez. The Bishop of Dijon was, unfortunately, not the only one of the French episcopate claiming to be a 'victim of hatred, deceit and calumny.' Almost from the commencement of his episcopate Mgr. Geay, Bishop of Laval, was attacked by accusations filed at Rome, charges which were examined into during the Pontificate

of Leo XIII, and which led the Holy Office to advise the Bishop to resign his see. It was then (in 1900) thought at Rome that in the local conditions actually then existing it was impossible for Mgr. Geay to govern the diocese with the necessary authority and efficacy. Mgr. Geay agreed to resign, provided he received another bishopric in France. This condition appeared unacceptable to the Vatican, but no further action was taken in this case until May 17, 1904, when by order of Pius X the request for the Bishop's resignation was renewed, and in case it was not forthcoming within a specified time an ecclesiastical trial was intimated as inevitable. Notwithstanding the secret and private character of this last letter emanating from the Holy Office, Mgr. Geay communicated its contents to the French Government. Combes and Delcassé, jealous of the prerogatives of the French State and presumably caring little for the honor of the French episcopate, notified Cardinal Merry del Val (by the acting *Chargé d'Affaires*) 'that if the letter of May 17 is not annulled the government will be led to take the measures that a like derogation of the compact which binds France and the Holy See admits of.' The Papal Nuncio at Paris explained to M. Delcassé that this was not a threat of *deposition* of the Bishop without a decision of the French Government, but an invitation to the Bishop to meet the charges by a voluntary resignation.

"As regards Mgr. Le Nordez and Mgr. Geay, respectively Bishops of Dijon and Laval, their long hesitation between the wishes of the French Government and the will of the Holy See ended by the departure of both of them for Rome. The government then promptly suppressed their salaries and after they had (under virtual pressure) placed their 'voluntary resignation' in the hands of the Holy Father, an allowance from the funds of the Vatican was made to each of them. They have since lived in France in a retirement, varied at first by interviews of Mgr. Geay with reporters that have since happily ceased. The severance of diplomatic relations with the Vatican was completed by a note from M. Delcassé to the Papal Nuncio at Paris stating that in consequence of the rupture of diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican 'the mission of the Nuncio would henceforth be deprived of scope.' In the parliamentary session of November 26, 1904, the credit for the Embassy at the Vatican was stricken from the budget. . . .

"After the downfall of Combes, through the odium attaching to his spy system, the Minister of the Interior and of Public Worship presented to the Chamber of Deputies on behalf of the Rouvier Ministry a project of law to establish the separation. If for Combes separation had signified little else than spoliation, aggravated by oppression, the Rouvier plan sought to render spoliation less unjust, less intolerant. The ministerial project having been somewhat altered by the commission, conferences were held and a final agreement having been obtained, the proposed law was reported to the Chamber of Deputies in March, 1905. It is unnecessary to follow the parliamentary evolution of this immature project, forced as an issue by two successive Premiers who had far less solicitude for the permanent interests of their country than to assure their own continuance in power. M. Briand, speaking for the commission, took great trouble to throw upon the Pope the responsibility of a law which he at the same time declared to be perfectly good, beneficent for the Republic and honorable for its au-

thors! Alas! for separatists, in an unguarded moment Combes betrayed the utter falsity and ridiculous insincerity of this pompous and solemn pretence of the anti-religious majority, that the Pope forced the separation upon France. In the parliamentary session of January 14, 1905, Combes declared: 'When I assumed power I judged that public opinion was insufficiently prepared for this reform. I have judged it to be necessary to lead it to that.'

"When the law of separation, as finally adopted in the Chamber of Deputies, was referred to the Senate, the Senatorial commission, under ministerial pressure, adopted the law as passed in the Chamber, without change of a single word. Although the law was the most important of any passed in France for a hundred years, and though it is fraught with grave influences upon the destinies of the country, this hastily matured, ill-framed measure, with all its unjust and vexatious provisions, was swallowed whole by a commission of cowardly, truckling Senatorial politicians, who disregarded their plain duty at the dictation of Radicals and Socialists on the outside. Separationists both in and out of Parliament were eager to see the law become operative before the universal suffrage of France could have an opportunity of passing judgment upon the principle of the separation in the parliamentary elections of May, 1906. . . .

"In the Papal Consistory of December 11, 1905, the Pope pronounced an allocution protesting against the law of separation in mild and temperate language, announcing his intention of again treating upon the same subject 'more solemnly and more deliberately at an opportune time.' The Holy Father evidently waited for the regulations of public administration that would indicate in what manner the Government of France intended to administer and enforce the law. . . .

"Immediately after the adoption of the law of separation the government appointed a special commission to elaborate rules of public administration by which the law was to be interpreted and applied. This commission being stuffed with the anti-religious element, its work was worthy of its authors. . . . The first details of the regulations officially promulgated governed the taking of inventories of all movable and real property of churches, chapels and ecclesiastical buildings, including rectories, chapter houses, homes of retreat for aged and infirm priests (even pension endowments), etc., ostensibly to facilitate the transfer of these properties to such associations for the maintenance of public worship as might be formed under the provisions of the law of separation. These inventories were imposed upon all religious bodies—Catholic, Protestant and Jewish—and the law was made applicable to Algiers, where there is a large Mahomedan population. Viewed in the abstract, the taking of inventories was a formality necessary to an application of principles inscribed in the law. As estimates of value such inventories are worthless, because compiled by agents of the administration of Public Domains or treasury agents, unaided by experts in art, architecture and archival paleography. The Director General of the Register prescribed to agents taking these inventories a request for the opening of tabernacles in churches and chapels to facilitate completeness and accuracy. This order aroused a storm of indignation throughout France and the government realized that a stupid blunder had been made, and it was announced that agents would content themselves with gathering and incorporating into their report declarations of the

priests upon the nature and value of sacred vessels contained in the tabernacles.

"The taking of inventories of churches and their contents commenced simultaneously in many parts of France in the latter part of January, 1906. Instead of the simple formality hastily accomplished without general observation, of which separatists had dreamed, this proceeding was characterized in various places by scenes of the wildest disorder. When officials of the Registry presented themselves for the taking of the inventories, the clergy, surrounded or attended by trustees of the building, read formal protests against what most of them styled 'the first step in an act of spoliation.' . . . If these protests had not been accompanied by physical violence, the country might have been spared the shocking scenes that took place in Paris and the provinces. In many churches free fights took place between militant Catholic laymen, opposed to an inventory, and police, firemen and troops, who burst open the doors of churches or broke them down with fire axes in order to make an inventory possible. While at the doors chairs and fragments of broken confessionals were flying through the air, pious women within sang: 'We will pray God that the Church may be able to teach the truth, to combat error which causes division, to preach to all charity!'"—F. W. Parsons, *Separation of church and state in France* (*American Catholic Quarterly Review*, July, 1906).

Shortly after the new president of the French republic, Fallières, took office (February 18, 1906), the ministry of Rouvier fell, and was replaced by a ministry nominally presided over by Sarrien, but actually in control of Clemenceau, minister of the interior. The most important section of the ministerial declaration was its statement with regard to the execution of the law on the separation of church and state. "The law on the separation of Church and State has met, in the execution of the provisions relating to the inventories, a resistance as unexpected as it is unjustified. There is no one among us who wishes to assail in any manner whatever the freedom of religious belief and worship. The law will be applied in the same liberal spirit in which it was adopted by the Parliament. . . . But it is our duty to insure the execution of all laws throughout the land. Under a republican government the law is the highest expression of national sovereignty; it must everywhere be respected and everywhere obeyed. The Government intends to apply with all necessary circumspection, but with inflexible firmness, the new legislation which certain parties of opposition strive vainly to misrepresent." The intentions of the ministry were apparently supported by the elections to the Chamber of Deputies. "But the mere figures do not bring out the full significance of the election. Even more important than the fact that only 108 Clerical and Nationalist deputies were returned is the fact that these 108 represent, with very few exceptions, the most ignorant and backward districts in France. Immediately after the election the *Matin* published an electoral map of France, in which the districts represented by Opposition deputies were left white. It is an instructive document. The whole of central France is a solid mass of black, in the north and south the white spots are few and scattered, in the east black very greatly predominates; only in the west is there any conspicuous show of white."—R. Dell, *France, England, and Mr. Bodley* (*Fortnightly Review*, Sept., 1906).—Manifestly the majority in France approved the severance of religious institutions

from the political organization of the state. In recognition of the fact, the general assembly of French bishops, sitting soon afterwards at Paris, petitioned the pope, by the vote of a large majority, to permit the forming of public worship associations under the separation law. The papal reply, given late in the summer, was a new encyclical, formally forbidding French Catholics to form such associations for taking the offered use of the church buildings and property, as provided for continued exercises of religion by the law. A little later the prohibition was carried farther, and French Catholics were forbidden to conform to the associations' law of 1901, as well as to the separation law. There seems to have been a disposition in the government to extend, from one year to two, the period allowed for conformity to the latter enactment; but this attitude on the part of the head of the church dispelled it. Accordingly, on December 11, 1906, when the term fixed by the law expired, sequestration of the property of the vestries was pronounced, and buildings occupied in connection with the churches by bishops, rectors, seminaries, etc., were ordered to be vacated with no further delay. Before matters reached this stage Sarrien had resigned, on account of ill health, and the premiership had passed to Clemenceau. The cabinet underwent a degree of reconstruction soon afterwards, and the courageous Picquart, formerly colonel, now brigadier-general, who had stood so long almost alone in army circles as a champion of justice to Dreyfus, had been given the portfolio of war. For a time after the promulgation of the law the church had remained passive, awaiting orders from the pope. "The practical question, what course the French Catholics were to adopt when the law should go into effect, was first answered by the pope in his encyclical *Gravissimo*, published August 10, 1906, eight months after the promulgation of the law. The gist of the document is in two sentences: 'After having condemned as was our duty this iniquitous law, we examined with the greatest care whether the articles of the aforesaid law would leave at least some means of organizing religious life in France so as to rescue the sacred principles upon which rests the Holy Church.' Having consulted the bishops, and addressed 'fervent prayers to the Father of Light,' the pope came to the following conclusion: 'As for the associations of worship, as the law organizes them, we decree that they can absolutely not be formed without violating the sacred rights which are the very life of the church.' Is there any other form of association which might be both legal and canonical? Pius X did not see any. Therefore, as long as the law remained as it was, the Holy Father forbade the French Catholics to try any form of association which did not promise, in an 'unmistakable and legal manner, that the divine constitution of the church, the immutable rights of the Roman pontiff and the bishops, as well as their authority over the property necessary to the church, especially over the sacred edifices, will be forever insured in those associations.' . . . For this decision there were, from the ecclesiastical point of view, three grounds. One was the failure of the law of 1905 to recognize, in so many words, the authority of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Another was the abrupt fashion in which the French government broke off its diplomatic relations with the Vatican. The fact that the government consistently ignored the pope during the drafting of the bill was a third. . . . Under what régime the churches were to live was at first somewhat uncertain; but

M. Briand speedily discovered in existing legislation all that was needed to insure the continuance of religious worship. He was willing to admit that the church was not obliged to avail herself of the privileges that the new law provided for her. Law imposes duties on citizens, but it does not force them to make use of rights or privileges. Everything that is not forbidden is lawful. . . . The minister stated that the priests could make use of the churches after having filed such an application or declaration as is required for ordinary meetings by the law of 1881. These declarations would be valid for a whole year instead of for one meeting. But under this régime the priests would be simply temporary occupants of the buildings of worship without any legal title. This compromise proved no more satisfactory to the Vatican than the law of 1905. . . . The pope refused to sanction this arrangement. He objected to the scheme of yearly declaration. In the first place he complained that this broad interpretation of the law on public meetings was merely a personal fancy of M. Briand which might not bind his successors. In the second place, the dignity of the priests did not allow them to accept the humiliating position of simple occupants of the churches. . . . The government, however, could not leave several million Catholics in a position in which opportunity to perform their religious duties depended upon uncertain texts and the circulars of a temporary minister of worship. It therefore set out to draft a bill that would be acceptable to the church without any recourse to the discarded associations of worship. The new bill was submitted to Parliament December 15, 1906; was accepted by the Chamber December 21 and by the Senate December 29, and was promulgated January 2, 1907. . . . Most of the privileges granted in the law of 1905 are withdrawn; and the law of associations of 1901, combined with the law of public meetings of 1881, forms the basis of the new régime. . . . Of all the catastrophes prophesied or feared by foes or friends none has occurred. The new régime so violently attacked in and out of France is being gradually acclimated."—O. Guerlac, *Separation of church and state in France (Political Science Quarterly, June, 1908)*.

FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE CHURCH.—"The third meeting of the French episcopate, held at the Château de la Muette, Paris, January 15-19, resulted in a declaration (approved by the Holy See) of their unanimous consent to essay the organization of public worship in churches to be placed at the Bishops' disposal free; an essential condition being a legal contract (authorized by Government) between themselves or their clergy and the Prefects or Mayors to whom such churches (sequestered in December) have been handed or will be handed over; the contract to be for a term of eighteen years, during which term (being fixed by the common law of municipal leases of communal properties) neither Mayors nor Prefects shall in any way interfere either in parochial administration or in regard to the conditions of occupancy of the edifices, which must be, as regards police, under control of the priest in charge, the mayor intervening only on grave occasions when his official duties require him according to law to re-establish disturbed order.—This document, published on January 20, was immediately, with a form of contract, sent by each Bishop to the Parish priests in his diocese with a request to be informed immediately whether the proposed contract would be entered into by their respective mayors, and instructing

them if possible to get it signed at once and return it to the Bishop. Of course, from every parish where Catholics are strong and zealous the signed contracts were quickly obtainable or obtained. But so soon as the Minister of Worship learned these proceedings, he circularized the Prefects of France on February 1: 'You will shortly receive instructions concerning the application of the Article in the Law of January 2, 1907, providing that free use of Communal buildings intended for worship, and of their fittings, may, subject to the requirements of Article 13 in the Law of 9 December, 1905, be accorded by an administration act of the mayors to the ministers of worship specified in declarations of worship-meetings. It is extremely urgent, to prevent mayors being entrapped into giving their signatures, that you should telegraphically warn them, they are not entitled to enter into a contract of this kind without preliminary deliberation by their municipal council, and that they should, pending the vote of that body, confine themselves, if asked for it, to giving an acknowledgment of receipt of any request for use of edifices they may have received. You will also assure them they shall at a very early date receive instructions defining the conditions to be observed to render such contracts valid, and will direct them to do nothing until those instructions reach them.' It is due to M. Briand to acknowledge: first, that he lost no time whatever in fulfilling this promise; second, that his new circular on the application of the law of January 2, 1907, which bears date Paris, February 3rd, and was published the following evening, lays down regulations concerning the leases of Churches and Communal Chapels which on the face of these are fair, reasonable, and likely to be universally acceptable. The main conditions are, approval of the agreements by the municipal councils, failing which mayors cannot enter into them; maximum term to be eighteen years; the lessee (whether a curé, or a worship association) to keep the buildings in proper repair; leases for longer periods than eighteen years to be sanctioned by the prefect; that the curé acts by permission of his ecclesiastical superior may be stated in the lease, but such superior is not to be entitled in any way, once the document is signed, to interfere, or exercise authority. . . . In Paris the appearance of the circular was hailed with satisfaction by Catholics and reasonable men. . . . Cardinal Richard deems it proper and useful to direct his priests to make the declaration, after the contract is duly signed, and when His Eminence shall authorize them to make it. . . . His Eminence lost no time in submitting to the Protestant prefect of the Seine, M. de Selves, a draft lease of the Paris Cathedral (Notre Dame) and the historical St. Denis Basilica. It was understood that, if settled and signed, this contract should serve as the model to be followed in the remaining eighty-five French dioceses. The Cardinal Secretary of State at the Vatican authorized these negotiations, against his personal judgment, without any illusions as to the result, simply to satisfy the French episcopate and a minority in the Sacred College. . . . After negotiations extending over three weeks, the Prefect informed the Cardinal (in writing, on February 23) that His Eminence's proposals were unacceptable, but the government invited amended ones based on ministerial declarations made in the Chamber during a stormy debate on February 10, when M. Briand found himself forced to confess the churches were left open in view of the truth that a parliamentary majority had 'no right to hinder

millions of Catholic compatriots from practising their religion.' The Cardinal Archbishop replied immediately that the text of the draft submitted embodied the extreme limits of possible concessions."—J. F. Boyd, *French ecclesiastical revolution (American Catholic Quarterly Review, Jan.-Apr., 1907)*.

RESULTS.—"The Church Separation Law has failed to do the particular work for which it was voted by the preceding Parliament. Catholic citizens have chosen to undergo its penalties, with new pains and reprisals voted by the present Parliament, rather than accept that civil reorganization of their religion which it imposed on them. The result has been to deprive French Catholics, not only of the church property which had been restored to them after the confiscations of the Revolution, but also of all church property of whatever kind, even such as had since been gathered together by their private and voluntary contributions. It is impossible to foresee how they are legally to constitute new church property for themselves. By the automatic working of separation, Catholics, so far as any corporative action might be intended, are left quite outside their country's laws. The Associations Law had previously suppressed their religious orders and congregations, that is, all those teaching and other communities which combined individual initiatives into a working power for their religion. In virtue of that law, their convents and colleges and the other properties of such religious associations have 'reverted' to the State, which is gradually liquidating them for its own purposes.

"No example of temporal sacrifices for religion's sake on such a scale has been seen since Catholics in the France of the Revolution chose to lose all, in many cases life itself, rather than accept the schismatical civil constitution of their clergy, which was accompanied by a like nationalizing of all their church property."—S. Dewey, *Year in France (Atlantic Monthly, Aug., 1907)*.—"To question whether the Catholics in France, who have alone done more than the Catholics in any other nation for foreign missions and for the propagation of the faith, will succeed in maintaining the Church in their own country by private contributions, will perhaps arouse astonishment. Nevertheless it may be questioned. We do not doubt the generosity of our people, but that which does give us concern is the impossibility of organizing any revenue which can be permanent. . . . The Church would be able to surmount the difficulty if she had endowments, revenues, or property, as in other countries. But that of course demands some regular organization, some corporation or some body recognized by the laws of the country and capable of acquiring, possessing, and exercising ordinary property rights. We cannot state too emphatically that such an organization for the Church is not possible to-day in France. On one side the only body authorized by the law to look after the material side of the religious interests is the *association cultuelle*, or local committee of public worship, as defined and regulated by the Law of Separation. On the other side, this *association cultuelle* has been declared by the Pope incompatible with the hierarchical constitution of the Church of Rome, and the bishops, the priests, and the Catholic laity, in obedience to their Supreme Head, have abstained and will continue to abstain from forming any such organization. Not only, then, have there been no Catholic *associations cultuelles* to receive from the state the portion of the former religious property (the half perhaps) which we might have kept; but there will

be none in the future to receive a gift of any kind. In the eyes of the law there is no diocese, no parish, no corporation representing diocese or parish. The bishop and the pastor are only individual citizens, Messrs. So-and-So. They cannot hold property except as individuals, and what they might receive for religious purposes cannot be handed down to their successors,—it must revert only to their legal heirs. In brief, no permanent body whatever can provide for the maintenance of public worship.

"This is the situation with its almost insurmountable difficulties. In all probability it will be a long time before we escape from it."—F. Klein, *Present difficulties of the church in France (Fortnightly Review, Apr., 1908)*.

In spite of some of the obvious advantages of restraining the power of the church within the political organization of France, the threat of Pope Leo XIII that France would lose prestige in the Orient and in international diplomacy by breaking all connections with the Vatican was, to some extent, realized. "The inconvenience, the absurdity even, of the suppression of the French Embassy at the Vatican, are rapidly becoming patent even to the most politically inexperienced of French Jacobin fanatics. Even they are now deploring the decay of the French protectorate of Eastern Christians, the ecclesiastico-political problems presented by the declaration of a French protectorate over Morocco, and in general the advantage enjoyed by the rivals of France who possess an official representative through whom they may negotiate with the Vatican in defence of their national interests. . . . In the early spring of 1914 M. Maurice Barrès (who is as characteristic a spokesman of the reflex intuitions of the French temperament as Mr. Rudyard Kipling is of British sentiment), acting partially, perhaps, at the suggestion of his friend M. Poincaré, then President of the Republic, set out on a tour of inspection amid the traditional sites of French influence in the East. His report of the decadence of these establishments, and his proposals for remedying the evil, attracted wide attention. At the reception given at the French Embassy in Constantinople on July 14, 1914, the Ambassador, M. Bompard, acknowledged that the future of French prestige was 'menaced' in the East in consequence of the expulsion of certain religious orders from France, and praised M. Barrès for his patriotic campaign."—W. M. Fullerton, *Problems of power*, pp. 312, 331.

ALSO IN: A. Debidour, *L'Église catholique et l'État sous la troisième république*.—P. Sabatier, *Disestablishment in France*.

1905-1906.—Claims against Venezuela. See VENEZUELA: 1905-1906; 1907-1909.

1906 (December).—Agreement guaranteeing Abyssinia's integrity. See ABYSSINIA: 1906.

1906-1909.—Presidency of Armand Fallières.—Clemenceau ministry.—Socialistic tendency.—Casa Blanca affair.—Inauguration of the graduated income tax.—Purchase of the Great Western Railroad line by the state.—Sunday rest laws.—"M. Loubet's term of office expired on February 18, 1906. As he had signified that he did not desire re-election the Congress of Versailles chose as his successor M. Clément Armand Fallières, President of the Senate. . . . Soon after the election of M. Fallières the existing ministry suffered a defeat in the Chamber with respect to its administration of the Church and State Separation Law, and a new cabinet was formed by M. Sarrien, an old parliamentary hand, who had twice held office at the Ministry of the Interior in General Boulanger's time. For that post, however, M. Sar-

rien now secured the services of M. Georges Clemenceau, while M. Léon Bourgeois took charge of foreign affairs at the Quai d'Orsay. General Elections for the Chamber were held in May 1906, and resulted in the return of about 330 Republicans, Radicals, and Socialist-Radicals, there being also 117 Royalists, Bonapartists, and Nationalists, with 64 Conservative Republicans of M. Méline's school, and 75 Socialists. These elections generally ratified the policy pursued by successive Administrations with respect to the Church, for more than 400 candidates favouring that policy were returned. When in July 1906 the Cour de Cassation finally pronounced in favour of Captain Dreyfus's innocence, Colonel Picquart, who had been so much persecuted by his superiors in connection with the affair, was then raised to the rank of a general, and placed in command of the 10th Infantry Division in Paris. Moreover, when on October 19 that year M. Sarrien resigned the Premiership owing to ill-health and the weak position of his Cabinet, General Picquart secured in the Administration formed by M. Clemenceau, the post of Minister of War. . . . The Clemenceau Cabinet also included MM. Milliès-Lacroix, Colonies; Joseph Caillaux, Finances; Aristide Briand, Education, Worship, and ultimately Justice; Doumergue, Commerce; Guyot-Dessaignes, Justice; Alfred Picard, Marine; and Viviani, for whom a new post, that of Minister of Labour and Social Provision, was specially created. The Ministry speedily encountered attacks in the Chamber on Church and State questions. . . . Early in 1907 other trouble set in. A strike of the electric workers in Paris plunged the city into darkness on the evening of March 8; there was a terrible explosion on the *Jena* at Toulon (March 12), a fire at the arsenal there, great unrest among the State school-teachers who claimed trade-union rights, a series of alarming riots among the wine-growers of southern France (May and June), the sudden resignation of General Hagron, commander-in-chief designate, as a protest against General Picquart's administration of the law limiting active military service to two years, an anti-militarist crusade by the Anarchist and Syndicalist sects, and at last, in August, the murder of several Europeans at Casa Blanca in Morocco, as a result of the establishment of a European-Moorish control of the customs' service. This led to the despatch of French and Spanish expeditions to that locality, and by the end of the year the Morocco question was becoming more and more involved, whilst great unrest prevailed in France in connection with Labour troubles and the administration of Church property—a nasty scandal then arising, for some of the liquidators of the property of the expelled Religious Communities were accused of embezzlement. Meantime the Legislature did little or nothing to expedite political and social reforms. When 1908 arrived the Cabinet was partially reconstructed owing to the sudden death of the Minister of Justice, whose post was taken by M. Briand, while M. Cruppi became Minister of Commerce in the place of M. Doumergue. Nevertheless, the ministry was still incessantly attacked, and its income-tax proposals, introduced by M. Caillaux, were subjected to much acrimonious discussion. Further, great difficulties arose with the budget. . . . The municipal elections which took place throughout France a little later favoured the Radical-Socialist party. Trouble afterwards arose with the so-called General Confederation of Labour, which really represents but a small minority of the wage-earners, and several of whose chief officials and members belong to the so-called Syndicalist sect, which has taken

over some of the revolutionary ideas of the Anarchists. At a riotous demonstration of this body in the environs of Paris the troops, on being stoned, retaliated by firing on the crowd, thereby killing three and wounding a score of persons. This occurred at the end of July. In May President Fallières had paid a state visit to London in connection with the Franco-German Exhibition at Shepherd's Bush. . . . In July he sailed for the Baltic and was received in turn by the Kings of Denmark and Norway, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Sweden. The outlook in international affairs then appeared to be fairly clear, but in September another war scare arose. The Sultan of Morocco was now no longer Abdul Aziz, but one of his brothers, Muley Hafid, who, after prosecuting a successful rebellion, had become the acknowledged sovereign. French and Spanish forces were still quartered at Casa Blanca, and serious trouble arose between France and Germany respecting certain men of German nationality who, having deserted from the French Foreign Legion, were arrested by the French at the moment when, in the charge of an official of the German Consulate, they were about to embark for Europe. France claimed the right to arrest all deserters from her forces. Germany maintained, however, that as these men had been under the protection of one of her officials, the French had possessed no right to lay hands on them. MM. Clemenceau and Pichon were firm in upholding the French view, but Germany refused to entertain it, and for several weeks there was a danger of war between the two countries. Moreover, the international situation was further complicated by Austria's formal annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (October). It has been said that Great Britain, at this point, offered to assist France with five divisions of troops in the event of hostilities occurring between her and Germany. However that may be, the French took steps to meet eventualities. . . . Fortunately, the efforts of diplomacy proved successful, and it was ultimately decided that the Hague Arbitration Court should adjudicate upon the Casa Blanca affair (November). Further negotiations ensued, and early in February 1909 a declaration was signed by Herr von Schön, German Minister for Foreign Affairs, and M. Jules Cambon, French Ambassador in Berlin, by which the special political interests of France in Morocco were recognised, whilst both powers covenanted that they would abstain from seeking any economic privileges in that country for themselves or others, that they would respect each other's commercial interests, and, further, endeavour to associate their respective subjects in those business enterprises of which they might obtain the undertaking. . . . On May 22, 1909, the Court of the Hague gave its decision respecting the Casa Blanca deserters, doing so very ingeniously, for it cast blame on both parties, and yet accorded them some outward semblance of satisfaction. Both countries were disappointed at this result, and the Clemenceau Ministry was weakened by it.—E. A. Vizetelly, *Republican France*, pp. 466, 468, 470-473.—See also MOROCCO: 1007-1009; 1009.—“The Clemenceau ministry, which survived until July, 1909, adopted a programme which was more frankly socialistic than that of any of its predecessors. It added to the system of state-owned railways the Great Western line [about thirty-seven hundred miles; and an important step toward the nationalization of railways. It is expected that by 1950 or 1960, when the charters of the other companies will have expired, all French railways will be under government ownership and operation]; it inaugurated a

graduated income tax [introduced by Caillaux, and approved by a large majority of deputies, March, 1909], and put the measure in the way of enactment at the hand of the Chamber; it carried fresh and more rigorous legislation in hostility to clericalism; and, in general, it gave free expression to the unquestionable trend of the France of to-day away from the individualism of the Revolutionary period in the direction of the ideals of collectivism. The Briand ministry by which it was succeeded followed in the same lines, three of its members, indeed, being active socialists."—F. A. Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, pp. 331-332.—In 1906, a law was passed making Sunday a day of rest from most descriptions of industry and commerce, exceptions being made to allow travel and transportation companies, lighting and water works, newspaper offices, and some other performers of public services, to continue their operations, while hotels, restaurants, wine shops, drug stores, and the like, were exempted from closing their doors.—See also SUNDAY OBSERVANCES: Legal institution of a weekly rest day.

1906-1909.—Era of socialist and syndicalist experiment.—Agitation for the eight hour law.—Strikes and the unionizing of public employees.—Resignation of Clemenceau ministry.—Advent of a new ministry with Briand as premier.—As the battle between the church and state drew to its close, another problem presented itself—the problem of industrial and social reform, looking toward a better distribution of wealth and opportunity throughout the great body of citizens. Some program of economic reform had been implicit in the plans of the government since 1900. The Socialists had been steadily gaining in power in the Chamber and the ministry, and by the elections of 1906 they were heavily reinforced. "Socialism is a power in French politics, not in French life. Its pledged battalion in Parliament often rules Governments; it has raised men to Cabinet rank, and at least its name is the password for an army of politicians—the 'Unified Socialist Radical'—and no Republican majority could be formed now against the name of Socialism. Collectivism, expropriation, with or without compensation, nationalization, State purchase of railways as a preliminary step, national monopolies, and State ownership of mines, of vineyards, and of docks, and of wheatfields to come, national confiscation of land and capital, have been in the political air for years. Political leaders have played every variation on the tunes, and their hearers know them by heart. In no country is Socialism so much of a household word and such a political power; yet probably in none is it less a household thing and less of a social power."—L. Jerrold, *Real France*, p. 71.—"A new series of brotherhoods, in the form of trade unions under the General Confederation of Labor, came into the forefront of French public life. Repudiating the slow method of social legislation, the unions advocated direct attack *en masse* on the economic forces which stood in their way, through the medium of the general strike and sabotage. The policy . . . went under the name of syndicalism (see LABOR MOVEMENTS). Under the syndicalist régime there were to be no small or isolated strikes. The cause of one worker or group of workers was the cause of all. For example "should the carpenters have a grievance the entire building trade was to support them in a general industrial strike."—J. S. Schapiro, *Modern and contemporary European history*, p. 268.—In other words, since the workers had only one asset in life—their numbers—they were to use this one weapon to its utmost by making their

demands and fighting their battles always in the greatest mass consistent with thorough organization. "France, . . . invented, and become the propagator of, *Syndicalism*; . . . but *Syndicalism* is less applicable, one might almost say less needed, in her case than in that of the other modern States. Yet, true as this is, it may be argued that *Syndicalism* is more needed in France than elsewhere, since at a time of social disintegration (when religious scepticism, political and financial scandals, parliamentary frivolity and general irresponsibility are corroding the sentiment of respect) the tyrannical discipline of *Syndicalism* may be the one element capable of transforming French individualism into an instrument of altruistic action, pending the economic adjustments of the society of the future. The dictatorial demagogues who founded *Syndicalism* may all unwittingly have been rendering a singular service to the ideal of Social order."—W. M. Fullerton, *Problems of power*, pp. 274-275.—"The Confederation began to agitate vigorously for an eight-hour law for all labor. It fixed May 1, 1906, as the day for beginning a general strike, when all labor was to cease in order to compel the Government to pass such a law. When the day arrived there was almost a panic throughout France, and the troops were called out to preserve order. Many stopped work on that day, but the strike was not sufficiently general to prove successful. In March, 1907, nearly all of Paris was plunged in darkness because of a strike of the gas and electric workers organized by the Confederation; but this, too, proved a failure, although it showed the new spirit animating the French working class. Most disturbing to the Government was the unionizing of public employees, such as teachers and postmen, who desired to be affiliated with the Confederation. In 1909 a strike of those employed in the public postal and telegraph offices took place, which failed mainly because many persons not in the service volunteered to take the places of the strikers. [In introducing the principle of syndicalism among 800,000 employes of the close-knit and bureaucratic government of France, it threatened to disrupt the very foundations of the state, and precipitate civil revolution also.] To prevent a similar occurrence the Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution denying the right of public employees to strike and forbidding them to join the Confederation."—J. S. Schapiro, *Modern and contemporary European history*, p. 269.—"The Departmental Councils protested, however, against these civil-service strikes, and M. Clemenceau, emboldened by that attitude, initiated a campaign of punishment. The Revolutionaries of the Labour Confederation then threatened a general railway strike, but it did not take place, though somewhat later there was a strike among the naval reservists. Moreover, the departments of Marine and Finances quarrelled over the former's application for £1,200,000 in order to improve the lamentable condition of the fleet. On this matter being debated M. Delcassé roundly denounced the mismanagement of naval affairs, and a committee of inquiry, under his presidency, was appointed. . . . If the Clemenceau Cabinet was kept in office it was chiefly from fear of what might follow it. On July 15 it managed to secure a qualified vote of confidence, but a few days later, when the report of the navy inquiry commission came on for debate, the Prime Minister, angered by M. Delcassé's *exposé* of the blunders committed in naval administration, lost all self-control, and impetuously denounced the former Foreign Secretary, whose policy respecting Morocco, said he, had led to the humiliation of

France at Algeiras. This upset the Chamber, which, in the light of recent events, regarded the denunciation as unjust, and a vote of confidence was refused by 212 to 76 votes. The Government thereupon resigned. . . . Such was the position at the advent of the new French Ministry, which was formed by M. Aristide Briand, a Breton of Nantes, where he was born in 1862. He practised for a while as an advocate at Saint Nazaire, then joined the Socialists of Jules Guesde's school, and repairing to Paris, preached at one moment the doctrines of Syndicalism and the General Strike. But he gradually abandoned those extremist principles, became political editor of *La Lanterne*, then a deputy, and, in March, 1906, joined the Sarrien cabinet as Minister of Worship, in which capacity he brought the Separation of Church and State to an issue. He had made his way by sheer force of ability and shrewdness; yet remembering some of his antecedents a good many folk became apprehensive when M. Fallières called him to the Premiership. In his declaration of policy M. Briand promised conciliation and tolerance, the reorganisation of the navy, the firm maintenance of secular education, the enactment of working-class pensions and the income tax, the regularisation of the position of civil servants, and a trial of the proportional representation system in municipal elections."—E. A. Vizetelly, *Republican France*, pp. 473-475.

ALSO IN: L. Levine, *Labor movement in France, a study in revolutionary syndicalism*.—Mlle. Kritsky, *L'Evolution du syndicalisme en France*.—P. Louis, *Histoire du mouvement syndical en France*.

1906-1912.—Relations with England. See ENGLAND: 1912.

1907 (May-July).—Revolt of wine-growers of the Midi.—From various causes, the wine-growers of Southern France have suffered from an increasing decline in the market for their products. They attributed this wholly to the extensive manufacture of adulterated and counterfeited wines, though it came partly, without doubt, from the increasing use of beers and spirituous liquors among the French. The struggling cultivators of the grape, who could hardly obtain a living from their vineyards, accused the government of neglect to make and enforce effective laws for the suppression of the adulterating frauds. They demanded new measures for the suppression of all vinous beverages that were not the pure product of the grape. In the spring of 1907 their attitude became seriously threatening; for a leader named Marcelin Albert, having an eloquent tongue, a bold spirit, and a capacity for command, had risen among them. Alarming demonstrations of popular excitement occurred in the cities of Perpignan, Montpellier, Narbonne, and others. Then, in May, the discontented people gave formal notice that they would refuse to pay taxes if all adulterate wine-making was not summarily stopped by June 10th. At the appointed time the threat was even more than made good, for most of the municipal officers in the four departments of Gard, Aude, Hérault, and the Pyrenées Orientales resigned and the machinery of local government was dissolved. Premier Clemenceau secured new legislation from Parliament against wine adulteration, while promptly ordering troops to the region of revolt on the other. Marcelin Albert and another leader, Dr. Ferroul, Mayor of Narbonne, were arrested, and order was soon restored, though a few collisions with turbulent crowds were attended with some loss of life. The new laws enacted for the occasion were intended in part to secure an annual record of the vineyard product of the country that

would enable the Government to keep knowledge of it from the vine to the wine cask, and make fraudulent tampering with it more difficult, at least.

1907 (June).—Second Hague conference. See HAGUE CONFERENCES: 1907.

1907 (September).—Convention with Great Britain concerning commercial relations with Canada. See CANADA: 1907-1909.

1907 (November).—Treaty with Great Britain, Germany, Norway, and Russia, guaranteeing the integrity of Norway. See NORWAY: 1907-1908.

1907-1909.—Relations with Venezuela. See VENEZUELA: 1907-1909.

1907-1909.—Interest in Liberia. See LIBERIA: 1907-1909.

1908.—Lack of public charities.—Mendicity. See CHARITIES: France: 1908.

1908.—State control of telegraph and telephone systems. See TELEGRAPHS AND TELEPHONES: 1908: France.

1908 (June).—Treaty with Japan, adjusting interests of countries in the East. See JAPAN: 1905-1914.

1908 (July).—Treaty with England, Denmark, Germany, Netherlands, and Sweden maintaining *status quo* on the North sea. See NORTH SEA: 1908.

1908-1910.—Explorations in the South Pacific. See ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1908-1910.

1909.—Naval administration.—Report of the commission.—Changes in the Department of Marine. See WAR, PREPARATION FOR: 1909: French naval administration; 1909-1910: French naval program.

1909.—Social insurance.—State railway pensions. See SOCIAL INSURANCE: Details for various countries: France: 1909.

1909 (February).—International opium commission. See OPIUM PROBLEM: 1909 (February).

1909 (June).—Earthquake along the Mediterranean coast.—A shock which ran through southern France on the night of June 11 was most severe in the Bouches-du-Rhône, but extended over a very wide area, including the whole Mediterranean coast of France, and was also felt in Spain and Portugal. Official reports stated that 55 lives were known to have been lost. A great amount of damage had been done, especially in the villages; in the towns the buildings for the most part withstood the shock, though it was sufficiently violent to cause panic among the population in Marseilles, Toulon, and other places.

1909-1910.—Financial position.—Labor unrest.—State Domains Service takes over the administration of church property.—Floods and the relief fund.—General elections.—Resolution for the impeachment of Briand.—His resignation.—On Briand's assumption of office "the Chamber gave a fairly favourable reception to . . . [his] programme [see above: 1909-1910]. There was, however, no little discontent when M. Doumer, now President of the Budget Committee, announced that to provide for the estimates it would be necessary to find an additional sum of eight millions sterling. During the recess the Czar, whilst on his way to Cowes to visit King Edward VII, called at Cherbourg, where he was met by President Fallières. In October the execution of Señor Ferrer, in connection with the Barcelona riots, with which he had really had little or nothing to do, led to disturbances in Paris, where the Spanish embassy was threatened, but the authorities prevented excesses. In the Chamber came debates on electoral reform, but while

the principle of list voting was accepted, that of proportional representation—to further which an influential League had lately been started—was adjourned. Paris was far more interested, at that moment, in the sensational trial of Mme. Steinheil on charges of murder. The financial position now led in further taxation, and though the Senate was dealing actively with the question of workmen's pensions, the unrest in the Labour world increased week by week, there being several strikes attended by violence. Towards the end of the year a further scandal arose respecting the property of the Religious Orders. Waldeck-Rousseau had estimated its value at two millions sterling, but only a twentieth part of that sum now remained, for liquidators and lawyers had preyed unscrupulously upon the funds, and there had been collusive sales of many of the properties. Further, the numerous actions at law for the return of donations made by private families to the Orders, had often ended in the amounts at stake being exhausted in costs. M. Briand was not personally responsible for this state of affairs, but as some of the liquidators had been appointed by him, the scandal tended to weaken his position. The upshot was the transference of the administration of Church property to the State Domains Service. One of the liquidators, a man named Duez, was also arrested for embezzlement, he having admitted that he had purloined £160,000. Further, a parliamentary scandal arose on Minister Millerand being accused of taking excessive fees as an advocate. In January 1910, owing to the rising of the Seine, Yonne, and Marne, disastrous floods occurred in Paris and elsewhere. A large relief fund was raised by public subscription, and the Chamber voted £800,000 for the sufferers; but it would not ratify certain new taxation proposals, and in order to secure budgetary equilibrium more than six millions sterling had to be procured by means of bonds. However, on the Customs Tariff being revised in a Protectionist sense, assistance was voted for the improvement of peasant holdings, as well as the pensions bill for the benefit of the working classes and the peasantry; M. Delcassé's costly, but necessary, programme for the improvement of the navy was also adopted. About the end of April there were General Elections for the Chamber, these resulting in the defeat of several prominent men, such as MM. Allemane and Doumer, and the return of over 230 candidates who were new to parliamentary life. M. Brisson, long President of the Chamber, was confirmed in that post (June 1), and 403 deputies gave the Government a vote of confidence, there being 110 opponents belonging to the extremist parties. A somewhat serious riot soon afterwards occurred at the funeral of a workman injured in a strike affray, and when an amnesty for offences connected with Labour troubles was proposed, the Chamber rejected the suggestion. In August the attitude of the railway workers became threatening, and in October those of the Northern Line at last came out on strike, being followed by their comrades of the West. The Government, however, took vigorous measures and thereby saved the situation. The Army Reserves were called out; the various lines were guarded by the military; soldiers with a knowledge of railway work—among them being all those strikers who, as reserve men, had been temporarily reincorporated in the army—were called upon to ensure the various services; and with few exceptions they did their duty. Thus, although there was so-called Sabotage in more than one direction, al-

though more than one bomb was thrown, and more than one attempt made to displace the metals or impede or wreck the trains, the Government's firmness created such a great impression that the men of all the other railway lines—whose participation in the strike had been feared—refrained from 'coming out.' The workers of the Paris Electric Light and Motor Power service certainly tried to terrify the capital by holding up the tube trains and plunging the city into darkness, as they had done once before, but this affair collapsed, and its promoter, 'Secretary' Pataud, fled for a time to Belgium. However, M. Viviani, the Labour Minister, resigned, and M. Briand was subjected to violent attacks by the revolutionary extremists in the Chamber. A resolution for his impeachment was rejected by the more moderate-minded majority, and he finally secured a vote of confidence. Immediately afterwards (November 2), having decided to reconstruct his Administration, he resigned."—E. A. Vizetelly, *Republican France*, pp. 475-477. 1909-1910.—Social insurance.—Old-age pensions. See SOCIAL INSURANCE: Details for various countries: France: 1909; 1910.

1910.—Trade union statistics. See LABOR ORGANIZATION: 1910-1919.

1910.—Tariff revision. See TARIFF: 1910.

1910-1912.—Ministries of Briand, Monis, Caillaux, and Poincaré.—Foreshadowings of war with Germany.—Agadir crisis.—Negotiations over Morocco.—"Briand went through the ceremony of resigning and accepting the mission to form a new Cabinet. It proved not very homogeneous and withdrew in February, 1911. The Monis Cabinet, of more advanced Socialistic-Radical principles, lasted only a few months and faced new disturbances with wine-producers. This time the trouble was in the East, where many were dissatisfied with the artificial limitation of districts entitled to produce wines labelled 'champagne.' The Socialistic-Radical Ministry of Joseph Caillaux (June, 1911) encountered a new and dangerous crisis in the relations with Germany [Agadir crisis]. The mutual agreement between the two countries for the economic development of Morocco had, through financial rivalries, not worked well. There was also friction over similar attempts for the development of the French Congo. . . . Spain also took the opportunity of asserting its rights to parts of the North in accordance with its revisionary claims by the Treaty of 1904. Thereupon Germany declared that the agreements of Algieras and of 1909 had been nullified by France and demanded compensations. . . . Difficult negotiations were carried on between France and Germany through the summer of 1911, and at moments the two countries were on the very brink of war. The English Government backed up France. Lloyd George and Premier Asquith made public declarations to that effect. French capitalists also began calling in their funds invested in Germany and a financial crisis threatened that country. Thus brought to terms the Germans became more moderate in their demands, and it was finally possible to reach a compromise, unsatisfactory to both parties. Germany definitely gave up all political claim to Morocco and acknowledged France as paramount there. [See also MOROCCO: 1911-1914.] On the other hand, a territorial readjustment was made in the Congo by which Germany added to the Cameroons about two hundred and thirty thousand square kilometres of land with a million people, and the new frontiers made annoying

salients into the French Congo. The treaty was signed in November, 1911, but the Pan-Germans were angry at any concessions to France, the Colonial Minister resigned, and the Emperor, who had thrown his influence on the side of peace, lost much prestige for a while. On the other hand, the French were correspondingly dissatisfied at the losses in the Congo. The opponents of the Prime Minister, Caillaux, had often taunted him with too close a relation between his official acts and his private financial interests. They now accused him of tricky concessions to Germany in connection with the Congo adjustments. M. Caillaux denied in the Chamber that he had ever entered into any private dealings apart from the negotiations of the ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, Clemenceau asked the Foreign Minister, M. de Selves, point-blank if the French Ambassador at Berlin had not complained of interference in the diplomatic negotiations. M. de Selves refused to answer, thus implicitly giving the lie to M. Caillaux. The consequence was a cabinet crisis and the resignation of the Ministry (January, 1912). [This was far from being the end to the matter. Caillaux re-appeared in the next ministry as holder of the portfolio of finance and the scandals concerning him culminated in the sensational trial of Madame Caillaux for murder. (See below: 1913-1914.)] After the downfall of M. Caillaux, Raymond Poincaré became head of a Cabinet more moderate than its predecessor, the Socialistic Radicals seeming somewhat discredited in public opinion. M. Poincaré was a strong partisan of proportional representation, and a measure for the modification of the method of voting was, under his auspices, passed by the Chamber, though it failed the following year in the Senate."—C. H. C. Wright, *History of the third French republic*, pp. 170-175.

1911.—Member of consortium to give financial aid to China. See RAILROADS: 1905-1921.

1911.—Revolt of the wine-growers in Champagne.—"Early in the spring trouble arose in the province of Champagne respecting the delimitation of the area where the name of champagne might be legally given to sparkling wine. By a decree of the Council of State, that name was reserved to the vintages of the department of the Marne and those of a part of the Aisne, the wines of the Aube being excluded. Many municipalities had protested and resigned owing to this decision, and in March rioting broke out at Bar-sur-Aube, where the new Prime Minister was burnt in effigy to the delight of thousands of demonstrators. There were also disturbances at Troyes, and after a while the Government reluctantly agreed to modify the delimitation rules. Thereupon, however, the wine-growers of the Marne rose up in wrathful fury, many houses and establishments being sacked and burnt at Damery, Dizy, Ay, Epernay, Venteuil, and other localities. The red flag was flaunted, a general refusal to pay taxes ensued, and the whole vineyard district of the Marne had to be subjected to military occupation before order could be restored. Even then the Government remained at a loss how to reconcile the rival claims of the Aube and the Marne, but was finally constrained to abolish delimitation altogether, whilst enacting, however, stringent regulations to prevent wine from being fraudulently described."—E. A. Vizetelly, *Republican France*, p. 470.

1911-1914.—Agadir crisis.—Affairs in Morocco.—Interference at Fez.—Agreements with Germany and Spain.—Establishment of French protectorate. See MOROCCO: 1911-1912; 1911-

1914; 1912-1919; WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 4.

1912.—Relations with Italy. See ITALY: 1912-1914.

1912.—Child welfare legislation.—Compulsory education.—Children's courts. See CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION: 1908-1914.

1913.—Secret Ballot Act. See AUSTRALIAN BALLOT: 1913.

1913-1914.—Administration of Poincaré as president.—Louis Barthou as prime minister.—New military law.—Unified radicals and the moderate party.—Radical cabinet followed by a moderate.—Caillaux scandal.—M. Fallières' term expired on February 18, 1913. The two leading candidates were Raymond Poincaré, head of the Ministry, and Jules Pams, who was supported by the advanced Radicals. M. Poincaré's election was looked upon, because of his personal vigor, as a triumph of sound conservative republicanism, and it was predicted that he would prove a strong leader, able to give prestige to the Presidency and to bring order out of chaos. The early months of his Administration were less productive of results than had been hoped, but the European War came too soon to make definitive judgment safe. After M. Poincaré's election, M. Fallières made M. Briand President of the Council during the last weeks of his term, and M. Poincaré kept the same Cabinet. M. Briand, like M. Poincaré, advocated proportional representation. As the Chamber failed to take a vigorous position in support of the measure, and defeated the Ministry on a vote of confidence, the latter withdrew (March, 1913). Louis Barthou next became Prime Minister, and the important legislative measure of the year was the new military law. The Germans having largely increased their army, it was deemed necessary, in spite of the violent opposition of the Socialistic Radicals and the Socialists and the attempts of the syndicalists of the *Confédération générale du travail* to work up a general strike, to abrogate the Law of 1905 and to return to three years of military service without exemption. M. Barthou pushed the three-years bill already supported by the Briand Cabinet. France took upon herself an enormous financial burden, coupled with a corresponding loss of productive labor, yet events soon proved the wisdom of the step. The opposition to the Cabinet was virulent. There were now two great groupings of the chief political parties. The Radicals and Socialistic Radicals, under the name of 'Unified Radicals' waged war against the President and the Ministry. They were under the inspiration of men like Clemenceau and the active leadership of Joseph Caillaux and tried to revive the methods of the old *Bloc* of Combes. [See also *Bloc*: French.] They declared their intention of repealing the three-years law and proclaimed the tenets of their faith at the Congress of Pau. The Briand-Barthou-Millerand group, supporters of Poincaré, soon formed a Moderate Party with a programme of conciliation and reform known as the 'Federation of the Lefts.' The Barthou Cabinet had been overthrown early in December, 1913, after a vote on a government loan. President Poincaré had to call in a Radical Cabinet led by Gaston Doumergue, the programme of which Ministry was, after all, less 'advanced' than the Pau programme, especially as to the three-years bill. M. Caillaux, the master-spirit of the Radicals, was the Minister of Finance and the object of the hostility of the Moderates. They claimed that he used his position to cause speculation at the Stock Exchange, and accused him

of 'selling out' to Germany in the settlement after Agadir. The *Figaro*, edited by Gaston Calmette, began a violent campaign. Among the charges was that during the prosecution in 1911 of Rochette, a swindling promoter, the then Prime Minister Monis, now Minister of Marine, had, at Caillaux's instigation, held up the prosecution for fraud, during which delay Rochette had been able to put through other swindles. In the midst of the public turmoil over these charges Caillaux's wife went to Calmette's editorial offices and killed him with a revolver. Caillaux resigned and, the Rochette case having come up for discussion in the Chamber, when Monis denied that he had ever influenced the law, Barthou produced a most damaging letter. A parliamentary commission later decided that the Monis Cabinet had interfered to save Rochette from prosecution.—C. H. C. Wright, *History of the third French republic*, pp. 177-179.—"The trial of Madame Caillaux, wife of a former Premier, for the murder of Gaston Calmette, editor of *Le Figaro*, caused such a taking of sides throughout the length and breadth of France that to the outside world it looked as if civil war were imminent. As this case, on the surface an act of *drame passionnel*, dear to the Parisian journalist, was presented at the trial it appeared that Calmette, in a campaign against Caillaux, who was then Minister of the Treasury, published letters exchanged between the Caillaux before their marriage. Madame Caillaux, wishing to put a stop to such publication, went to M. Calmette's office and demanded that he return the letters to her. Upon his refusal, she shot him. Evidently the jury seemed to think that a woman had a right to resort to extreme measures in defence of her reputation, and they acquitted the defendant. Many ardent Frenchmen agreed with them. But now, in 1910, these same Frenchmen are faced by disclosures that the letters that Madame Caillaux tried to retrieve were not love letters but communications between her husband and Germany at the time of the Agadir incident—correspondence whose existence constituted a part of the treason for which Caillaux is now awaiting trial. Naturally, the prosecution did not want this fact to become known, since it would have been the cue for Germany to fly to arms. Madame Caillaux trusted to this reticence, and won her freedom thereby. Her husband's day of reckoning was postponed. But the 'case' played its part in the bringing on of the war."—V. Duruy, *History of France*, pp. 714-715.—"It was under such circumstances that the Deputies separated for the general elections. Three chief questions came before the voters, the three-years law, the income tax, and proportional representation. The results of the elections were inconclusive and the new Chamber promised to be as ineffective as its predecessor. On the second ballots the Socialists made a good many gains. The Doumergue Ministry resigned soon after the elections which it had carried through. President Poincaré offered the leadership to the veteran statesman Ribot, who with the co-operation of Léon Bougeois, formed a Moderate Cabinet with an inclination toward the Left. This Ministry was above the average, but its leaders were insulted and browbeaten and overthrown on the very first day they met the Chamber of Deputies. So then a Cabinet was formed, led by the Socialist René Viviani, who was willing, however, to accept the three-years law, though he had previously opposed it. But this victory for national defence was weakened by parliamentary revelations of military unpre-

paredness. In mid-July President Poincaré and M. Viviani left France for a round of state visits to Russia and Scandinavia. Paris was engrossed by the sensational trial of Madame Caillaux, which resulted in her acquittal, but this excitement was suddenly replaced by the European crisis, and President Poincaré cut short his foreign trip and hastened home. France loyally supported her ally Russia, and, on August 3, Baron von Schoen, the German Ambassador, notified M. Viviani of a state of war between Germany and France."—C. H. C. Wright, *History of the third French republic*, pp. 180-181.

ALSO IN: A. F. Whyte, *Political situation in France (Nineteenth Century, Apr., 1914, pp. 799-804)*.

1914.—Adherence to Treaty of London of 1867 regarding neutrality of Luxemburg. See LUXEMBURG: 1914-1918.

1914.—Attitude toward war and peace preceding the World War.—Speech of Viviani to the French Senate and Chamber.—Press opinion of the invasion.—"Never was an international crime more flagrant than Germany's attack on France of August 2, 1914; never one more deliberately planned. . . . This 'call to arms' decided upon in cold blood by the German Government was to find the adversaries of yesterday and of to-morrow in widely divergent postures. The one, France, profoundly attached to peace, so long as it no longer meant servitude, and confident in its duration; the other, Germany, physically and spiritually intent on war. . . . The France of 1911, faithful guardian of the traditions of the race, honest, brave and free, differed somewhat from the France that had known defeat. To the generation branded by disaster another generation had succeeded which, not having suffered directly from defeat, sometimes failed to recognize its causes and its consequences. The 'spirit of revenge,' so often invoked by Germany as an excuse for her provocation, no longer existed. Had it, in the real sense of the word, ever existed? It is doubtful. A few noble minds and brave hearts like Paul Derouledé; a few momentary outbursts had at certain hours given tangible form to this feeling. But the nation as a whole—whether it be praised or blamed therefor—was foreign to these movements as facts have shown. Boulangerism, born of internal discontent rather than of great international aspirations, had been but a brief flash in the pan. The memory of Alsace-Lorraine lived in our hearts but how were the lost provinces to be recovered? Before the Russian alliance, we had been too isolated to challenge the *status quo*; afterwards, we were bound to respect it. Years had passed without a single act of revenge. Hope remained, a religion which no one surrendered. But between hope and reality peace endured at first and then, accepted, reared a wall. The men of my generation who reached maturity about 1900, faced this painful problem with the patriotism of resignation. Those amongst them who had closely studied history had little belief in the efficacy of resignation to span the moral abyss created by Bismarck between France and Germany. But by far the greater number, allowing themselves to live with the times, paid little heed to the warnings of the past. The courtesies of the German Emperor in our days of national mourning—the deaths of Carnot and of MacMahon, the burning of the Charity Bazaar—and in the days of our national pride, such as the Exhibition of 1900, were not without effect. German penetration of France, of which the ever rising tide of emigration was

but a minor means, proceeded everywhere with extraordinary thoroughness. Our financiers were becoming accustomed to sleeping partnerships in which—as in the Bagdad matter—French money furnished German Direction with a bond capital for which the regular payment of dividends was but a very inadequate return. Our Socialists, hoodwinked by the material and political prosperity of German Socialism, were content after the Congress of Amsterdam to be the minor brethren of the Marxist order. Our conservatives, to whom imperial diplomacy laid assiduous siege in the salons, were not insensible to the fascination of social order as exemplified by the German Empire. There was infiltration in every stratum of French society. . . . Besides the political evolution of our Republic held us aloof from all idea of war. Not that the Republic—despite the difficulties of its birth in the throes of defeat, despite the handicap of a constitution drafted by its enemies—would have been incapable of having a foreign or a military policy: the war of 1914 furnished a triumphant answer to the doubts of reaction on these scores by showing that France could count both on the support of free peoples and upon the services of an army which at the Marne single handed checked the German onslaught. It is none the less true that the spirit of democracy—the soul of all our laws since 1877 and the practical expression of the individualist philosophy of the eighteenth century—is in its very essence a spirit of peace. Peace in its highest expression which proclaims the right both of individuals and of nations to live and be respected; lasting peace because political power entrusted to the majority insures the welfare of the greatest number and because legislation inspired thereby is repugnant to preparation for war and the increase of armaments. France, the most warlike of nations on the field of battle, had in peace lost her military habit of mind. . . . In 1905, at the very moment when Germany was beginning to rattle her sabre, the term of compulsory service had been reduced by a third. Three years later, in 1908, an even worse imprudence had reduced the period of instruction of the reserves, a measure in flagrant contradiction with the former, as the shorter the time spent in the initial training of recruits the more thorough and complete should be the instruction given to the reserves. In a word no one believed war possible. No one believed it possible because its atrocities were repugnant to men's ordinary vision. No one believed it possible because no one wanted war, and that being the case nobody believed that others wanted it. Not a Frenchman would have supported his Government in a war of aggression. Too many Frenchmen made the mistake of judging Germany by what France was, and of supposing Germany incapable of that which they knew France herself to be incapable of. Anyone who recalled the past in order to throw light upon the future and to dispel a dangerous sense of security met with disapproval. . . . It took ten years of German threats and blackmail to make the French Government, in 1913, take precautionary measures which, being hurriedly improvised, were naturally imperfect and incomplete. [See WAR, PREPARATION FOR: 1013; WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 5.] France, full of optimism and faith in the progress of mankind, would not listen to talk of war. France would not listen to talk of war for another reason. Conscious of her past defeat, and unconscious of her present strength, France inclined to the belief that war would only bring fresh re-

verses. At the beginning of the Moroccan crisis and in the course of its evolution, there were not lacking political men and parties who proclaimed that 'France was not ready,' dangerous talk in a country where the public mind is prone to believe bad news rather than good. The Frenchman is not loath to speak ill of other peoples, even when they are his friends; but he is even readier to speak ill of himself. It has often been remarked that in 1914 America and Great Britain knew very little about us and did not even suspect the reserves of energy and of abnegation which the war called forth. If America and Great Britain did not know France, their excuse is that France did not know herself. Read the French papers from 1900 to 1914 and see if you can find the slightest hint of the splendid picture that the following months are to present,—it is not there. Petty quarrels of politicians and parties, magnified by the Press, distorted the view not only of foreigners but of Frenchmen as well. The true France was hidden. Ignorance of one's strength leads men to seek the path of least resistance. People said and economists taught that 'war was impossible.' People also said, 'Of war, we will have none.' Thus one sees why all our compromises with Germany, painful though they were, met with the approval of the great majority, both in Parliament and in the country. Thus one sees why France, by reason alike of her qualities and of her faults, was so deeply attached to peace at the very moment when Germany had decided upon war. If, in 1914, Germany had wanted peace she would as in previous years have found France ready to enter into the necessary agreements. If Germany had wanted peace, France more than any other nation would have helped her to preserve it. But Germany wanted war! . . . I know no instance of political information so totally and utterly false as that which the Imperial German Government collected concerning us during the ten years prior to the war . . . Our military and other shortcomings were exaggerated by the reports of diplomats seeking to curry favour by judging us harshly. . . . Taking the increase of military expenditure of the six great European powers between 1883 and 1913 we find the following percentages:

France	70%
Italy	108%
Austria	111%
Russia	114%
England	153%
Germany	227%

"France, alarmed at the disparity between her Army of 450,000 men and that of 900,000 which the laws of 1911, 1912 and 1913 assure to Germany, votes the three years service and a slight increase in armaments. Immediately the Pan-German Press denounces this 'provocation.' I can still hear Baron von Stumm, who had been pleased till then to play at conciliation, remarking dryly during a dinner at the Dutch Legation in July, 1913, that 'If France presumes to challenge Germany's right to be stronger than she is, it must be that she desires war.' . . . From now on, the military leaders are not alone in the secret of this aggressive plan. The Governments of the German States are informed that France is to be attacked through Belgium. The Bavarian Legation at Berlin, in a report which Kurt Eisner made public, wrote: 'Germany cannot respect Belgian neutrality.' The Chief of the General Staff has declared that even English neutrality would be too high a price to pay

for respecting that of Belgium. For an offensive war against France is possible only through Belgium.' The plan decided upon and the sword ready, there remains only an opportunity to find. The assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand furnishes it; and less than five weeks will suffice to bring about the explosion. Everything is ready and in its place; everything is prepared so that no possibility of averting war remains. Here again we have German proofs to present in the opening pages of this book on France and Peace. Not forgetting the Kaiser's letter to his Chancellor of July 28, 1914, in which William II demands the occupation of Belgrade by Austria-Hungary—war with Russia in other words—here is Bethmann-Hollweg's Note of August 3 in which he says: 'We were aware that the eventual acts of hostility by Austria against Serbia might bring Russia on the scene and drag us into a war in conjunction with our Ally. But we could not, knowing that the vital interests of Austria were at stake, either advise our Ally to a condescension incompatible with her dignity, or refuse her our support at this difficult juncture.' The confession is full: it was needless. For events speak for themselves and in the fatal week show Germany as eager to avoid the maintenance of peace as her future adversaries were to safeguard it.—A. Tardieu, *Truth about the treaty*, pp. 1, 9-14, 18-20, 22-23.—See also WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 4; 76; 77; also Causes: Indirect: k; l.

"Since 1912, there have been consultations between English and French general staffs, resulting in an exchange of letters between Sir Edward Grey and M. Paul Cambon. . . . The English fleet is guarding our [French] northern and western coast against aggression. . . . The French republic by the restoration of its strength and the making of diplomatic agreements invariably lived up to, has succeeded in freeing itself from the yoke which Bismarck imposed on Europe even in days of peace. . . . Italy will remain neutral. . . . What is being attacked are the liberties of Europe whose defenders France, her allies and her friends are proud to be. . . . France unjustly provoked . . . will defend herself against Germany and against every power which has not as yet announced its position but which should later on take sides with Germany."—R. Viviani, *Speech to French Senate and Chamber of Deputies*, Aug. 4, 1914.—"It is not strange that the rapid German invasion of Belgium and France in what Frenchmen regarded as a brutal attempt to dominate Europe and crush France into lasting insignificance, should have roused the deep patriotism of the French people to a peculiarly high pitch of exaltation. Before the German peril France rose as one man to defend the threatened soil of the Patrie."—T. L. Stoddart, *Present-day Europe*, p. 42.

1914.—Political and internal situation at the outbreak of the World War. See WORLD WAR: 1914; XI. Political situation: b; also Causes: Indirect: l.

1914.—Military, naval and aircraft strength at the outbreak of the World War.—Mobilization of troops for war. See MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 26; WORLD WAR: Causes: Indirect: 1; 1914: X. War in the air: a; Preparation for war: a.

1914 (July).—Official reports of various ambassadors on conditions after Serajevo assassinations. See WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 12.

1914 (July-August).—Relations with England.—Appeal to King George for a peaceful settlement.—Military and naval consultations and agreements.—Lord Grey's speech. See WORLD

WAR: Diplomatic background: 41; 49; 56; ENGLAND: 1914 (August).

1914 (August).—German inquiry as to the French attitude over German declaration of war against Russia. See WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 47.

1914 (August).—German declaration of war. See WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 48.

1914 (August).—Declaration to defend neutrality of Belgium. See BELGIUM: 1914: World War; WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 54; 60; 61.

1914 (August-September).—Assassination of Jaurès.—Reconstructed ministry.—Removal of the government to Bordeaux.—Military reverses.—"War found the Viviani Cabinet in office; then, on the top of this tremendous situation, came the assassination of Jean Jaurès, the Socialist polemist. Here was a combination to try the nerves of any statesman; but, Viviani, though new to office, boldly rose to the occasion. He did not lose his head over the war, and he made the assassination of Jaurès an occasion for a splendid manifesto in which he appealed to the patriotism of the working classes. At the same time he praised the dead orator, strongly condemned the deed by which he had come by his death, and promised punishment of the assassin. His frank recognition of Jaurès's high qualities won him the approval of the Socialists, and, incidentally, showed his magnanimity—for the dead leader was undoubtedly an embarrassing opponent. Viviani, like some of his chief colleagues in the Cabinet, began his political life as a Socialist, and probably remains one at heart; but responsibility has brought prudence, and thus the wine of generous ideals has been tempered by expediency. After he had conjured the danger of a civil outbreak, through the assassination of Jaurès, there remained the far greater danger: the European war. That was not so readily dealt with. Nevertheless, the premier, who had emerged from comparative obscurity less than ten years before, dealt faithfully with that crisis. There came the shock of reverses on the frontier, with the Germans marching rapidly on Paris. Taking counsel with the President and his constitutional advisers, Viviani reformed his Cabinet [August 26] and made it a Government of National Defence [called the Union Sacrée]. If it had not the width of the English concentration, it represented respectable elements and contained the most reputed politicians of the day. . . . No member of the Opposition, properly so called, was invited to take a portfolio. . . . Yet the Cabinet, such as it was, gave satisfaction to public opinion, and was a coherent effort to obtain the best results that political wisdom and experience could furnish. . . . The post of greatest difficulty belonged to Maitre Millerand, who undertook the Ministry of War. It was a crushing responsibility and presented changes of policy in the last forty years from which his department suffered; and secondly, because of the curious temperament of French deputies who find exercise for their ingenuity in obstruction and their talent for intrigue in the group system of French politics, by which a dozen different jealousies have to be met and overcome. Be this as it may, M. Millerand battled with considerable success against the sudden emergencies of the campaign. He is accused of having tried to do too much and of showing the temper of a dictator; but he had every excuse for adopting a system which means rapidity of action, even if it exposes the minister to the full effect of faults. The Chamber gave him three secretaries of state,

one charged with Transport and Commissariat, one with the Service de Santé, the third with Aviation, and he accepted them rather grudgingly, it is said; but of his own free will he chose a Parliamentary secretary for Munitions, and this decentralization had the happiest results. . . . Immediately in the rear of M. Millerand appears the figure of M. Aristide Briand, who is one of the most powerful politicians of the day. . . . He was always the potential premier in the Viviani Cabinet—the power behind the throne—but, officially, he was Vice-President of the Council, as Minister of Justice. The political discovery of the war was M. Albert Thomas, who is also a Socialist, but a Socialist of the complexion of M. Millerand: a real reformer with no touch of the revolutionary in him, and yet profoundly interested in Labour conditions. . . . M. Thomas's admission to the Cabinet as a consultative member, after he had been chosen by M. Millerand to be his first lieutenant, was a reward for unremitting labour at the Ministry of War. . . . One of the most attractive figures in the Cabinet is the venerable M. Ribot, Minister of Finance, whose principal achievement was to draw wealth from the legendary *bas de laine* [woolen stocking]. From its kindly depths he got twenty millions of good French money in seven weeks."—C. Dawbarn, *France at bay*, pp. 178-181, 184-187.—On September 3, the seat of government was temporarily moved to Bordeaux, following the precedent of the Franco-Prussian war, in order to deprive the possible capture of Paris of any political significance.

1914 (August-December).—World War: Operations on the western front.—Offensive in Alsace-Lorraine.—Battles of Charleroi, Ardennes, Marne and Ypres-Armentières. See WORLD WAR: 1014: I. Western front.

1914-1915. — Closing of Parlement. — Censorship.—"The war had hardly begun when the Government, without either popular or Parliamentary consent, brushed aside the Constitution and the laws and established what is in effect, if not in name, a dictatorship as oppressive and as complete as any ever exercised by either of the Napoleons. Germany declared war against France on August 3, 1914. [See WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 48.] The French Parliament met the next day and, as required by the Constitution, recognized the existence of a state of war. In a single session, without amendment or debate, it enacted into law eighteen bills submitted by the Government, and authorized the President of the Republic to borrow eight milliards of francs, to be spent upon the public services in any way the Government might see fit. It was perfectly willing to subordinate itself to the executive, and in the face of national danger legislate without comment on any subject or in any way the Government might desire. This, however, did not satisfy the wishes of M. Viviani and his associates, who almost immediately after their flight to Bordeaux declared the session of Parliament closed by a notice printed in the *Journal Officiel*. It [the Parlement] not only insisted that the Government had no legal right to close a session of Parliament held during 'a state of siege,' but it is further claimed that the only legal way that any session can be closed is by the reading of the decree of closure from the tribune of both chambers. As the budget for 1915 had not been voted, the Government was obliged to call Parliament together again before the expiration of the year. . . . December 24, when, after three meetings in which the chambers showed themselves as sub-

servient and as pliant as before, the session was again closed in the same illegal way. On January 12, 1915, Parliament met under the Constitution for its regular session, which must last at least five months. Until lately [January, 1916] it has at no time shown itself inclined to in any way embarrass the Government or to disobey the latter's orders, no matter how unconstitutional they might be. In fact, in two particulars, it has gone so far as even to surprise many Frenchmen who thoroughly approve of the present dictatorship. The members of the French Senate are elected for nine years. In January of this year the terms of 102 Senators expired. 'It is difficult,' said the Government, 'to call together the electoral colleges, and in fact some of the departments affected are in the hands of the enemy. It will be even more inconvenient to have 102 seats vacant. Let us therefore ignore the Constitution and by a simple act of Parliament indefinitely extend the terms of those Senators who are about to go out'—which Parliament on December 24, 1914, unanimously, and without a single word of debate, proceeded to do. . . . Using Article IX of the obsolete law of August 9, 1840, which permitted the military authorities during a 'state of siege' to forbid publications and meetings tending to excite disorder, and the law of August 4, 1914, which punishes indiscreet publications of a military nature, the Government has decreed a censorship the like of which the world has never known. No new newspaper may be started without the permission of the censorship. Of existing newspapers only one daily edition may be issued, no 'scare heads' or 'display type' may be used, no newspaper may be 'cried' in the streets. Every word that is printed must first be passed by the Censor, on pain of the suspension or suppression of the newspaper. No criticism of any one in authority, either civil or military, is allowed, nor may any military news be printed that is not passed by Headquarters."—G. B. McClellan, *Heel of war*, pp. 106-107, 116-117.—The diplomatic and military censorship came to an end with the ratification of the Versailles Treaty.—See also WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous and auxiliary services: III. Press reports and censorship: a, 3; PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1014-1020.

Also in: R. L. Buell, *Contemporary French politics*, ch. 10.

1914-1918.—French women and their activities in war time.—"When the call to mobilize rang like a thunderclap through France, it was answered not only by the men, but also by the women, to whom a similar call was addressed by the Prime Minister, through the press. Women of all ranks and of every occupation, whether among the *noblesse* and *bourgeoisie*, the professional, commercial, or agricultural classes, rose up and responded with a burst of patriotic enthusiasm and an ardent desire to serve only to be found in a democratic country where national service is regarded as 'a sacrifice of arms demanded by the gods.' . . . First in the rank of Frenchwomen answering the call to mobilize were the members of the Croix Rouge, comprising the three great societies—'Secours aux Blessés Militaires,' 'L'Union des Femmes de France,' and 'L'Association des Dames Françaises.' The war of 1870 had shown Frenchwomen their heart-rending helplessness and ignorance, natural consequence of lack of training and organization. . . . They formed at once a nucleus, capable of indefinite expansion. At the call thousands more joined up for training, while others, who had retired, offered themselves as teachers and organizers of ambulances. Already in

1916 the numbers of hospitals organized and maintained by the three great branches of the Croix Rouge had grown to about 1800. . . . The work of the Société de Secours aux Blessés Militaires is not confined to hospitals and ambulances at the front. An important work is done by the *infirmières* at the railway stations. Their mission is to bring food to the trainloads of wounded, to dress their wounds, and give hospitality in the *dortoirs* attached to their railway canteens, to those unable to continue the journey the same night. . . . Writing of the French nurses who remained voluntarily in the occupied departments, M. Barthou says: They risked their liberty, their lives, even their honor, to defend our wounded from the ferocious enemy. . . . They gave their lives also equally to the wounded Germans, remembering that they were not only nurses, but Frenchwomen with the honor of France to uphold. . . . After four years of war they have proved their value as public servants in a manner which has given a warm human glow to the usually dry, official reports, records of bare facts. . . . Not only in the devastated regions, but throughout France, women are acting as mayors, head teachers, and postmasters. . . . At the declaration of war the mobilization of the women was greatly facilitated, as in England, by the suffrage and feminist societies, which were at once converted into centres for organizing the various branches of national service. These societies, with their staff of women trained in organizing and business methods, their branches in every part of France with offices and press departments, proved invaluable to their country. . . . The women of France inaugurated a vigorous campaign [against drink, vice, and child mortality], united under the banners of the 'Conseil National des Femmes' and the great Woman Suffrage Unions, 'Fédération Nationale,' 'Alliance Nationale,' and 'L'Union Française.' . . . Another enterprise created by the women of France . . . has been the 'Foyer du Soldat.' . . . The *foyers* providing healthy foods and temperance drinks, a cheerful, bright atmosphere where the soldier could find newspapers, writing material, music, and games, or rest and quiet according to his tastes, proved to be a real godsend to the French army. . . . In connection with the 'Foyer du Soldat' the women have worked that other scheme for the benefit of the homeless soldier on leave—namely, his adoption into a family who receive him in their own home, restoring his physical and mental health with rest, good food, and cheerful company. Another field in which Frenchwomen have exercised beneficial moral influence is to be found in the *ateliers* or workshops attached to the military hospitals. 'L'Atelier du Blessé' was started by Madame Renée Viviani at the beginning of the war. In these workshops of the hospitals, convalescent maimed, blind, and disfigured are trained in a trade which at the same time serves the purpose of a remedial physical exercise. . . . Another important society actively engaged in child welfare, almost entirely worked by women, is the 'Œuvre de la Chaussée du Maine.' Founded in 1871 by Madame de Pressensé, its first object was to assist the child victims of the war, not only to protect them during infancy, but to follow them through school-days, to the start in life with both material and spiritual aid. . . . The mother house is in Paris on the rue Vigée-Lebrun. . . . Among other numerous societies for the benefit of mothers and children is 'L'Accueil Français,' devoted to the children of the invaded districts, for 15,000 of whom Madame Manger, the indefatigable secretary, has found homes. Also, 'Pupilles de la Guerre,' di-

rected by Madame Henri May, and 'Veuves de la Guerre,' by Madame Pierre Goujon. All these organizations for the saving of child-life were federated during the first year of war, so that overlapping might be avoided and coöperation secured, into one society, 'L'Assistance à la Mère et l'Enfant,' under the presidency of Madame Michel, wife of General Michel, Governor of Paris at the outbreak of war. . . . But it is in hitherto unaccustomed spheres that Frenchwomen are now specially distinguishing themselves. What are the women of France doing? 'They are keeping the country going.' They have kept the country going as farmers and agricultural laborers. The mobilization of the men, in 1914, came in the midst of harvest, but everywhere the crops and the vintage were gathered in, the fields were ploughed and sown. The work of the farm went on without interruption, for the nation in arms must be fed. The Minister of Agriculture states in his *Journal Officiel* of February, 1916, in recognition of their services: 'The women placed at the head of an agricultural business will have the same rights as a man. Many of them have, by their courage and indisputable competence, earned a place in the first ranks on the agricultural committees.' . . . A business in which the Frenchwoman's nerve and endurance have rendered the same incalculable war service as that of the Englishwoman has been munition work. This is the report of M. Bourillon, Inspector of the Ministry of Works: 'Women have shown themselves as needing no special training to become irreproachable makers of shells and to give to artillery work the most exact inspection; . . . out of 80,000 shells verified in a workshop of 845 women, only one shell failed to pass the test—this on a visit taken at random.' . . . M. Albert Thomas, Minister of Munitions, states in his circular of July 1916: 'With the object of obtaining the utmost ability from the military munition workers and as a natural consequence of my circular relating to the employment of women hands, I have decided from henceforth to dispense with all mobilized workmen in works which, in every detail of their fabrication, can be confided entirely to women.' . . . Another excellent institution which France owes to her women is the 'Infirmières Visiteuses'—visiting nurses. Like so many other organizations, it was started by private individuals. . . . Not a single French society would consent to attend [the Women's Congress of the Hague, April, 1915] . . . and the 'Conseil National des Femmes Françaises,' a Federation of 150 feminist associations, affiliated with the Federation of eighty suffragist societies, gave the following reasons for their grave step in abstaining for the first time from taking part in a Peace Congress, declaring their unanimous decision neither to participate in this International Congress, nor to accept the programme it proposed. 'How would it be possible [went on the manifesto] for us at such a time as the present to meet the women of the enemy countries and again take up with them the work so tragically interrupted? Have they denounced the political crimes and sins against humanity perpetrated by their Government? Have they protested against the violation of Belgium, against the criminal acts of their army and their navy? If their voices have been raised, it has been too feebly for their protestations to reach us. We can only resume coöperation with them when they accept, as we do, respect for right as the basis of all social life and action. . . . To think of peace to-day, before peace can consecrate and establish the principles of right, would be to betray those for whom we are so many of us

proudly mourning. It is in order that future generations may reap the fruit of their splendid self-abnegation and death, that the women of France will continue the combat as long as needful; united with those who are fighting and dying for their country they will not associate themselves with one gesture of peace. Animated still by this spirit the women of France are keeping, and will keep their country going, till victory is assured."—C. E. Maud, *What French women are doing* (*Living Age*, Aug. 10, 1918).

ALSO IN: G. F. Atherton, *Living present*.—E. Bonnaire, *Le Travail féminin dans les fabriques de munitions* (*Revue philantropique, Paris*, 1917, v. 38, pp. 10-28).—K. Carr, *Women who dared: Heroines of the Great War*.—J. Combarieu, *Les Jeunes filles française et la guerre*.—R. L. Fitch, *Madame France*.—M. La Hire, *La Femme française; son activité pendant la guerre*.—F. Masson, *Les Femmes et la guerre de 1914* (*Pages actuelles*, 1914-1915, no. 2).

1914-1918.—Government use of railroads during the war. See WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: V. Moving men and materials: c, 2; RAILROADS: 1917-1919.

1914-1918.—War taxes, direct and indirect. See TAXATION: World War taxation.

1914-1918.—War relief.—Work of Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., Salvation army, Quakers, etc.—Reëducation of disabled soldiers. See Y. M. C. A.: World War activities: 1914-1919: Work in France; Y. W. C. A.: 1917; 1917-1919; INTERNATIONAL RELIEF: Relief in Belgium and northern France; Serbian relief; SALVATION ARMY: 1917-1918; EDUCATION: modern developments: 20th century: World War and education: Reëducation.

1914-1918.—German propaganda. See WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: III. Press reports and censorship: d, 1.

1914-1918.—Revival of French prestige.—Production of ammunition.—"France was in 1914 'decadent France,' and in 1916, if not slightly earlier, 'splendid France.' This is the paradox which must be solved. In the course of two years the world almost completely changed its opinion about the French. . . . The German war-machine, held up for a few precious days in August, 1914, near the Belgian boundary, soon broke away and began to roll down upon France. Apparently the French military authorities had really expected Germany to respect her treaty concerning Belgium, and were not prepared for the thrust through that country. But the machine rolled on. Brussels fell, and later Antwerp. Soon the German columns were crossing the French frontier with apparently irresistible force. The French and English together were unable to check the movement. An appalling quiet seemed to have settled upon France. The few items of news which filtered out were not reassuring. . . . Then came the miracle of modern warfare, the Battle of the Marne. The French armies, defeated and flung back upon their soil, turned and defeated the invader, driving him back toward Belgium. Whether or not German military mistakes were partly responsible for this defeat, certain it is that the glory due France cannot be overstated. Then it was that the world began to change its mind about the French and to speak some words of commendation. We began to look somewhat below the surface, and as we did, we saw things long unsuspected. France, caught unprepared for war, compelled by the perfidy of the enemy to change her whole plan of defensive campaign, had in the course of a few weeks, with great courage and orderliness, accepted early de-

feats and retreat, had continued to gather more troops and to place them quietly where they could be most effectively used, and then, on the darkest day, had put in operation a plan of battle which in a few days drove the enemy far from his objective."—W. S. Davis, *Roots of the war*, pp. 116-117.—"France behind the lines was worthy of fighting France. She furnished in full measure that effort without which the heroism of her soldiers would have been vain. She too did her full duty. When war began—the first great European war in forty-three years—both France and Germany had to face the surprise of fire: our 75's inflicted losses on the Germans which their General Staff had not foreseen. Their heavy artillery for months smashed the morale of our Armies. To tell the truth no one was really ready—France even less than Germany—to meet the demands a successful war of artillery was going to make. Our manual of attack in 1913 said: 'Ground is won by infantry.' Three years later our experience dearly bought proclaimed: 'Ground is won by artillery.' Both perhaps were exaggerations, but the fact remains none the less that the French Army lacked the support in attack and the protection in defense which quick-firing heavy artillery affords and that its field artillery perfect in design was woefully short of ammunition. When we went to war, we had 1,300 rounds per gun, later on there were days when the expenditure was 4,000 rounds per gun. We had counted on a production of 15,000 three-inch shells a day and the total expenditure on certain days reached 400,000. In 1916, to demolish a yard of enemy trench, it took 407 kilogrammes of '75' shells, 203 kilogrammes of trench shells, 704 kilogrammes of heavy shells and 128 kilogrammes of high explosive shells. The lessons of battle obliged us first to keep our field artillery supplied, then to create quick firing heavy batteries. A doubly onerous task in almost impossible circumstances. All our iron and steel plants were near our frontiers, and invasion had robbed us of them! The Germans estimated that our loss in this way would be 60,000 workmen out of 112,000, 40 per cent. of our coal, 80 per cent. of our coke, 90 per cent. of our iron, 70 per cent. of our pig iron, 80 per cent. of our steel, 80 per cent. of our machinery. The estimate was correct. What did we do? The story of this prodigious effort has never been written. We had, in 1914, 3,606 pieces of 75. Despite loss and destruction, we had 6,555 when hostilities ceased. As to heavy artillery, the supply rose from 288 pieces in 1914 to 5,477 in 1918. In other words, we increased our field artillery by 77 per cent. and our heavy artillery by 1,043 per cent. One-tenth of this latter increase was obtained by reconstruction of old pieces, nine-tenths by new construction. All our artillery combined in 1914 had less than five million shells. The monthly output at the end of the war exceeded nine millions. So much for round figures. Now for details. In 1914, the production of 75's was negligible and there was no regular service of repair. In October, 1918, our workshops were turning out, for this caliber alone, 550 new tubes and 573 repaired, 593 new brakes and 195 repaired, 267 new carriages and 114 repaired. To these must be added shells, more shells and ever more shells. The battle of Champagne and Artois in 1915, lasting two months, cost us seven and a half million of 75 shells—an average of 121,000 a day. The battle of Verdun and the Somme in 1916—lasting ten months—cost us more than forty-three million 75 shells—an average of 144,000 a day. The offensive of 1918, lasting four months, cost

us nearly thirty-three million shells, an average of 272,500 a day. We met this increasing expenditure. The output of 75 shells at the beginning of the war was theoretically 13,000 a day, as a matter of fact it was 6,000. It rose to 150,000 a day in October, 1915,—to 173,000 in August, 1916,—to 203,000 in the following November, to 233,000 in May, 1917, which level is maintained and even exceeded to the end of the war. This increase of production—3,782 per cent.—was obtained under almost hopeless conditions brought about by invasion. It is to the everlasting honour of our Government, of our Parliament and of our industry that they were able to achieve it, in spite of everything.”—A. Tardieu, *Truth about the treaty*, pp. 31-33.

1914-1921.—Effects of World War on shipping.—Losses. See COMMERCE: Commercial Age: 1914-1921.

1915.—General military situation at opening of the year. See WORLD WAR: 1915: I. Military situation.

1915.—World War: Operations in the Cameroons. See WORLD WAR: 1915: VIII. Africa: c.

1915.—World War: Aerial operations and raids. See WORLD WAR: 1915: X. War in the air.

1915 (January).—Upper Alsace becomes the department of Haut-Rhin.—On January 1, a sub-prefect was appointed and civil government established in the new Department of Haut-Rhin comprising the territory in upper Alsace won back from the Germans.

1915 (January-September).—World War: Operations on the western front, along St. Mihiel sector, Ypres, Vosges.—Battles of Soissons, Ypres, Artois, Labyrinth, and Champagne. See WORLD WAR: 1915: II. Western front.

1915 (February-August).—Negotiations with Greece concerning her entrance into the World War. See GREECE: 1915 (February-June); (June-November).

1915 (April).—Treaty of London with Italy. See LONDON, TREATY OR PACT OF; ADRIATIC QUESTION: Treaty of London; ITALY: 1915: Treaty of London.

1915 (September-October).—World War: Operations in the Balkans, around the Dardanelles and Gallipoli.—Retreat from Cerna-Vardar region. See WORLD WAR: 1915: V. Balkans: b, 4 to b, 6; c, 3, i to c, 3, iii; VI. Turkey: a.

1915 (October).—French and British troops land at Salonika.—Declaration of war against Bulgaria.—Cabinet reconstruction under Premier Briand.—“When the great German offensive against Russia was brought to an end and armies were launched against Serbia, the French Press clamored loudly for intervention in assistance of their Balkan allies. The character of the intervention, the number of men required and so on was decided upon between the French and British military authorities, and armies from both countries were despatched to Salonika. . . . A statement of the Prime minister was urgently demanded on the subject of the new expedition, for there had been much misgiving as to the supposed delays, hesitations and mistakes of the Allied diplomacy. M. Viviani met the demand for a statement in the Chamber on October 12. He outlined the diplomatic negotiations which preceded the entry of Bulgaria into the war and said that in view of the German attack on Serbia it became incumbent both from moral and military points of view to send an expedition to the relief of that country. ‘We could not agree to the isolation of Serbia and the rupture of communications with our allies and our friends.’ He defended the violation of Greek

neutrality on the ground of the welcome offered to the French troops by a people already allied with Serbia; and he stated that Russia also was sending an army to co-operate with the British and French troops. On the day following this speech a political crisis was precipitated by the resignation of M. Delcassé the Minister for Foreign Affairs. . . . It soon became known that M. Delcassé’s resignation had direct reference to the Allied expedition to Salonika. The Foreign Minister had conducted the Balkan negotiations preliminary to the landing; but the resignation of M. Venizelos and the determination of Greece to maintain her neutrality, so greatly changed the aspect of affairs that M. Delcassé no longer felt justified in conducting a diplomacy, the conditions of which had been so completely altered. It then no longer seemed to him that the expedition to Salonika was advisable. The vote of confidence in the Government by M. Viviani was ultimately carried by 372 votes to 9, although about 200 deputies refrained altogether from voting. The resignation of M. Delcassé was the immediate cause of the fall of the French Government. For some time past the Ministry had failed to obtain the confidence of the country; though the exceedingly strict censorship effectually prevented any public criticism. Expressions of dissatisfaction came chiefly from the Parliamentary committees of Foreign Affairs, War, Navy, and Budget, each of which consisted of forty-four members drawn on a proportional basis from the various groups of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, and represented the informed and united opinion of Parliament. Matters were brought to a head by the failure of the *entente* diplomacy in the Balkans and the resignation of M. Delcassé; and on October 28 it was announced that a new Ministry was in course of formation under the Premiership of M. Briand. Three days later the constitution of the new Ministry was published. It contained, including the Under-Secretaries, twenty-three members, and showed no change in the preponderance of any one party. General Gallieni succeeded M. Millerand as Minister of War, while Admiral Lacaze became Minister of Marine. The other offices were distributed as follows: Justice, M. Viviani; Interior, M. Malvy; Finance, M. Ribot; Agriculture, M. Méline; Public Works, M. Marcel Sembat; Commerce, M. Clémentel; Colonies, M. Doumergue; Instruction and Inventions affecting National Defence, M. Painlevé. M. Briand himself assumed the direction of Foreign Affairs, while M. Jules Cambon, former Ambassador in Berlin, became Secretary-General to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministers of State were M. de Freycinet, M. Bourgeois, M. Combes, M. Jules Guesde and M. Denys Cochin. The Cabinet thus contained no fewer than eight ex-Premiers of France; it included three Collectivist Socialists, three Independent Socialists, six Radicals and Socialist-Radicals, two Moderate Republicans, one Progressist and one member of the Right (M. Denys Cochin). The appointment of a General to the Ministry of War was not altogether harmonious to Radical sentiment more particularly in view of rumours early in the war that the new Minister had not escaped dissensions with General Joffre. But the personality and well-known patriotism of General Gallieni disarmed criticism, and entire confidence was felt that no friction would occur between him and the leader of the French army in the field. The first concern of M. Briand on coming into power was to issue a statement to the effect that the change of Ministry was in no way a sign of any change in policy. The policy of France was

summed up in the one word 'Victory' and their only motto was *La Paix par la Victoire*."—*Annual Register*, 1915, pp. 201-202.

1916.—Campaigns in Salonika.—Bulgarian advance.—Bearskin pact with England. See WORLD WAR: 1916: V. Balkan theater: b, 1; b, 2; c, 3.

1916.—Verdun offensive by Germans and its failure.—Battle of the Somme. See WORLD WAR: 1916: II. Western front: b; c.

1916 (May-September).—Acquisition of southern part of Armenian and Syrian coast by Sykes-Picot agreement.—Agreement with England by which French troops replace English in Syria and Cilicia. See SYRIA: 1908-1921.

1916 (June).—Allied economic conference at Paris. See TARIFF: 1916.

1916.—Moslem aid in World War. See ARABIA: 1916; 1916 (June).

1916 (July).—Protest against German deportation of women and girls from Lille. See WORLD WAR: 1916: X. German rule in northern France and Belgium: a.

1916 (December).—Peace proposals. See WORLD WAR: 1916: XI. Peace proposals: b, 2; b, 3; U. S. A.: 1916 (December).

1916 (December).—Reorganization of Briand's cabinet.—Joffre created marshal of France.—War committee established.—Abolition of political censorship.—"At the beginning of December the Chamber of Deputies was holding a series of secret sessions. More energetic measures of civil, commercial, and industrial mobilization were being discussed. The situation in England [see ENGLAND: 1916 (December)] at once quickened interest among French statesmen in the question whether the present Governmental machinery was in conformity with the exigencies of war, and also whether there should not be a reorganization of the supreme command of the army. On Dec. 7 the Chamber, by a vote of 344 to 160, passed a resolution expressing confidence in the Government in its conduct of the war and approving the proposals to reorganize the General Staff and 'to concentrate under restricted direction the conduct of the war.' Next day a special meeting of the Cabinet was held and the establishment of a War Council and the economic organization of the country were considered. The semi-official note issued on Dec. 10 stated that there would be 'a diminution in the number of the members of the Cabinet and the constitution of a restricted National Defense Committee, as in England.' Finally, on Dec. 12, M. Aristide Briand, the Premier, announced that he had completed the reconstruction of the Cabinet. The supreme direction of the war is concentrated in a National Defense Council of Five, consisting of M. Briand, Premier and Foreign Minister; M. Alexandre Ribot, Finance Minister; General Hubert Lyautey, Minister of War; Rear Admiral Lacaze, Minister of Marine, and M. Albert Thomas, who, as Minister of Fabrication Nationale (National Manufactures), is also to have control of munitions and transportation. The rest of the Cabinet has been reorganized, one of the Ministers being described as that of National Subsistence and Labor. General Lyautey, the new War Minister, has been French Resident General in Morocco. A resolution of confidence in the new Government was adopted by the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 13, but as the voting on this occasion was 314 to 165, M. Briand's majority had in less than a week fallen from 184 to 140. M. Clemenceau says that the minority included some of the most important members of

the Chamber. The rest of the expected changes in the high command was made on Dec. 12, when it was announced that General Nivelle, commander of the French troops at Verdun, had been appointed Commander in Chief of the French armies of the north and northeast. This was followed next day by President Poincaré signing a decree naming 'General Joffre, Commander in Chief of the French Armies, technical counsel to the Government regarding the direction of the war.' Another decree declared that the Commanders in Chief of the armies of the north and northeast and of the Orient were now to be directly responsible to the Minister of War. The effect of this decree is to bring both General Nivelle and General Sarrail, Commander of the Entente forces in Macedonia, under the control of the War Office, now presided over by General Lyautey, and make them independent of the Commander in Chief, General Joffre."—*Cabinet changes in France* (*New York Times Current History*, Jan., 1917, pp. 622-623).—In addition to a decree creating General Joffre a marshal of France, President Poincaré signed another, December 27, revoking the decrees of December 2, 1915, and December 13, 1916, which had appointed Joffre commander-in-chief and also technical adviser to the government. The high command was now vested in the War Committee. A significant change is indicated by the adoption on December 14 by the Chamber of Deputies of a motion abolishing the political censorship, while retaining the diplomatic and military censorship. The motion was accepted by the Government and passed unanimously.—See also WORLD WAR: 1916: XII. Political conditions in belligerent countries: e.

1917.—Allied failures.—Campaigns on the western front.—Destruction of the Rheims cathedral.—"This year, 1917, was for the Allies a year of despair and disaster. When the weather permitted, the British and the French began another offensive, to try again to break asunder the German lines. The Allies were hampered by the German retreat which had left an area of terrible desolation over which an attack could not well be made; but in April the British took the immensely strong position of Vimy and in June, with a huge explosive charge, they blew up the supposedly impregnable position of Messines. Farther north they desperately strove to break down into the plain of Flanders and compel the evacuation of the seaports of Belgium whence the submarines constantly issued. They seemed to have good chance of success; but they fought with a fatal ill fortune and when the season came to an end they had endured fearful losses and taken from the Germans nothing that compelled an important retreat. During the summer the French made another effort to shatter the German lines. Near Laon they broke through the Chemin des Dames positions, and gained a brilliant local victory; but because of terrible losses, gave up the effort before anything decisive was accomplished. Later events were to show that this was the last great offensive effort the French could make by themselves. They had long borne the brunt of the war, and their losses had been so appalling that they were now almost at the point of despair. That they did not falter and accept a German peace, as traitors urged, was due to the efforts of their great man Clemenceau, and most of all to their own unconquerable spirit. The Cathedral of Rheims, one of the supreme examples of Gothic architecture and religious art, something which had been loved and admired for centuries,

which could not be replaced, was not far from the line of battle. Because, as they said, it was used by the French as an observation post, the Germans deliberately ruined it with shells from their cannon. From the very beginning the great German airships, the Zeppelins, sailed over the cities of England and France, dropping high explosives with fearful effect. Some military advantage was procured, but the nature of these air raids was such that the bombs were more apt to drop upon civilians than upon fortifications."—E. R. Turner, *Europe, 1789-1920*, pp. 561-562, 565.—See also WORLD WAR: 1917: I. Summary: b, 2; II. Western front: a, 1; a, 2; b; b, 7; c; d, 22; d, 23; f.

1917.—Relations with Mexico. See MEXICO: 1917-1918.

1917 (March).—Resignation of Premier Briand.—Ribot ministry.—"The first victim of the persistent attacks on the French Government in the Chamber of Deputies was one of the latest additions to the cabinet, General Louis Lyautey. He was called to take charge of the War Office from Morocco where he has been in control during the four years since that country became a French protectorate. There he has brought order out of chaos. . . . When called upon to defend his policy in the Chamber he began with what the Deputies chose to consider an insult and they howled him down. . . . 'I believe there are things which must not be spoken. You will permit me not to follow you into technical questions, because even in secret session my responsible opinion is that it would expose the national defense to risks.' At this a tumult of unprecedented violence broke out in the Chamber and he was not allowed to continue. There is evidence enough in the present war to justify his distrust of the Chamber of Deputies in keeping military secrets, but that did not matter. On account of the refusal of the Chamber to listen to him he was obliged to resign his post as Minister of War. This was followed by the resignation of the whole cabinet and Premier Briand laid down the office which he has held for a year and a half, on the very day when the French armies made their great advance. President Poincaré asked the ex-minister of Finance to form a new cabinet."—*French ministry resigns (Independent, Mar. 26, 1917, pp. 530-531)*.—"The new Cabinet, about to take office, is headed by that veteran statesman Alexandre Ribot, who has been Minister of Finance in all the French Cabinets since the war started. No one, we believe, commands the confidence of all parties to a greater degree than does M. Ribot. It is a satisfaction to note that former Premier Viviani is to be Minister of Justice, and that former Premier Bourgeois becomes Minister of Labor. The next most striking appointment is assuredly that of Professor Painlevé, who had been Minister of Public Instruction, and now assumes control of perhaps the most important position in the Cabinet, namely, the Ministry of War. M. Thomas, the efficient Minister of Munitions, serves again in that office, and Admiral Lacaze and Louis Malvy, who have presided over the Navy and Interior Departments for two Ministries, continue in those offices. For the most part the other members are new men to Cabinet office, one of the most conspicuous being M. Jules Steeg, the editor of 'La Lanterne' and 'La Revue Bleue.' The new Cabinet apparently returns to the old order, in that it has dissolved the departments (Justice and Public Works, Commerce and Agriculture, Labor and National Subsistence) centralized under the late Ministry into the sep-

arate portfolios which that Ministry had combined. The present portfolios are fifteen in number, including the Under-Secretaryship of Aviation."—*New French cabinet (Outlook, Mar. 28, 1917, p. 539)*.—See also WORLD WAR: 1917: XII. Political conditions in the belligerent countries: d.

1917 (April).—America's entrance into the World War. See WORLD WAR: 1917: I. Summary: b, 6; VIII. United States and the war: e.

1917 (April-May).—War mission to the United States. See U. S. A.: 1917 (April-May).

1917 (June).—Ultimatum to King Constantine of Greece for his abdication. See WORLD WAR: 1917: V. Balkan theater: a, 3.

1917 (August).—Note of Pope Benedict to all belligerents asking for termination of war. See WORLD WAR: 1917: XI. Efforts toward peace: g.

1917 (September-November).—Painlevé ministry.—Georges Clemenceau called as prime minister.—"For the fifth time since the war began, France has a new Cabinet. The first Cabinet, headed by M. Viviani, supplanted its predecessor because the war executive needed more power. The second Cabinet, headed by M. Briand, came into being because a coalition ministry was needed. The third Cabinet, also headed by M. Briand, was due to a desire to place the conduct of the war under a small group of executives. The fourth Cabinet, headed by M. Ribot, was formed because its predecessor had not given sufficiently elaborate explanations of its war policies to Parliament. The fifth Cabinet will be established because of the growth of Socialism. Both in numbers and power there has been latterly in France a marked growth of Socialism. This is hardly reflected by the 166 Socialist members in the Chamber of Deputies. . . . The latest election to the Chamber took place in 1914, just before the outbreak of the war. At that time the moving force in the election was the reaction against the increased military effort following the conflict between Germany and France over Morocco; indeed, it may be said that the French Chamber was chosen for the distinct purpose of weakening the three-year military service law. But before the new Chamber could act the war began. The law which was to have been weakened proved the salvation of France. The Deputies chosen in 1914 had been well called the weakest that ever represented a great nation. After a while they recognized their weakness and became alarmed for fear that they might lose control of the war, and consequently their own political importance. . . . Stung by the indiscreet behavior of one or two members of his cabinet, M. Ribot resigned. President Poincaré requested him to form a new Ministry. When the names of the new Ministers were announced, the Socialist Party Council compelled the Socialist Ministers to withdraw, on the ground that the new Ministry did not offer sufficient guaranty for a truly democratic policy. When the new Ministers assembled without their Socialist members, Professor Painlevé, Minister of War, announced that he would not continue in office with no Socialist representation in the Cabinet. Hence a second Ribot resignation, and an invitation from the President to M. Painlevé to form a cabinet."—*French cabinet crisis (Outlook, Sept. 10, 1917, pp. 77-78)*.—Premier Painlevé became also minister of war, and M. Ribot, minister of foreign affairs. No Socialists were included in the cabinet, in spite of Painlevé's efforts at conciliation, and so the government had a very short and very stormy existence.

Defeat came on November 13, the Chamber being dissatisfied with the treatment of the question of a supreme army command, and also with the laxity of the administration in dealing with alleged pro-German propaganda. "In November, 1917, on the very morrow of the Italian and Russian *débâcles*, the Cabinet of the well-intentioned but none too vigorous Premier Painlevé was overthrown. The hour called for a Committee of Public Safety without a guillotine; for a Danton without the September massacre. President Poincaré called as Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau, one of the most familiar figures in France. He was seventy-eight years old; one-time Premier already; a master debater; a highly influential figure in the Chambers; but known hitherto not so much as a constructive leader as a merciless, destructive critic, 'independent in his radicalism, and following no leader but his own principles.' As an editor he had been even more noteworthy than as a parliamentarian. In his *Aurore* had been published the famous 'I accuse' of Zola in the Dreyfus case. Under his strokes ministry after ministry had fallen. 'The Tiger,' contemporaries called him, alike in hatred and admiration. In the days of peace his qualities might sometimes have been questionable: in times of war they were as indispensable as powder and cannon."—W. S. Davis, *History of France*, p. 502.

—"Throughout the terrible period from November, 1917, when for the second time in his long political career he took office as Premier of the French Republic, Georges Clemenceau has borne the full burden of political responsibility in his war-worn and devastated country. . . . When he became President of Council and Minister of War the prospect of anything approaching to complete success seemed remote indeed. It was a thankless post he assumed and neither friends nor enemies believed at first that physically, mentally or politically could he bear the strain, and overcome the intrigues which were at once set on foot against him. But those who had the advantage of knowing Clemenceau well took a much more hopeful view of his chances of remaining Prime Minister until the close of the war. His mind as well as his body has been in strict training all his life. The one is as alert and as vigorous as the other. In the course of his stirring career his lightness of heart and gayety of spirit, his power of taking the most discouraging events as part of the day's work have carried him triumphantly through many a difficulty. . . . For below his exterior vigor and his brilliancy of conversation he possesses the most relentless determination that ever inspired a human being. Moreover a Frenchman may be witty and light-hearted and very wise at the same time. . . . '*Utrinque paratus*' has been the watchword of this indefatigable and undaunted political warrior throughout. It is well to recall also that he has invariably told his country the full truth about the situation as it appeared to him at the time, alike in opposition and in office, as a deputy, as a Senator and as a journalist at large. Beginning his political career as the intimate friend and almost pupil of the out-and-out Radical Republican, Etienne Arago, a sympathizer with the nobler men of the Commune, whom he endeavored to save from the ruthless vengeance of the reactionaries headed by Thiers, he had previously voted at Bordeaux in the minority of genuine Republicans who were in favor of continuing the war against Germany when all but enthusiastic patriots held that further resistance was hopeless. Many a time of late those events of *l'Année Terrible* must have come

back to his mind during these still more terrible four years. His attitude now is but the continuation and fulfillment of the policy he advocated then. Thereupon, five years devoted to service on the Municipal Council of Paris and to gratuitous ministrations as a doctor to the poor of one of the poorest districts of the French metropolis: a continuous endeavor to realize in some degree, by political action, the practical ends for which the Communards had so unfortunately and injudiciously striven. Then political work again on the floor of the Assembly at one of the most stirring periods of French history: supporting Gambetta vigorously in his fight as the head of the Republican Party against the dangerous reactionism of the Duc de Broglie and Marshal MacMahon, and opposing and denouncing the fiery orator whom he succeeded as the leader of the Left, when that statesman adopted trimming and opportunism as his political creed. The long fight against Colonization by Conquest, the exposure of shameless traffic in decorations, the support and overthrow of Boulanger, the Panama Scandal, the denunciation of the Alliance with despotic Russia, the advocacy of a close understanding with England: in each and all of these matters Clemenceau was well to the front. Then came the crash of exclusion from political life, due to the many enemies he had made by his inconvenient honesty and bitter tongue and pen. Once more, after the display of almost unequalled skill and courage as a journalist, exceptionally manifested in the championship of Dreyfus, a return to political life and unexpected acceptance of office. From first to last Clemenceau has been a stalwart Republican and a thoroughgoing democratic politician of the advanced Left, with strong tendencies to Socialism. . . . Socialism has never enjoyed the full advantage of his services, Clemenceau, as an avowed member of the Socialist Party, could not have played the glorious part for France as a whole which he has played since the beginning of the war. It was far more important, at such a desperate crisis, to carry with him the overwhelming majority of his countrymen, including even the reactionaries, than to act with a minority that has shown itself at variance with the real sentiments of the Republic, when France was fighting for her existence. . . . His deeds have been on a level with his words. Bolo and Duval shot; Caillaux in jail; Malvy exiled by decree of the Senate: the *Bonnet Rouge* gang tried and condemned; the wretched intrigue in Switzerland with the poor German tool, Austria, exposed and crushed: a new spirit breathed into all public affairs: the army reassured by his perpetual presence under fire and his unflinching resolve at the War Office that the splendid capacity and intrepidity of all ranks at the front shall not be sacrificed by treachery or cowardice at the rear: the Higher Command brimful of enthusiasm and confidence, due to the appointment of the military genius Foch as a generalissimo of the United Allied Armies and the reinstatement of General Mangin."—H. M. Hyndman, *Clemenceau, the man and his time*, pp. x-xiv, 328-320.—See also *WORLD WAR: 1917: XII. Political conditions in the belligerent countries: d.*

1917 (November).—Rapallo conference. See *WORLD WAR: 1917: IV. Austro-Italian front: d, 5.*

1917-1918 (November-March).—German concentration in France.—"As soon as the United States entered the war her navy joined in the work. The naval superiority of the Allies was for the first time beyond all question, and the

addition of the American destroyers made it possible to protect 'convoys' of merchant ships also. The rate of destruction was now much diminished. Moreover, a new and terrible device was employed with increasing success: the depth bomb, which exploded beneath the water with fearful effect. Furthermore a vast *barrage* of mines was laid in the North Sea, hindering the exit of the German submarines; and in 1918 the British, in daring raids, succeeded in partly blocking the Belgian harbors out of which the submarines came. Altogether the submarines became less and less effective, and while they continued to be a serious menace until the end of the war, yet by the beginning of 1918 the Germans could no longer hope to win solely by them. . . . On the other hand, if they could strike on the west front before American aid arrived, it might be that victory would still be theirs. This chance they resolved to take, and all through the winter of 1917-18 there was a constant movement of troops and guns from the east to the west. Russia was completely broken, and only such forces were left there as were needed to guard the conquests and get such supplies as that ruined land could furnish."—E. R. Turner, *Europe, 1789-1920*, pp. 567, 568.

1917-1918.—American railroad construction. See RAILROADS: 1917-1918.

1917-1918.—Minimum wage legislation. See LABOR REMUNERATION: 1804-1922.

1918.—Suffrage granted to women. See SUFFRAGE, WOMAN: France.

1918.—Type of democracy. See DEMOCRACY: Progress in the early part of the 20th century.

1918.—Defeatism.—Caillaux, Humbert, Bolo Pasha, Malvy.—"France had her especial internal problem in the defeatist activities of her own people—activities which Clemenceau was prompt to bring into the open. 'I intend to purge France of traitors,' he had said, and he began to do so when, on January 13th, 1918, he caused the arrest of former Premier Caillaux on the charge of 'plotting against the external security of the State'—treason, in other words. He is accused of working for Germany in Africa in 1911, his reward being an arrangement by which he was enabled to make a fortune on the Bourse. Letters concerning this episode, though they were supposed to be love letters, were in the possession of Calmette of the *Figaro*, who was shot by Madame Caillaux in an effort to secure them, according to the present belief. The code necessary to decipher them was acquired by France during the war, and the disclosure pointed the other information known to be true about Caillaux. Madame Caillaux was found 'not guilty' just before the outbreak of the war. Her husband, who had been Minister of the Treasury, resigned during the trial, and, upon her exoneration, became Paymaster General of the army, a colonel in rank. But the Caillaux were not popular in Paris, and after being mobbed one day they determined upon a trip to South America. There Caillaux made the acquaintance of Count Minotto, an employee of an American bank, who helped him with some clerical work on a report, [which] . . . Luxbourg, the German *charge d'affaires* in Argentina, . . . passed . . . on to Count Bernstorff in Washington, who, in turn, sent the information to Berlin. . . . Baron von Lancken, Chief of the German Political Department in Belgium in 1916, tried through various intermediaries to reach Caillaux with proposals for the stopping of the war, clearly believing that Caillaux would work in the interests of Germany. During a trip to Italy Caillaux stayed

for a time in Florence, and there left a strong box in which were found, later on, . . . documents that showed negotiations with German financial agents. So open was Caillaux in his conversations while in Italy that various allied representatives sent home warnings against him. . . . During a secret session of the Budget Commission of the Reichstag, Alsatian members being present, Caillaux was mentioned as a friend of Germany. During 1915 and 1916 there was broached throughout France, but especially in Paris, propaganda for a peace that would serve well Germany's purposes, but which could not fail to be dishonorable for France. The *Paris Journal* and the *Bonnet Rouge* were especially involved in the underhand campaign. Investigation proved that a senator, Humbert by name, owner of the *Journal*, had sold it for a handsome sum whose source was traced across the Rhine. The financial intermediary, who made a good commission for himself, was Lenoir, executed in October, 1919. He was the third to be executed, his predecessors having been Bolo Pasha, an adventurer, and one Duval, both directors of the *Bonnet Rouge*. Malvy, who held the Interior Portfolio in 1914, was yet another non-patriot, but the master spirit was Caillaux."—V. Duruy, *History of France*, pp. 741-742.—See also BOLOISM.—"As to the party which called itself Radical-Socialist—a party midway between the old Republican party of Gambetta, Jules Ferry, and Waldeck-Rousseau, and the Socialist party whose prophet was Karl Marx—it has been mortally wounded by the fall of its two principal leaders, M. Malvy and M. Caillaux. It was M. Caillaux who, obliged to relinquish power after the assassination of Gaston Calmette by his wife, forced the appointment of M. Malvy as Minister of the Interior. . . . It would be grossly unjust to hold the Radical-Socialists responsible jointly with M. Malvy and M. Caillaux for the acts which brought about the condemnation of the former by the High Court of Justice. Nevertheless, M. Caillaux and M. Malvy were the leaders, and the party supported them until the end was near. If M. Caillaux has been abandoned by almost all of his old friends, M. Malvy, whose case was in any event different, still has his partisans. France is a direct and simple country, and the disaster which befell two such conspicuous leaders is a terrible blow to the prestige of the Radical-Socialistic party."—J. Reinach, *Political parties in France* (*Nation*, Dec. 14, 1918).

ALSO IN: P. Virgnet, *Joseph Caillaux.—Fortnightly*, Apr., 1918, pp. 491-499.

1918.—New balance of power.—One of great powers. See EUROPE: Modern: New balance of power.

1918.—Operations in Siberia.—Hostility towards soviets.—Official declaration of plans. See WORLD WAR: 1918: III. Russia: c; d; e; f; SIBERIA: 1917-1919.

1918 (January).—Speech on "Fourteen Points" by President Wilson.—Acceptance of Wilson's principles of peace and of Lloyd-George's speech on war aims by Chamber of Deputies.—Count von Hertling's reply. See WORLD WAR: 1918: X. Statement of war aims: a; b; d.

1918 (March-October).—World War: Operations on the western front.—Battles of Picardy, St. Quentin, Lys, Cantigny.—Defense of Paris by Foch.—Second battle of the Marne, battles of Champagne, L'Isle de France, Vesle, Amiens, Selle river.—Advance into Flanders. See WORLD WAR: 1918: II. Western front.

1918 (June).—Recognition of independent Slav nations. See AUSTRIA-HUNGARY: 1917-1918.

1918 (June-July).—World War: Campaign in Italy. See WORLD WAR: 1918: IV. Austro-Italian theater: b, 3; c; c, 5.

1918 (June-November).—Confident attitude of the French people.—French Socialist attempt to discredit the Clemenceau ministry.—Clemenceau's speech before the Assembly.—Vote of confidence.—Untiring labors of the premier to win the war.—“When the enemy was arrayed in overwhelming numbers close to Amiens and within a few miles of Calais, when the German War Lords were decreeing the permanent subjugation of the territories they occupied in the West and in the East, when the long-range guns were bombarding the capital and the removal of the seat of government to the provinces was again being considered, the great French nation felt more confident of its future than at any moment since the victories won around Verdun. To every question Clemenceau's answer invariably was, ‘Je fais la guerre. Je fais la guerre. Je fais la guerre.’ Those who doubted were convinced; those who were doubtful saw their aspirations realized; those who had never wavered cheered for victory right ahead. On June 6th, 1918, the French Socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies made another of those attacks upon the National Administration which, sad to say, have done so much to discredit the whole Socialist Party, and even the Socialist cause, throughout Europe and the world. Pacifism and Bolshevism together—that is to say, an unholy combination between anti-nationalism and anarchism, have indeed shaken the influence of democratic Socialism to its foundations, just at the time when a sound, sober and constructive Socialist policy, in harmony with the aspirations of the mass of the people in Allied country, might have led mankind peacefully along the road to the new period of national and international coöperation. The Socialist Deputies in the Chamber held Clemenceau's Ministry, which they had done their very utmost to discredit and weaken, directly responsible for the serious military reverses recently undergone by the French and Allied armies. They insisted, therefore, upon Clemenceau's appearance in the tribune. But when they had got him in front of them their great object evidently was not to let him speak. There this old statesman stood, exposed to interruptions which were in the worst of bad taste. At last he thought the opportunity for which his enemies clamored had come, and began to address the Assembly. But no sooner had he opened his mouth than he was forced to give way to M. Marcel Cachin. Only then was he enabled to get a hearing, and this is a summary of what he said:—‘I regret that, our country being in such great danger, a unanimous vote of confidence cannot be accorded to us. But, when all is said, the opposition of the Socialists does not in the least enfeeble the Government. For four long years our troops have held their own at the front with a line which was being steadily worn down. Now a huge body of German soldiers fresh from Russia and in good heart come forward to assail us. Some retreat was inevitable. From the moment when Russia thought that peace could be obtained by the simple expression of wishes to that end we all knew that, sooner or later, the enemy would be able to release a million of men to fall upon us. That meant that such a retirement as we have witnessed must of necessity follow. Our men have kept their line unbroken against odds of five to one. They have often gone sleepless for three days and even

four days in succession. But our great soldiers have had great leaders, and our army as a whole has proved itself to be greater than even we could expect. The duties we have to perform here are, in contrast to their heroism, tame and even petty. All we have to do is to keep cool and hold on. The Germans are nothing like so clever as they believe themselves to be. They have but a single device. They throw their entire weight into one general assault, and push their advantage to the utmost. True they have forced back our lines of defense. But final success is that alone which matters, and that success for us is certain. The Government you see before you took office with the firm resolve never to surrender. So long as we stand here our country will be defended to the last. Give way we never shall. Germany has once more staked her all on one great blow, thinking to cow us into abandoning the conflict. Her armies have tried this desperate game before. They tried it on the Marne, they tried it on the Yser, they tried it at Verdun, they tried it elsewhere. But they never have succeeded, and they never shall. Our Allies to-day are the leading nations of the world. They have one and all pledged themselves to fight on till victory is within our grasp. The men who have already fallen have not fallen in vain. By their death they have once more made French history a great and noble record. It is now for the living to finish the glorious work done by the dead.’ This great speech raised the overwhelming majority of the Assembly to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. Nearly all present felt that the destinies of France hung in the balance, and that any vote given which might tend to discourage the men at the front at such a time was a direct service rendered to the enemy whose bombs were even then falling in the heart of Paris. The vote of confidence in Clemenceau and his Ministry was carried by 377 votes to 110; and of these 110 more than a third were convinced shortly afterwards that the course they had then taken in order to preserve the unity of their forces as factionists was unworthy of their dignity as men. Then, too, when the tide turned and the German hordes, after fresh glorious battles of the Marne and of the Somme, were in headlong retreat, Clemenceau, unrelayed by victory as he was undiscouraged by defeat, repeated again: ‘Je fais la guerre. Je fais la guerre. Je fais la guerre.’ Not until the German armies were finally vanquished would the Republican statesman talk of making peace. On both sides of the Atlantic, therefore, as on both sides of the Channel, knowing Great Britain and the United States by personal experience and able to gauge the cold resolution of the one and the inexhaustible resources and determination of the other, speaking and writing English well, he is now, as he has been throughout this tremendous war, a tower of strength to the forces of democracy and a very present help to all who are resolved to break down German militarism for evermore. . . . No man of his time of life, perhaps no man of any age ever carried on continuously such exhausting toil, physical and mental, as that which this marvelous old statesman of seventy-seven undertook and carried through from November, 1917, to November, 1918. His astounding energy and power of work were like those of a most vigorous young man in the height of training. Starting for the front in a motor-car at four or five o'clock in the morning at least three times a week, he kept in touch with generals, officers and soldiers all along the lines to an extent that would have seemed incredible if it had not been actually done. Once at the front he walked about under fire as if he had come out for the pleasure of risking his life with the *poilus* who

were fighting for *la Patrie*. The Higher Command was in constant fear for him. But he knew what he was about. Valuable as his own life might be to the country, to court death was a higher duty than to take care of himself, if by this seeming indifference he made Frenchmen all along the trenches feel that he and they were one. He succeeded."—H. M. Hyndman, *Clemenceau, the man and his time*, pp. 329-332, 336-337.

1918 (July-August).—World War: Campaign in Albania, in the Vardar region.—Battle of Macedonia. See WORLD WAR: 1918: V. Balkan theater: a; c, 8, i, iii, iv.

1918 (August).—Inter-allied conference on enemy propaganda. See WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: III: Press reports and censorship: d, 2.

1918 (September).—Represented at inter-allied labor conference. See LABOR PARTIES: 1868-1919.

1918 (September).—Peace proposal of Austria-Hungary. See WORLD WAR: 1918: X. Statement of war aims: k.

1918 (September-November).—Armistices with Bulgaria, Turkey and Austria-Hungary. See WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: I. Armistices: c; d; e.

1918 (November).—Represented at London and Paris scientific conferences. See INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

1918 (November).—Closing operations of the World War.—Signing of the armistice at Senlis.—French attitude toward Alsace-Lorraine.—The Germans "were fighting the last of their battles. Steadily through the tangled thickets, the rocks, and the mazes of barbed wire of the Argonne, the new American army was striking the inferior German force, and though their losses were very heavy, they advanced steadily, capturing positions deemed impregnable hitherto, and presently getting the main railway line, the vital line of German communications, under the fire of their great guns. If this line were cut, a large part of the German army might be forced to surrender. To the north the British and their comrades, with as splendid dash as was ever seen during the war, broke at last all through the Hindenburg Line, with its wide trenches, its deep underground fortifications, its labyrinths of barbed wire, and its thousands of machine-gun emplacements. Here the courage of the British soldier was aided by the 'tank' or small moving fortresses, which the British had first used in the Somme offensive of 1916, and which at last solved the problem of breaking the system of entrenchments. Moreover, they now broke through in Belgium, and occupied the coast with its submarine bases. Then turning south they began to threaten the other great artery of German rail communications, the trunk line from Paris to Berlin, which goes through the valley of the Meuse, by Namur and Liège. If this were cut, and if the Americans cut the other line in the south, then the Germans might be forced to surrender on the field or else save themselves only by a flight like that of the Austrian armies. The German soldiers, so wonderful in the days of success, began to waver now, and disaffection and despair increased among the German people. They had been slowly starved by the blockade, and after staking all, they had lost. The men of the [German] navy, ordered to dash out for a last effort, mutinied. The end was at hand; the authorities asked for an armistice. When the conditions were announced, they were terrible enough: not only must the Germans at once evacuate France, Belgium, and their other conquests, but they must abandon Alsace-Lorraine, and withdraw behind the Rhine, leaving the bridgehead fortresses

to the Allies, and leaving their richest industrial district. They must surrender their fleet and their submarines, disband their army and give up most of their military equipment. It was evident at once that the acceptance of such terms would mean the end of the war. November 9th, the German Emperor abdicated his throne and fled to Holland. Two days later, November 11th, German emissaries signed the Armistice terms."—E. R. Turner, *Europe, 1789-1920*, pp. 572-573.—See also WORLD WAR: 1918: II. Western front: x; 1918: XI. End of the war: a; a, 6; a, 9; c; Miscellaneous auxiliary services: I. Armistices: I; 1, 1.—"After the conclusion of the armistice, the mind of France was naturally concentrated chiefly upon the two provinces now recovered from Germany. As early as November 13, the members of the Lower House of the Alsace-Lorraine Diet met at Strasbourg and constituted themselves into a National Assembly. They also appointed a provisional administration of the two provinces. The march of the French troops through Alsace-Lorraine to the Rhine was accompanied by every pageantry and formality which could assist in making it impressive and historic. And it was reported that the French armies were received with enthusiasm everywhere by the great majority of the population. General Pétain entered Metz at the head of his troops on November 10, and the formal entry of Marshal Foch into Strasbourg took place on November 25 (Pétain and Castelnau having entered two days earlier). On the 25th also, the famous Statue of Strasbourg, in the Place de la Concorde in Paris, was relieved of the mourning garb which it had worn for so long. The crape and faded wreaths were removed from the statue, and Paris gave herself up to celebrating this symbol of the reunion. . . . The political aspects of the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine must now be mentioned, though, of course, the final decisions upon the points raised could not be taken until the Peace Conference in the following year. The idea of taking a plebiscite of the population in order to ascertain their wishes in regard to their own destiny, was rejected on all hands in France after the victory of the Allies. It will be remembered that it was only among the Socialists that this plan had found favor even during the weary years of the war. It was therefore taken for granted not only in France but in the countries of France's Allies, that the provinces would be reunited forthwith to the French Republic. The chief difference of opinion which arose related to an entirely different matter. This was the fate, not of Alsace-Lorraine, but of the small though important section of German territory known as the Saar Valley. The Saar Valley was very rich in coal, and many leading French statesmen advocated that this district, in addition to Alsace-Lorraine, should be annexed to France. By the original terms of the armistice the valley had been treated as occupied German territory and not in the same category as Alsace-Lorraine, but before the end of the year it became apparent that the French Government themselves were desirous of annexing this district. It is worth noting here that the French frontiers extended somewhat further to the east before the great Revolution than they did between 1815 and 1870; but the Saar Valley as a whole had never at any time been French, save during the brief period of the Napoleonic Conquest."—*Annual Register*, 1918, pp. 177-178.—See also WORLD WAR: 1918: XI. End of the war: c; ALSACE-LORRAINE: 1919.

1918 (November).—Influence in Hungary. See HUNGARY: 1918 (November).

1918-1920.—Condition of France.—Casualties.—Devastation.—Cost of the war.—General fi-

financial condition.—Paris as a pre-war money center.—Present balance of trade.—The economic and financial position of France at the outbreak of the war in 1914 was relatively good. The Viviani ministry which came into power on June 30 of that year had obtained a vote of credit for 805,000,000 francs, and this loan was being collected when the war began. The general mobilization of August 2 stopped entirely all activity in industry, commerce and agriculture. Work was paralyzed over the whole country; the twenty youngest military classes were called up, railways were requisitioned, as also were draft animals and all kinds of vehicles necessary for concentrating and feeding the armies. A large number of factories deprived of labor closed their doors; standing crops were gathered in with difficulty; old men, women and children who remained at home did their best to replace the absent. But the gaps were too numerous to be filled, and the soil of France, though so fertile, gradually yielded less and less. The same circumstances were seen in the industrial world; French mining and metallurgical centers fell into enemy hands from the very first days of the war. Those *departements* which were the richest in coal, iron ore and furnaces were temporarily lost; factories were sacked and their machinery destroyed. Lastly, the requisition of merchant ships crippled the foreign trade of France, in addition to the misfortune of having railway transport stopped for military needs.—See also *WORLD WAR, 1914: XI. Political situation: b; Causes: Indirect: e.*—“Germany attacked France to dominate, mutilate, and ruin her. . . . Victory gave us back our frontiers and our security. But it left us impoverished to an extent unparalleled in history. . . . Of a population of 37,707,000—of which 9,420,000 were men between nineteen and fifty years—8,410,000, or eighty-nine and five-tenths per cent. of our potential effectives, had been called to the colours and for nearly five years withdrawn from productive labour. Of these 8,410,000 men called to the colours, 5,564,000, or sixty-six per cent. met either death or injury; 1,364,000 killed; 740,000 mutilated; 3,000,000 wounded; 400,000 prisoners. Nearly all of the latter returned from Germany ill and wasted, one man in ten tubercular for life. Compared to the total number of men called to the colours (8,410,000), the killed (1,364,000), represent sixteen per cent.; fifty-seven per cent. of all Frenchmen called to the colours between the ages of eighteen and thirty-two—the young generation which is the chief strength of a country—were killed. In order to grasp the full significance of these figures, apply them to the population of the United States. Had American losses been on the French scale, it would have meant the raising by America of about twenty-six and a half million soldiers, of whom four millions would have died. This decline in man power went hand in hand with a decline in financial power.”—A. Tardieu. *Truth about the treaty*, p. 376.—According to the calculations of Professor E. L. Bogart, made for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the economic or monetary value of human lives lost by France during the war represented a sum of 4,800 million dollars.

“Lord Derby, Ambassador of Great Britain in Paris, addressing a meeting of his countrymen in Liverpool, in 1910, said: ‘Suppose England were deprived of Lancashire [which includes the port of Liverpool and the greatest cotton industrial center of the world] by an earthquake; then you will understand what the ruins of war and German destruction means to France.’ A few figures to illustrate this comparison which though striking, is probably an understatement:

Inhabitants driven from their homes	2,732,000
Lands destroyed by battle	3,800,000 Hect
Villages devastated	4,022
Houses completely or partly destroyed	594,616
Schools destroyed	6,454
Factories destroyed (completely or partly)	20,539
Live stock carried off	1,360,000 head
Railway lines of general and local interest destroyed	4,789 km.
Roads destroyed	53,398 km.
Canals destroyed	948 km.
Public works destroyed on roads and railroads	5,041

“A large part of this destruction, carried out in cold blood behind the battle lines, was so thorough as to render reconstruction a matter of utmost difficulty. . . . No trace of industry [is] left in . . . ten departments, the most prosperous in France. No trace of agricultural life either. Fruit trees cut down, barns blown up, death everywhere. Take at random the Canton of Ribecourt in the Oise. Of its eighteen communes eight saw one hundred per cent. of their houses utterly wiped out. The proportion runs from eighty to ninety-five per cent. in seven other communes and there are only three where it falls below eighty per cent. Of nine hundred communes in the Department of the Aisne, only nineteen are untouched by war. In many regions after the Armistice it was possible to drive thirty or forty miles without coming across a single house.”—*Ibid.*, pp. 377-378, 383-384.—The devastated area covers approximately 6,000 square miles, or, in other words, a territory greater than the thirteen original American states, with a pre-war population of more than 2,000,000 people. The government engineers have estimated the pre-war cost of the average building in this district at five thousand dollars, the total destruction of which amounts to more than \$6,000,000,000, and the total damage, including buildings, agriculture, industry, furniture and public works, has been estimated at 64,000,000,000 francs, or \$13,000,000,000. “Without exception, the late antagonists of Germany [France] were facing almost unbelievable financial conditions, seemingly impossible of solution without crushing their whole economic and industrial existence. In order to meet, to grapple with, and to remedy these conditions, they . . . have to resort to taxation methods that appear humanly out of the question to endure, to drastic readjustments of the entire fabric of their national life. Relief from this burdensome taxation [has] been promised from time to time by the leaders in the various countries. These promises in many instances were based upon false and exaggerated ideas of Germany’s capacity to pay. Further, one must realize the impaired and in many instances destroyed economic life of the Allied Powers—a depletion and destruction which made the ensuing burdens seem impossible.”—B. M. Baruch. *Making of the reparation and economic sections of the treaty*, p. 3.—“The net cost of the war—deducting all that Germany has to reimburse (pensions and allowances) and all that France would have spent had there been no war—amounts to 150,000 millions. The grand total is 210,000 millions paid out of our Treasury from 1914 to 1919. For example our artillery and aviation cost us 46,000 millions; the equipment of our troops, 30,000 millions; separation allowances, 10,000 millions; food supplies for the Armies, 18,000 millions; pay, 12,000 millions; ocean freight, 12,000 millions; loans to our Allies, 11,000 millions. As the taxes during the war

brought in only 34,000 millions. it is evident that 176,000 millions had to be found by other means for meeting the cost of the struggle. Deducting the 33,000 millions lent us by our Allies, this leaves a sum of 143,000 millions in taxes, a total of 177,000 millions in all. The national debt which, in 1914, amounted to 35,000 millions with no foreign debt, has risen to 176,000 internal debt, and 33,000 millions foreign debt (68,000 millions at the October, 1920, rate of exchange). The budget has risen from about 5,000 millions in 1914 to 22,000 millions. But this new burden coincides with an enormous decrease in our capital."—A. Tardieu, *Truth about the treaty*, p. 377.—On October 21, 1919, L. L. Klotz, minister of finance, presented figures showing that France would have to borrow four hundred million dollars a year in order to balance the budget. "So much for the ruin directly due to Germany. Heavy as it is, it is not the only burden borne by France as a result of the war. All our economic means have suffered. Not one of our resources is whole. Our railways, which for nearly five years carried all the Armies of the Allies, were worn out by the strain and showed in 1920 a deficit of 2,400 millions. Our merchant marine, which amounted to three million tons before the war, lost a million tons by submarine warfare and they could not be replaced as all through the war our naval yards were busy producing artillery for all our Allies. Two-thirds of our investment in foreign countries, which represented 37,000 millions in 1914, became unproductive. Our exports, less by 1,500 millions in 1914 than our imports, show a deficit of 21,000 millions in 1919. The pound sterling in 1920 has maintained its up level at about fifty francs and the dollar at about fifteen. France, at the very moment when the great field of reconstruction opened before her, was in the situation of a wounded man who has lost so much blood that he can scarcely move his limbs and can scarcely raise himself."—*Ibid.*, p. 384.—For many years before the war Paris had been the ready-money center of the world; in no other capital was there so much fluid cash available at such short notice and low rates. Far-seeing economists had long contended against the enormous export of French capital to needy countries and had pointed out the dangers of this system of investment in the event of war. Others, again, defended the system, as, for instance, Caillaux, several times' minister of finance, in a speech delivered at Lille on January 9, 1911: "There has been violent criticism of the system of exportation of French capital, without reflecting that a large portion of our economic and political force abroad is due to the fact that we are perhaps the biggest money-lenders in the whole world." Commenting upon this assertion, an exponent of the opposite school says: "M. Caillaux forgets, or neglects to mention, that while readiness and capacity to lend money to Foreign Powers increases the 'political force' and the diplomatic prestige of a State during the period prior to the conclusion of a loan, the lending State, once the operation is concluded, becomes, to a large degree, the slave of the borrowing nation, and is placed in a position of dependency that hampers its future diplomatic action. Moreover . . . 'Foreign loans are not productive; they do not serve to develop the wealth of the borrowing peoples, but to cover the costs of military preparations. . . . Bad for the borrowers, the operation is full of risks for the lenders. Two thousand millions of francs of Rumanian, Bulgarian and Servian securities are quoted on the Paris Bourse, the greater portion of which is in French hands. We have thus an immense amount of capital engaged in the most dangerous corner of

Europe, exposed to the chances of war, of domestic strife, of political revolutions and bad crops. . . . But it is, at the same time, obviously a legitimate ground for anxiety to those Frenchmen who, realizing that the counter-influences making for war are immensely preponderant, reflect with dismay what is to become of their exported savings when war breaks out, suddenly involving States, great or small, in which their capital is engaged."—W. M. Fullerton, *Problems of power*, p. 266.—It is estimated that, before the war, the thrifty French nation held Russian and Turkish securities to the amount of about thirty billions of francs, formerly producing about one and a half billion francs a year in interest. Since 1914 in the case of Turkey and 1917 in the case of Russia, these securities have been entirely worthless. The French government did, for a time, buy up the dishonored coupons from its people, but was unable to continue that course. France "before the war [was] a creditor nation, with no external debt at all, and we are now a debtor nation, we have not, during the war, played only the part of borrowers, but have helped some of our allies whose needs were overpressing, loaning them a total of 13 billion francs. A fact of great importance is that the balance of trade, though it has been up to now heavily unfavorable to us, as is natural, when we had so much to purchase owing to destruction, and our means of production were partly cramped, is improving with astonishing rapidity. During the first ten months of last year we exported to all countries, goods amounting to less than 8 billions; during the first ten months of the present year [1920] we more than doubled that number, exporting for nearly 19 billions. For the first time in October last this striking result was reached, that the balance of our trade was almost even, we importing for 2.5 billions, and exporting for 2.3 billions."—J. J. Jusserand, *Economic situation in France (Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, Feb., 1921)*.—See also WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: XI. Devastation: b; b, 3; XIV. Costs of war: a; b, 3; b, 4; COMMERCE: Commercial Age: 1914-1921.

ALSO IN: G. B. Ford, *Summary of war damage in France (New York Times Current History, Mar., 1919)*.—*Political Science Quarterly, Supplement, Sept., 1920*, p. 106.—E. Thiery, ed. *L'Economiste européen (London Times Annual Financial Review, Jan. 23, 1920)*.—*Speech of Lloyd George to German delegates at the London conference, Mar. 3, 1921*.

1918-1921.—Reconstruction.—Disbursements.—Production.—Re-population.—Statement by Jusserand, ambassador to the United States.—"Reconstruction of the devastated regions began without delay [as the French troops advanced] and has been carried on with method. To understand the extraordinary problem it presented, one must have seen and have felt it on the ground itself. Not a shelter, not an ordinary means of communication, not even a soil that could be cultivated—everything upheaved, pounded, ruined, killed, by four and a half years of destruction. The pioneer who comes into a new land can set to work to plow and to sow. The grain will grow. On the battlefields it is first necessary to remove projectiles, uproot wires, fill in shell-holes, level the ground. . . . The French peasant solved the problem instinctively, for he thought of himself and though he lacked labour, horses, everything in fact—even a roof over his head—he reaped, even in 1919, a harvest from the battlefield. Meanwhile with the energetic co-operation of the Government, mines and factories were repaired and in less than eighteen months after the

Armistice, the features of resurrected France begin to appear on the zone of death. This effort [at reconstruction] was carried on by the State with the aid of private assistance as soon as the ground was freed. The Government services were powerfully organized. On January 1, 1920, there were 195,000 on their payroll, including 15,000 technical employees and 180,000 labourers. Transportation by them within the devastated regions represents eleven million kilometric tons per month. The cost to October 1, 1920, amounting to about 20,500 millions, divided as follows:

Reparation in money and in kind for damages	11,715,000,000 frs.
Relief for refugees	1,015,000,000 "
Labour and transportation for State account	3,915,000,000 "
Restoration of railways, roads, canals, telegraph lines, reorganization of public services ..	3,400,000,000 "
Cost of administration	375,000,000 "
	<hr/>
	20,420,000,000 "

These 20,420 millions were supplied by the French Treasury alone. . . . It is . . . interesting to note that of the 20,420 millions spent up to October 1, 1920, by the French Government, salaries of officials have only amounted to 375 millions, or one and eight-tenths per cent. of the total. . . . Agriculture, which in money and in kind received 3,500,000,000 francs in cash, loans and advances, produced in 1910 five million hundredweights of cereals. In 1920, the cereal production of the devastated regions was 11,500,000 hundredweights, against 20,500,000 in 1913, or fifty-six per cent. of the pre-war crop. The 1920 crop was sufficient to assure the bread supply for the entire population of the ten devastated departments. . . . There were in 1914, in the regions affected by the war, 20,530 industrial plants of all kinds. The Ministry for the Liberated Regions made a thorough inquiry into 4,100 of these establishments selected from those employing in 1914 more than twenty workmen. This investigation gave very interesting results, the meaning of which should be made clear. The figures given below and the percentages relating thereto do not refer to the total number of factories ruined by the war, but only to one-fifth of them (4,100 out of 20,530). In other words, they are of value as a partial indication—not as a complete result. They express proportions which—while absolutely correct for the 4,100 establishments visited—may well be correct for the other 16,000, but which nevertheless as regards the latter may differ widely. Subject to this reservation which I ask the reader to bear in mind, here are the results of the investigation: Out of these 4,100 establishments, which employed over twenty people in 1914, 3,210 or seventy-six and six-tenths per cent. have resumed operation either entirely or in part as follows:

July 1, 1919	706
October 1, 1919	1,278
January 1, 1920	1,806
April 1, 1920	2,412
July 1, 1920	3,004
August 1, 1920	3,106
September 1, 1920	3,210

These 4,100 establishments employed 768,678 workmen in 1914; on September 1, 1920, they employed 366,030, or forty-seven and seven-tenths per cent. . . . The population of the devastated region in October, 1920, was seventy-seven per cent. of the 1914

population. France has, by her own efforts, placed under cultivation sixty-eight per cent. of the arable lands in these regions. She has rebuilt all her most important railways and fifty-two per cent. of her roads. But she has only been able to restore to the farmers thirty-two per cent. of the live stock stolen by Germany. She has only been able to re-operate in factories to the extent of eighteen per cent. in full, twenty-six per cent. in part; this leaves fifty-four per cent. of her factories not yet in operation. Furthermore she has been able to replace destroyed houses by temporary constructions and repairs only to the extent of forty-nine per cent. Complete reconstruction of buildings has only been effected to an extent of ten and seven-tenths per cent. And this very low percentage expresses in striking fashion the limitations imposed by lack of money! . . . The France of the devastated regions and the other France behind the lines have put forward—alone and unaided—an immense effort of reconstruction. Farmers have tilled their fields and work has been started again without waiting to build a roof over their heads."—A. Tardieu, *Truth of the treaty*, pp. 385, 393-394, 397-398.—"We cannot pretend that, at the present time, after the destruction she has suffered, France has already healed all her wounds and regained her normal status and equilibrium; the wounds were too deep, so deep indeed that our enemies were pleased to hope that they were incurable and that, victorious though she was, France would not count in the future as she had in the past. . . . She is at work, peasants, laborers, teachers, bourgeois, all that have hands and brains are at work. Land is reclaimed by peasants who first think of rendering the ground fruitful again, and only afterwards of securing shelter for themselves and their families; hence the extraordinary appearance of most of the ravaged regions this summer, plentiful crops in many parts, dotted with villages and hamlets as thoroughly ruined most of them as on the day of the armistice. Rebuilding is expensive, labor scarce and costly. The problem needs the most earnest attention, for upon its solution, whatever be the personal disposition of the farmer, depends his health, welfare and efficiency. . . . Almost the totality of cultivable ground in the devastated regions has been cleared; half of it was, this summer [1920], under cultivation; most of the railroads, half the ordinary roads have been remade or are at least practicable; 77 per cent. of our industrial establishments are at work in whole or in part with 42 per cent. of their personnel of former days. The total number of factories in operation was 700 in July, 1919—in July, 1920, it was three thousand. The least favorable account concerns coal mines where the destruction was so complete, and only 60 per cent. is as yet under exploitation. . . . The expenses for reconstruction are, of course, not included in this total; Germany is bound to pay for them but our government cannot wait until she does to rebuild roads, railroads, canals and public edifices, or to advance to industries the necessary capital for setting to work again. Sixteen billions figure in the budget for reconstruction in 1921, and since Germany has not paid up to now, we have to borrow. . . . One of the items worthiest of notice in these, the most recent of our statistics, is food products; we imported almost one billion less than last year and exported almost one billion more. This will surely go on increasing both ways, with the continued reclaiming of the devastated regions and with the wider use, as fertilizers, throughout France, of potash from Alsace, phosphates from Tunis, and after a brief delay from the immense beds of phosphate recently discovered in Morocco.

These last will however be in full exploitation only when the railroad to Casablanca and the port in construction there are finished, a matter of two or three years. One of the heaviest items in our purchase from abroad in these latter times will thus gradually disappear."—J. J. Jusserand, *Economic situation in France (Proceedings of Academy of Political Science, Feb., 1921)*.—See also WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: XII. Reconstruction: a.

ALSO IN: J. F. Bloch, *Financial effort of France during the war (American Academy of Political and Social Science, Annals, Jan. 19, 1918, pp. 201-206)*.—E. Julhiet, *War and French finance (North American Review, 1916, v. 203, pp. 726-738)*.—R. Pupin, *Richesse privée et finances de l'avant-guerre à l'après-guerre, Paris, 1910*.

1918-1922.—Relief work of the American relief administration. See INTERNATIONAL RELIEF: American relief administration.

1919.—Accident insurance.—Unemployment grants. See SOCIAL INSURANCE: Details for various countries: France: 1919.

1919.—Fiume question.—Conflict with Italians. See FIUME: 1919: Attitude of President Wilson; Orlando's withdrawal from the peace conference; Conflict between French and Italian troops.

1919.—General plan of French administration in Tunis. See TUNIS: 1919.

1919.—Eight-hour day law passed.—Economic council of labor.—Trade union statistics.—Metal trades and miners' strike. See LABOR LEGISLATION: 1913-1919; LABOR ORGANIZATION: 1910-1919; 1919: Economic council of labor; LABOR STRIKES AND BOYCOTTS: 1919: French metal trades strike; also below: 1919-1920; 1920 (January).

1919.—Influence and control in Arabia and Syria. See ARABIA: 1919: Results of the treaty.

1919.—Interest in the Chinese loans. See CHINA: 1919: Consortium agreement.

1919.—Question of Alsace-Lorraine at peace conference. See ALSACE-LORRAINE: 1919.

1919 (January-October).—Paris Peace Conference.—Making of reparation and economic sections of the Versailles treaty.—Signing of the treaty.—"The sittings of the Peace Conference, at which met representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers, were held in Paris at the Foreign Office on the Quai d'Orsay. The first meeting, on January 18th, 1919, was opened by President Poincaré. President Wilson nominated Premier Clémenceau for the chairmanship, Lloyd George and Vittoria Orlando, the Italian premier, seconding. Marquis Saionji and Baron Makino were Japan's representatives. In addition to M. Clémenceau, France was represented by Stephen Pichon, Foreign Minister, André Tardieu, diplomatist, journalist and Chief Censor, Léon Bourgeois, head of a Foreign Office Committee on the League of Nations, Louis Lucien Klotz, holder of the Finance portfolio, and Jules Cambon, General Secretary to the Foreign Office. The work of the Conference was facilitated by the turning of important questions over to committees, where they were sifted and prepared for presentation to the main body. Some of the matters discussed and embodied in the Treaty were war reparation to be made by the Germans, the disposition of the German warships, economic and financial problems, commercial treaties and tariffs, many territorial questions, the claims of Armenia, the independence of small nationalities, the rectifying of frontiers, the framing of an international labor code, the determination of Belgium's sovereignty, the demilitarizing of the Rhine territory, and, among the military terms, the forbidding of Germany's use of airplanes, dirigibles, and sub-

marines, the dismantling of Heligoland and Kiel, and the regulation of her manufacture of war material."—V. Duruy, *History of France, pp. 751-752*.—"The Allied leaders had agreed to a peace upon the basis of President Wilson's address of January 8, 1918 (containing the Fourteen Points) and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses. These principles had been formulated not in the interest of Germany, but to promote the real interest of the Allies themselves and to advance the cause of world peace and future security. Nevertheless, at an election held after the armistice and agreement as to the basic terms of peace, the English people, by an overwhelming majority, returned to power their Prime Minister on the basis of an increase in the severity of these terms of the peace, especially those of reparation. The French position, as evidenced by the expressions of the press of all political parties and by the speeches of the Deputies, showed an equally exacting attitude as to reparations. The apparently unanimous sentiment of the French people was perhaps typified in the placards which, during the days of the Peace Conference, covered the walls of Paris and of other cities, proclaiming, *Que L'Allemagne paye d'abord (Let Germany pay first)*. The French Government, in fact found it impossible during the months following the armistice to secure the adoption of any immediate taxation measures by the Chamber of Deputies. This body very justly insisted that the burdens of the war should in the first instance be assumed by Germany. . . . The French argument in favor of the inclusion of war costs was based on the terms of the signed armistice agreement of November 11, 1918. This agreement contained the following clause:

"Nineteen.—With the reservation that any future claims and demands of the Allies and the United States of America remain unaffected, the following financial conditions are required: Reparation for damage done. . . .

"Fortified by . . . vigorous support from the President, the American delegates, in informal conference, were able shortly to secure the acquiescence of Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Clemenceau, and Mr. Orlando in the fundamental principle originally enunciated by the American delegation. This was that Germany's reparation obligations were to be determined in accordance with a fair construction of the Allies' pre-armistice declaration and that such construction excluded imposing upon Germany the 'costs of the war,' but was limited to what may be called actual damage. There remained to be settled precisely what should be considered as damage as distinct from war costs. After considerable discussion and debate, the thirty-one categories of damage which had been reported by the Commission on Reparation were reduced to ten. . . . On these there was general agreement except as to pensions and separation allowances. The inclusion of these items was vigorously urged by all the Allies, particularly Great Britain and France. With the abandonment of general war costs, these items afforded the only remaining basis for a large financial compensation from Germany for the tremendous sacrifices in blood and treasure which had been made by the British Empire. The French were insistent in view of the demands of their people that Germany should pay and thus relieve this sorely tried people who have suffered more than the world probably will ever realize. Unless the French delegates were firmly convinced of Germany's ability to pay considerably in excess of a capital sum of \$15,000,000,000, it is difficult to understand their acceptance of the inclusion of pensions and separation allowances in the categories which Germany

had to pay. It was forcibly brought to their attention that probably Germany could not pay much more than a capital sum of \$15,000,000,000. Hence, if pensions and separation allowances were included in the bill *pari-passu* with the other categories, France would not receive so large an amount as if these items were left out. Without pensions and separation allowances, the bill against Germany was estimated to be approximately \$15,000,000,000, which it was generally thought she could pay. France would have received full payment for her devastated areas. With the inclusion of pensions and separation allowances without a priority for the devastated areas, France would have a larger bill to present, but would receive a less sum of money than if she had excluded these items. . . . Sooner or later, if the amount of Germany's indebtedness is fixed at about a capital sum of \$15,000,000,000, France must insist either upon a priority for her devastated areas or a larger percentage than her claims under the categories would entitle her to; otherwise she will lose out. There was a division among the American delegation which made it frankly hesitant between maintaining on the one hand its original strict and possibly legalistic construction of the pre-armistice declaration (which would have excluded pensions and separation allowances), and supporting on the other hand a liberal construction which would admit the right of compensation for damage to the homes and families behind the front as well as damage to the houses at the front. . . . The final argument that won the unanimous approval of what was known as the Big Four was a memorandum submitted by General Smuts. He, as is well known, was one of the most liberal and courageous men at the Peace Conference. . . . It thus having been decided to include pensions and separation allowances, the categories of damage for which Germany is held responsible were finally formulated. . . . Owing to generally decreased production, and in part to the destruction of the war, the world's coal situation was so acute that reparation in the form of coal deliveries was considered of great importance. Though Germany might pay in money or in manufactured goods, France feared that without assured deliveries of coal, she would find her furnaces idle, her workmen unemployed, and her industrial reconstruction delayed. This depended in great measure on the repair of the Lens coal fields, which had been destroyed with such a deliberation and thoroughness that five years will hardly suffice to restore them. The first coal demand upon Germany is thus for the delivery to France annually for ten years of an amount of coal equal to the difference between the current production and the pre-war production of the destroyed French mines. This amount is not to exceed 20,000,000 tons per annum for the first five years and 8,000,000 tons per annum for the succeeding five years. France, on her part, undertakes to exercise due diligence in repairing the mines. Germany herself has been given the opportunity to make proposals where by her own engineers will repair the mines as a credit on Germany's reparation account. As the mines are gradually restored to normal operations, the deliveries on this account will diminish and may cease entirely before the expiration of the contract. . . . As a second category of coal provisions, France and Belgium are given an option upon German coal up to the normal pre-war exports of Germany to those countries, and provision is made for Italy's necessities."—B. M. Baruch, *Making of the reparation and economic sections of the treaty*, pp. 4-5, 23, 26, 29, 32, 39-41.—"Throughout the Treaty was woven the League of Nations, a bond of union for the

arbitration and adjustment of inter-racial and international difficulties. Because the treaty which closed the Franco-Prussian War had been signed at Versailles, the same place, ever the same room in that palace, was chosen for the signing of the new treaty which made compensation to France for almost half a century of humiliation. The Allied and Associated delegates and the German envoys, signed the Treaty on June 28th. [Chamber of Deputies approved it on Oct. 2nd.] The French Senate ratified it on October 11th, and President Poincaré affixed his signature on October 13th, 1919."—V. Duruy, *History of France*, p. 752.—See also PARIS, CONFERENCE OF; Outline of work; VERSAILLES, TREATY OF; U. S. A.: 1018-1019.

ALSO IN: J. M. Keynes, *Revision of the treaty*.—F. Nitti, *Peaceless Europe*.

1919 (May-November).—Electoral reform.—Adoption of proportional representation and the *scrutin de liste*.—Leon Bourgeois and the League of Nations.—"In 1910, the days of fighting being merged in the days of the Armistice, a bill was passed [July 12] that introduced a modified form of proportional representation and brought back the *scrutin de liste* which had not been employed since 1885 [and was abandoned altogether in 1880]. This law went into effect first in the election of November, 1910."—V. Duruy, *History of France*, pp. 712-713.—"The law worked unsatisfactorily in the 1919 elections, because it provided for the use of the proportional feature only when no candidate had received a majority. As a result, the defects of both systems survived, causing dissatisfaction not only among the Socialists and Radicals who lost most heavily by it, but among the conservative elements who were forced into a *bloc*, against their will, to prevent the victory of their more radical but better organized opponents. The commission of the chamber on universal suffrage has now voted to change the present law; and it is very likely that a complete system of proportional representation will be adopted. The idea of proportional representation in France, however, is being fast supplanted by that of professional representation, that is, the representation of interests and classes in government."—R. L. Buell, *Political and social reconstruction in France* (*American Political Science Review*, Feb., 1921).—See also SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: France: 1875-1910.—Five days before the close of the long session of the war parliament, Leon Bourgeois, former premier and minister of foreign affairs, was appointed French representative at the Council of the League of Nations.

1919 (June).—Treaty of Versailles: Text.—Determination of boundaries (Part II).—Concerning the Sarre Basin (Part III: Section IV).—Restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, nationality provisions (Part III: Section V).—Coal agreements (Part VIII: Section I; Annex V).—Germany to restore objects of art, etc. (Part VIII: Section II). See VERSAILLES, TREATY OF.

1919 (September).—Treaty of St. Germain ending war with Austria. See ST. GERMAIN, TREATY OF.

1919 (September).—Signatory to the convention to safeguard African races from alcohol. See AFRICA: Modern European occupation: 1018-1020.

1919 (November).—Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria. See NEUILLY, TREATY OF (1919).

1919 (November).—Control over Syria and Cilicia. See SÈVRES, TREATY OF (1920).

1919-1920.—Acquisitions in Africa. See AFRICA: Modern European occupation: 1918-1920: Territorial acquisitions; TOGOLAND.

1919-1920.—Treaty with Poland, recognizing independence and protecting minorities.—Represented at conference on Polish boundary. See POLAND: 1919 (June); (June 28); 1920: Resumption of peace negotiations.

1919-1920.—Increase of tariff duties. See TARIFF: 1910-1920: France.

1919-1920.—Laws aiming to promote agricultural production and distribution. See FOOD REGULATION: 1918-1920.

1919-1920.—Government measures regulating labor.—Compulsory arbitration. —“Throughout the course of these two years the General Confederation of Labor has deserted the conservatism of Léon Jouhaux, its secretary; and its radical elements have been successful in forcing upon it the policy of the general strike. Within the General Confederation of Labor, the railwaymen have apparently led this movement. . . . This movement culminated in the general strike attempted by the General Confederation of Labor, following the First of May (1920) celebration. At this time the railwaymen, the metal workers, the transport workers on subways, taxicabs, street cars, etc., the electricians, and the gas workers, were all called out. The strike was unsuccessful, largely because there was no economic issue involved, and because it was called to enforce purely political demands upon the government. Its failure was also insured by the energetic action of the Millerand government which decided to bring legal proceedings against the General Confederation of Labor with a view to its dissolution. The government charged that it had gone beyond the purpose of labor unions, as laid down in the organization law of 1884, which was ‘the study and defense of their economic interests.’ At the present writing, judicial action is being taken in an attempt to dissolve this labor body. Such a stroke on the part of the government is remarkably bold, for the General Confederation of Labor now has a membership of nearly 2,000,000. It is supported by the Unified Socialist party with a polling strength of 1,700,000. Despite the *bloc* formed against them, the Socialist vote increased from 1,400,000 in 1914 to 1,700,000 in 1919. Their seats, however, were reduced from 101 to 68. This naturally increased the enmity of the Socialist party for the present régime, and strengthened the belief that in force alone—and not through the ballot—lay the one means of inaugurating the Socialist state. The increased radicalism of the Socialist party was illustrated in the Strasbourg congress, held in February, 1920. Here the party took a step which at Easter, 1919, it had proclaimed too ‘advanced;’ it withdrew from the Second International and resolved to enter negotiations with the Third International of Moscow, a thoroughly bolshevist organization. . . . The attempted dissolution of the labor confederation was the first move of the Millerand government to enforce the supremacy of law. The second was the introduction of a bill ‘for the peaceful settlement of industrial disputes,’ by M. Jourdain, minister of labor. This bill, submitted to the Chamber of Deputies in the spring of 1920, provides for conciliation and for compulsory arbitration in a large number of industries in which the public welfare is vitally involved. According to the terms of this bill, if a dispute arises in an industrial, commercial or agricultural establishment employing more than twenty men, a delegation of the workers involved must discuss the matters under dispute with the employer or his representative. . . . If such a dispute cannot be settled by the above method, it must be referred to conciliation. The conciliator may be jointly selected by the two

parties, or two conciliators may be chosen, one by each side. If no agreement as to the choice can be reached, the dispute must be referred to the conciliation committee of the trade concerned or to the local justice of the peace. . . . If an agreement cannot be reached, the parties are advised to appeal to arbitration. . . . If both parties, in the event of the failure of conciliation, decide to resort to arbitration, each nominates one or more arbitrators. If they cannot agree, they themselves choose an additional arbitrator. Any cessation of work during arbitration is prohibited. Compulsory arbitration with the equal prohibition of any ‘collective cessation of work’ while the decision is being arrived at, is prescribed for the following industries of an essentially public nature, and the stoppage of which would endanger the life and the health of the community: (a) railroads, street car lines, and other means of transportations on land or sea; (b) gas and electricity works; (c) coal mines, water, lighting and power plants; (d) hospitals; (e) in towns of over 25,000 inhabitants—funeral undertakers, garbage collectors, etc. If a strike occurs illegally in any of these plants for which compulsory arbitration is imposed, the government may take over the plant and personnel, and take whatever means it wishes to ensure the operation of the public services. . . . In the spring and summer of 1919, practically all of the government employees’ associations, most of which were known as *amicales*, became syndicates and joined the central labor body. The Clemenceau government did nothing to stop this clearly illegal movement. But the Millerand government, in June, 1920, ordered the syndicates of government employees dissolved. . . . The Millerand government does not deny the right of association to functionaries; such a right is granted to them by the associations law of 1901; but it does deny them the right to form typical labor unions, bringing with them the strike and affiliation with the General Confederation of Labor. . . . The Millerand government toward this end introduced a far-reaching bill (June, 1920) governing the whole scope of the place of the government employee in public administration. This bill lays down the methods of employing and promoting government employees, which shall be by competition, examinations, and periods of probation. It declares that strikes are absolutely illegal in any of the public services. It provides that each public service is to have an administrative council, upon which government employees are to be represented. Grievances of employees may be brought to this council. It is also to serve as a body of promotion and of discipline. In fact, it is to give the government employee an actual part in the direction of the service to which he belongs. In order to unify the activities of these administrative councils, a superior administrative council is to be formed as a court of appeals.”—R. L. Buell (*American Political Science Review*, Feb., 1921, v. 15, pp. 34-39).—See also LABOR ORGANIZATION: 1918-1921.

1919-1921.—Claims in Luxemburg. See LUXEMBURG: 1910-1921.

1920.—Conflict with Turks in Syria. See SYRIA: 1908-1921.

1920.—Plan for an arbitration court. See ARBITRATION, INTERNATIONAL: 1919-1920.

1920.—Interest and aid in Polish war with Russia. See POLAND: 1919-1920: War with Russia.

1920.—Legislation for poor.—Provision for treatment of cripples.—Education of dependent children.—Agreement with Italy for mutual care of poor in adjacent territory.—Provision for

agricultural education. See CHARITIES: France: 1920; EDUCATION, AGRICULTURAL: France.

1920 (January).—Election of President Deschanel.—Premier Millerand and the cabinet of economic interests.—Economic council of labor.—“Paul Deschanel, who succeeded him [Raimond Poincaré] in 1920, belongs to the same political party, represents the same ideal of national solidarity. For the seven years preceding his election he had served as president of the Chamber of Deputies, refusing more than once to assume the office of premier and to take part again in the sharp conflict of parties. That he received in the National Assembly 734 of the 889 votes cast indicates once more the decline of the Radical-Socialist party as well as the general conviction that the duties of the presidency require a man of broad sympathies and judicial temperament. To many Frenchmen it would have seemed more fitting to bestow the office upon the aged war premier, Georges Clemenceau; but the very qualities which enabled the Radical Socialist statesman to become the savior of France—his courage, his daring, his impetuous spirit—were unsuited to the rarefied atmosphere of the Elysée. . . . Alexandre Millerand, who succeeded Clemenceau as premier on January 20, 1920, broke away from traditional practice in distributing cabinet portfolios. He made no attempt to base the cabinet upon a coalition of groups. Only three of his colleagues could properly be styled professional politicians. Millerand appealed for support, not to the political coteries in Parliament, but the organized and articulate economic interests outside. Banking institutions were represented by Marsal, minister of finance, who was not even a member of Parliament; the federated chambers of commerce, by Isaac; the federated agricultural associations, by Ricard; and the new economic council, which includes not only artisans and public employes, but managers and engineers as well, by Coupat.”—E. M. Sait, *Government and politics of France*, pp. 66-67, 326.—“M. Millerand, who is no novice in politics, has found a solid basis for his government than the old political groups; and herein lies his originality. The characteristic feature of French society at the moment is the tendency toward professional, industrial, and financial combination and association. Union for common action among the great financiers of iron working and shipbuilding dates from before the war. Necessities of national defense stimulated such associations of capital, under government auspices, during the conflict. Numerous *consortia* took over the management and distribution of raw materials, metals, coal, food, and contracts. Capitalists formerly divided into fiercely antagonistic groups, have been compelled to get together; and by bringing these different organizations into conference it has been possible virtually to create a general federation of capitalists. Commerce meanwhile has been undergoing a similar evolution. Regional grouping of merchants has been the natural answer to the incompetence of the bureaucracy to deal with all the problems of national sustenance. . . . The development of new ideas in the labor organizations is perhaps the most significant of all the French trend away from the old parliamentarism. The General Federation of Labor, after its heavy vote last September [1919] against Bolshevism and in favor of ‘productionism,’ has changed the emphasis of its propaganda from such slogans as immediate revolution by general strike to that of constructive transformation of society, to syndicalistic communism by legal methods. No less revolutionary in its ideals than before, French labor

has initiated new tactics which have made immediate appeal abroad, especially to the anarchistic syndicalists of Catalonia. First of all, the technical experts, managers, superintendents, professors, engineers, architects, chemists, electricians, and all the salaried elements which from time immemorial have stood with capital against labor, have organized into vast federations of technicians and gone over to the General Federation of Labor. This has brought the whole mechanism of production and distribution within reach of conquest by the proletariat, conquest also by imperceptible steps and by peaceful means. The instrument of this new idea is the Economic Council of Labor, a congress which associates managers, engineers, inventors, workmen, and coöperatives, in the effort to find solutions for all the problems of national economic life; while the mass of labor, by all the means in control, stands ready to force the adoption of these solutions upon the bureaucracy. Those supporting the Economic Council believe that the present political state will eventually pass into the position of a mere bureau of registration, recording and approving the decrees of the virtual government made up of the active creative forces in the nation. The Economic Council held its first meeting on January 8. . . . [See also LABOR ORGANIZATION: 1910; Economic council of labor.] The Millerand ministry emphasizes the passing of parliamentarism and the rise to power of the economic unit in government. Such a reclassification of political elements will not necessarily diminish the struggle between capital and labor, nor need it lessen friction between groups of interests. But it should make the struggle clearer and more in the open.”—*Millerand and the politicians* (*Nation*, Apr. 10, 1920, pp. 457-458).—See also LABOR ORGANIZATION: 1918-1921.

1920 (March-April).—Occupation of the Ruhr district.—German protest against French occupation of Frankfort and right bank of Rhine. See GERMANY: 1920 (March-April).

1920 (April).—San Remo conference.—French mandatory over Syria. See SAN REMO CONFERENCE; SYRIA: 1908-1921.

1920 (June).—Commercial treaty with Canada rejected. See CANADA: 1920; Canadian tariff

1920 (June).—Treaty of Trianon with Hungary. See TRIANON, TREATY OF (1920).

1920 (July).—Question of German armament and reparations at Spa conference. See SPA, CONFERENCE OF.

1920 (August).—Treaty of Sèvres: Text.—Renunciation of claims to Greece.—Regarding Anatolia.—In commission of the straits for control of Dardanelles (Part III: Political clauses: The Straits). See SÈVRES, TREATY OF; GREECE: 1920.

1920 (September).—Millerand president.—Renewed relations with the Vatican.—By an accident in travelling President Deschanel had a narrow escape from death. He fell from a railway train, and it was rumored that he was mentally incapacitated from continuing the duties of his office. He resigned September 17 and retired to a sanitarium. The election of a successor resulted in Premier Millerand being chosen by an overwhelming majority over Gustave Delory. M. Georges Leygues, one of Millerand's lieutenants, was entrusted with the formation of a new ministry, the intention being, it was generally supposed, that the president himself should enlarge the scope of the customary activity attached to his office by taking a more influential part in government, instead of acting as a mere figurehead in the republic. Leygues had been a colleague of

the president in the Waldeck-Rousseau cabinet in 1890, and was not averse from entering into negotiations with the Vatican. "Since 1905 France has maintained no official diplomatic relations with the Vatican. The change which the government is now trying to bring about is caused partly by considerations of foreign policy. But it is also caused by the desire to bury the anti-clerical quarrel which since the formation of the famous *bloc* during the Dreyfus affair, has kept France divided into two bitterly hostile camps. The separation laws of 1905 and 1907, it appears, removed clericalism as a menace to republican institutions. Despite this fact, successive anti-clerical governments have borne an antagonistic attitude not only toward the pope but toward Catholicism in general, which has naturally embittered many Catholics who have been patriotic Frenchmen, and has also prevented them from having a share in the administration of the government. The Millerand government [had] decided to bring an end to such a situation, . . . pursuing the policy of pacification which men such as Raymond Poincaré and Aristide Briand have been long advocating. The government hopes that the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Vatican will not only reconcile domestic differences between Clericals and anti-Clericals, but that it will lead to a recognition by the Pope of the present separation régime. . . . Diametrically opposed to the projects of the Catholic Republicans, many Radical-Socialists have demanded the abolition of all private church schools, and the compulsory attendance of every child at a public school from which clerical and religious influences of every nature should be rigorously excluded. They have not been loud in this demand for they realize that a state monopoly of education is at this time impossible. This was the position taken by M. Briand at the Radical congress of Pau in 1913. . . . The congress voted a proposition which would place all the Catholic schools under strict government supervision. Despite the attacks of the Radicals, it is probable that 'liberty of education' will be maintained, and that the church school will continue to exist, subject to rigid government inspection."—R. L. Buell, *Political and social reconstruction in France* (*American Political Science Review*, Feb., 1921).—See also PAPACY: 1920.

1920-1921.—Russian difficulty in establishing peace with allies. See RUSSIA: 1920-1921: Difficulties of establishing peace, etc.

1921.—Map showing extent of dominion in Europe.—Extent of colonial possessions. See EUROPE: Modern: Political map of Europe; AFRICA: Map; BRITISH EMPIRE: Map of the world.

1921.—Question of war responsibility. See WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 78.

1921.—Demands for German reparations. See GERMANY: 1921 (May-June).

1921.—Clash with England over Silesian question. See POLAND: 1921: Upper Silesian complications.

1921.—In the consortium for China. See JAPAN: 1918-1921.

1921 (January).—Overthrow of the Leygues ministry.—Briand premier.—Allied conference in Paris.—Break-up of General Federation of Labor.—The unpopular foreign policy of the Leygues ministry led to its downfall on January 12. The president entrusted M. Raoul Péret, president of the Chamber, with the formation of a new cabinet. Poincaré was offered the portfolio of finance and Briand that of foreign affairs. On Poincaré's insistence that he himself or M. Viviani take the foreign office, M. Péret gave up the task

and made way for Aristide Briand. The choice of the Chamber would probably have fallen upon ex-president Poincaré, but he had committed himself to a rigid enforcement of the Versailles Treaty against Germany—a policy fraught with possibilities of foreign complications, particularly a split with England. Briand succeeded in framing his cabinet on the 16th and on the 20th presented his policy before parliament. It included reduction of expenditure and the reorganization of the financial administration; remedial measures against unemployment and industrial depression; reduction of military forces without weakening France's striking power; the conclusion of a new treaty with the Turks; close friendship with Great Britain and firmness in dealing with Germany, and, finally, non-recognition of Soviet Russia. Briand's conciliatory attitude evoked the opposition of Poincaré and Tardieu, leaders of a faction that favored cutting loose from Great Britain and shaping French foreign policy by military measures. From January 24 to 29 an Allied conference on German reparations and disarmament sat in Paris, terminating in complete agreement among the statesmen present. The French "Unknown Soldier" was solemnly buried under the Arc de Triomphe on the 28th. On the 13th the Tribunal Correctionnel decreed the dissolution of the *Conseil Général de Travail* or General Federation of Labor, a body which had been responsible for calling a series of revolutionary strikes during the previous year.

1921 (February 19).—Franco-Polish alliance.—A defensive alliance was concluded between France and Poland, providing *inter alia* for mutual assistance in economic reconstruction.

1921 (March).—National debt.—Budget.—Finance and economics.—On August 1, 1914, the French national debt stood at 27 billion francs. By March 1, 1921, it had risen to 302 billion francs. "The ordinary budget for 1921 provided for a revenue of 22,609,492,095 francs. In addition, an extraordinary budget of 750,000,000 francs was voted for the administration of Alsace-Lorraine. To add to the financial anxieties of the government, the Algerian budget showed a deficit for the first time in a number of years. A national six per cent loan of four billion francs, launched on October 20 [1920], was oversubscribed. From the standpoint of agriculture, reconstruction of the devastated area proceeded rapidly; the slow progress toward industrial reconstruction caused considerable complaint."—*Political Science Quarterly*, Supplement, Sept., 1921, p. 75.—See also EUROPE: Modern: Far-reaching effects of the World War.

1921 (March).—Occupation by France, England and Belgium of Düsseldorf, Duisburg and Ruhrort.—When the German delegation attended the London Conference of Feb. 28, to hear the allied demands for reparations, with counter-proposals which in the opinion of the representatives of France, England and Belgium fell far short of fulfilling the Versailles Treaty even as modified at the Boulogne and Brussels conferences, and as re-making reparations agreements with the Germans was still found to be impossible, the Allies decided that the penalties of the Versailles Treaty must be applied at once. Instructions had already been given by Marshal Foch to General Degoutte, the commanding officer of the invading contingent. "The patriotic spirit of the French ran high and there was general rejoicing in Paris over the invasion order. The three German towns of Düsseldorf, Duisburg and Ruhrort were occupied according to plan by French, British and Belgian troops on March 8. The allied troops were already on the march the night before. The occupation was

effected quietly and no resistance was encountered. The French moved from the French zone in the south and the British and Belgians from the east. When dawn came the advance guards, led by tanks and machine-gun corps, moved over the Düsseldorf bridge. British and French planes flew over the city. All the principal squares and strategic points had been occupied by 7 A.M. The British were represented only by two squadrons of cavalry, as their forces had been depleted by the dispatch of three battalions to Upper Silesia. Ten thousand French and 5,000 Belgians were engaged in the movement. Duisburg and Ruhrort were not occupied till the afternoon. The first act of the allied authorities was to post up a proclamation to the people signed by General Degoutte, Commander-in-Chief of the allied forces, stating. . . . 'This occupation constitutes in no fashion a measure of hostility toward the population. Under the reserve of strict observance of orders which the military authorities will judge indispensable to promulgate, there will be no interference with the economic life of the region. The allied command intends to maintain in the territories newly occupied a régime of liberty and order in which the prosperity of the country can develop.' No demonstrations occurred, and the general attitude of the populace was one of apathy. The Belgians seized Hamborn, the coaling port of the Thyssen iron works, on March 9. Meanwhile the allied experts in Paris set to work to draw up the plans for the other two penalties prescribed—collection of part of the value of German goods sold to allied countries, and the establishment of control over German customs in the Rhine area."—*New York Times Current History, Apr., 1921.*—Furthermore, the Reparations Commission notified Germany that the sum of 132,000,000,000 gold marks had been ascertained to be due from Germany to the Allies for war damages. The Allies, led by France, threatened to occupy the whole of the Ruhr Valley, in case of German failure to assent and arrange a satisfactory mode of payment.

1921 (March-April).—Secret pact with Turkey.—Offer to modify Treaty of Sèvres, and reduce Greek territorial acquisitions. See **TURKEY: 1921 (March-April): Secret treaties.**

1921 (April-September).—Mesopotamian oil controversy. See U. S. A.: 1921 (April-September).

1921 (July-August).—Invited to conference for limitation of armaments. See U. S. A.: 1921 (July-August).

1921 (October-November).—Represented at Portorosa conference. See **PORTOROSA CONFERENCE.**

1922.—Effect of reclamation projects in Rhone and Garonne river districts.—Replanting forests destroyed and cut during World War. See **CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES: France: 1717-1922; 1918-1922.**

1922.—Opposed to Greek expansion in Asia Minor.—Treaty with Turks. See **GREECE: 1922 (January-March); (August-September).**

1922 (January).—Fall of the Briand ministry.—New cabinet.—Poincaré's policy.—"Aristide Briand resigned his office as Premier on Jan. 12, and Raymond Poincaré, former President of France, became the new Premier on Jan. 13. No recent event has caused more excitement in French political circles than the resignation of M. Briand, occurring as it did in the midst of uncompleted negotiations with Mr. Lloyd George at Cannes. . . . With considerable difficulty [Poincaré] formed on Jan. 15, a Cabinet made up wholly of members of the Right. Its personnel was as follows: Raymond Poincaré—President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Louis Barthou—Vice

Premier and Minister of Justice for France and Alsace-Lorraine. André Maginot—Minister of War and Pensions. M. Raiberti—Minister of Marine. Count Charles de Lasteyrie—Minister of Finance. Maurice Maunoury—Minister of the Interior. Léon Berard—Minister of Education. Yves le Trocquer—Minister of Public Works. Henry Chéron—Minister of Agriculture. Albert Sarraut—Minister of the Colonies. M. Reibel—Minister of the Liberated Regions. M. Peyronnet—Minister of Labor. Lucien Diot—Minister of Commerce. Paul Strauss—Minister of Health."—*New York Times Current History, Feb., 1922, p. 867.*—M. Poincaré declared himself in favor of the strict enforcement of the Versailles Treaty, and the occupation of the Rhine until Germany paid her reparations and restored the devastated provinces. He was in favor of the projected Anglo-French alliance, but stated that unless full guarantees respecting Russian and German demands were granted, France would not be represented at the Genoa conference. On January 10th, the Chamber of Deputies, by a vote of 472 to 107, gave their support for these policies.

1922 (January 6).—Represented at Cannes conference. See **CANNES CONFERENCE.**

1922 (April-July).—Problems at home and abroad.—Discussion with the United States regarding debt.—French policy toward Russia.—British opposition.—"The Parliament of France, which had adjourned on April 8, reassembled on May 23 to find itself faced with a heavy burden of responsibilities. German reparations, continuance of the debate on the military bill, no fewer than twelve interpellations on various matters of government policy, including the policy of France at the Economic conference at Genoa, filled the agenda to overflowing. The great Republican majority in Parliament, however, had the satisfaction of knowing that neither the Royalists nor the Radical Socialists had triumphed in the elections, which represented a decided victory for the Republican bloc in France. In its hands, above all, this newly assembled Congress held the power to reject or to approve the policy of M. Poincaré toward Germany and the allies of France. The German menace and the entente with England—these two problems continued to be the predominant issues. . . . The fateful date of May 31 passed, and a crisis with Germany was avoided by Germany's yielding to the French and allied demands. . . . One aspect of the whole reparation problem was France's indebtedness to the United States. On May 17 the French Government informed the American War Debt Funding Commission that it was ready to send a special mission to America to confer regarding the payment of this debt. Jean Parmentier, Administrator of the Ministry of Finance, was selected to head this mission, which was to be composed of several of the best French Treasury experts. The French war debt on May 15 amounted to \$3,340,857,503 of principal and \$430,000,000 of accumulated interest, as contrasted with Great Britain's debt of \$4,135,818,358 principal and \$611,000,000 interest. The American Government on June 1 notified the French Government that it was ready to receive the mission. Treasury officials at Washington expressed the view that France would make no immediate payments on account, and that the discussions would take the form of arranging terms of future payment when funds became available. Turning his attention to the proposed Russian conference at The Hague [see **HAGUE (ALLIED) CONFERENCE, 1922**], the Premier early in June sent to all the other powers invited to attend, including the United States, a carefully prepared note setting

forth the French policy toward Russia. Moscow, he said, must withdraw the memorandum of May 11 [see GENOA CONFERENCE], and must furthermore accept full recognition of Russia's pre-war debt. The Russians must pledge themselves to return foreign-owned property, must drop their counter-claim to damages totaling 50,000,000 gold rubles, and must abandon the demand for an international loan. When these conditions were fulfilled, and not before, France was ready to enter into new parleys with Russia. To this note the British replied on June 10 with a sharp attack. The British Government was resolutely opposed to the demand that the May 11 memorandum be withdrawn before the Hague committees met. No intimation that such a withdrawal would be demanded had been made at Genoa. As to the return of foreign-owned and nationalized property, Great Britain intimated in strong terms that this was a matter for Russia to decide for herself as a sovereign State. The British refused to join in any ultimatum to Moscow."—*New York Times Current History*, July, 1922, pp. 703-704.

1922 (May).—Represented at the Genoa conference. See GENOA CONFERENCE (1922).

1922 (June-July).—Allied economic conference at the Hague. See HAGUE (ALLIED) CONFERENCE, 1922.

1922 (July-December).—German reparations crisis.—Restoration of French liberated regions.—London conference on reparations.—British proposals rejected. See GERMANY: 1922 (July-August); (September-November); (December).

1922 (August-October).—Effect of moratorium granted to Germany.—Barthou appointed representative on reparations commission.—Seaman's strike.—"The moratorium granted to Germany by the Reparation Commission on Aug. 31, and the subsequent arrangements completed by Belgium and Germany for the payment of the reparation installments for the last five months of 1922, relieved political tension between France and the Berlin Government and the Stinnes-Lubersac agreement for reconstruction of the devastated areas of North France with German material—a special application of the Loucheur-Rathenau economic agreement—was generally hailed as a good omen for the bettering of relations between the two former adversaries. . . . The appointment of Louis Barthou, former Premier, and now Minister of Justice in the Poincaré Cabinet, to the position of French representative on the Reparation Commission was officially announced on Oct. 5. M. Barthou succeeded M. Dubois, and was in turn succeeded in the Cabinet by M. Coirat, a close personal friend of the Premier, whom he had served as Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs. M. Barthou, one of the most influential politicians in the present Parliament, is in complete accord with M. Poincaré's attitude toward the reparation problem. The first session of the commission over which he presided was devoted to a discussion of the cataclysmic state of German currency, with the mark standing at 3,000 to a dollar, and bankruptcy in sight, and the best method of compelling Germany to keep her pledge, in consideration of being granted a moratorium, to put her financial house in order. The seaman's strike which followed the Government's decree, Sept. 5, revoking the eight-hour day for seamen, held up thousands of travelers bound for North Africa and other Mediterranean ports and created an intolerable situation at Marseilles, with throngs of people waiting to embark, no ships in sight, and the plight of many daily growing worse. The strike began in protest against the Government's action, which, the authorities

pointed out, was not taken until other nations had refused to be bound by the eight-hour day, voted by the French Parliament on Aug. 2, 1919, and thereby placed France in an unfavorable position in respect to her merchant fleet. Thousands of tons of perishable goods were soon rotting on the docks. The situation underwent some improvement early in October, when the Government, through strikebreakers and crews of marines, succeeded in enabling a number of boats to clear."—*New York Times Current History*, Nov., 1922, pp. 332-334.

1923 (January).—Failure of Paris reparations conference. See GERMANY: 1923 (January).

See also ADMINISTRATIVE LAW: In France; AGRICULTURE: Modern period; France: Development since the Revolution; ARCHITECTURE: Medieval: French and Norman; Medieval: Gothic; Renaissance: France; Modern: France; CANALS: Principal European canals: France; CHANNEL TUNNEL; CHARITIES: France; CIVICS; COMMUNE: French administrative unit; COÖPERATION: France; COSTUME: 1000-1500; COURTS: France; COURTS, ADMINISTRATIVE; DEBTS, PUBLIC: France; DEMOCRACY: Genesis of Modern democracy; EDUCATION; EDUCATION, AGRICULTURAL: France; EDUCATION, ART: Modern period: France; ELECTIONS, PRESIDENTIAL: France; EUROPE: Modern: Rise of the nation state; FLAGS: France; HISTORY: 19, 23, 24; HOUSING: France; IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION: France; LIBRARIES: Modern: France; MASONIC SOCIETIES: France; MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 26; MUSIC: Folk music and nationalism: France; Modern: 1645-1764; 1730-1816: French; 1774-1864; 1830-1921; PAINTING: French; Europe (19th century); RURAL CREDIT; SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: France; TRUSTS: France.

ALSO IN: T. F. Tout, *France and England: Their relations in the Middle Ages and now*.—J. Caillaux, *Où va la France? Où va l'Europe?*—G. B. Adams, *Growth of the French nation*.—W. S. Davis, *History of France*.—P. Lacombe, *Growth of a people*.—A. Hassall, *France, medieval and modern*.—J. R. M. MacDonald, *History of France*.—A. J. Grant, *French monarchy, 1483-1789*.—A. A. Tilly, *Dawn of the French Renaissance*.—H. M. Baird, *Huguenots and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes*.—J. B. Perkins, *France under Louis XV*.—A. L. Guérard, *French civilization in the eighteenth century*.—H. E. Bourne, *French Revolution and the Napoleonic era*.—H. Stannard, *Gambetta, and the foundations of the third republics*.—R. C. de Malberg, *Contribution à la théorie générale de l'état spécialement d'après les données fournies par le droit constitutionnel français*.—W. E. H. Lecky, *French Revolution*.—L. Madelin, *French Revolution*.—A. Luhaire, *Social France at the time of Philip Augustus*.—G. Hanotaux, *Contemporary France*.—R. Poincaré, *How France is governed*.—A. Tardieu, *France and the alliances*.—A. Galton, *Church and State in France*.—J. C. Bracq, *Provocation of France*.—G. II. Stuart, *French foreign policy from Fashoda to Serajevo*.—J. E. Barker, *Economic statesmanship*, ch. 10.—S. Lauzanne, *Great men and great days*.—G. Delahache, *Les Débuts de l'administration française en Alsace et en Lorraine*.—E. Simond, *Histoire de la troisième république de 1899 à 1906: Présidence de M. Loubet*.—W. MacDonald, *Reconstruction in France*.

FRANCE, Bank of. See BANK OF FRANCE.

FRANCE, Church of. See GALLICAN CHURCH.

FRANCE, Constitution of: 1791.—Constitution accepted by Louis XVI. See FRANCE: 1789-1791, 1791 (July-September).

1793 (or the Year One).—Jacobin constitution. See FRANCE: 1793 (June-October).

1795 (or the Year Three).—Constitution of the Directory. See FRANCE: 1795 (June-September).

1799.—Constitution of the Consulate. See FRANCE: 1799 (November-December).

1814.—Constitution of the Restoration. See FRANCE: 1814 (April-June).

1848.—Constitution of the second republic. See FRANCE: 1848 (April-December).

1852.—Constitution of the second empire. See FRANCE: 1851-1852.

1875-1889.—Constitution of the third republic. The circumstances of the framing and adoption in 1875 of the constitution of the third republic will be found narrated under FRANCE: 1871-1876. The following is the text of the organic law of 1875, with the later amendatory and supplemental enactments. (*Note: Brackets indicate clauses that have been repealed.*)

1875 (FEBRUARY 25).—LAW ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PUBLIC POWERS.

Article 1. The legislative power is exercised by two assemblies: the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The Chamber of Deputies is elected by universal suffrage, under the conditions determined by the electoral law.¹ The composition, the method of election, and the powers of the Senate shall be regulated by a special law.²

Art. 2. The President of the Republic is chosen by an absolute majority of votes of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies united in National Assembly. He is elected for seven years. He is re-eligible.

Art. 3. The President of the Republic has the initiative of the laws, concurrently with the members of the two Chambers. He promulgates the laws when they have been voted by the two Chambers; he looks after and secures their execution. He has the right of pardon; amnesty can be granted by law only. He disposes of the armed force. He appoints to all civil and military positions. He presides over national festivals; envoys and ambassadors of foreign powers are accredited to him. Every act of the President of the Republic must be countersigned by a Minister.

Art. 4. As vacancies occur on and after the promulgation of the present law, the President of the Republic appoints, in the Council of Ministers, the Councilors of State in ordinary service. The Councilors of State thus chosen may be dismissed only by decree rendered in the Council of Ministers. [The Councilors of State chosen by virtue of the law of May 24, 1872, cannot, before the expiration of their powers, be dismissed except in the manner determined by that law. After the dissolution of the National Assembly, revocation may be pronounced only by resolution of the Senate.]³

Art. 5. The President of the Republic may, with the advice of the Senate, dissolve the Chamber of Deputies before the legal expiration of its term. [In that case the electoral colleges are summoned for new elections within the space of three months.]⁴

Art. 6. The Ministers are jointly and severally ("solidairement") responsible to the Chambers for the general policy of the government, and individually for their personal acts. The President of the Republic is responsible in case of high treason only.⁵

Art. 7. In case of vacancy by death or for any other reason, the two Chambers assembled together proceed at once to the election of a new President. In the meantime the Council of Ministers is invested with the executive power.¹

Art. 8. The Chambers shall have the right by separate resolutions, taken in each by an absolute majority of votes, either upon their own initiative or upon the request of the President of the Republic, to declare a revision of the Constitutional Laws necessary. After each of the two Chambers shall have come to this decision, they shall meet together in National Assembly to proceed with the revision. The acts effecting revision of the constitutional laws, in whole or in part, must be by an absolute majority of the members composing the National Assembly. [During the continuance, however, of the powers conferred by the law of November 20, 1873, upon Marshal de MacMahon, this revision can take place only upon the initiative of the President of the Republic.]²

Art. 9. [The seat of the Executive Power and of the two Chambers is at Versailles.]³

1875 (FEBRUARY 24).—LAW ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SENATE.

Article 1. [The Senate consists of three hundred members: Two hundred and twenty-five elected by the departments and colonies, and seventy-five elected by the National Assembly.]¹

Art. 2. [The departments of the Seine and Nord elect each five senators. The following departments elect four senators each: Seine-Inférieure, Pas de Calais, Gironde, Rhône, Finistère, Côtes-du-Nord. The following departments elect three senators each: Loire-Inférieure, Saône-et-Loire, Ille-et-Vilaine, Seine-et-Oise, Isère, Puy-de-Dôme, Somme, Bouches-du-Rhône, Aisne, Loire, Manche, Maine-et-Loire, Morbihan, Dordogne, Haute-Garonne, Charente-Inférieure, Calvados, Sarthe, Hérault, Basses-Pyrénées, Gard, Aveyron, Vendée, Orne, Oise, Vosges, Allier. All the other departments elect two senators each. The following elect one senator each: The Territory of Belfort, the three departments of Algeria, the four colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe, Réunion and the French Indies.]²

Art. 3. [No one can be senator unless he is a French citizen, forty years of age at least, and enjoying civil and political rights.]³

Art. 4. [The senators of the departments and colonies are elected by an absolute majority and by "scrutin de liste," by a college meeting at the capital of the department or colony, and composed: (1) of the deputies; (2) of the general councilors; (3) of the arrondissement councilors; (4) of delegates elected, one by each municipal council, from among the voters of the commune. In the French Indies the members of the colonial council or of the local councils are substituted for the general councilors, arrondissement councilors and delegates from the municipal councils. They vote at the capital of each district.]⁴

Art. 5. [The senators chosen by the Assembly are elected by "scrutin de liste" and by an absolute majority of votes.]⁵

Art. 6. [The senators of the departments and colonies are elected for nine years and renewable by thirds every three years. At the beginning of

¹ See Arts. 3 and 11, law of July 16, 1875, *infra*.

² Amended by constitutional law of August 14, 1884, *infra*.

³ Repealed by constitutional law of June 21, 1879, and see law of July 22, 1879, *infra*.

⁴ By the constitutional law of August 14, 1884, it was provided that Articles 1 to 7 of this law should no longer have a constitutional character; and they were repealed by the law of December 9, 1884, *infra*.

¹ See laws of November 30, 1875, June 16, 1885, and February 13, 1880, *infra*.

² See laws of February 24, August 2, 1875, and December 6, 1884, *infra*.

³ Ceased to have application after 1881.

⁴ Amended by constitutional law of August 14, 1884, *infra*.

⁵ See Art. 12, law of July 16, 1875, *infra*.

the first session the departments shall be divided into three series containing an equal number of senators each. It shall be determined by lot which series shall be renewed at the expiration of the first and second triennial periods.¹

Art. 7. [The senators elected by the Assembly are irremovable. Vacancies by death, by resignation, or for any other reason, shall, within the space of two months, be filled by the Senate itself.]¹

Art. 8. The Senate has, concurrently with the Chamber of Deputies, the initiative and passing of laws. Money bills, however, must first be introduced in and passed by the Chamber of Deputies.

Art. 9. The Senate may be constituted a Court of Justice to [try] either the President of the Republic or the Ministers, and to take cognizance of attacks made upon the safety of the State.

Art. 10. Elections to the Senate shall take place one month before the time fixed by the National Assembly for its own dissolution. The Senate shall organize and enter upon its duties the same day that the National Assembly is dissolved.

Art. 11. The present law shall be promulgated only after the passage of the law on the public powers.²

1875 (JULY 16).—LAW ON THE RELATIONS OF THE PUBLIC POWERS.

Article 1. The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies shall assemble each year the second Tuesday of January, unless convened earlier by the President of the Republic. The two Chambers continue in session at least five months each year. The sessions of each begin and end at the same time. [On the Sunday following the opening of the session, public prayers shall be addressed to God in the churches and temples, to invoke His aid in the labors of the Chambers.]²

Art. 2. The President of the Republic pronounces the closure of the session. He may convene the Chambers in extra session. He must convene them if, during the recess, an absolute majority of the members of each Chamber request it. The President may adjourn the Chambers. The adjournment, however, must not exceed one month, nor take place more than twice in the same session.

Art. 3. One month at least before the legal expiration of the powers of the President of the Republic, the Chambers must be called together in National Assembly and proceed to the election of a new President. In default of a summons, this meeting shall take place, as of right, the fifteenth day before the expiration of those powers. In case of the death or resignation of the President of the Republic, the two Chambers shall reassemble immediately, as of right. In case the Chamber of Deputies, in consequence of Article 5 of the law of February 25, 1875, is dissolved at the time when the presidency of the Republic becomes vacant, the electoral colleges shall be convened at once, and the Senate shall assemble as of right.

Art. 4. Every meeting of either of the two Chambers which shall be held at a time other than the common session of both is illegal and void, except the case provided for in the preceding article, and that when the Senate meets as a court of justice; and in this last case, judicial duties alone shall be performed.

Art. 5. The sittings of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies are public. Nevertheless each Chamber may meet in secret session, upon the re-

quest of a fixed number of its members, determined by the rules. It decides by absolute majority whether the sitting shall be resumed in public upon the same subject.

Art. 6. The President of the Republic communicates with the Chambers by messages, which are read from the tribune by a Minister. The Ministers have entrance to both Chambers, and must be heard when they request it. They may be represented, for the discussion of a specific bill, by commissioners designated by decree of the President of the Republic.

Art. 7. The President of the Republic promulgates the laws within the month following the transmission to the Government of the law finally passed. He must promulgate, with three days, laws whose promulgation shall have been declared urgent by an express vote in each Chamber. Within the time fixed for promulgation the President of the Republic may, by a message with reasons assigned, request of the two Chambers a new discussion, which cannot be refused.

Art. 8. The President of the Republic negotiates and ratifies treaties. He communicates them to the Chambers as soon as the interests and safety of the State permit. Treaties of peace, and of commerce, treaties which involve the finances of the State, those relating to the persons and property of French citizens in foreign countries, shall become definitive only after having been voted by the two Chambers. No cession, no exchange, no annexation of territory shall take place except by virtue of a law.

Art. 9. The President of the Republic cannot declare war except by the previous assent of the two Chambers.

Art. 10. Each Chamber is the judge of the eligibility of its members, and of the legality of their election; it alone can receive their resignation.

Art. 11. The bureau¹ of each Chamber is elected each year for the entire session, and for every extra session which may be held before the ordinary session of the following year. When the two Chambers meet together as a National Assembly, their bureau consists of the President, Vice-President and Secretaries of the Senate.

Art. 12. The President of the Republic may be impeached by the Chamber of Deputies only, and tried by the Senate only. The Ministers may be impeached by the Chamber of Deputies for offences committed in the performance of their duties. In this case they are tried by the Senate. The Senate may be constituted a court of Justice, by a decree of the President of the Republic, issued in the Council of Ministers, to try all persons accused of attempts upon the safety of the State. If procedure is begun by the ordinary courts, the decree convening the Senate may be issued any time before the granting of a discharge. A law shall determine the method of procedure for the accusation, trial and judgment.²

Art. 13. No member of either Chamber shall be prosecuted or held responsible on account of any opinions expressed or votes cast by him in the performance of his duties.

Art. 14. No member of either Chamber shall, during the session, be prosecuted or arrested for any offence or misdemeanor, except on the authority of the Chamber of which he is a member, unless he be caught in the very act. The detention or prosecution of a member of either Chamber is sus-

¹The bureau of the Senate consists of a president, four vice-presidents, six secretaries and three questors; the bureau of the Chamber of Deputies is the same, except that there are eight secretaries instead of six.

²Fixed by law of April 10, 1889.

¹ See note 4, column 2, preceding page.

² *i. e.*, the law of February 25, 1875, *supra*.

³ Repealed by law of August 14, 1884, *infra*.

pended for the session, and for its [the Chamber's] entire term, if it [the Chamber] demands it.

[Note: Many texts introduce here the laws revising the foregoing, viz: the constitutional laws of June 21, 1870, and August 14, 1884, which are given below under those dates.]

1875 (AUGUST 2).—LAW ON THE ELECTION OF SENATORS.¹

Article 1. A decree of the President of the Republic, issued at least six weeks in advance, determines the day for the elections to the Senate, and at the same time that for the choice of delegates of the municipal councils. There must be an interval of at least one month between the choice of delegates and the election of senators.

Art. 2. Each municipal council elects one delegate. The election is without debate, by secret ballot, and by an absolute majority of votes. After two ballots a plurality is sufficient, and in case of an equality of votes, the oldest is declared elected. If the Mayor is not a member of the municipal council, he presides, but shall not vote.² On the same day and in the same way an alternate is elected, who takes the place of the delegate in case of refusal or inability to serve.³ The choice of the municipal councils shall not extend to a deputy, a general councilor, or an arrondissement councilor.³ All communal electors, including the municipal councilors, are eligible without distinction.

Art. 3. In the communes where a municipal committee exists, the delegate and alternate shall be chosen by the old council.²

Art. 4. If the delegate was not present at the election, the Mayor shall see to it that he is notified within twenty-four hours. He must transmit to the Prefect, within five days, notice of his acceptance. In case of refusal or silence, he is replaced by the alternate, who is then placed upon the list as the delegate of the commune.⁴

Art. 5. The official report of the election of the delegate and alternate is transmitted at once to the Prefect; it states the acceptance or refusal of the delegates and alternates, as well as the protests raised, by one or more members of the municipal council, against the legality of the election. A copy of this official report is posted on the door of the town hall.⁶

Art. 6. A statement of the results of the election of delegates and alternates is drawn up within a week by the Prefect; this is given to all requesting it, and may be copied and published. Every elector may, at the bureaux of the prefecture, obtain information and a copy of the list, by communes, of the municipal councilors of the department, and, at the bureaux of the subprefectures a copy of the list, by communes, of the municipal councilors of the arrondissement.

Art. 7. Every communal elector may, within three days, address directly to the Prefect a protest against the legality of the election. If the Prefect deems the proceedings illegal, he may request that they be set aside.

Art. 8. Protests concerning the election of the delegate or alternate are decided, subject to an appeal to the Council of State, by the council of the prefecture, and, in the colonies, by the privy council. A delegate whose election is annulled because

he does not satisfy the conditions demanded by law, or on account of informality, is replaced by the alternate. In case the election of the delegate and alternate is rendered void, as by the refusal or death of both after their acceptance, new elections are held by the municipal council on a day fixed by an order of the Prefect.¹

Art. 9. Eight days, at the latest, before the election of senators, the Prefect, and, in the colonies, the Director of the Interior, arranges the list of the electors of the department in alphabetical order. The list is communicated to all demanding it, and may be copied and published. No elector has more than one vote.

Art. 10. The deputies, the members of the general council, or of the arrondissement councils, who have been announced by the returning committees, but whose powers have not been verified, are enrolled upon the list of electors and are allowed to vote.

Art. 11. In each of the three departments of Algeria the electoral college is composed: (1) of the deputies; (2) of the members of the general councils, of French citizenship; (3) of delegates elected by the French members of each municipal council from among the communal electors of French citizenship.

Art. 12. The electoral college is presided over by the President of the civil tribunal of the capital of the department or colony. The President is assisted by the two oldest and two youngest electors present at the opening of the meeting. The bureau thus constituted chooses a secretary from among the electors. If the President is prevented from presiding his place is taken by the Vice-President of the civil tribunal and, in his absence, by the oldest justice.

Art. 13. The bureau divides the electors in alphabetical order into sections of at least one hundred voters each. It appoints the President and Inspectors of each of these sections. It decides all questions and contests which may arise in the course of the election, without, however, power to depart from the decisions rendered by virtue of Article 8 of the present law.

Art. 14. The first ballot begins at eight o'clock in the morning and closes at noon. The second begins at two o'clock and closes at four o'clock. The third, if it takes place, begins at six o'clock and closes at eight o'clock. The results of the ballots are determined by the bureau and announced the same day by the President of the electoral college.¹

Art. 15. No one is elected senator on either of the first two ballots unless he receives: (1) an absolute majority of the votes cast; and (2) a number of votes equal to one-fourth of the total number of electors registered. On the third ballot a plurality is sufficient, and, in case of an equality of votes, the oldest is elected.

Art. 16. Political meetings for the nomination of senators may take place conformably to the rules laid down by the law of June 6, 1868² subject to the following conditions: I. These meetings may be held from the date of the election of delegates up to the day of the election of senators inclusive; II. They must be preceded by a declaration made, at latest, the evening before, by seven senatorial electors of the arrondissement, and indicating the place, the day and the hour the meeting is to take place, and the names, occupation and residence of the candidates to be presented; III. The municipal authorities will see to it that no one is admitted

¹ Articles 2 (paragraphs 1 and 2), 3, 4, 5, 8, 13, 16, 19, and 23, which follow, are amended by Art. 8, law of December 9, 1884, *infra*; articles 24 and 25 are repealed by the same law.

² Amended by Art. 8, law of December 9, 1884, *infra*.

³ See Art. 4, law of February 24, 1875, *supra*.

⁴ See Art. 8, law of December 9, 1884, *infra*.

⁶ See Art. 8, law of December 9, 1884, *infra*.

¹ See Art. 8, law of December 9, 1884, *infra*.

² This law has been superseded by a law of June 30, 1881.

to the meeting unless he is a deputy, general councillor, arrondissement councillor, delegate or candidate. The delegate will present, as a means of identification, a certificate from the Mayor of his commune, the candidate a certificate from the official who shall have received the declaration mentioned in the preceding paragraph.¹

Art. 17. Delegates who take part in all the ballotings shall, if they demand it, receive from the State, upon the presentation of their letter of summons, countersigned by the President of the electoral college, a remuneration for traveling expenses, which shall be paid to them upon the same basis and in the same manner as that given to jurors by Articles 35, 90 and following, of the decree of June 18, 1811. A public administrative regulation shall determine the method of fixing the amount and the method of payment of this remuneration.²

Art. 18. Every delegate who, without lawful reason, shall not take part in all the ballotings, or, having been hindered, shall not have given notice to the alternate in sufficient season, shall, upon the demand of the public prosecutor, be punished by a fine of fifty francs by the civil tribunal of the capital.³ The same penalty may be imposed upon the alternate who, after having been notified by letter, telegram, or notice personally delivered in due season, shall not have taken part in the election.

Art. 19. Every attempt at corruption by the employment of means enumerated in Articles 177 and following, of the Penal Code, to influence the vote of an elector, or to keep him from voting, shall be punished by imprisonment of from three months to two years, and a fine of from fifty to five hundred francs, or by one of these two penalties alone. Article 463 of the Penal Code shall apply to the penalties imposed by the present article.⁴

Art. 20. It is incompatible for a senator to be: I. Councillor of State, Maître de Requêtes, Prefect or Sub-Prefect, except Prefect of the Seine and Prefect of Police; II. Member of the courts of appeal ("appel")⁵ or of the tribunals of first instance, except public prosecutor at the court of Paris; III. General Paymaster, Special Receiver, official or employe of the central administration of the ministries.

Art. 21. The following shall not be elected by the department or the colony included wholly or partially in their jurisdiction, during the exercise of their duties and during the six months following the cessation of their duties by resignation, dismissal, change of residence, or other cause: I. The First Presidents, Presidents, and members of the courts of appeal ("appel"); II. The Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Examining Magistrates, and members of the tribunals of first instance; III. The Prefect of Police; Prefects and Sub-Prefects, and Prefectorial General Secretaries; the Governors, Directors of the Interior, and General Secretaries of the Colonies; IV. The Chief Arrondissement Engineers and Chief Arrondissement Road-Surveyors; V. The School Rectors and Inspectors; VI. The Primary School Inspectors; VII. The Archbishops, Bishops, and Vicars General; VIII. The officers of all grades

of the land and naval force; IX. The Division Commissaries and the Military Deputy Commissaries; X. The General Paymasters and Special Receivers of Money; XI. The Supervisors of Direct and Indirect Taxes, of Registration of Lands and of Posts; XII. The Guardians and Inspectors of Forests.

Art. 22. A senator elected in several departments, must let his choice be known to the President of the senate within ten days following the verification of the elections. If a choice is not made in this time, the question is settled by lot in open session. The vacancy shall be filled within one month and by the same electoral body. The same holds true in case of an invalidated election.

Art. 23. If by death or resignation the number of senators of a department is reduced by one-half, the vacancies shall be filled within the space of three months, unless the vacancies occur within the twelve months preceding the triennial elections. At the time fixed for the triennial elections, all vacancies shall be filled which have occurred, whatever their number and date.¹

Art. 24. [The election of senators chosen by the National Assembly takes place in public sitting, by "scrutin de liste," and by an absolute majority of votes, whatever the number of ballotings.]²

Art. 25. [When it is necessary to elect successors of senators chosen by virtue of Article 7 of the law of February 24, 1875, the Senate proceeds in the manner indicated in the preceding article.]³

Art. 26. Members of the Senate receive the same salary as members of the Chamber of Deputies.⁴

Art. 27. There are applicable to elections to the Senate all the provisions of the electoral law relating: I. to cases of unworthiness and incapacity; II. to offences, prosecutions, and penalties; III. to election proceedings, in all respects not contrary to the provisions of the present law.

Temporary provisions.

Art. 28. For the first election of members of the Senate, the law which shall determine the date of the dissolution of the National Assembly shall fix, without regard to the intervals established by Article 1, the date on which the municipal councils shall meet for the election of delegates and the day for the election of Senators. Before the meeting of the municipal councils, the National Assembly shall proceed to the election of those Senators whom it is to choose.

Art. 29. The provisions of Article 21, by which an interval of six months must elapse between the cessation of duties and election, shall not apply to officials, except Prefects and Sub-Prefects, whose duties shall have ceased either before the promulgation of the present law or within twenty days following.

1875 (NOVEMBER 30).—LAW ON THE ELECTION OF DEPUTIES.⁵

Article 1. The deputies shall be chosen by the voters registered: I. upon the lists drawn up in accordance with the law of July 7, 1874; II. upon the supplementary list including those who have lived in the commune six months. Registration upon the supplementary list shall take place conformably to the laws and regulations now governing the political electoral lists, by the committees and according to the forms established by Articles

¹ Article 8, law of December 9, 1884, *infra*.

² Done by decree of December 26, 1875.

³ Of the department.

⁴ See Article 8, law of December 9, 1884, *infra*.

⁵ France is divided into twenty-six judicial districts, in each of which there is a cour d'appel. There are similar courts in Algeria and the colonies. The Cour de Cassation is the supreme court of appeal for all France, Algeria and the colonies.—See also law of December 26, 1887, *infra*. By a law of November 16, 1897, the director and under-director of the Bank of France are intelligible as senators or deputies.

¹ Article 8, law of December 9, 1884, *infra*.

² Repealed by law of December 9, 1884, *infra*.

³ Articles 24 and 25 repealed by law of December 9, 1884, *infra*.

⁴ See Article 17, law of November 30, 1875, *infra*.

⁵ See, *infra*, the laws of June 16, 1885, and February 13, 1889, and July 12, 1919, amending the electoral law.

1, 2 and 3 of the law of July 7, 1874. Appeals relating to the formation and revision of either list shall be carried directly before the Civil Chamber of the Court of Appeal ("Cassation"). The electoral lists drawn up March 31, 1875, shall serve until March 31, 1876.

Art. 2. The soldiers of all ranks and grades, of both the land and naval forces, shall not vote when they are with their regiment, at their post or on duty. Those who, on election day, are in private residence, in non-activity or in possession of a regular leave of absence, may vote in the commune on the lists of which they are duly registered. This last provision applies equally to officers on the unattached list or on the reserve list.

Art. 3. During the electoral period, circulars and platforms ("professions de foi") signed by the candidates, placards and manifestoes signed by one or more voters, may, after being deposited with the public prosecutor, be posted and distributed without previous authorization. The distribution of ballots is not subjected to this deposit.¹ Every public or municipal official is forbidden to distribute ballots, platforms and circulars of candidates. The provisions of Article 10 of the organic law of August 2, 1875, on the elections of Senators, shall apply to the elections of deputies.

Art. 4. Balloting shall continue one day only. The voting occurs at the chief place of the commune; each commune may nevertheless be divided, by order of the Prefect, into as many sections as may be demanded by local circumstances and the number of voters. The second ballot shall take place the second Sunday following the announcement of the first ballot, according to the provisions of Article 65, of the law of March 15, 1840.

Art. 5. The method of voting shall be according to the provisions of the organic and regulating decrees of February 2, 1852. The ballot is secret. The voting lists used at the elections in each section, signed by the President and Secretary, shall remain deposited for eight days at the Secretary's office at the town hall, where they shall be communicated to every voter requesting them.

Art. 6. Every voter is eligible, without any tax qualification, at the age of twenty-five years.²

Art. 7. No soldier or sailor forming part of the active forces of land or sea may, whatever his rank or position, be elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies. This provision applies to soldiers and sailors on the unattached list or in non-activity, but does not extend to officers of the second section of the list of the general staff, nor to those who, kept in the first section for having been commander-in-chief in the field, have ceased to be employed actively, nor to officers who, having privileges acquired on the retired list, are sent to or maintained at their homes while awaiting the settlement of their pension. The decision by which the officer shall have been permitted to establish his rights on the retired list shall become, in this case, irrevocable. The rule laid down in the first paragraph of the present Article shall not apply to the reserve of the active army nor to the territorial army.

Art. 8. The exercise of public duties paid out of the treasury of the State is incompatible with the office of deputy.³ Consequently every official

elected deputy shall be superseded in his duties if, within the eight days following the verification of powers, he has not signified that he does not accept the office of deputy. There are excepted from the preceding provisions the duties of Minister, Under Secretary of State, Ambassador, Minister Plenipotentiary, Prefect of the Seine, Prefect of Police, First President of the Court of Appeal ("Cassation,") First President of the Court of Accounts, First President of the Court of Appeal ("appel") of Paris, Attorney General at the Court of Appeal ("Cassation,") Attorney General at the Court of Accounts, Attorney General at the Court of Appeal of Paris, Archbishop and Bishop, Consistorial Presiding Pastor in consistorial districts whose capital has two or more pastors, Chief Rabbi of the Central consistory, Chief Rabbi of the Consistory of Paris.⁴

Art. 9. There are also excepted from the provisions of Article 8: I. titular professors of chairs which are filled by competition or upon the nomination of the bodies where the vacancy occurs; II. persons who have been charged with a temporary mission. All missions continuing more than six months cease to be temporary and are governed by Article 8 above.

Art. 10. The official preserves the rights which he has acquired to a retiring pension, and may, after the expiration of his term of office, be restored to active service. The civil official who, having had twenty years of service at the date of the acceptance of the office of deputy, shall be fifty years of age at the time of the expiration of this term of office, may establish his rights to an exceptional retiring pension. This pension shall be regulated according to the third Paragraph of Article 12 of the law of June 9, 1853. If the official is restored to active service after the expiration of his term of office, the provisions of Article 3, Paragraph 2, and Article 28 of the law of June 9, 1853, shall apply to him. In duties where the rank is distinct from the employment, the official, by the acceptance of the office of deputy, loses the employment and preserves the rank only.

Art. 11. Every deputy appointed or promoted to a salaried public position ceases to belong to the Chamber by the very fact of his acceptance; but he may be re-elected, if the office which he occupies is compatible with the office of deputy. Deputies who become Ministers or Under-Secretaries of State are not subjected to a re-election.

Art. 12. There shall not be elected by the arrondissement or the colony included wholly or partially in their jurisdiction, during the exercise of their duties or for six months following the expiration of their duties due to resignation, dismissal, change of residence, or any other cause: I. The First-Presidents, Presidents, and members of the Courts of Appeal ("appel"); II. The Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Titular Judges, Examining Magistrates, and members of the tribunals of first instance; III. The Prefect of Police; the Prefects and General Secretaries of the Prefectures; the Governors, Directors of the Interior, and General Secretaries of the Colonies; IV. The Chief Arrondissement Engineers and Chief Arrondissement Road-Surveyors; V. The School Rectors and Inspectors; VI. The Primary School Inspectors; VII. The Archbishops, Bishops, and Vicars General; VIII. The General Paymasters and Special Receivers of Money; IX. The Supervisors of Direct and Indirect Taxes, of Registration of Lands, and of Posts; X. The Guardians and Inspectors of For-

¹ See, however, a law of December 20, 1878, by which deposit is made necessary.

² By law of July 20, 1895, no one is eligible as member unless he has complied with the law regarding military service. This was further modified by the law of March 21, 1905.

³ By law of November 16, 1897, the director and under-director of the Bank of France are ineligible as deputies or senators.

⁴ These religious officials were made ineligible for eight years by the law of Dec. 9, 1905.

ests. The Sub-Prefects shall not be elected in any of the arrondissements of the department where they perform their duties.¹

Art. 13. Every imperative mandate is null and void.

Art. 14. Members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected by single districts. Each administrative arrondissement shall elect one deputy. Arrondissements having more than 100,000 inhabitants shall elect one deputy in addition for every additional 100,000 inhabitants or fraction of 100,000. Arrondissements of this kind shall be divided into districts whose boundaries shall be established by law and may be changed only by law.²

Art. 15. Deputies shall be chosen for four years. The Chamber is renewable integrally.

Art. 16. In case of vacancy by death, resignation, or otherwise, a new election shall be held within three months of the date when the vacancy occurred. In case of option,³ the vacancy shall be filled within one month.

Art. 17. The deputies shall receive a salary. This salary is regulated by Articles 96 and 97 of the law of March 15, 1849, and by the provisions of the law of February 16, 1872.⁴

Art. 18. No one is elected on the first ballot unless he receives: (1) an absolute majority of the votes cast; (2) a number of votes equal to one-fourth of the number of voters registered. On the second ballot a plurality is sufficient. In case of an equality of votes, the oldest is declared elected.

Art. 19. Each department of Algeria elects one deputy.⁵

Art. 20. The voters living in Algeria in a place not yet made a commune, shall be registered on the electoral list of the nearest commune. When it is necessary to establish electoral districts, either for the purpose of grouping mixed communes in each of which the number of voters shall be insufficient, or to bring together voters living in places not formed into communes the decrees for fixing the seat of these districts shall be issued by the Governor-General, upon the report of the Prefect or of the General commanding the division.

Art. 21. The four colonies to which senators have been assigned by the law of February 24, 1875, on the organization of the Senate, shall choose one deputy each.²

Art. 22. Every violation of the prohibitive provisions of Article 3, Paragraph 3, of the present law shall be punished by a fine of from sixteen francs to three hundred francs. Nevertheless the criminal courts may apply Article 463 of the Penal Code. The provisions of Article 6 of the law of July 7, 1874, shall apply to the political electoral lists. The decree of January 29, 1871, and the laws of April 10, 1871, May 2, 1871, and February 18, 1873, are repealed. Paragraph 11 of Article 15 of the organic decree of February 2, 1852, is also repealed, in so far as it refers to the law of May 21, 1836, on lotteries, reserving, however, to the courts the right to apply to convicted persons Article 42 of the Penal Code. The provisions of the laws and decrees now in force, with which the present law does not conflict, shall continue to be applied.

Art. 23. The provision of Article 12 of the pres-

¹ Justices of the peace and councilors of the prefecture were made ineligible by law of March 30, 1902.

² See laws of June 16, 1885, Feb. 13, 1889, and July 12, 1919, *infra*.

³ *i. e.*, when a deputy had been elected from two or more districts.

⁴ Amended by law of November 23, 1906, fixing a salary of 15,000 francs.

⁵ See Article 3, law of February 13, 1889, *infra*.

ent law by which an interval of six months must elapse between the expiration of duties and election, shall not apply to officials, except Prefects and Sub-Prefects, whose duties shall have ceased either before the promulgation of the present law or within the twenty days following it.

1879 (JUNE 21).—LAW REVISING ARTICLE 9 OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW OF FEBRUARY 25, 1875.

Article 9 of the constitutional law of February 25, 1875, is repealed.

1879 (JULY 22).—LAW RELATING TO THE SEAT OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER AND OF THE CHAMBERS AT PARIS.

Article 1. The seat of the Executive Power and of the two Chambers is at Paris.

Art. 2. The Palace of the Luxembourg and the Palais-Bourbon are assigned, the first to the use of the Senate, the second to that of the Chamber of Deputies. Nevertheless each of the Chambers is authorized to choose, in the city of Paris, the palace which it wishes to occupy.

Art. 3. The various parts of the palace of Versailles now occupied by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies preserve their arrangements. Whenever, according to Articles 7 and 8 of the law of February 25, 1875, on the organization of the public powers, a meeting of the National Assembly takes place, it shall sit at Versailles, in the present hall of the Chamber of Deputies. Whenever, according to Article 9 of the law of February 24, 1875, on the organization of the Senate, and Article 12 of the constitutional law of July 16, 1875, on the relations of the public powers, the Senate shall be called upon to constitute itself a Court of Justice, it shall indicate the town and place where it proposes to sit.

Art. 4. The Senate and Chamber of Deputies will sit at Paris on and after November 3 next.

Art. 5. The Presidents of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies are charged with the duty of securing the external and internal safety of the Chambers over which they preside. To this end they have the right to call upon the armed force and every authority whose assistance they judge necessary. The demands may be addressed directly to all officers, commanders, or officials, who are bound to obey immediately, under the penalties established by the laws. The Presidents of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies may delegate to the questors or to one of them their right of demanding aid.

Art. 6. Petitions to either of the Chambers can be made and presented in writing only. It is forbidden to present them in person or at the bar.

Art. 7. Every violation of the preceding article, every provocation, by speeches uttered publicly, or by writings, or printed matter, posted or distributed, to a crowd upon the public ways, having for an object the discussion, drawing up, or carrying to the Chambers or either of them, of petitions, declarations, or addresses—whether or not any results follow such action—shall be punished by the penalties enumerated in Paragraph 1 of Article 5 of the law of June 7, 1848.

Art. 8. The preceding provisions do not diminish the force of the law of June 7, 1848, on riotous assemblies.

Art. 9. Article 463 of the Penal Code applies to the offences mentioned in the present law.

1884 (AUGUST 14).—LAW PARTIALLY REVISING THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAWS.

Article 1. Paragraph 2 of Article 5 of the constitutional law of February 25, 1875, on the Organ-

ization of the Public Powers, is amended as follows: "In that case the electoral colleges meet for new elections within two months, and the Chamber within the ten days following the close of the elections."

Art. 2. To Paragraph 3 of Article 8 of the same law of February 25, 1875, is added the following: "The Republican form of the Government cannot be made the subject of a proposed revision. Members of families that have reigned in France are ineligible to the presidency of the Republic."

Art. 3. Articles 1 to 7 of the constitutional law of February 24, 1875, on the Organization of the Senate, shall no longer have a constitutional character.¹

Art. 4. Paragraph 3 of Article 1 of the constitutional law of July 16, 1875, on the Relation of the Public Powers, is repealed.

1884 (DECEMBER 9).—LAW AMENDING THE ORGANIC LAWS ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SENATE AND THE ELECTIONS OF SENATORS.

Article 1. The Senate consists of three hundred members, elected by the departments and the colonies. The present members, without any distinction between senators elected by the National Assembly or the Senate and those elected by the departments and colonies, maintain their term of office during the time for which they have been chosen.

Art. 2. The department of the Seine elects ten senators. The department of the Nord elects eight senators. The following departments elect five senators each: Côtes-du-Nord, Finistère, Gironde, Ile-et-Vilaîne, Loire, Loire-Inférieure, Pas-de-Calais, Rhône, Saône-et-Loire, Seine-Inférieure. The following departments elect four senators each: Aisne, Bouches-du-Rhône, Charente-Inférieure, Dordogne, Haute-Garonne, Isère, Maine-et-Loire, Manche, Morbihan, Puy-de-Dôme, Seine-et-Oise, Somme. The following departments elect three senators each: Ain, Allier, Ardèche, Ardennes, Aube, Aude, Aveyron, Calvados, Charente, Cher, Corrèze, Corse, Côte-d'Or, Creuse, Doubs, Drôme, Eure, Eure-et-Loir, Gard, Gers, Hérault, Indre, Indre-et-Loire, Jura, Landes, Loir-et-Cher, Haute-Loire, Loiret, Lot, Lot-et-Garonne, Marne, Haute-Marne, Mayenne, Meurthe-et-Moselle, Meuse, Nièvre, Oise, Orne, Basses-Pyrénées, Haute-Saône, Sarthe, Savoie, Haute-Savoie, Seine-et-Marne, Deux-Sèvres, Tarn, Var, Vendée, Vienne, Haute-Vienne, Vosges, Yonne. The following departments elect two senators each: Basses-Alpes, Hautes-Alpes, Alpes-Maritimes, Ariège, Cantal, Lozère, Hautes-Pyrénées, Pyrénées-Orientales, Tarn-et-Garonne, Vaucluse. The following elect one senator each: the Territory of Belfort, the three departments of Algeria, the four colonies: Martinique, Guadeloupe, Réunion and French Indies.

Art. 3. In the departments where the number of senators is increased by the present law, the increase shall take effect as vacancies occur among the life senators. To this end, within eight days after the vacancy occurs, it shall be determined by lot what department shall be called upon to elect a senator. This election shall take place within three months of the determination by lot. Furthermore, if the vacancy occurs within six months preceding the triennial election, the vacancy shall be filled at that election. The term of office in this case shall expire at the same time as that of the other senators belonging to the same department.

Art. 4. No one shall be a senator unless he is a French citizen, forty years of age, at least, and enjoying civil and political rights. Members of families that have reigned in France are ineligible to the Senate.¹

Art. 5. The soldiers of the land and naval forces cannot be elected senators. There are excepted from this provision: I The Marshals and Admirals of France; II The general officers maintained without limit of age in the first section of the list of the general staff and not provided with a command; III The general officers placed in the second section of the list of the general staff; IV Soldiers of the land and naval forces who belong either to the reserve of the active army or to the territorial army.

Art. 6. Senators are elected by "scrutin de liste," by a college meeting at the capital of the department or colony, and composed: (1) of the Deputies; (2) of the General Councilors; (3) of the Arrondissement Councilors; (4) of delegates elected from among the voters of the commune, by each Municipal Council. Councils composed of ten members shall elect one delegate. Councils composed of twelve members shall elect two delegates. Councils composed of sixteen members shall elect three delegates. Councils composed of twenty-one members shall elect six delegates. Councils composed of twenty-three members shall elect nine delegates. Councils composed of twenty-seven members shall elect twelve delegates. Councils composed of thirty members shall elect fifteen delegates. Councils composed of thirty-two members shall elect eighteen delegates. Councils composed of thirty-four members shall elect twenty-one delegates. Councils composed of thirty-six members or more shall elect twenty-four delegates. The Municipal Council of Paris shall elect thirty delegates. In the French Indies the members of the local councils take the place of Arrondissement Councilors. The Municipal Council of Pondichéry shall elect five delegates. The Municipal Council of Karikal shall elect three delegates. All the other communes shall elect two delegates each. [The balloting takes place at the capital of each district.]²

Art. 7. Members of the Senate are elected for nine years. The Senate is renewed every three years according to the order of the present series of departments and colonies.

Art. 8. Articles 2 (paragraphs 1 and 2), 3, 4, 5, 8, 14, 16, 10 and 23 of the organic law of August 2, 1875, on the Elections of Senators are amended as follows: "Art. 2 (paragraphs 1 and 2). In each Municipal Council the election of delegates takes place without debate and by secret ballot, by "scrutin de liste" and by an absolute majority of votes cast. After two ballots a plurality is sufficient, and in case of an equality of votes the oldest is elected. The procedure and method is the same for the election of alternates. Councils having one, two, or three delegates to choose shall elect one alternate. Those choosing six or nine delegates elect two alternates. Those choosing twelve or fifteen delegates elect three alternates. Those choosing eighteen or twenty-one delegates elect four alternates. Those choosing twenty-four delegates elect five alternates. The Municipal Council of Paris elects eight alternates. The alternates take the place of delegates in case of refusal or inability to serve, in the order determined by the number of votes received by each

¹Therefore, may be amended by ordinary legislation. See the law of December 9, 1884.

¹By law of July 20, 1895, no one may become a member of Parliament unless he has complied with the law regarding military service.

²Repealed by the law of Dec. 17, 1908.

of them. Art. 3. In communes where the duties of a Municipal Council are performed by a special delegation organized by virtue of Article 44 of the law of April 5, 1884, the senatorial delegates and alternates shall be chosen by the old council. Art. 4. If the delegates were not present at the election, notice is given them by the Mayor within twenty-four hours. They must within five days notify the Prefect of their acceptance. In case of declination or silence they shall be replaced by the alternates, who are then placed upon the list as the delegates of the commune. Art. 5. The official report of the election of delegates and alternates is transmitted at once to the Prefect. It indicates the acceptance or declination of the delegates and alternates, as well as the protests made by one or more members of the Municipal Council against the legality of the election. A copy of this official report is posted on the door of the town hall. Art. 8. Protests concerning the election of delegates or alternates are decided, subject to an appeal to the Council of State, by the Council of the Prefecture, and, in the colonies, by the Privy Council. Delegates whose election is set aside because they do not satisfy the conditions demanded by law, or because of informality, are replaced by the alternates. In case the election of a delegate and of an alternate is rendered void, as by the refusal or death of both after their acceptance, new elections are held by the Municipal Council on a day fixed by decree of the Prefect. Art. 14. The first ballot begins at eight o'clock in the morning and closes at noon. The second begins at two o'clock and closes at four o'clock. The third begins at seven o'clock and closes at ten o'clock. The results of the ballotings are determined by the bureau and announced immediately by the President of the electoral college. Art. 16. Political meetings for the nomination of senators may be held from the date of the promulgation of the decree summoning the electors up to the day of the election inclusive. The declaration prescribed by Article 2 of the law of June 30, 1881, shall be made by two voters, at least. The forms and regulations of this Article, as well as those of Article 3, shall be observed. The members of Parliament elected or electors in the department, the senatorial electors, delegates and alternates, and the candidates, or their representatives, may alone be present at these meetings. The municipal authorities will see to it that no other person is admitted. Delegates and alternates shall present as a means of identification a certificate from the Mayor of the commune; candidates or their representatives a certificate from the official who shall have received the declaration mentioned in Paragraph 2. Art. 19. Every attempt at corruption or constraint by the employment of means enumerated in Articles 177 and following of the Penal Code, to influence the vote of an elector or to keep him from voting, shall be punished by imprisonment of from three months to two years, and by a fine of from fifty francs to five hundred francs, or by one of these penalties alone. Article 463 of the Penal Code is applicable to the penalties provided for by the present article. Art. 23. Vacancies caused by the death or resignation of senators shall be filled within three months; moreover, if the vacancy occurs within the six months preceding the triennial elections, it shall be filled at those elections."

Art. 9. There are repealed: (1) Articles 1 to 7 of the law of February 24, 1875, on the organization of the Senate; (2) Articles 24 and 25 of the law of August 2, 1875, on the elections of senators.

Temporary provision.

In case a special law on parliamentary incompatibilities shall not have been passed at the date of the next senatorial elections, Article 8, of the law of November 30, 1875, shall apply to those elections. Every official affected by this provision, who has had twenty years of service and is fifty years of age at the date of his acceptance of the office of senator, may establish his right to a proportional retiring pension, which shall be governed by the third paragraph of Article 12, of the law of June 9, 1853.

1885 (June 16).—LAW AMENDING THE ELECTORAL LAW.

Article 1. [The members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected by "scrutin de liste."]¹

Art. 2. [Each department elects the number of deputies assigned to it in the table² annexed to the present law, on the basis of one deputy for seventy thousand inhabitants, foreign residents not included. Account shall be taken, nevertheless, of every fraction smaller than seventy thousand.³ Each department elects at least three deputies. Two deputies are assigned to the territory of Belfort, six to Algeria, and ten to the colonies, as is indicated by the table. This table can be changed by law only.]¹

Art. 3. [The department forms a single electoral district.]¹

Art. 4. Members of families that have reigned in France are ineligible to the Chamber of Deputies.

Art. 5. No one is elected on the first ballot unless he receives: (1) an absolute majority of the votes cast; (2) a number of votes equal to one-fourth of the total number of voters registered. On the second ballot a plurality is sufficient. In case of an equality of votes, the oldest of the candidates is declared elected.

Art. 6. Subject to the case of a dissolution foreseen and regulated by the Constitution, the general elections take place within sixty days preceding the expiration of the powers of the Chamber of Deputies.

Art. 7. Vacancies shall not be filled which occur in the six months preceding the renewal of the Chamber.

1887 (December 26).—LAW ON PARLIAMENTARY INCOMPATIBILITIES.

Until the passage of a special law on parliamentary incompatibilities, Articles 8 and 9 of the law of November 30, 1875, shall apply to senatorial elections. Every official affected by this provision who has had twenty years of service and is fifty years of age at the time of his acceptance of the office of senator, may establish his rights to a proportional retiring pension, which shall be governed by the third paragraph of Article 12 of the law of June 9, 1853.

1889 (February 13).—LAW RE-ESTABLISHING SINGLE DISTRICTS FOR THE ELECTION OF DEPUTIES.

[Article 1. Articles 1, 2 and 3 of the law of June 16, 1885, are repealed.]

Art. 2. Members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected by single districts. Each administrative arrondissement in the departments, and each mu-

¹ Articles 1, 2 and 3 repealed by the law of February 13, 1889, which in turn was repealed by the law of July 12, 1919, *infra*.

² This table may be found in the *Bulletin des Lois*, twelfth series, No. 15,518; and in the *Journal Officiel* for June 17, 1885, p. 3074.

³ *i. e.*, fractions of less than 70,000 are entitled to a deputy.

nicipal arrondissement at Paris and at Lyons, elects one deputy. Arrondissements whose population exceeds one hundred thousand inhabitants elect an additional deputy for every one hundred thousand or fraction of one hundred thousand inhabitants. The arrondissements are in this case divided into districts, a table¹ of which is annexed to the present law and can be changed by a law only.

Art. 3. One deputy is assigned to the territory of Belfort, six to Algeria, and ten to the colonies, as is indicated by the table.

Art. 4. On and after the promulgation of the present law, until the renewal of the Chamber of Deputies, vacancies occurring in the Chamber of Deputies shall not be filled.²

1880 (July 17).—LAW ON MULTIPLE CANDIDATURES.

Article 1. No one may be a candidate in more than one district.

Art. 2. Every citizen who offers himself or is offered at the general or partial elections must, by a declaration signed or countersigned by himself, and duly legalized, make known in what district he means to be a candidate. This declaration is deposited, and a provisional receipt obtained therefor, at the Prefecture of the department concerned, the fifth day, at latest, before the day of election. A definitive receipt shall be delivered within twenty-four hours.

Art. 3. Every declaration made in violation of Article 1 of the present law is void and not to be received. If declarations are deposited by the same citizen in more than one district, the earliest in date is alone valid. If they bear the same date, all are void.

Art. 4. It is forbidden to sign or post placards, to carry or distribute ballots, circulars, or platforms in the interest of a candidate who has not conformed to the requirements of the present law.

Art. 5. Ballots bearing the name of a citizen whose candidacy is put forward in violation of the present law shall not be included in the return of votes. Posters, placards, platforms, and ballots posted or distributed to support a candidacy in a district where such candidacy is contrary to the law, shall be removed or seized.

Art. 6. A fine of ten thousand francs shall be imposed on the candidate violating the provisions of the present law, and one of five thousand francs on all persons acting in violation of Article 4 of the present law.

1910 (July 12).—LAW TO AMEND THE ORGANIC LAWS ON ELECTION OF DEPUTIES AND TO ESTABLISH SCRUTIN DE LISTE WITH PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

Article 1. Members of the Chamber of Deputies shall be elected by "scrutin de liste" by departments.

Art. 2. Each department shall elect one deputy for every 75,000 inhabitants of French nationality, a remainder exceeding 37,500 giving the right to an additional Deputy. Each department shall elect at least three Deputies. Provisionally and until a new census has been taken each department shall have the same number of seats [in the Chamber of Deputies] as at present.

Art. 3. Each department shall form a single electoral area. Provided that when the number of Deputies to be elected by a department is greater than six the department may be divided

into electoral areas each of which shall be entitled to elect at least three Deputies. Such division shall be enacted by law. Notwithstanding the foregoing provision the Departments of the Nord, the Pas de Calais, the Aisne, the Somme, the Marne, the Ardennes, the Meurthe-et-Moselle, and the Vosges shall not be divided for the next election.

Art. 4. No person can be a candidate in more than one electoral area, and the law of July 17, 1889, relating to multiple candidatures shall apply to elections under this act; declarations of candidature may nevertheless be either individual or collective.

Art. 5. Lists are constituted for any particular electoral area by groups of candidates who sign a legally authenticated declaration. Declarations of candidature shall indicate the order in which candidates are presented. If the declarations of candidature are presented on separate sheets they must specify the candidates in conjunction with whom the signatory or signatories stand and who agree by joint and duly authenticated declaration to put the names of the signatories on the same list as their own. A list shall not include a number of candidates greater than the number of deputies to be elected in the electoral area. An individual candidature shall be considered as forming a separate list. In such case the declaration of candidature shall be supported by one hundred electors of the electoral area, whose signatures shall be authenticated and shall not be used in support of more than one candidature.

Art. 6. The lists shall be deposited at the prefecture after the commencement of the electoral period and at latest five days before the day of the election. The list and the title of the list shall be registered by the prefecture. Registration shall be refused to any list bearing more names than there are deputies to elect or bearing the name of any candidate belonging to another list already registered in the electoral area unless such candidate has previously withdrawn his name in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article Seven. Registration shall be accorded only to the names of candidates who have made a declaration in conformity with the terms of Articles 4 and 5. A provisional acknowledgment of the deposit of a list shall be given to each of the candidates who compose it. The definite receipt shall be delivered within the next twenty-four hours.

Art. 7. A candidate inscribed upon a list cannot be struck off unless he notifies the prefecture of his desire to withdraw by statutory declaration (*par exploit d'huissier*) five days before the day of the election.

Art. 8. Vacancies on any list may be filled at latest five days before the day of the election by the names of new candidates who make the declaration of candidature prescribed by Article 5.

Art. 9. Two days before the commencement of the poll the prefectural authorities shall cause the registered candidatures to be posted on the doors of the polling-booths.

Art. 10. Any candidate who obtains an absolute majority shall be declared elected provided that the number of seats to be filled is not exceeded. Any seats that remain to be filled shall be allotted in accordance with the following procedure: The *electoral quotient* shall be determined by dividing the number of voters, excluding blank or spoiled ballots, by the number of deputies to be elected. The *average figure* for each list shall be determined by dividing by the number of its candidates the total number of votes which they

¹ This table may be found in the *Journal Officiel* for February 14, 1880, pp. 76 and following; and in the *Bulletin des Lois*, twelfth series, No. 20,475. It has been modified several times.

² This law repealed by the law of July 12, 1919.

have obtained. To each list shall be allotted a number of seats equal to the number of times which its average figure contains the electoral quotient. The remaining seats, if any, shall be allotted to the list with the highest average figure. Within each list the seats obtained shall be allotted to the candidates who have received most votes.

Art. 11. An independent candidate, provided that he has not obtained an absolute majority of the votes, shall not be eligible for allotment of a seat until the candidates belonging to other lists who have obtained more votes than he has obtained shall have been declared elected.

Art. 12. In case of equality of votes the eldest candidate shall be elected. If more lists than one have any equal title to a seat, the seat is allotted to that one of the candidates eligible who has received most votes or, in case of equality of votes, to the eldest candidate. A candidate shall not be declared elected unless the number of votes obtained by him exceeds half the average of the votes of the list to which he belongs.

Art. 13. When the number of voters is not greater than half the number of registered electors, or if no list has obtained the electoral quota, no candidate shall be declared elected, and the electors of the area shall be summoned to a new election on the fifteenth day following. If at this new election no list obtains the electoral quotient, the seats shall be assigned to the candidates who have received most votes.

Art. 14. The reports on the proceedings at the election in each commune shall be prepared in duplicate. One copy shall be deposited at the secretariat at the *Mairie*; the other shall be at once posted under sealed cover addressed to the prefect for transmission to the counting commission (*commission de recensement*).

Art. 15. The votes shall be counted for each electoral area at the chief town of the department in public session at latest on the Wednesday following the day of the poll. The operation shall be performed by a commission composed of the president of the civil tribunal, and the president and the four members of the general council, not being candidates at the election, who have longest held office. In case of equal length of office the eldest shall be appointed. If the president of the civil tribunal is unable to serve, his place shall be filled by the vice-president and failing him by the senior judge. In case of inability to serve, the places of the members of the general council shall be filled by other members of the same body in order of seniority. The operations of the count shall be recorded in a report.

Art. 16. In case of a vacancy through death, resignation, or otherwise, an election shall take place within a period of three months counting from the day on which the vacancy took place.

Art. 17. Vacancies occurring within the six months preceding the next general election of the Chamber shall not be filled.

Art. 18. The present act shall apply to the departments of Algeria and to the colonies which shall retain their present number of Deputies. Further legislation shall make provision for the application of the present act to the territory of Belfort and for the redistribution of Alsace and Lorraine.

Art. 19. Any previous legislation conflicting with the present act is hereby repealed.—Taken from H. L. McBain and L. Rogers, *New constitutions of Europe*, pp. 546-549.

FRANCE, University of. See FRANCE: 1801-1809.

FRANCHE-COMTE, province of ancient France, bordered on the north by Lorraine and on the east by Alsace and Switzerland. The Jura mountains traverse its eastern side and contain iron deposits. Under the Roman occupation the Gallic tribe of the Sequani, which inhabited the region, was organized into the province *Maxima Sequanorum*. They later came under the rule of the kingdom of Burgundy (see BURGUNDY: 500). In the dissolution of the last kingdom of Burgundy (see BURGUNDY: 1032), its northern part maintained a connection with the empire, which had then become Germanic, much longer than the southern. It became divided into two chief states—the County Palatine of Burgundy, known afterwards as *Franche Comté*, or the "free county," and Lesser Burgundy, which embraced western Switzerland and northern Savoy. "The County Palatine of Burgundy often passed from one dynasty to another, and it is remarkable for the number of times that it was held as a separate state by several of the great princes of Europe. . . . But, through all these changes of dynasty, it remained an acknowledged fief of the Empire, till its annexation to France under Lewis the Fourteenth. The capital of this county, it must be remembered, was Dole. The ecclesiastical metropolis of Besançon, though surrounded by the county, remained a free city of the Empire from the days of Frederick Barbarossa [1152-1190] to those of Ferdinand the Third [1637-1657]. It was then merged in the county, and along with the county it passed to France."—E. A. Freeman, *Historical geography of Europe*, ch. 8, sect. 5.

14th century.—Inherited by Philip de Rouvre.—Remained with Margaret of Flanders after his death.—Conferred to Philip the Fearless. See BURGUNDY: 1364.

1477.—Seized by France. See BURGUNDY: 1477.

1512.—Included in the Circle of Burgundy. See GERMANY: 1493-1519.

1648.—Still held to form a part of the empire. See GERMANY: 1648: Peace of Westphalia; also Map: At peace of Westphalia.

1659.—Secured to Spain. See FRANCE: 1659-1661.

1674.—Final conquest by Louis XIV and incorporation with France. See NETHERLANDS: 1674-1678; NIMEGUEN, PEACE OF.

1789.—Division into departments.—It was not until the time of the Revolution that *Franche-Comté* lost her feeling of individual nationality which she had nourished for a long time. Then she became assimilated with France and took a prominent part in the wars of the republic. At this time the district was divided into departments: Jura, Doubs, Haute-Saône and an important portion of Ain.

FRANCHE-COMTÉ LEAGUE. See FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: Medieval leagues in Germany.

FRANCHET D'ESPÉREY, General. See ESPÉREY, GENERAL (LOUIS) FRANCHET D'.

FRANCHISE. See AUSTRALIAN BALLOT; NATURALIZATION; SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD; SUFFRAGE, WOMAN.

FRANCHISES, Municipal: United States. See MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT: Franchises in the United States.

Taxation of public franchises. See NEW YORK: 1809 (May).

FRANCIA, José Gaspar Rodriguez (c. 1757-1840), dictator of Paraguay; appointed consul together with Fulgencio Yegros in 1813; temporary dictator in 1814; permanent dictator in 1816. See PARAGUAY: 1808-1873.

FRANCIA NOVA, first kingdom of France. See FRANCE: 9th century; 843; GERMANY: 843-962.

FRANCIS, Saint, of Assisi (1181 or 1182-1226), founder of the order of Franciscan monks and the order of St. Clara for women. At about the age of twenty-four he embraced a life of poverty, penance, and meditation. When in 1208 he began to preach, an increasing band of followers gathered about him. In 1209 rules were drawn up, the pope's sanction obtained, and an order founded. Missionary bands were sent throughout Europe and parts of Africa, and Francis himself journeyed to the East. He was canonized in 1228 by Pope Gregory IX.—See also MONASTICISM: 13th century; FRANCISCAN FRIARS; ITALIAN LITERATURE: 12th-14th centuries.

FRANCIS I (1708-1765), Holy Roman emperor, grand duke of Tuscany and Lorraine; made emperor of Austria by marriage with Maria Theresa. See AUSTRIA: 1745 (September-October).

Francis II (1768-1835), Holy Roman emperor, 1792-1806. His reign marked the close of the Holy Roman Empire. As Francis I, emperor of Austria and king of Bohemia and Austria, 1804-1835. In his wars with France he lost a great part of his Austrian possessions; joined the Holy Alliance, pursuing throughout a reactionary policy. See AIX-LA-CHAPELLE: Congresses: 3; AUSTRIA: 1790-1797; 1809-1814; 1815-1835; 1815-1846; EUROPE: Renaissance and Reformation: Catholic reformation; GERMANY: 1791-1792; 1805-1806; HUNGARY: 1825-1844.

Francis I, emperor of Austria. See FRANCIS II, Holy Roman emperor.

Francis I (1494-1547), king of France, whose reign from 1515-1547 is noted chiefly for its four wars against the Emperor Charles V. See FRANCE: 1515; 1520-1523; 1523-1525; 1525-1526; 1532-1547; CONCORDAT: 1515-1801; EDUCATION, ART: French leadership in the 16th century; ITALY: 1523-1527; 1527-1529; LOUVRE: 1548-1621; PAPACY: 1521-1535.

Francis II (1544-1560), king of France, 1559-1560. See FRANCE: 1559-1561.

Francis I (1777-1830), king of the Two Sicilies, 1825-1830. Appointed regent of Sicily in 1812 and was deposed the following year; 1816, became governor of Sicily; 1820, regent of Naples.

Francis II (1836-1894), king of the Two Sicilies, 1859-1861. After his surrender at Gaeta in 1861, Sicily became a part of the kingdom of Italy.

Francis IV (1770-1846), duke of Modena, 1814-1846. A powerful Italian despot. See ITALY: 1814-1815; 1830-1832.

Francis V (1819-1875), duke of Modena, 1846-1860. An Italian despot, son of Francis IV of Modena.

FRANCIS FERDINAND (1863-1914), arch-duke of Austria and heir apparent to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian empire; assassinated with his wife at Serajevo, Bosnia, on June 28, 1914. See AUSTRIA: 1900 (July); AUSTRIA-HUNGARY: 1900; SERAJEVO: 1914; SERBIA: 1914; WORLD WAR: Causes: Direct; also Indirect: a.

FRANCIS JOSEPH (1830-1916), emperor of Austria, king of Bohemia, and apostolic king of Hungary. Acceded to the throne, 1848, and for many years was an important factor in keeping together the heterogeneous monarchy of Austria-Hungary. See AUSTRIA: 1848-1849; AUSTRIA-HUNGARY: 1808 (September); 1914-1915; 1916; Death; BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: 1908; BULGARIA: 1908-1909; HUNGARY: 1847-1849; 1856-1868; JEWS: Austria-Hungary: 1848-1913; WORLD WAR: Diplomatic background: 9; 29; 30.

FRANCIS LETTERS. See JUNIUS LETTERS

FRANCIS OF GUISE. See GUISE, FRANCIS, DUKE OF.

FRANCIS OF LORRAINE. See FRANCIS I, Holy Roman emperor.

FRANCIS RAKOCZY. See RAKOCZY, FRANCIS, Francis II of Transylvania.

FRANCIS XAVIER, Saint. See XAVIER, FRANCISCO DE.

FRANCISCAN FRIARS, an order of mendicant brothers founded by St. Francis of Assisi in the early thirteenth century [see also MONASTICISM: 13th century]. They were frequently called "Grey Friars" and "Cordeliers" from the color of the coarse garment they wore and the knotted cord which confined it. "The life of St. Francis falls like a stream of tender light across the darkness of the time. In the frescoes of Giotto or the verse of Dante we see him take Poverty for his bride. He strips himself of all; he flings his very clothes at his father's feet, that he may be one with Nature and God. His passionate verse claims the moon for his sister and the sun for his brother."—J. R. Green, *History of the English people*, v. 1, p. 255.—"He brought religion to the people. He founded the most popular body of ministers of religion that has ever existed in the Church. He transformed monachism by uprooting the stationary monk, delivering him from the bondage of property, and sending him, as a mendicant friar, to be a stranger and sojourner, not in the wilderness but in the most crowded haunts of men, to console them and to do them good. This popular instinct of his is at the bottom of his famous marriage with poverty. Poverty and suffering are the condition of the people, the multitude, the immense majority of mankind; and it was toward this people that his soul yearned."

—M. Arnold, *Pagan and mediæval religious sentiment (Essays in criticism, p. 210)*.—"Such a personality soon drew followers, and they went forth from Assisi two by two to spread the gospel. Sometimes they simply called themselves 'Penitents,' sometimes by the gladder name of 'God's troubadours.' At first they were simple laymen and might have developed into heretics like the followers of Peter Waldo. But in 1210 Francis met Innocent and obtained his oral approbation, although the new order was not formally established until several years after Innocent's death. By 1210, however, they had begun to spread outside Italy and were soon found in Spain, France, England, Germany and Hungary. They were now called 'Minorites' or 'the lowly' because of their humility. They also have often been called 'Mendicant Friars' or 'Begging Brothers,' because they had no property of their own and had to depend for food and lodging upon those to whom they preached and rendered other services. As their work was largely with the lepers and sick and poor and needy, they often had to beg their bread from other persons. But they were not allowed by Francis to receive any money, and were supposed to earn their living when they could. . . . In 1212 a girl of eighteen named Clare left her family to become a follower of Francis, who thereupon instituted a separate order for women, known as the 'Second Order of St. Francis,' or the 'Franciscan Nuns,' or the 'Poor Claires.' . . . Although Francis had forsaken learning along with father, family, and all other worldly interests, his followers often specialized in theology, or, like the Dominicans, taught at universities. . . . Roger Bacon and William of Rubruk were Franciscans. . . . As the new orders became so successful and influential in all Western Christian lands, the popes freed them entirely from the control of the bishops in whose

dioceses they might live and work. . . . Although the individual friars had vowed to lead lives of poverty, both organizations were soon building large churches and convents and receiving large gifts. . . . In time this too great wealth and popularity had an injurious effect. At the start the friars . . . represented a reform movement, but like most previous monastic orders, they were to decline in the course of time."—L. Thorndike, *History of medieval Europe*, pp. 440-452.—See also CHRISTIANITY: 11th-16th centuries; CAPUCHINS; HURONS; JAPAN: 1503-1625; PHILIPPINE ISLANDS: 1600: Spanish power, etc.

ALSO IN: M. Oliphant, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*.—P. Sabatier, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*.—J. Herkless, *Francis and Dominic and the Mendicant Orders*.—L. Le Monnier, *History of St. Francis*.—Father Cuthbert, *St. Francis of Assisi*.—J. Jörgensen, *Saint Francis of Assisi*.—A. Jessopp, *Coming of the Friars*, ch. 1.

FRANCK, César Auguste (1822-1890), French composer, of Belgian birth. Studied with Benoist, and in 1872 became director of the Paris Conservatory. His position at the Conservatory and the personal devotion which he inspired made him eventually the greatest musical power in France. While in instrumentation he did not equal Berlioz, in fertility of invention he far surpassed that master. His principal works are the oratorios "Ruth," "Redemption," "Les Beatitudes" and "Rebecca." See MUSIC: Modern: 1830-1921.

FRANCKE, August Herman (1663-1727), German pietistic preacher and philanthropist, interested in education. See EDUCATION: Modern: 17th century; Germany: Francke, etc.; 18th century: Germany; UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES: 1604-1906.

FRANCO, Joao, Portuguese statesman; prime minister under King Carlos. See PORTUGAL: 1906-1909.

FRANCO OF COLOGNE, early writer of music. See MUSIC: Medieval: 11th-13th centuries.

FRANÇOIS, Herman von, German general. Commanded in East Prussia at the beginning of the World War. Driven into Königsberg by the Russians, he was superseded by Hindenburg. See WORLD WAR: 1914: II. Eastern front: b; e, 1.

FRANÇOIS DE NEUFCHÂTEAU, Nicolas Louis François, Comte (1750-1828), French statesman and poet. Deputy to the National Assembly; secretary and, later, president of Legislative Assembly; imprisoned for political reasons, 1793; minister of interior, 1797; president of the Senate, 1804-1806; created count by Napoleon I, 1808.

FRANCO-JAPANESE TREATY (1907). See JAPAN: 1905-1914.

FRANCONIA: Duchy and Circle.—"Among the great duchies [of the old Germanic kingdom or empire of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries], that of Eastern Francia, Franken, or Franconia is of much less importance in European history than that of Saxony. It gave the ducal title to the bishops of Würzburg; but it cannot be said to be in any sense continued in any modern state. Its name gradually retreated, and the circle of Franken or Franconia [see GERMANY: 1493-1510] took in only the most eastern part of the ancient duchy. The western and northern part of the duchy, together with a good deal of territory which was strictly Lotharingian, became part of the two Rhenish circles. Thus Fulda, the greatest of German abbeys, passed away from the Frankish name. In north-eastern Francia, the Hessian principalities grew up to the north-west. Within the Franconian

circle lay Würzburg, the see of the bishops who bore the ducal title, the other great bishopric of Bamberg, together with the free city of Nürnberg, and various smaller principalities. In the Rhenish lands, both within and without the old Francia, one chief characteristic is the predominance of the ecclesiastical principalities, Mainz, Köln, Worms, Speyer, and Strassburg. The chief temporal power which arose in this region was the Palatinate of the Rhine, a power which, like others, went through many unions and divisions, and spread into four circles, those of Upper and Lower Rhine, Westfalia, and Bavaria. This last district, though united with the Palatine Electorate, was, from the early part of the fourteenth century, distinguished from the Palatinate of the Rhine as the Oberpfalz or Upper Palatinate."—E. A. Freeman, *Historical geography of Europe*, ch. 8, sect. 1.—See also ALEMANNI: 406-504; SUEVI: 460-500.

1524-1525.—Peasant wars. See GERMANY: 1524-1525.

1686.—League of Augsburg. See GERMANY: 1686.

1789.—One of German Circles. See GERMANY: 1789.

FRANCONIAN, or SALIC, IMPERIAL HOUSE.—The emperors, Conrad II, Henry III, Henry IV, and Henry V, who reigned from 1024 until 1125, over the Germanic-Roman or Holy Roman empire, were of the Salic or Franconian house. See GERMANY: 973-1056; SAXONY: 1073-1075.

FRANCO-PRUSSIAN, or FRANCO-GERMAN, WAR. See FRANCE: 1870 (June-July), to 1870-1871; MONEY AND BANKING: Modern: 1793-1920; TARIFF: 1871-1892; WORLD WAR: Causes: Indirect: f.

FRANC-TIREURS (free-shooters), irregular troops, "guerillas" or "snipers." The name was originally applied, during the Franco-Prussian War, to bands of soldiers growing out of certain military societies of northeastern France. They harassed the invading Germans and not being in uniform they usually, according to military law, suffered the death penalty when captured; in the latter months of the war they were better organized.—See also WORLD WAR: 1916: IX. Naval operations: d.

FRANK PARTY. See JUGO-SLAVIA: 1914-1918.

FRANKENAU, Battle of. See WORLD WAR: 1914: II. Western front: e, 1.

FRANKENHAUSEN, Battle of (1525). See GERMANY: 1524-1525.

FRANKENSTEIN, town in the province of Silesia, Germany. In 1801 it was ceded to France by the Treaty of Lunéville. See GERMANY: 1801-1803.

FRANKFORT, Declaration of. See FRANCE: 1814 (January-March).

FRANKFORT, Diet of (1338). See GERMANY: 1314-1347.

FRANKFORT, Treaty of. See FRANCE: 1871 (January-May).

FRANKFORT LEAGUE. See FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: Medieval leagues in Germany.

FRANKFORT-ON-MAIN, city in Hesse-Nassau, Prussia, on the Main river (see GERMANY: Map). Originally it was a Roman military station. After the partition of Charlemagne's empire, it became the capital of the East Frankish Kingdom. See ALEMANNI: 496-504; BRANDENBURG: 1168-1417; HANSA TOWNS.

1287.—Declared an imperial city. See CITIES, IMPERIAL AND FREE, OF GERMANY.

1525.—Formal establishment of the reformed religion. See PAPACY: 1522-1525.

1744.—"Union" formed by Frederick the Great. See AUSTRIA: 1743-1744.

1759.—Made a base of arms by the French.—Taken by Russians. See GERMANY: 1759 (April-August); (July-November).

1801-1803.—One of six free cities which survived the Peace of Lunéville. See GERMANY: 1801-1803; CITIES, IMPERIAL AND FREE, OF GERMANY.

1806.—Loss of municipal freedom.—Transfer, as a grand duchy, to the ancient elector of Mayence. See GERMANY: 1805-1806.

1810-1815.—Loss and recovery of autonomy as a "free city." See CITIES, IMPERIAL AND FREE, OF GERMANY; VIENNA, CONGRESS OF; GERMANY: 1813 (October-December).

1848-1849.—Meeting of the German National Assembly.—Work, failure, and end.—Riotous outbreak in the city. See AUSTRIA: 1848; 1848-1850; EUROPE: Modern; Wars, etc.; GERMANY: 1848 (March-September); 1848-1850.

1866.—Absorption by Prussia. See GERMANY: 1866.

1920.—Conflicts between French and German troops.—The German government having, against the veto of the French, sent troops into the Ruhr district, the French occupied Frankfort and other towns near their bridge-head at Mayence, April 6, 1920. (See GERMANY: 1920 [March-April].) A mob on April 7 jeered the French troops and insulted the officers. The mob refusing to make way, the troops opened fire, killing and wounding several. The French later withdrew the troops from the city.

See also CITY PLANNING: Germany; HOUSING: Germany: Difficulties of the housing problem.

FRANKFORT-ON-ODER, Prussian city captured by Gustavus Adolphus in 1631. See GERMANY: 1630-1631.

FRANKING, privilege of sending mail matter free of charge. In the United States it was accorded by statute in Revolutionary War days to soldiers and government officials. Abolished in 1783, the practice was restored a few years later and to-day all officials of the United States government may send and receive official mail without charge. A fine of \$300 is provided for anyone unlawfully using an unstamped government envelope. In England the privilege was claimed by the House of Commons in 1660; secured by statute, 1764; and abolished, 1840.

FRANKLEYN. See FRANKLIN, OR FRANKLEYN.

FRANKLIN, Benjamin (1706-1790), American statesman, scientist and author. Established *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1728; clerk of Philadelphia Assembly, 1736-1750; identified electricity with lightning, 1745-1747; postmaster of Philadelphia, 1737; one of the two deputy postmasters-general for North America, 1753-1774; member Albany congress, 1754; representative of Pennsylvania in England, 1757-1762; colonial agent in England in turn for Pennsylvania, Georgia, 1768, New Jersey, 1760, Massachusetts, 1770; delegate to Continental Congress; member committee to draft Declaration of Independence; envoy to France, 1776; "president" (governor) of Pennsylvania for three years, 1783-1787; delegate to Constitutional Convention, 1787.—See also U. S. A.: 1754; 1766; 1776 (July); 1776 (July); Text of the Declaration; 1776-1778; 1782 (September); 1782 (September-November); 1787; DEISM: American; ELECTRICAL DISCOVERY: 1745-1747; LIBRARIES: Modern; United States: Franklin, etc.; PENNSYLVANIA: 1757-1762; PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1704-1720; STATE DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES: 1774-1789; UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES: 1683-1791.

FRANKLIN, Lady Jane (1702-1875), wife of Sir John Franklin and organizer of relief expeditions in search of him. See ARCTIC EXPLORATION: Chronological summary: 1848-1851 to 1870-1880.

FRANKLIN, Sir John (1756-1847), English Arctic explorer; lost while exploring in the Arctic circle. He was lieutenant-governor of Tasmania during the years 1830-1843. See TASMANIA; ARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1819-1848; Chronological summary: 1819-1822 to 1870-1880.

FRANKLIN, district of Canada including the islands in the Arctic sea. See CANADA: 1895; also Map.

1918-1920.—District in Northwest. See NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

FRANKLIN, Ephemeral state of. See TENNESSEE: 1785; 1785-1790.

FRANKLIN, Tennessee, Battles at and near. See U. S. A.: 1803 (February-April; Tennessee); 1864 (November; Tennessee).

FRANKLIN, or Frankleyn.—"There is scarce a small village," says Sir John Fortescue [fifteenth century], "in which you may not find a knight, an esquire, or some substantial householder (paterfamilias) commonly called a frankleyn, possessed of considerable estate; besides others who are called freeholders, and many yeomen of estate sufficient to make a substantial jury." . . . By a frankleyn in this place we are to understand what we call a country squire, like the frankleyn of Chaucer; for the word esquire in Fortescue's time was only used in its limited sense, for the sons of peers and knights, or such as had obtained the title."—H. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, v. 3, ch. 8, pt. 3.

FRANKPLEDGE.—"Early in the Norman period, probably in the reign of William I the Frankpledge system was developed, (and) held a great place in England's local government for more than three hundred years. Over nearly the whole, but not quite all of England, all men, unless they had property of their own, especially land, which would serve as security for them, or were vouched for by some responsible individual with whom they were specially connected as in his household for instance, must be in a frankpledge and a tithing, ten or twelve persons formally grouped together under a tithing man. It was the duty of the township to see that all its male inhabitants above the age of twelve were in a tithing."—G. B. Adams, *Constitutional history of England*, p. 72.—"When any one of them was accused of a crime and was not forthcoming, if he was a member of a tithing, the group was amerced; but if he was not a member, the township itself suffered. This system of mutual responsibility was enforced in two ways—by ameracements for failure of duty, and by periodical inspections, (view of Frankpledge) which are thought to be as old certainly as the reign of Henry I."—D. J. Medley, *English constitutional history*, p. 418.—"At some uncertain date the responsibility was placed upon the sheriff of seeing that the men in the county were properly enrolled and the tithings in working order. This he did in the practice called the sheriff's turn by going in circuit to each hundred and holding a 'view of frankpledge' in an especially full meeting of the hundred court [see COURTS: England] twice each year."—G. B. Adams, *Constitutional history of England*, p. 72.

FRANKS: Origin and earliest history.—"It is well known that the name of 'Frank' is not to be found in the long list of German tribes preserved to us in the 'Germania' of Tacitus. Little or nothing is heard of them before the reign of Gordian III. In A. D. 240 Aurelian, then a tribune of the sixth legion stationed on the Rhine, en-

countered a body of marauding Franks near Mayence, and drove them back into their marshes. The word 'Francia' is also found at a still earlier date, in the old Roman chart called the 'Charta Peutingeria,' and occupies on the map the right bank of the Rhine from opposite Coblenz to the sea. The origin of the Franks has been the subject of frequent debate, to which French patriotism has occasionally lent some asperity. . . . At the present day, however, historians of every nation, including the French, are unanimous in considering the Franks as a powerful confederacy of German tribes, who in the time of Tacitus inhabited the north-western parts of Germany bordering on the Rhine. And this theory is so well supported by many scattered notices, slight in themselves, but powerful when combined, that we can only wonder that it should ever have been called in question. Nor was this aggregation of tribes under the new name of Franks a singular instance; the same took place in the case of the Alemanni and Saxons. . . . The etymology of the name adopted by the new confederacy is also uncertain. The conjecture which has most probability in its favour is that adopted long ago by Gibbon, and confirmed in recent times by the authority of Grimm, which connects it with the German word Frank (free). . . . Tacitus speaks of nearly all the tribes, whose various appellations were afterwards merged in that of Frank, as living in the neighbourhood of the Rhine. Of these the principal were the Sicambri (the chief people of the old Iscævonian tribe), who, as there is reason to believe, were identical with the Salian Franks. The confederation further comprised the Bructeri, the Chamavi, Ansibarii, Tubantes, Marsi, and Chasuarri, of whom the five last had formerly belonged to the celebrated Cheruscan league, which, under the hero Arminius, destroyed three Roman legions in the Teutoburgian Forest. The strongest evidence of the identity of these tribes with the Franks is the fact that, long after their settlement in Gaul, the distinctive names of the original people were still occasionally used as synonymous with that of the confederation. . . . The Franks advanced upon Gaul from two different directions, and under the different names of Salians, and Ripuarians, the former of whom we have reason to connect more particularly with the Sicambrian tribe. The origin of the words Salian and Ripuarian, which are first used respectively by Ammianus Marcellinus and Jornandes, is very obscure, and has served to exercise the ingenuity of ethnographers. There are, however, no sufficient grounds for a decided opinion. At the same time it is by no means improbable that the river Yssel, Isala or Sal (for it has borne all these appellations), may have given its name to that portion of the Franks who lived along its course. With still greater probability may the name Ripuarii, or Riparii, be derived from 'Ripa,' a term used by the Romans to signify the Rhine. These dwellers on 'the Bank' were those that remained in their ancient settlements while their Salian kinsmen were advancing into the heart of Gaul."—W. C. Perry, *Franks*, ch. 2.—See also EUROPE: Middle Ages: Rise of Frankish kingdom; Roman civilization inherited, etc.; GERMANY: 3rd century.

ALSO IN: P. Godwin, *History of France: Ancient Gaul*, bk. 3, ch. 9, 11.—T. Smith, *Arminius*, pt. 2, ch. 3.

3rd century.—Power. See BARBARIAN INVASIONS: 3rd century.

253.—First appearance in the Roman world.—"When in the year 253 the different generals of Rome were once more fighting each other for the imperial dignity, and the Rhine-legions marched

to Italy to fight out the cause of their emperor Valerianus against . . . Aemilianus of the Danube-army, this seems to have been the signal for the Germans pushing forward, especially towards the lower Rhine. These Germans were the Franks, who appear here for the first time, perhaps new opponents only in name; for, although the identification of them, already to be met with in later antiquity, with tribes formerly named on the lower Rhine—partly, the Chamavi settled beside the Bructeri, partly the Sugambri formerly mentioned subject to the Romans—is uncertain and at least inadequate, there is here greater probability than in the case of the Alamanni that the Germans hitherto dependent on Rome, on the right bank of the Rhine, and the Germanic tribes previously dislodged from the Rhine, took at that time—under the collective name of the 'Free'—the offensive in concert against the Romans."—T. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. 8, ch. 4.

277.—Repulse from Gaul, by Probus. See GAUL: 277.

279.—Escape from Pontus.—Sack of Syracuse. See SYRACUSE: 279.

295-297.—In Britain. See BRITAIN: 288-297.
4th-5th centuries.—Location in Europe. See EUROPE: Ethnology: Migrations: Map showing, etc.

306.—Defeat by Constantine.—Constantine the Great, 306, fought and defeated the Salian Franks in a great battle and "carried off a large number of captives to Trèves, the chief residence of the emperor, and a rival of Rome itself in the splendour of its public buildings. It was in the circus of this city, and in the presence of Constantine, that the notorious 'Ludi Francici' were celebrated; at which several thousand Franks, including their kings Regaisus and Ascaricus, were compelled to fight with wild beasts, to the inexpressible delight of the Christian spectators."—W. C. Perry, *Franks*, ch. 2.

355.—Settlement in Toxandria. See GAUL: 355-361; TOXANDRIA.

5th-10th centuries.—Barbarities of the conquest of Gaul.—State of society under the rule of the conquerors.—Evolution of feudalism. See GAUL: 5th-8th; 5th-10th centuries.

406-409.—Defense of Roman Gaul. See GAUL: 406-409.

410-420.—Franks join in the attack on Gaul.—After vainly opposing the entrance of Vandals, Burgundians and Sueves into Gaul, 406, "the Franks, the valiant and faithful allies of the Roman republic, were soon [about 410-420] tempted to imitate the invaders whom they had so bravely resisted. Treves, the capital of Gaul, was pillaged by their lawless bands; and the humble colony which they so long maintained in the district of Toxandria, in Brabant, insensibly multiplied along the banks of the Meuse and Scheldt, till their independent power filled the whole extent of the Second, or Lower, Germany. . . . The ruin of the opulent provinces of Gaul may be dated from the establishment of these barbarians, whose alliance was dangerous and oppressive, and who were capriciously impelled, by interest or passion, to violate the public peace."—E. Gibbon, *History of the decline and fall of the Roman empire*, ch. 31.—"They [the Franks] resisted the great invasion of the Vandals in the time of Stilicho, but did not scruple to take part in the subsequent ravages. Among the confusions of that disastrous period, indeed, it is not improbable that they seized the cities of Spire, Strasburg, Amiens, Arras, Therouane and Tournai, and by their assaults on Trèves compelled the removal of the prefectural

government to Arles. Chroniclers who flourished two centuries later refer to the year 418 large and permanent conquests in Gaul by a visionary king called Pharamund, from whom the French monarchy is usually dated. But history seeks in vain for any authentic marks of his performances."—P. Godwin, *History of France: Ancient Gaul*, bk. 3, ch. 11, sect. 5.

448-456.—Origin of the Merovingian dynasty.—The royal dynasty of the kingdom of the Franks as founded by Clovis is called the Merovingian. "It is thought that the kings of the different Frankish people were all of the same family, of which the primitive ancestor was Meroveus (Meer-wig, warrior of the sea). After him those princes were called Merovingians (Meer-wings); they were distinguished by their long hair, which they never cut. A Meroveus, grandfather of Clovis, reigned, it is said, over the Franks between 448 and 456; but only his name remains, in some ancient historians, and we know absolutely nothing more either of his family, his power, or of the tribe which obeyed him: so that we see no reason why his descendants had taken his name. . . . The Franks appear in history for the first time in the year 247. Some great captain only could, at this period, unite twenty different people in a new confederation; this chief was, apparently, the Meroveus, whose name appeared for such a long time as a title of glory for his descendants, although tradition has not preserved any trace of his victories."—J. C. L. S. de Sismondi, *French under the Merovingians*, ch. 3.

451.—Battle of Châlons. See HUNS: 451.

481-511.—Kingdom of Clovis.—"The Salian Franks had . . . associated a Roman or a Romanized Gaul, Aegidius, with their native chief in the leadership of the tribe. But, in the year 481, the native leadership passed into the hands of a chief who would not endure a Roman colleague, or the narrow limits within which, in the general turmoil of the world, his tribe was cramped. He is known to history by the name of Clovis, or Chlodwig, which through many transformations, became the later Ludwig and Louis. Clovis soon made himself feared as the most ambitious, the most unscrupulous, and the most energetic of the new Teutonic founders of states. Ten years after the fall of the Western empire [which was in 476], seven years before the rise of the Gothic kingdom of Theoderic, Clovis challenged the Roman patrician, Syagrius of Soissons, who had succeeded to Aegidius, defeated him in a pitched field, at Nogent, near Soissons (486), and finally crushed Latin rivalry in northern Gaul. Ten years later (496), in another famous battle, Tolbiac (Zülpich), near Cologne, he also crushed Teutonic rivalry, and established his supremacy over the kindred Alamanni of the Upper Rhine. Then he turned himself with bitter hostility against the Gothic power in Gaul. The Franks hated the Goths, as the ruder and fiercer of the same stock hate those who are a degree above them in the arts of peace, and are supposed to be below them in courage and the pursuits of war. There was another cause of antipathy. The Goths were zealous Arians; and Clovis, under the influence of his wife Clotildis, the niece of the Burgundian Gundobad, and in consequence, it is said, of a vow made in battle at Tolbiac, had received Catholic baptism from St. Remigius of Rheims [see CHRISTIANITY: 496-800]. The Frank king threw his sword into the scale against the Arian cause, and became the champion and hope of the Catholic population all over Gaul. Clovis was victorious. He crippled the Burgundian kingdom (500), which was finally destroyed by his sons (534). In a

battle near Poitiers, he broke the power of the West Goths in Gaul; he drove them out of Aquitaine, leaving them but a narrow slip of coast, to seek their last settlement and resting-place in Spain; and, when he died, he was recognized by all the world, by Theoderic, by the Eastern emperor, who honoured him with the title of the consulship, as the master of Gaul. Nor was his a temporary conquest. The kingdom of the West Goths and the Burgundians had become the kingdom of the Franks. The invaders had at length arrived who were to remain. It was decided that the Franks, and not the Goths, were to direct the future destinies of Gaul and Germany, and that the Catholic faith, and not Arianism, was to be the religion of these great realms."—R. W. Church, *Beginning of the Middle Ages*, ch. 2.—See also BELGIUM: Ancient and medieval history; GOTHS: 507-500.

ALSO IN: W. C. Perry, *Franks*, ch. 2.—J. C. L. S. de Sismondi, *French under the Merovingians*, ch. 4-5.

481-768.—Supremacy in Germany before Charlemagne. See GERMANY: 481-768.



CLOVIS

496.—Conversion to Christianity. See above: 481-511; ALEMANNI: 406-504; BARBARIAN INVASIONS: 5th-10th centuries; CHRISTIANITY: 400-800.

496-504.—Overthrow of the Alamanni. See ALEMANNI: 406-504; SUEVI: 460-500.

500-768.—Origin of feudalism. See FEUDALISM: Definition, etc.

500-768.—Military art and equipment.—"The Frankish tribes whom Chlodovech had united by the power of his strong arm, and who under his guidance overran the valleys of the Seine, and Loire, were among the least civilised of the Teutonic races. In spite of their long contact with the empire, they were . . . still mere wild and savage heathen when they began the conquest of Northern Gaul. . . . Even the conquest of Southern Gaul seems to have made little difference in their military customs. The poetical bishop of Auvergne speaks of their unarmoured bodies girt with a belt alone, their javelins, the shields which they ply with such adroitness, and the axes which, unlike other nations, they use as missiles, not as weapons for close combat. He mentions their

dense array and their rapid rush, 'for they close so swiftly with the foe, that they seem to fly even faster than their own darts.' Agathias is more detailed, but he is evidently describing a race in exactly the same stage. 'The arms of the Franks,' he says, 'are very rude; they wear neither mail-shirt nor greaves, and their legs are only protected by strips of linen or leather. They have hardly any horsemen, but their foot-soldiery are bold and well practised in war. They bear swords and shields, but never use the sling or bow. Their missiles are axes and barbed javelins. . . . These last are not very long, they can be used either to cast or to stab. The iron of the head runs so far down the stave that very little of the wood remains unprotected. In battle they hurl these javelins, and if they strike an enemy the barbs are so firmly fixed in his body that it is impossible for him to draw the weapon out. If it strikes a shield, it is impossible for the enemy to get rid of it by cutting off its head, for the iron runs too far down the shaft. At this moment the Frank rushes in, places his foot on the butt as it trails on the ground, and so, pulling the shield downwards, cleaves his uncovered adversary through the head, or pierces his breast with a second spear.' . . . For some two centuries on from the time of Chlodovech, these were the arms of the Frankish foot-soldiery; they seem to have borrowed nothing from their Roman predecessors. . . . Nothing could have been more primitive than the military organisation of the Merovingian era. The count or duke who was the civil governor of the *civitas* was also its military head. When he received the king's command, he ordered a levy *en masse* of the whole free population, Roman, it would appear, no less than Frankish. From this summons, it seems that no one had legal exemption save by the special favour of the king. In practice, however, we gather that it cannot have been usual to take more than one man from each free household. That the 'ban' did not fall on full-blooded Franks alone, or on landholding men alone, is obvious from the enormous numbers put in the field. . . . The fine for failing to obdy the ban was enormous; by the Ripuarian law it was sixty solidi for free Franks, thirty for Romans, freedmen, or vassals of the Church. At a time when a cow was worth only one, and a horse six solidi, such a sum was absolutely crushing for the poor man, and very serious even to the rich. There is as yet no trace of anything feudal in the Merovingian armies. The Franks in Gaul appear, as far as can be ascertained from our sources, to have had no ancient nobility of blood, such as was to be found among the earl-kin of England, the Edilings of continental Saxony, and the Lombard ducal families. The Franks, like the Visigoths, seem to have known no other nobility than that of service. Chlodovech had made a systematic slaughter of all the ruling families of the small Frankish states which he annexed; apparently he succeeded in exterminating them. Among all his subjects none seems to have had any claim to stand above the rest except by the royal favour. The court officials and provincial counts and dukes of the early Merovings were drawn from all classes, even from the ranks of the Gaulish provincials. Great officers of state with Roman names are found early in the sixth century; by the end of it, the highest places of all were open to them. . . . The Frankish king, like all Teutonic sovereigns, had his own 'men' bound to him by oath; they were called *antrustions*, and corresponded to the English *gesith*, the Lombard *gaisind*, and the Gothic *saio*. But they do not appear to have been a very numerous body, certainly not one

large enough to form the chief element of importance in the host, though there were enough of them, no doubt, to furnish the king with a body-guard. . . . From the ranks of the *antrustions* were drawn the counts and dukes who headed the Frankish provincial levies in the field. It seems clear that these officials had very imperfect control over the men whom they led out to war. Being mere royal nominees, without any necessary local connection with the district which they ruled, their personal influence was often small. . . . Hence it was no marvel that bad discipline, and a tendency to plunder everywhere and anywhere, were the distinguishing features of a Merovingian army. Having exhausted its own scanty food supply, the host would turn to marauding even in friendly territory: the commanders were quite unable to keep their men from molesting their fellow-subjects, for hunger knows no laws. . . . Time after time large armies melted away, not because they had been defeated, but merely because the men would not stand to their colours when privations began. To this cause, more than to any other, is to be ascribed the fact that after the first rush of the Franks had carried them over Gaul, they failed to extend their frontiers to any appreciable extent for more than two hundred years. . . . Even the kings themselves often found that the hereditary respect of their people for the royal blood was insufficient to secure obedience. . . . Just as they [the Franks] appropriated relics of Roman state and show in things civil, so in certain military matters they did not remain entirely uninfluenced by the Roman practice. In the sixth and seventh centuries we find among them the feeble beginnings both of the use of cavalry and of the employment of armour, commencing around the person of the king, and gradually spreading downwards."—C. Oman, *History of the art of war*, pp. 51-54, 59-62.—See also MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 15; FEUDALISM: Continental growth.

511-752.—House of Clovis.—Ascendancy of the Austrasian Mayors of the Palace.—On the death of Clovis, his dominion, or, speaking more strictly, the kingly office in his dominion, was divided among his four sons, who were lads, then, ranging in age from twelve to eighteen. The eldest reigned in Metz, the second at Orleans, the third in Paris, and the youngest at Soissons. These princes extended the conquests of their father, subduing the Thuringians (515-528), overthrowing the kingdom of the Burgundians (523-534), diminishing the possessions of the Visigoths in Gaul (531-532), acquiring Provence from the Ostrogoths of Italy and securing from the Emperor Justinian a clear Roman-imperial title to the whole of Gaul. The last survivor of the four brother-kings, Clotaire I, reunited the whole Frank empire under his own sceptre, and on his death, 561, it was again divided among his four sons. Six years later, on the death of the elder, it was redivided among the three survivors. Neustria fell to Chilperic, whose capital was at Soissons, Austrasia to Sigebert, who reigned at Metz, and Burgundia to Guntram, who had his seat of government at Orleans. Each of the kings took additionally a third of Aquitaine, and Provence was shared between Sigebert and Guntram. "It was agreed on this occasion that Paris, which was rising into great importance, should be held in common by all, but visited by none of the three kings without the consent of the others." The reign of these three brothers and their sons, from 561 to 613, was one long revolting tragedy of civil war, murder, lust, and treachery, made horribly interesting by the rival careers of the evil Fredegunda and the great unfortunate Brunhilda, queens of

Neustria and Austrasia, respectively. In 613 a second Clotaire surviving his royal kin, united the Frank monarchy once more under a single crown. But power was fast slipping from the hands of the feeble creature who wore the crown, and passing to that one of his ministers who succeeded in making himself the representative of royalty—namely, the Mayor of the Palace. There was a little stir of energy in his son, Dagobert, but from generation to generation, after him, the Merovingian kings sank lower into that character which gave them the name of the fainéant kings ("rois fainéants")—the slothful or lazy kings—while the Mayors of the Palace ruled vigorously in their name and tumbled them, at last, from the throne. "While the Merovingian race in its decline is notorious in history as having produced an unexampled number of imbecile monarchs, the family which was destined to supplant them was no less wonderfully prolific in warriors and statesmen of the highest class. It is not often that great endowments are transmitted even from father to son, but the line from which Charlemagne sprang presents to our admiring gaze an almost uninterrupted succession of five remarkable men, within little more than a single century. Of these the first three held the mayoralty of Austrasia [Pepin of Landen, Pepin of Heristal, and Carl, or Charles Martel, the Hammer]; and it was they who prevented the permanent establishment of absolute power on the Roman model, and secured to the German population of Austrasia an abiding victory over that amalgam of degraded Romans and corrupted Gauls which threatened to leaven the European world." Pepin of Heristal, Mayor in Austrasia, broke the power of a rival Neustrian family in a decisive battle fought near the village of Testri, 687, and gathered the reins of the three kingdoms (Burgundy included) into his own hands. His still more vigorous son, Charles Martel, won the same ascendancy for himself afresh, after a struggle which was signalized by three sanguinary battles, at Amblève (716), at Vinci, near Cambrai (717) and at Soissons (718). When firm in power at home, he turned his arms against the Frisians and the Bavarians, whom he subdued, and against the obstinate Saxons, whose country he harried six times without bringing them to submission. His great exploit in war, however, was the repulse of the invading Arabs and Moors, on the memorable battle-field of Tours (732), where the wave of Mahommedan invasion was rolled back in western Europe, never to advance beyond the Pyrenees again. Karl died in 741, leaving three sons, among whom his power was, in the Frank fashion, divided. But one of them resigned, in a few years, his sovereignty, to become a monk; another was deposed, and the third, Pepin, surnamed "The Little," or "The Short," became supreme. He contented himself, as his father, his grandfather, and his great grandfather had done, with the title of Mayor of the Palace, until 752, when, with the approval of the pope and by the act of a great assembly of teudes and bishops at Soissons, he was lifted on the shield and crowned and anointed king of the Franks, while the last of the Merovingians was shorn of his long royal locks and placed in a monastery. The friendliness of the pope in this matter was the result and the cementation of an alliance which bore important fruits. As the champion of the church, Pepin made war on the Lombards and conquered for the papacy the first of its temporal dominions in Italy. In his own realm, he completed the expulsion of the Moors from Septimania, crushed an obstinate revolt in Aquitaine, and gave a firm footing to the two thrones which, when he died in 768, he left to his

sons, Carl and Carloman, and which became in a few years the single throne of one vast empire, under Carl—Carl the Great—Charlemagne.—W. C. Perry, *Franks*, ch. 3-6.—See also AUSTRASIA AND NEUSTRIA; MAYOR OF THE PALACE; ITALY: 568-800.

ALSO IN: P. Godwin, *History of France: Ancient Gaul*, ch. 12-15.—J. C. L. S. de Sismondi, *The French under the Merovingians*, ch. 6-13.

528.—Conquest of Thuringia. See THURINGIA.
534-536.—Conquest of Burgundy.—Actions in Provence. See BURGUNDY: 534; PROVENCE: 536.
536-752.—Control of Switzerland. See SWITZERLAND: 536-843.

539-553.—Invasion of Italy.—Formal relinquishment of Gaul to them.—During the Gothic war in Italy,—when Belisarius was re-conquering the cradle of the Roman empire for the Eastern empire which still called itself Roman, although its seat was at Constantinople,—both sides solicited the



PEPIN, THE SHORT

help of the Franks. Theudebert, who reigned at Metz, promised his aid to both, and kept his word "He advanced [530, with 100,000 men] toward Pavia, where the Greeks and Goths were met, about to encounter, and, with an unexpected impartiality, attacked the astonished Goths, whom he drove to Ravenna, and then, while the Greeks were yet rejoicing over his performance, fell upon them with merciless fury, and dispersed them through Tuscany." Theudebert now became fired with an ambition to conquer all Italy; but his savage army destroyed everything in its path so recklessly, and pursued so unbridled a course, that famine and pestilence soon compelled a retreat and only one-third of its original number re-crossed the Alps. Notwithstanding this treachery, the emperor Justinian renewed his offers of alliance with the Franks (540), and "pledged to them, as the price of their fidelity to his cause, besides the usual subsidies, the relinquishment of every lingering claim, real or pretended, which the empire might assert to the sovereignty of the Gauls. The Franks accepted

the terms, and 'from that time,' say the Byzantine authorities, 'the German chiefs presided at the games of the circus, and struck money no longer, as usual, with the effigy of the emperors, but with their own image and superscription. Theudebert, who was the principal agent of these transactions, if he ratified the provisions of the treaty, did not fulfill them in person, but satisfied himself with sending a few tributaries to the aid of his ally. But his first example proved to be more powerful than his later, and large swarms of Germans took advantage of the troubles in Italy to overrun the country and plunder and slay at will. For twelve years, under various leaders, but chiefly under two brothers of the Alemans, Lutherr and Bukhelin, they continued to harass the unhappy object of all barbaric resentments, till the sword of Narses finally exterminated them [553]."—P. Godwin, *History of France: Ancient Gaul*, bk. 3, ch. 12.

ALSO IN: E. Gibbon, *History of the decline and fall of the Roman empire*, ch. 41.

547.—Subjugation of Bavarians, Suabians, and Alemanni. See BAVARIA: 547.

8th century.—Wars with Danes. See SCANDINAVIAN STATES: 8th-9th centuries.

732.—Battle of Tours. See CALIPHATE: 715-732.

768-814.—Charlemagne, emperor of the Romans.—As a crowned dynasty, the Carolingians or Carolingians or Carlings begin their history with Pepin the Short. As an established sovereign house, they find their founder in King Pepin's father, the great palace mayor, Carl, or Charles Martel, if not in his grandfather, Pepin Heristal. But the imperial splendor of the house came to it from the second of its kings, whom the French call "Charlemagne," but whom English readers ought to know as Charles the Great. The French form of the name has been always tending to represent "Charlemagne" as a king of France, and modern historians object to it for that reason. "France, as it was to be and as we know it, had not come into existence in his [Charlemagne's] days. What was to be the France of history was then but one province of the Frank kingdom, and one with which Charles was personally least connected. . . . Charles, king of the Franks, was, above all things, a German. . . . It is entirely to mistake his place and his work to consider him in the light of a specially 'French' king, a predecessor of the kings who reigned at Paris and brought glory upon France. . . . Charles did nothing to make modern France. The Frank power on which he rose to the empire was in those days still mainly German; and his characteristic work was to lay the foundations of modern and civilized Germany, and, indirectly, of the new commonwealth of nations, which was to arise in the West of Europe."—R. W. Church, *Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, ch. 7.—"At the death of King Pippin the kingdom of the Franks was divided into two parts, or rather . . . the government over the kingdom was divided, for some large parts of the territory seem to have been in the hands of the two brothers together. The fact is, that we know next to nothing about this division, and hardly more about the joint reign of the brothers. The only thing really clear is, that they did not get along very well together, that Karl was distinctly the more active and capable of the two, and that after four years the younger brother, Karlmann, died, leaving two sons. Here was a chance for the old miseries of division to begin again; but fortunately the Franks seem by this time to have had enough of that, and to have seen that their greatest hope for the future lay in a united government. The widow and children of Karlmann went to the court of the

Lombard king Desiderius and were cared for by him. The whole Frankish people acknowledged Charlemagne as their king. Of course he was not yet called Charlemagne, but simply Karl, and he was yet to show himself worthy of the addition 'Mag-nus.' . . . The settlement of Saxony went on, with occasional military episodes, by the slower, but more certain, processes of education and religious conversion. It appears to us to be anything but wise to force a religion upon a people at the point of the sword; but the singular fact is, that in two generations there was no more truly devout Christian people, according to the standards of the time, than just these same Saxons. A little more than a hundred years from the time when Charlemagne had thrashed the nation into unwilling acceptance of Frankish control, the crown of the Empire he founded was set upon the head of a Saxon prince. The progress in friendly relations between the two peoples is seen in the second of the great ordinances by which Saxon affairs were regulated. This edict, called the 'Capitulum Saxonicum,' was published after a great diet at Aachen, in 797, at which, we are told, there came together not only Franks, but also Saxon leaders from all parts of their country, who gave their approval to the new legislation. The general drift of these new laws is in the direction of moderation. . . . The object of this legislation was, now that the armed resistance seemed to be broken, to give the Saxons a government which should be as nearly as possible like that of the Franks. The absolute respect and subjection to the Christian Church is here, as it was formerly, kept always in sight. The churches and monasteries are still to be the centres from which every effort at civilization is to go out. There can be no doubt that the real agency in this whole process was the organized Church. The fruit of the great alliance between Frankish kingdom and Roman papacy was beginning to be seen. The papacy was ready to sanction any act of her ally for the fair promise of winning the great territory of North Germany to its spiritual allegiance. The most solid result of the campaigns of Charlemagne was the founding of the great bishoprics of Minden, Paderborn, Verden, Bremen, Osnabrück, and Halberstadt. . . . About these bishoprics, as, on the whole, the safest places, men came to settle. Roads were built to connect them; markets sprang up in their neighborhood; and thus gradually, during a development of centuries, great cities grew up, which came to be the homes of powerful and wealthy traders, and gave shape to the whole politics of the North. Saxony was become a part of the Frankish Empire, and all the more thoroughly so, because there was no royal or ducal line there which had to be kept in place."—E. Emerton, *Introduction to the study of the Middle Ages*, ch. 13.—Between 768 and 800 Charlemagne extinguished the Lombard kingdom and made himself master of Italy, as the ally and patron of the Pope, bearing the old Roman title of Patrician (see LOMBARDS: 754-774); he crossed the Pyrenees, drove the Saracens southward to the Ebro, and added a "Spanish March" to his empire (see CATALONIA: 712-1196; SPAIN: 778); he broke the obstinate turbulence of the Saxons, in a series of bloody campaigns which (see SAXONS: 772-804) consumed a generation; he extirpated the troublesome Avars, still entrenched along the Danube (see AVARS: 701-805), and he held with an always firm hand the whole dominion that came to him by inheritance from his father. "He had won his victories with Frankish arms, and he had taken possession of the conquered countries in the name of the Frankish people. Every step which he had taken had been

with the advice and consent of the nation assembled in the great meetings of the springtime, and his public documents carefully express the share of the Franks in his great achievements. Saxony, Bavaria, Lombardy, Aquitaine [see also AQUITAINE: 681-768], the Spanish Mark, all these great countries, lying outside the territory of Frankland proper, had been made a part of its possession by the might of his arm and the wisdom of his counsel. But when this had all been done, the question arose, by what right he should hold all this power, and secure it so that it should not fall apart as soon as he should be gone. As king of the Franks it was impossible that he should not seem to the conquered peoples, however mild and beneficent his rule might be, a foreign prince; and though he might be able to force them to follow his banner in war, and submit to his judgment in peace, there was still wanting the one common interest which should bind all these peoples, strangers to the Franks and to each other, into one united nation. About the year 800 this problem seems to have been very much before the mind of Charlemagne. If we look at the boundaries of his kingdom, reaching from the Eider in the north to the Ebro and the Garigliano in the south, and from the ocean in the west to the Elbe and the Enns in the east, we shall say as the people of his own time did, 'this power is Imperial.' That word may mean little to us, but in fact it has often in history been used to describe just the kind of power which Charlemagne in the year 800 really had. . . . The idea of empire includes under this one term, kingdoms, duchies, or whatever powers might be in existence; all, however, subject to some one higher force, which they feel to be necessary for their support. . . . But where was the model upon which Charlemagne might build his new empire? Surely nowhere but in that great Roman Empire whose western representative had been finally allowed to disappear by Odoacer the Herulian in the year 476. . . . After Odoacer the Eastern Empire, with its capital at Constantinople, still lived on, and claimed for itself all the rights which had belonged to both parts. That Eastern Empire was still alive at the time of Charlemagne. We have met with it once or twice in our study of the Franks. Even Clovis had been tickled with the present of the title of Consul, sent him by the Eastern Emperor; and from time to time, as the Franks had meddled with the affairs of Italy, they had been reminded that Italy was in name still a part of the Imperial lands. . . . But now, when Charlemagne himself was thinking of taking the title of Emperor, he found himself forced to meet squarely the question, whether there could be two independent Christian Emperors at the same time. . . . On Christmas Day, in the year 800, Charlemagne was at Rome. He had gone thither at the request of the Pope Leo, who had been accused of dreadful crimes by his enemies in the city, and had been for a time deprived of his office. Charlemagne had acted as judge in the case, and had decided in favor of Leo. According to good Teutonic custom, the pope had purified himself of his charges by a tremendous oath on the Holy Trinity, and had again assumed the duties of the papacy. The Christmas service was held in great state at St. Peter's. While Charlemagne was kneeling in prayer at the grave of the Apostle, the pope suddenly approached him, and, in the presence of all the people, placed upon his head a golden crown. As he did so, the people cried out with one voice, 'Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, the mighty Emperor, the Peace-bringer, crowned by God!' Einhard, who ought to have known, assures us that Charles was totally

surprised by the coronation, and often said afterward that if he had known of the plan he would not have gone into the church, even upon so high a festival. It is altogether probable that the king had not meant to be crowned at just that moment and in just that way, but that he had never thought of such a possibility seems utterly incredible. By this act Charlemagne was presented to the world as the successor of the ancient Roman Emperors of the West, and so far as power was concerned, he was that. But he was more. His power rested, not upon any inherited ideas, but upon two great facts: first, he was the head of the Germanic Race; and second, he was the temporal head of the Christian Church. The new empire which he founded rested on these two foundations." —E. Emerton, *Introduction to the study of the Middle Ages*, ch. 14.—The great empire which Charles labored, during all the remainder of his life, to organize in this Roman imperial character, was vast in its extent. "As an organized mass of provinces, regularly governed by imperial officers, it seems to have been nearly bounded, in Germany, by the Elbe, the Saale, the Bohemian mountains, and a line drawn from thence crossing the Danube above Vienna, and prolonged to the Gulf of Istria. Part of Dalmatia was comprised in the duchy of Friuli. In Italy the empire extended not much beyond the modern frontier of Naples, if we exclude, as was the fact, the duchy of Benevento from anything more than a titular subjection. The Spanish boundary . . . was the Ebro."—H. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ch. 1, pt. 1.—"The centre of his realm was the Rhine; his capitals Aachen [or Aix-la-Chapelle] and Engelenheim [or Ingelheim]; his army Frankish; his sympathies as they are shewn in the gathering of the old hero-says, the composition of a German grammar, . . . were all for the race from which he sprang. . . . There were in his Empire, as in his own mind, two elements; those two from the union and mutual action and re-action of which modern civilization has arisen. These vast domains, reaching from the Ebro to the Carpathian mountains, from the Eyder to the Liris, were all the conquests of the Frankish sword, and were still governed almost exclusively by viceroys and officers of Frankish blood. But the conception of the Empire, that which made it a State and not a mere mass of subject tribes, . . . was inherited from an older and a grander system, was not Teutonic but Roman—Roman in its ordered rule, in its uniformity and precision, in its endeavour to subject the individual to the system—Roman in its effort to realize a certain limited and human perfection, whose very completeness shall exclude the hope of further progress." With the death of Charles in 814 the territorial disruption of his great empire began. "The returning wave of anarchy and barbarism swept up violent as ever, yet it could not wholly obliterate the past: the Empire, maimed and shattered though it was, had struck its roots too deep to be overthrown by force." The Teutonic part and the Romanized or Latinized part of the empire were broken in two, never to unite again; but, in another century, it was on the German and not the Gallo-Latin side of the line of its disruption that the imperial ideas and the imperial titles of Charlemagne came to life again, and his Teutonic Roman empire—the "Holy Roman empire," as it came to be called—was resurrected by Otto the Great, and established for eight centuries and a half of enduring influence in the politics of the world.—J. Bryce, *Holy Roman empire*, ch. 5.—"Gibbon has remarked, that of all the heroes to whom the title of 'The Great' has been given, Charlemagne alone has retained it as a permanent

addition to his name. The reason may perhaps be, that in no other man were ever united, in so large a measure, and in such perfect harmony, the qualities which, in their combination, constitute the heroic character, such as energy, or the love of action; ambition, or the love of power; curiosity, or the love of knowledge; and sensibility, or the love of pleasure—not, indeed, the love of forbidden, of unhallowed, or of enervating pleasure, but the keen relish for those blameless delights by which the burdened mind and jaded spirits recruit and renovate their powers. . . . For the charms of social intercourse, the play of a buoyant fancy, the exhilaration of honest mirth, and even the refreshment of athletic exercises, require for their perfect enjoyment that robust and absolute health of body and of mind which none but the noblest natures possess, and in the possession of which Charlemagne exceeded all other men. His lofty stature, his open countenance, his large and brilliant eyes, and the dome-like structure of his head, imparted, as we learn from Eginhard, to all his attitudes the dignity which becomes a king, relieved by the graceful activity of a practiced warrior. . . . Whether he was engaged in a frolic or a chase—composed verses or listened to homilies—fought or negotiated—cast down thrones or built them up—studied, conversed, or legislated, it seemed as if he, and he alone, were the one wakeful and really living agent in the midst of an inert, visionary, and somnolent generation. The rank held by Charlemagne among great commanders was achieved far more by this strange and almost superhuman activity than by any pre-eminent proficiency in the art or science of war. He was seldom engaged in any general action, and never undertook any considerable siege, excepting that of Pavia, which, in fact, was little more than a protracted blockade. But, during forty-six years of almost unintermitted warfare, he swept over the whole surface of Europe, from the Ebro to the Oder, from Bretagne to Hungary, from Denmark to Capua, with such a velocity of movement, and such a decision of purpose, that no power, civilized or barbarous, ever provoked his resentment without rapidly sinking beneath his prompt and irresistible blows. And though it be true, as Gibbon has observed, that he seldom, if ever, encountered in the field a really formidable antagonist, it is not less true that, but for his military skill, animated by his sleepless energy, the countless assailants by whom he was encompassed must rapidly have become too formidable for resistance. For to Charlemagne is due the introduction into modern warfare of the art by which a general compensates for the numerical inferiority of his own forces to that of his antagonists—the art of moving detached bodies of men along remote but converging lines with such mutual concert as to throw their united forces at the same moment on any meditated point of attack. Neither the Alpine marches of Hannibal nor those of Napoleon were combined with greater foresight, or executed with greater precision, than the simultaneous passages of Charlemagne and Count Bernard across the same mountain ranges, and their ultimate union in the vicinity of their Lombard enemies.”—J. Stephen, *Lectures on the history of France*, lect. 3.

ALSO IN: E. Gibbon, *History of the decline and fall of the Roman empire*, ch. 40.

768-814.—Education under Charlemagne. See EDUCATION: Medieval: 742-814; GERMANY: 687-800; 800; NAVARRE: Origin of the kingdom.

9th century.—Wars with the Danes. See SCANDINAVIAN STATES: 8th-9th centuries.

800-1016.—Conflicts in southern Italy. See ITALY (Southern): 800-1016.

814-962.—Dissolution of the Carolingian empire.—Charlemagne, at his death, was succeeded by his son Ludwig, or Louis the Pious—the single survivor of three sons among whom he had intended that his great empire should be shared. Mild in temper, conscientious in character, Louis reigned with success for sixteen years, and then lost all power of control, through the turbulence of his family and the disorders of his times. He “tried in vain to satisfy his sons (Lothar, Lewis, and Charles) by dividing and re-dividing: they rebelled; he was deposed, and forced by the bishops to do penance, again restored, but without power, a tool in the hands of contending factions. On his death the sons flew to arms, and the first of the dynastic quarrels of modern Europe was fought out on the field of Fontenay. In the partition treaty of Verdun [843] which followed, the Teutonic principle of equal division among heirs triumphed over the Roman one of the transmission of an indivisible Empire: the practical sovereignty of all three brothers was admitted in their respective territories, a barren precedence only reserved to Lothar, with the imperial title which he, as the eldest, already enjoyed. A more important result was the separation of the Gaulish and German nationalities. . . . Modern Germany proclaims the era of 843 the beginning of her national existence and celebrated its thousandth anniversary [in 1843]. To Charles the Bald was given Francia Occidentalis, that is to say, Neustria and Aquitaine; to Lothar, who as Emperor must possess the two capitals, Rome and Aachen, a long and narrow kingdom stretching from the North sea to the Mediterranean, and including the northern half of Italy; Lewis (surnamed, from his kingdom, the German) received all east of the Rhine, Franks, Saxons, Bavarians, Austria, Carinthia, with possible supremacies over Czechs and Moravians beyond. Throughout these regions German was spoken; through Charles's kingdom a corrupt tongue, equally removed from Latin and from modern French. Lothar's, being mixed and having no national basis, was the weakest of the three, and soon dissolved into the separate sovereignties of Italy, Burgundy and Lotharingia, or, as we call it, Lorraine [see also ALSACE-LORRAINE: 842-1477]. On the tangled history of the period that follows it is not possible to do more than touch. After passing from one branch of the Carolingian line to another, the imperial sceptre was at last possessed and disgraced by Charles the Fat, who united all the dominions of his great-grandfather. This unworthy heir could not avail himself of recovered territory to strengthen or defend the expiring monarchy. He was driven out of Italy in 887 and his death in 888 has been usually taken as the date of the extinction of the Carolingian Empire of the West. . . . From all sides the torrent of barbarism which Charles the Great had stemmed was rushing down upon his empire. . . . Under such strokes the already loosened fabric swiftly dissolved. No one thought of common defence or wide organization: the strong built castles, the weak became their bondsmen, or took shelter under the cowl: the governor—count, abbot, or bishop—tightened his grasp, turned a delegated into an independent, a personal into a territorial authority, and hardly owned a distant and feeble suzerain. . . . In Germany, the greatness of the evil worked at last its cure. When the male line of the eastern branch of the Carolingians had ended in Lewis (surnamed the Child), son of Arnulf [911], the chieftains chose and the people accepted Conrad the Franconian, and after him Henry the Saxon duke, both representing the female line of Charles. Henry laid the foundations



of a firm monarchy, driving back the Magyars and Wends, recovering Lotharingia, founding towns to be centres of orderly life and strongholds against Hungarian irruptions. He had meant to claim at Rome his kingdom's rights, rights which Conrad's weakness had at least asserted by the demand of tribute; but death overtook him, and the plan was left to be fulfilled by Otto his son."—J. Bryce, *Holy Roman empire*, ch. 6.—"The division of 888 was really the beginning of the modern states and the modern divisions of Europe. The Carolingian Empire was broken up into four separate kingdoms: the Western Kingdom, answering roughly to France, the Eastern Kingdom or Germany, Italy, and Burgundy. Of these, the three first remain as the greatest nations of the Continent; Burgundy, by that name, has vanished; but its place as a European power is occupied, far more worthily than by any King or Caesar, by the noble confederation of Switzerland."—E. A. Freeman, *Franks and the Gauls (Historical essays, 1st series, no. 7)*.—See also FRANCE: 843 and after; GERMANY: 814-843; 843-962; ITALY: 843-951; LORRAINE: 911-980; VERDUN, TREATY OF (843).

843.—Christianity weakened after separation of the kingdom. See EUROPE: Middle Ages: Roman civilization inherited.

843-962.—Kingdom of the East Franks. See GERMANY: 843-962.

1097-1144.—Principality in Edessa. See EDESSA: 1097-1144.

1099-1187.—Rule in Palestine.—Loss of Jerusalem. See JERUSALEM: 1099-1131; CRUSADES: Military aspect, etc.

1205-1308.—Rule in Athens. See ATHENS: 1205-1308.

See also COSTUME: 400-1000.

ALSO IN: E. F. Henderson, *Select historical documents of the Middle Ages*, bk. 2, no. 3.—P. Godwin, *History of France: Ancient Gaul*, ch. 18.—R. W. Church, *Beginning of the Middle Ages*, ch. 8.—F. Guizot, *History of civilization*, lect. 24.—F. Palgrave, *History of Normandy and France*, v. 1-2.—C. Pfister, *Franks before Clovis (Cambridge medieval history, v. 1, pp. 202-203)*.—Saint Gregory, Bishop of Tours, *History of the Franks* (selections tr. by E. Brehaut).

FRANZ JOSEF LAND, an Arctic archipelago, consisting of about one hundred small islands, lying north of Asia and east of Spitzbergen. It was discovered in 1873. See ARCTIC EXPLORATION: 1867-1901; Chronological summary: 1896, 1897, 1898-1800; Map of Arctic regions.

FRASER, Simon (c. 1720-1777), British general on Burgoyne's staff. See U. S. A.: 1777 (July-October).

FRASER, Simon (1738-1813), British explorer into western Canada. See CANADA: 1805-1866.

FRASER RIVER, British Columbia, explored 1808, by Simon Fraser. In 1920 it was the subject of a treaty between Canada and the United States regarding its salmon fisheries. See U. S. A.: 1920 (July).

FRATRES COLLATIONARII. See BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LOT.

FRATICELLI, branch of the Franciscan order. See BEGUINES, etc.

FRAUDS, Statute of. See COMMON LAW: 1678.

FRAUENLOB, German light cruiser sunk at the battle of Jutland, May 31, 1916.

FRAUNCES'S TAVERN, Washington's headquarters in 1783 in New York City. It is still standing. See U. S. A.: 1783 (November-December).

FRAUNHOFER, Joseph von (1787-1820),

Bavarian optician, physicist and inventor. See INVENTIONS: 19th century: Instruments.

FRAZIER'S FARM, or Glendale, Battle of. See U. S. A.: 1862 (June-July; Virginia).

FREDERICIA, Battle of (1849). See DENMARK: 1848-1862.

FREDERICK I, called Barbarossa (c. 1123-1190), Holy Roman emperor, 1155-1190; king of Germany, 1152-1190; king of Italy, 1155-1190; reign is noted for his wars against the German nobility, and for his six Italian expeditions, 1154-1186, in contest with the papacy and to recover imperial authority over the republican cities in Lombardy; 1189, joined Third Crusade, on the way to which he was drowned. See GERMANY: 1138-1197; CRUSADES: 1188-1192; FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: Medieval league in Lombardy; ITALY: 1154-1162; 1163-1164; 1166-1167; 1174-1183; PAPACY: 1122-1250; VENICE: 1177.

Frederick II (1194-1250), Holy Roman emperor, 1220-1250; king of Germany, 1212-1250; king of Sicily and Jerusalem; 1208, became king of the Two Sicilies; 1212, laid claim to the German throne; 1215, crowned emperor by the pope at Aix-la-Chapelle; 1220, crowned emperor of Rome; attempted to unite Italy and Germany, but was opposed by the pope; 1228-1229, crusade to the Holy Land, captured Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth from the Saracens. See GERMANY: 1197-1250; 1250-1272; CRUSADES: 1216-1229; also Map; FLORENCE: 1248-1278; ITALY: 1183-1250; 13th century; ITALIAN LITERATURE: 12th-14th centuries; JERUSALEM: 1187-1229; PAPACY: 1122-1250.

Frederick III (1415-1493), Holy Roman emperor; as Frederick IV, German king, and Frederick V, archduke of Austria; also duke of Styria and Carinthia; 1435, assumed the government of Styria and Carinthia, with his brother who died in 1430 and left him in control; 1440, became guardian of Ladislaus of Hungary, and was also made German king; 1445, secret treaty with the pope; 1452, crowned emperor by the pope; 1457, controlled lower Austria for a short time; arranged the marriage of his son Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy. See GERMANY: 1347-1403; BOHEMIA: 1458-1471; HUNGARY: 1442-1458; 1471-1487; JEWS: Austria-Hungary: 12th-19th centuries; LANDEFRIEDE.

Frederick III, the Fair (1286-1330), German king and duke of Austria; 1306, control of duchy of Austria; failed in his attempt to get possession of Bohemia and Moravia; 1314, chosen German king by a minority, and defeated by his rival, Louis of Bavaria, in 1322; 1325, he acknowledged Louis IV, duke of Upper Bavaria, emperor, in exchange for freedom. See GERMANY: 1314-1347; AUSTRIA: 1291-1349.

Frederick I (c. 1471-1533), king of Denmark and Norway, 1523-1533.

Frederick II (1534-1588), king of Denmark and Norway, 1558-1588.

Frederick III (1600-1670), king of Denmark and Norway, 1648-1670.

Frederick IV (1671-1730), king of Denmark and Norway, 1690-1730.

Frederick V (1723-1766), king of Denmark and Norway, 1746-1766.

Frederick VI (1768-1839), king of Denmark and Norway, 1808-1814; king of Denmark, 1814-1830.

Frederick VII (1808-1863), king of Denmark, 1848-1863.

Frederick VIII (1843-1912), king of Denmark, 1906-1912. See DENMARK: 1906; 1912-1915.

Frederick II (c. 1452-1504), king of Naples, 1496-1503. See ITALY: 1501-1504.

Frederick I (1657-1713), king of Prussia, 1701-1713; as Frederick III, elector of Brandenburg, 1688-1713; son of Frederick William, the Great Elector, and first king of Prussia. See GERMANY: 1701-1740; BRANDENBURG: 1700-1701; CHARITIES: Germany: 1684-1748; PRUSSIA: 1700.

Frederick II, the Great (1712-1786), king of Prussia, 1740-1786. During his reign he waged two successful wars against Maria Theresa of Austria—the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War. In 1772 he took part in the first partition of Poland. He was a great organizer as well as administrator of statecraft, and a patron of the arts. See GERMANY: 1701-1740; 1740-1756; 1755-1756, to 1763-1790; AUSTRIA: 1740-1741; 1741 (October); 1742 (January-May); 1743-1744; 1744-1745; 1765-1700; BAVARIA: 1777-1779; CHARITIES: Germany: 1684-1748; CODES: 1751; MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 17; POLAND: 1763-1790.

Frederick III (1831-1888), king of Prussia and German emperor, 1888, March-June. He took part in the Franco-Prussian War. See GERMANY: 1888; Death, etc.

Frederick II, king of Sicily, 1295-1337.

Frederick III, king of Sicily, 1355-1377.

Frederick I (1670-1751), king of Sweden, and prince of Hesse. See SWEDEN: 1720-1792.

Frederick I (c. 1371-1440), elector of Brandenburg, 1417-1440, and burgrave of Nuremberg. He served in the Hungarian army and rescued King Sigismund in 1366. He also supported Sigismund in his candidacy for the imperial throne. For this he was made elector of Brandenburg, and thus became the founder of the Prussian dynasty. See BRANDENBURG: 1168-1417; PAPACY: 1414-1418.

Frederick II, called Iron-tooth (1413-1472), elector of Brandenburg, 1440-1470. See BRANDENBURG: 1417-1640.

Frederick III, elector of Brandenburg. See FREDERICK I, king of Prussia.

Frederick III, the Pious (1515-1576), elector of the Palatinate. See PALATINATE OF THE RHINE: 1518-1572.

Frederick V (1596-1632), elector of the Palatinate and king of Bohemia. See BOHEMIA: 1618-1620; GERMANY: 1618-1620; 1620.

Frederick III, the Wise (1463-1525), elector of Saxony, 1486-1525. He declined the imperial crown and advocated the election of Charles V in 1517; aided Luther in the Protestant reformation and secreted him at Wartburg, 1521-1522. See PAPACY: 1517; Luther's attack, etc.; 1517-1521.

Frederick II, duke of Babenberg (d. 1246). See AUSTRIA: 805-1246.

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS I (1670-1733), elector of Saxony, 1694-1733; king of Poland, 1697-1704 (deposed), and 1700-1733. See POLAND: 1668-1696.

Frederick Augustus II, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, 1733-1793.

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA. See FREDERICK I, Holy Roman emperor.

FREDERICK CHARLES (1828-1885), prince of Prussia. See GERMANY: 1866.

FREDERICK HENRY (1584-1647), prince of Orange. See NETHERLANDS: 1625-1647; 1648-1650.

FREDERICK WILLIAM I (1688-1740), king of Prussia, 1713-1740; control of Stettin and part of Pomerania in 1720 at the close of the war with Sweden. He laid the foundation of the military power of Prussia. See GERMANY: 1701-1740.

Frederick William II (1744-1797), king of Prussia, 1786-1797; 1792, joined an alliance with Austria against France; 1795, peace with France;

1793 and 1795, joined in the second and third partitions of Poland. See POLAND: 1763-1790.

Frederick William III (1770-1840), king of Prussia, 1797-1840; 1806-1807, war with France; 1812, union with France against Russia; 1813, War of Liberation; 1815, in Congress of Vienna; 1815, joined the Holy Alliance. See AIX-LA-CHAPELLE: Congresses: 3.

Frederick William IV (1705-1861), king of Prussia, 1840-1861; granted the constitution in 1848 after the revolution; 1849, declined the imperial crown; 1858, his brother became regent. See GERMANY: 1810-1847; 1848 (March); 1848-1850; 1850-1851; EDUCATION: Modern: 19th century: Germany.

Frederick William (1882-), crown prince of German empire and of Prussia; command of the fifth army in the WORLD WAR. See WORLD WAR: 1914: I. Western front: g, 2.

Frederick William, the Great Elector (1620-1688), elector of Brandenburg and duke of Prussia, the founder of Prussian power. He restored his dominions to order and prosperity after the ravages caused by the Thirty Years' War; rid the country of foreign soldiers; centralized the administration; organized the Prussian army; laid the foundation of the navy and established his independence as duke of Prussia. He had the canal between the Oder and the Spree constructed and encouraged manufacture. Partly for this reason and also as a protection of the Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he welcomed thousands of French refugees, and settled large numbers of them in Brandenburg. See BRANDENBURG: 1640-1688; 1672-1697; PRUSSIA: 1618-1700; MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 27.

FREDERICKSBURG, Battle of. See U. S. A.: 1862.

FREDERICKSBURG, Sedgwick's demonstration against. See U. S. A.: 1863.

FREDERICO DE TOLEDO. See TOLEDO, FREDERICO DE.

FREDERICKSHALL, Castle of, Norwegian castle besieged by Charles XII in 1718. See SWEDEN: 1707-1718.

FREDERICKSHAMN, Peace of (1800). See SWEDEN: 1807-1810.

FREDLINGEN, Battle of (1703). See NETHERLANDS: 1702-1704.

FREE CHRISTIAN ZION CHURCH OF CHRIST, name given to a small group of churches of colored membership in Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas. The church is an outgrowth of various Methodist bodies which protested against the support of an ecclesiastical system. Its principal activity is the care of the poor. It has thirty-five organizations and 6,225 members.—U. S. Census, *Religious bodies*, 1916, pt. 2, pp. 200-201.

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. See SCOTLAND: 1843; 1900-1905; PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES.

FREE CITIES. See CITIES, IMPERIAL AND FREE, OF GERMANY; ITALY: 1050-1152, and after; HANSA TOWNS.

FREE COMPANIES, bands of mercenary soldiers, in medieval Europe, who made war their profession. See ITALY: 1343-1303; FRANCE: 1300-1380; MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 15.

FREE LABOR. See AGRICULTURE: Ancient: Development of the servile system, etc.

FREE LANCES. See LANCES, FREE.

FREE MASONRY, or Freemasonry. See MASONIC SOCIETIES: ROSICRUCIANS.

FREE MEN, Ancient Rome. See INGENU.
FREE PORTS: Proposed in the United States. See TARIFF: 1918-1919.

FREE SCHOOLS, or Common schools. See EDUCATION: Ancient: B. C. 7th-A.D. 3rd centuries: Greece: Free school ideas; Modern: 17th century: England; NEW YORK CITY: 1795-1842; TENNESSEE: 1830-1847.

FREE SILVER QUESTION. See U. S. A.: 1890 (June-November); 1900 (May-November); OREGON: 1876-1898.

FREE SOIL PARTY. See U. S. A.: 1848: Free soil convention at Buffalo; 1855-1856.

FREE SPEECH. See FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS.

FREE SPIRIT, Brethren and Sisters of. See BEGUINES.

FREE STATE TREATY, Ireland. See IRELAND: 1921.

FREE TENANTS. See AGRICULTURE: Medieval: Manorial system; 14th-17th centuries.

FREE TRADE: Adam Smith's early doctrine. See TARIFF: 1770.

England. See TARIFF: 18th century; 1817-1848; 1836-1841; 1842; 1840-1870; 1860.

France. See TARIFF: 1830-1848.

Germany. See TARIFF: 1833; 1853-1870.

New South Wales. See TARIFF: 1862-1892.

United States: Advocated by Webster and Hayne. See TARIFF: 1808-1824.

FREE VOTING. See PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION: UNITED STATES.

FREE ZONE: Mexico. See MEXICO: 1861-1905.

In the Treaty of Sèvres. See SÈVRES, TREATY OF: 1920: Part XI: Ports, waterways and railways.

FREEBOOTERS, name for pirates. See BUC-CANEERS; AMERICA: 1639-1700; FILIBUSTER.

FREEDMEN, German. See SERFDOM: 14th-19th centuries.

FREEDMEN, Roman. See ROMAN FREEDMEN; INGENUI.

FREEDMEN OF THE SOUTH, the emancipated slaves of the United States.

FREEDMEN'S BUREAU, established in the war department of the United States in 1865 for the care of freedmen. It aided in the guardianship of the negro during the reorganization in the South. See U. S. A.: 1865 (July-December); 1865-1866.

FREEDOM, Academic. See ACADEMIC FREEDOM.

FREEDOM OF DEBATE: United States Senate. See CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES: Senate: Freedom of debate.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS, in its broadest sense and as a "constitutional proposition," means that every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments, on all subjects, being responsible, only, for the abuse of that right, i. e., violation of public morals and the integrity of the government. Improper speech and publication can incur both civil and criminal liability as determined by general law in the protection of property, person and reputation. These regulations and restrictions are: (1) civil liability to damages for injuries caused by slander; (2) both civil and criminal liability for libel; and (3) criminal punishment for the speaking and publishing of blasphemous, obscene, indecent, or scandalous matter.—See also CENSORSHIP: Censorship of press and speech; U. S. A., CONSTITUTION OF; ACADEMIC FREEDOM; ITALY, CONSTITUTION OF.

Ancient Greek term. See ISONOMY.

ALSO IN: T. Schroeder, *Constitutional free speech defined and defended*.—J. P. Hall, *Free speech in war time* (*Columbia Law Review*, June, 1921).

FREEDOM OF THE CITY, custom in European and American cities of giving the rights and privileges of citizenship to a distinguished visitor. In the Middle Ages when the privilege of citizenship required a long term of apprenticeship, the freedom of the city was sometimes granted as a favor by special vote of the magistrate.—See also SUFFRAGE, MANHOOD: British empire: 1295-1832.

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS: Definition.—"Freedom is a relative term. It involves limitations as well as rights. There is no such thing as absolute freedom of any kind. A man is free only when his neighbors are limited. The matter is one of adjustment. As to the seas, the question is not one of 'whether,' but of 'how much.' It is, therefore, not surprising that there is a wide divergence of opinion as to what the term 'freedom of the seas' means."—A. G. Hays, *What is meant by freedom of the seas* (*American Journal of International Law*, Apr., 1918).—"By the term the high seas, in municipal and international law, is meant all that continuous body of salt water in the world which is navigable in its character and which lies outside of the territorial waters and maritime belts of the various countries."—C. H. Stockton, *International law*, p. 147.

1400-1650.—Sovereignty and trade.—"In early days, including the first portion of the Middle Ages, navigation upon the high seas was free to the world. Definite claims to parts of the high seas began, however, in the latter part of the Middle Ages. At the end of that period the republic of Venice claimed and was recognized as the sovereign of the Adriatic and the republic of Genoa as the ruler of the Ligurian Sea. Portugal claimed, by virtue of papal decree, to be the sovereign over the whole of the Indian Ocean and of the parts of the Atlantic Ocean lying south of Morocco. The Pope of Rome also gave to Spain the authority for her claim over the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. Sweden and Denmark claimed sovereignty over the Baltic. Great Britain claimed and attempted to enforce her sovereignty over the narrow seas; that is, the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean from the North Cape to Cape Finisterre. But the extravagant assertions of Spain and Portugal were not submitted to by the French, Dutch, and English navigators, and when, in 1680, the Spanish ambassador Mendoza lodged a complaint with Queen Elizabeth against Drake for having made his famous voyage to the Pacific, Queen Elizabeth answered that vessels of all nations could navigate on the Pacific, since the use of the sea and the air was common to all, and that no title to the ocean could belong to any nation, since neither nature nor regard for the public use permits any possession of the ocean."—C. H. Stockton, *International law*, pp. 147-148.—"While England was contesting Spain's monopoly in western waters a new maritime power, the United Netherlands, was breaking down that of Portugal in the east. The ships of the Dutch East India Company won their way against the Portuguese, and made prize of their vessels, and in order to set at rest the scruples of stockholders who hesitated to pocket profits that had not been won in peaceful trade a Dutch lawyer named Grotius wrote a learned treatise on the law of prize. One chapter was devoted to arguments proving that the Indian Ocean was free to all and that the Portuguese claims there were groundless. When, in 1608, the Dutch were endeavoring to obtain the right to trade with the overseas dominions of Spain, this chapter was published as a separate work, under the title *Mare Liberum*, to give strength to their plea. Their effective argument was the sea power which they had

developed in the years of their contest with Spain. Their illicit traffic with Spanish possessions both in the east and west had assumed tremendous proportions during the years of war, and Dutch merchants in fear of losing these sources of profit dreaded the return of peace. With the powerful backing of England and France, they succeeded in obtaining from Spain in 1609 permission, in veiled terms, to trade in the Indies in places not actually occupied by Spain. . . . Within two months of the publication of the *Mare Liberum*, the Dutch were notified that they were no longer to fish in British Seas without license from the British crown. The disputes that arose over this prohibition were spread over many years, and were embittered by mutual suspicions. . . . Delegation after delegation of diplomats failed to arrange the double controversy, which was embittered by the fact that the Dutch were at the same time driving English traders away from the Spice Islands. . . . The English finally won admission to the eastern trade, but the fisheries question remained, in the parlance of the day, a root of bitterness." Thus it is "evident that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the struggle for freedom of the seas was essentially a struggle for freedom of commerce."—L. F. Brown, *Freedom of the seas*, pp. 16-17, 19-21.

1650-1815.—Law of the sea in war.—Viewpoint as expressed by John Adams.—*Belligerent v. neutral*.—"It was during the long series of wars between England and France in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that the question of what was to be the recognized law of the sea in time of war became an intensely embittered one. . . . The English came to follow pretty consistently the rule of the *Consolato del Mare*, that made enemy goods capturable on a neutral ship and neutral goods free on any enemy ship. They recognized that the flag covered the goods only as a treaty concession. Since the rule 'free ship, free goods' [followed by the French] made exception of contraband, its value depended somewhat upon the definition of contraband. . . . The earliest English list of contraband specifies arms, munitions, foodstuffs, and naval stores. . . . Charles I in his treaty with the Dutch in 1625 included besides provisions and naval stores gold, silver, copper, iron and lead. The usage of nations varied in an instructive way according to circumstances. . . . Another source of friction was the fictitious blockade. . . . Treaties of Utrecht in 1713 marked an important stage in the controversy. The principles of maritime law recognized in these treaties came to be spoken of as having become thereby a part of international law, as a general European settlement took place at that time. This was, of course, incorrect, but the existence of the impression gave more general currency to the principles involved. The most famous of these was the recognition by Great Britain of the principle 'free flag, free goods,' and the converse, 'enemy ship, enemy goods' in her treaties with France, Spain, and the Netherlands. Contraband was confined to enumerated articles useful in war, and clothing, foodstuffs, metals, and naval stores were expressly excluded. The right of visit was regulated and no persons not belonging to the armed forces of a belligerent were to be removed from a vessel. The ship's papers were to be proof of the contents of the cargo. On the other hand, neutral goods on an enemy ship were confiscable, contrary to the more liberal English usage. Provision was also made for the suppression of piracy."—*Ibid.*, pp. 41, 47-51.—"With the rivalries of the eighteenth century there developed specific antagonism to British commerce and British sea power. The doctrine that 'free ships make

free goods' was pleasant to the small states with weak navies which hoped to remain neutral in time of war. As such it was welcomed by the Scandinavian countries, Holland and Prussia. If by the law of nature the sea was free, and by the law of nations the right to trade was free to all men, it was an easy step from the doctrine that 'free ships make free goods' to that of the complete inviolability of private property at sea during war. Contraband remained an exception; but the list of contraband was limited to the actual implements of war. Such a doctrine harmonized with the spirit of eighteenth century enlightenment. The treaty between the United States and Prussia, which Adams and Franklin wrote and Frederick II agreed to, represents the extreme of the law of nature and it was at the same time an affront to existing British sea power."—J. S. Reeves, *Two conceptions of freedom of the seas (American Historical Review, Apr., 1917, p. 541)*.—In 1783, John Adams expressed the viewpoint of the United States, relative to the freedom of the seas, in the following words: "The United States of America have propagated far and wide in Europe the ideas of the liberty of navigation and commerce. The powers of Europe, however, cannot agree, as yet, in adopting them in their full extent. Each one desires to maintain the exclusive dominion of some particular sea or river, and yet to enjoy the liberty of navigating all others. Great Britain wishes to preserve the exclusive dominion of the British seas, and, at the same time, to obtain of the Dutch a free navigation of all the seas in the East Indies. France has contended for the free use of the British and American seas; yet she wishes to maintain the Turks in their exclusive dominion of the Black Sea, and the Danube . . . and of the . . . Dardanelles. Russia aims at the free navigation of the Black Sea, the Danube, and the passage by the Dardanelles, yet she contends that the nations which border on the Baltic have a right to control the navigation of it. Denmark claims the command of the passage of the sound . . . France and Spain, too, begin to talk of an exclusive dominion of the Mediterranean, and of excluding Russia from it. For my own part, I think nature wiser than all the courts and estates in the world, and, therefore, I wish all her seas and rivers upon the whole globe free."—L. F. Brown, *Freedom of the seas*, p. 85.—Even the signatories of the armed neutralities of 1780 and 1790 were unable to enforce fully their views of neutral right. Through the famous rule of 1756 and the doctrine of continuous voyage (see CONTINUOUS VOYAGE), England persisted in the development of belligerent right. Under pressure of the Napoleonic wars, both of the chief belligerents extended the rules of blockade, contraband, and visit and search to extreme lengths. The War of 1812, fought in defence of neutral right, was indeterminate in outcome.

1815-1914.—Piracy and slave trade.—International agreements.—Two matters of public order were dealt with in the early nineteenth century: the Barbary pirates and the slave trade. In the former the United States took a leading part, but in the latter case opposed England's measures under cover of "freedom of the seas." In the Bering sea controversy the old claim of sea-sovereignty was revived, but was rejected by the arbitration court. In the period 1856-1000 sea law in war was again discussed and was severely limited by four international agreements—See also HAGUE CONFERENCES: 1800; 1007; LONDON, DECLARATION OF; PARIS, DECLARATION OF.

1893.—Term defined by Supreme court. See CRIMINAL LAW: 1803.

1914-1918.—German submarine procedure.—Part two of President Wilson's "Fourteen Points."—"When the war broke out in 1914 the presumption was that the belligerents would be governed by the principles agreed upon in 1856 in Paris and in 1907 at the Hague, and by the precedents of former wars. . . . The German government proceeded to carry out its announcement that it intended to establish freedom of the seas by means of the submarine [see LUSTANIA CASE]. When it became evident that it meant to persist in this course [the United States] . . . joined the ranks of its enemies and cooperated with Great Britain in an extension of belligerent right for the cutting-off of enemy trade to an extent never dreamed of even in the days of Napoleon. . . . [See also WORLD WAR: 1917: VIII. United States, etc.: a, 1.] Freedom of the seas has been violated in each of the ways by which it has been violated in the past. The claim to monopolize portions of the sea has been revived by the sowing of mines and the proclamation of danger zones; neutral commerce has been interrupted to an extent unprecedented in any previous war; and the sea lanes have been made unsafe for travel in a way that makes the days of piracy seem days of gentle usage."—L. F. Brown, *Freedom of the seas*, pp. 226, 228.—The stand taken by the United States was set forth in a "declaration of war aims" by President Wilson, January, 1918, as follows: "II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and in war except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants."—See also WORLD WAR: 1918: Statement of war aims: b, c.

Question still open.—Freedom of the seas, stressed so strongly by President Wilson, failed of discussion at the peace conference, and remains unsettled. "There has been no agreement upon this subject [freedom of the seas] since the Declaration of Paris in 1856, when privateering was abolished and the rights of neutrals were defined. The Declaration of London of 1909 was never ratified by all the interested Powers; therefore, when the Great War began, it was necessary to hark back to the Declaration of Paris of 1856, and conditions since then had made that instrument wholly inadequate for modern usage. The traditional policy of the United States has been for the protection of neutrals and a more liberal attitude toward the freedom of trade upon the seas. The policy of Great Britain has been the reverse, and at times there has been sharp disagreement between the two nations upon this question. It was never brought before the Peace Conference, however, and in consequence the world is practically without laws governing blockade, capture at sea, contraband, and the use of mines and submarines, for the Germans wiped the slate clean in their violent attempt to destroy both enemy and neutral commerce."—E. M. House, *Versailles peace in retrospect (What really happened at Paris)*, E. M. House and C. Seymour ed., p. 438.—"The ideal of the freedom of the sea as it presents itself to advanced American thought includes two reforms. The first is the abolition of the capture of private property at sea; the second the abolition of the commercial blockade. The first is one of the traditional objects of the United States' policy, and their representatives have never missed an opportunity of urging it at every international conference at which the laws of naval war have been discussed."—H. Sidebotham, *Freedom of the seas (Atlantic Monthly, Aug., 1916)*.—Some consider a third

point logically involved in these two, namely, the abolition of contraband. See CONTRABAND.

"The phrase ['Freedom of the Seas'] as it stands today [1918] unexplained, undefined, obscure, indeterminate, is shown by this necessity of a 'definition by reference' to be, if it continue so to be left, but a blind trap from which danger must arise. . . . When Germany employs the phrase she means . . . she would desire that it be stipulated in the law of nations that no blockade of any kind should be permitted of any port and that none of the objects of commerce should be held to be contraband of war except munitions. . . . Absolute liberty to all to pass freely in all directions upon the high seas in time of war as in time of peace to any port. . . . The British reason somewhat to the contrary. They take the position that true Freedom of the Seas has existed for a long period, that it owes its existence and maintenance to the British fleet, that for many years they have patrolled the world, have guarded with equal care the legitimate commerce of all other peoples at their own expense, have kept open the routes of trade, have exterminated pirates, [and] have lighted foreign channels where civilized governments did not exist to undertake the duty. . . . As to blockade they regard it,—a legitimate step in war when war may occur—each blockade or attempted blockade to be judged as to its validity in accordance with the circumstance of each particular case. As for capture at sea, they subscribe in a general way to the proposition that free ships make free goods, other than contraband, but they decline the proposition that free goods make free ships. . . . To understand the position which we [the United States] have in the past maintained it is necessary to take into consideration the fact that a secure and uninterfered with carrying trade, preferably as far as may be in our own bottoms, is a desideratum for this country, since we are large producers both of raw material and of manufactured goods and importers of goods of all kinds. We have therefore wished that our overseas trade with all foreign nations should remain, as far as possible, unrestricted whether they or any of them be at any given time at war or at peace with each other. We have also felt that the full scope of the rule . . . which provides for the immunity of private property on land from arbitrary seizure in case of war accompanied by invasion, should be extended to private property at sea."—C. S. Davison, *Freedom of the seas*, pp. 12-16.

See also ADMIRALTY LAW; ASYLUM, RIGHT OF; BLOCKADE; CONTINUOUS VOYAGE; CONTRABAND; EMBARGO; INTERNATIONAL LAW; TARIFF.

ALSO IN: M. Cababé, *Freedom of the seas*.—J. P. Bate, *Freedom of the seas (Quarterly Review, Jan., 1910, pp. 184-266)*.—H. Knight, *America and the freedom of the seas (Fortnightly Review, Sept., 1921)*.—R. Custance, *Freedom of the seas*.—D. F. Cohalan, *Freedom of the seas*.—A. J. Balfour, *Freedom of the seas (Interview given the American press, 1916)*.—A. H. Smith, *The real Colonel House*.—E. M. House and C. Seymour, *What really happened at Paris*.—J. S. Corbett, *League of nations and freedom of the seas*.—R. M. Liske, *Freedom of the seas*.—F. T. Piggott, *Freedom of the seas in war*.—R. G. Gettell, *Freedom of the seas (S. P. Duggan, League of Nations)*.

FREEHOLD, under the feudal system, such land as might be held by a free vassal. See FEUDALISM: Organization; SUFFRAGE, MANTHOOD; British empire: 1205-1832; United States: 1621-1776.

FREEHOLDERS' CHARTERS, California. See CALIFORNIA: 1916.

FREEMAN, Edward Augustus (1823-1892), English historian. See HISTORY: 1; 32.

FREEMAN'S FARM, Battle of. See U. S. A.: 1777 (July-October).

FREEMASONRY. See MASONIC SOCIETIES; ROSICRUCIANS.

FREEMEN: Early English. See ENGLAND: 050-975.

New England. See TOWNSHIP AND TOWN-MEETING.

FREERPORT DOCTRINE, statement made by Douglas at Freeport, Illinois, in 1858, in reply to a question put by Lincoln. It was to the effect that, in spite of the Dred Scott decision, any Territory might virtually exclude slavery by passing "unfriendly" police laws incompatible with its existence, and these could be made only by the local legislature, which would be opposed to slavery only if the people who elected the legislators were opposed to it. "Hence," as Douglas said, "no matter what the decision of the supreme court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave territory or a free territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska Bill." This doctrine alienated many of Douglas's former supporters in the South and greatly weakened him in the presidential campaign of 1860.

FREETHINKERS, those who, particularly in religious matters, reject authority. See AGNOSTICISM; ATHEISM; AVERROISM.

FREEWILLERS. See REDEMPTIONERS.

FREGELLÆ, Latin colony, founded by the Romans, 320 B. C., in the Volscian territory, on the Liris, revolted in 125 B. C. and was totally destroyed. A Roman colony, named Fabrateria, was founded near the site.—G. Long, *Decline of the Roman republic*, v. 1, ch. 17.

FREIBURG IM BREISGAU, town in Saxony, became a free city in 1120, but lost its freedom a century later, and passed, in 1368, under the domination of the Hapsburgs.

1638.—Capture by Duke Bernhard. See GERMANY: 1034-1039.

1644.—Siege and capture by the Imperialists.—Attempted recovery by Condé and Turenne.—Three days' battle. See GERMANY: 1643-1644.

1677.—Taken by the French. See NETHERLANDS: 1674-1678.

1679.—Retained by France. See NIMEGUEN, PEACE OF.

1697.—Restored to Germany. See FRANCE: 1607.

1713-1714.—Taken and given up by the French. See UTRECHT: 1712-1714.

1744-1748.—Taken by the French during the War of the Austrian succession, and restored to Germany by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. See AUSTRIA: 1744-1745.

FREISING, town in upper Bavaria, of Roman origin. In 1803 it was ceded to Bavaria by the Treaty of Lunéville. See GERMANY: 1801-1803.

FREJUS, Origin of. See FORUM JULII.

FREMANTLE, Sir Sidney Robert (1807-), British admiral. See WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: XI. Devastation: d.

FREMONA, town of Abyssinia near Adowa, headquarters of a Jesuit mission in 1558. See ABYSSINIA: 15th-16th centuries.

FREMONT, John Charles (1813-1840), American explorer, called the "Pathfinder." Conducted exploring expeditions to the Rocky mountain and Pacific coast regions in the service of the U. S. Corps of topographical engineers, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1846, 1848, 1853, 1854; candidate for president, Republican ticket, 1856; served as general in the Civil War; governor of Arizona, 1878-1882. See

CALIFORNIA: 1846-1847; COLORADO: 1857-1875; U. S. A.: 1856: Eighteenth presidential election; 1861 (July-September: Missouri); (August-October: Missouri); 1862 (May-June: Virginia), 1864 (May-November).

FRENCH, John Denton Pinkstone, Earl (1852-), British field marshal. Had charge of the British expeditionary force in Belgium and France from the outbreak of the World War until replaced in 1915 by Sir Douglas Haig; commander-in-chief of the troops stationed in the United Kingdom, 1915-1918; served as lord lieutenant of Ireland, 1918-1920. See WORLD WAR: 1914: I. Western front: 0, 1; 1915: II. Western front: b; c; h; i; j, 1; IRELAND: 1918.

FRENCH, William Henry (1815-1881), American general during the Civil War. See U. S. A.: 1863 (July-November: Virginia).

FRENCH ACADEMY. See ACADEMY, FRENCH; PAINTING: French

FRENCH AFRICA. See AFRICA: Modern European occupation: 1914.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.—The four intercolonial wars of the 17th and 18th centuries, in America, commonly known, respectively, as "King William's War," "Queen Anne's War," "King George's War," and the French and Indian War, were all of them conflicts with the French and Indians of Canada, or New France; but the last of the series (coincident with the "Seven Years' War" in Europe) became especially characterized in the colonies by that designation. Its causes and chief events are to be found related under the following headings: CANADA: 1750-1753 to 1759; CAPE BRETON ISLAND: 1758-1760; NEW YORK CITY: 1701-1764; NOVA SCOTIA: 1740-1755; 1755; OHIO: 1748-1754; 1754; 1755; OSWEGO: 1728-1830; SOUTH CAROLINA: 1759-1761; WISCONSIN: 1755-1765.

FRENCH ANNALS. See ANNALS: French, etc.

FRENCH BLOC. See BLOC: French.

FRENCH DRAMA. See DRAMA: 1500-1700; 1700-1700; 1850-1921.

FRENCH EAST AFRICA, or French Somaliland, a territory of about 5,700 square miles lying on the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb and the Gulf of Aden. It is bounded on the north by the Italian colony Eritrea, on the south by the British Somaliland Protectorate, and on the west by Abyssinia, the latter a distance of fifty-six miles from the coast. The population is about 200,000, composed mainly of Arabs and native tribes, besides Indians and Europeans. Jibuti, the seat of government, is the largest town; it has a good harbor and will eventually be the eastern terminus of the great Trans-Saharan railroad which the French propose to construct. Between 200 and 300 ships enter the port annually, and there is considerable traffic with Abyssinia, to which inland country Jibuti is the main channel of transit for exports and imports. In 1803 France purchased the harbor of Obok, on the north shore of Tajura Bay, as set-off to the British occupation of Perim, though it was not until after the French withdrawal from Egypt in 1882 that effective occupation of the territory began.

FRENCH FURY, name for the duke of Anjou's attack on Antwerp in 1583. See NETHERLANDS: 1581-1584.

FRENCH GUARD (1789). See FRANCE: 1789 (June).

FRENCH GUIANA. See GUIANA.

FRENCH INDO-CHINA. See INDO-CHINA.

FRENCH LANGUAGE. See PHILOLOGY: 9;

11.

FRENCH LITERATURE

1st-11th centuries.—Conquest of Gaul by Caesar.—Early religious writings.—“With the conquest of Gaul by Caesar (58-51 B.C.) there began an intricate process of evolution which, continuing for more than nine centuries, finally gave birth to a French language and literature. The humble *Sequence of St. Eudalie*—fragments of a Latin church chant—and the historical *Oath of Strasburg*, . . . are but the embryo of what that language and literature came to be. But at the end of the tenth century, when the Capetian dynasty began to establish its sway and to consummate French unity, there arose a French national life, and with it a genuine national language and literature. In France, as elsewhere, poetry preceded prose in the infancy of letters; and we see those poetic beginnings in a brief composition on the *Passion of Christ*, and in the three hundred verses of the *Life of St. Léger*, the earliest regularly versified document in French. . . . When their country was reduced to the status of a Roman province by Caesar, the Gauls, inferior to the Romans in civilization, had the Latin language imposed upon them.”—A. L. Konta, *History of French literature*, p. 3.

5th-15th centuries.—Development of the French language—“*Langue d’oc*” and “*langue d’oil*.”—“French literature dates its birth from the hour that the French race, after having spoken the Celtic tongue for a prolonged period and the Latin for a somewhat briefer one, began once more to use a tongue, or rather many tongues, distinguishable from the speech in common use in Germany, England, Italy, and Spain, that gradually developed into the French language. This moment of transformation must be assigned to the ninth century, certainly not earlier.”—E. Faguet, *Literary history of France*, p. 3.—“In the course of its development after the Frankish invasion of the fifth century—an invasion which contributed a good deal to its vocabulary but did not affect its fundamental characteristics—the language of France broke up into two large geographical divisions: in the south, the *langue d’oc*, which had close affinities with the Italian and Spanish modifications of the original *lingua romana*; in the north, the *langue d’oil*, the parent of modern French. This *langue d’oil* was itself subdivided into many dialects, the most important of which were those of Normandy, Picardy, Burgundy, and the Ile de France. But the election to the monarchy of Hugh Capet, Duke of France, in 987, made Paris the capital of the kingdom and led to the ultimate triumph of the dialect of the Ile de France. From this time on the other dialects of the north, and later, the *langue d’oc*, or provençal, began to sink into mere *patois*, though it was not until the fourteenth century that, mainly as the result of the political unification of the country; a recognised standard French emerged out of the general linguistic anarchy, and not until the fifteenth that its stability and uniformity were definitely assured.”—W. H. Hudson, *Short history of French literature*, pp. 1-2.—“It must be remembered . . . if we wish to distinguish precisely between Latin and Teutonic that ‘Romance’ was not one language; it was composed of many dialects—Italian, Spanish, Provençal, Languedoc, French, Burgundian, etc. And among all the dialects spoken in the territory of France itself, two large main groups are distinguishable—those dialects spoken north of the Loire, in which ‘*ouï*’ was pro-

nounced as ‘oil,’ and those spoken south of the Loire, in which ‘*ouï*’ was pronounced as ‘oc.’”—E. Faguet, *Literary history of France*, p. 10.—See also PHILOLOGY: 9; 11; FRANCE: Language; ENGLISH LITERATURE: 11th-14th centuries.

ALSO IN: C. F. Keary, *Dawn of history*, ch. 3.—G. C. Lewis, *Romance languages*.

1050-1350.—Poetry and narrative.—*Chansons de geste*.—*Romans de la table-ronde*.—Didactic and historical poetry.—Rutebeuf.—Fabliaux.—“The *chansons de geste* (songs of deeds or exploits), . . . were originally composed for recitation, either by the poet himself (*trouvère*) or by a professional minstrel (*jongleur*), in the castles of the feudal nobility, and, taking their tone from the audience to which they were addressed, they dealt almost entirely with incidents of fighting and slaughter. [See also MUSIC: Medieval: 12th century.] By far the most famous of these is the *Chanson de Roland*, which probably dates, in the form in which it has come down to us (a form which, however, it reached only after a long course of development and amplification), from the second half of the eleventh century. . . . Though monotonous in matter and style, the *chanson* has a great deal of real vigour and a certain Homeric directness and simplicity, while in places it rises to genuine epic grandeur. . . . In the formal classification adopted by many French writers on mediæval literature the *roman épique* is distinguished from the *chanson de geste* because, while the *chanson* is supposed to have a certain historical basis, . . . the *roman* is wholly legend or invention. The most important of the *romans épiques* belong to what is known as the Arthurian cycle. . . . As an example of a very large class we may here mention the famous *roman* (or, more correctly, the two connected *romans*) of *Tristan et Iseult*, the work of two Anglo-Norman poets, Bérout (about 1150) and Thomas (about 1170). . . . The most celebrated of the poets who dealt with the *matière de Bretagne* is . . . Chrétien de Troyes, who wrote in the latter half of the twelfth century. His works, which are distinguished by considerable delicacy and a real quality of style, include *Le Chevalier de la Charette*, a tale of Lancelot and Guinevere; *Le Chevalier du Lion*, which narrates the love and adventures of Yvain (Gawain), one of the knights of Arthur’s court; and the unfinished *Perceval* or *Le Conte del Graal*. . . . With these *romans épiques* we may also connect the *Lais*, or short stories in verse, written towards the end of the twelfth century by a certain Marie de France. . . . Her simplicity, tenderness, and skill in story-telling are well exemplified in such characteristic *lais* as *Le Chèvrefeuille* (on the love of Tristan and Iseult), *Les Deux Amans* (on a knight’s devotion to his mistress), *Eliduc* (on a wife’s sacrifice and her husband’s infidelity and remorse), and *Laual* (which tells how a knight was loved by a fairy who took him with her to the Island of Avalon). . . . Another important branch of the literature of the Middle Ages is didactic poetry, which was written not only to amuse but also to instruct, which thus represents the ethical and scholastic movement in the thought of the time, and which therefore points back directly or indirectly to the influence of the Church. As a fondness for allegory was one of the outstanding features in mediæval taste, such poetry ran naturally into allegorical forms, as in the most famous example of its class, the *Roman de la*

Rose, the translation of which was the first work of our own Chaucer. . . . Narrative poetry flourished most in the north; in the south, and especially among the troubadours of Provence, it was lyrical poetry which was chiefly cultivated. . . . Upwards of three hundred and fifty of these troubadours or court-poets are known to us by name, and though the larger part of their production has disappeared, a very great mass still survives. There is, however, a marked sameness in their poetry; they sing of war, but more particularly of love and the casuistry of love; but the individual note is almost entirely wanting in their verse, and while they are ingenious, delicate, and remarkably expert in form and style, to which they gave the most assiduous attention, they are eminently artificial. [See also TROUBADOURS.] . . . Meanwhile, however, a change in the character of this lyrical poetry—a change parallel to that which we have already noted in narrative verse—was heralded in the work of the *trouvère* Rutebeuf (d. 1280), whose obvious personal sincerity is in striking contrast with the conventional make-believe of his contemporaries, and who, though he maintains the established mechanism or verse, takes for his themes his own struggles and misery, and frequently turns his satire upon the actual topics of the day. This break with tradition gives Rutebeuf a certain historical importance.”—W. H. Hudson, *Short history of French literature*, pp. 5-10, 14-15.—“The *Fableau*, or *Fabliau* (‘Fahella’), is a popular tale or folk-anecdote, generally satiric, sometimes pathetic, short in construction, usually containing some moral idea, though not always what would be called ‘moralising’. . . . The French *Fabliaux*, of which there are a very large number, . . . are tales in octosyllabic couplets (as a rule), and of varying lengths, but most of them are fairly short.”—E. Faguet, *Literary history of France*, p. 52.—“The desire of classical writers in the Middle Ages to give prominence to that part of classical literature which seemed best suited to the purpose of edification caused the fables of Phaedrus and Avianus to be regarded with special honour. Various renderings from the thirteenth century onwards were made under the title of *Isopets*, a name appropriated to collections of fables whether derived from Æsop or from other sources. . . . The aesthetic value of the mediæval fables, including those of Marie de France, is small; the didactic intention was strong, the literary art was feeble. It is far otherwise with the famous beast-epic, the *Roman de Renard*. The cycle consists of many parts or ‘branches,’ connected by a common theme. . . . It suddenly appeared in literature in the middle of the twelfth century, and continued to receive additions and variations during nearly two hundred years. The spirit of the *Renard* poems is essentially bourgeois; the heroes of the *chansons de geste* achieve their wondrous deeds by strength and valour; Renard the fox is powerful by skill and cunning. . . . The last of the Renard romances, *Renard le Contrefait*, was composed at Troyes before 1328.”—E. Dowden, *History of French literature*, pp. 28-20, 31.

1337-1465.—Prose and poetry.—Froissart and Villon.—“Prose developed much more slowly than verse in the French literature of the Middle Ages, and it was not till the beginning of the thirteenth century that it assumed any importance. . . . The most important prose writer is Jean Froissart (1337-1410?), whose *Chroniques*, the composition of which extended over many years, deal with the events of his own time (1325-1400) and particularly with the Hundred Years’ War. . . . There is no romantic colour, no chivalrous idealism, no pic-

turesqueness in his writing, but if his pages lack grace and charm, they are on the other hand rich in ideas.”—W. H. Hudson, *Short history of French literature*, p. 22.—See also ANNALS: Mediæval.—“François Villon (1431-1465?) [is] the greatest French poet of the Middle Ages and one of the strangest figures in any literature. . . . The greater part of his work is comprised in two ‘testaments’—an earlier *Petit Testament*, and a later *Grand Testament*—in which, under pretence of bequeathing his possessions, real or imaginary, he discourses about himself, introduces character-studies of his friends and acquaintances, and lampoons his enemies. . . . But the living Villon is rather to be sought in his *ballades*, a number of which are included in the *Grand Testament*: among them, the most famous of all, the *Ballade des Dames du Temps Jadis*, with its haunting refrain, ‘Mais où sont les neiges d’antan?’ Villon is never imitative or conventional; his verse has always the unmistakable ring of personality and truth; and his frequent touches of remorse, his genuine emotional quality, his profound sense of the beauty and brevity of life, the tender sadness with which again and again he lingers over the thought of death—a sadness shot at times with a spirit of macabre humour—suffice to explain the unique appeal which, alone among the poets of his age, he still makes to modern students.”—*Ibid.*, p. 15.

1498-1550.—Renaissance and Reformation.—Marguerite of Navarre.—Marot.—Rabelais.—Calvin.—“The first point of difference to be noted between the Renaissance in France and the Renaissance in Italy is one of time. Roughly speaking it may be said that France was a hundred years behind Italy. . . . But if the French Renaissance was a later and less rapid growth, it was infinitely harder. The Renaissance literature in Italy was succeeded by a long period of darkness, which remained unbroken, save by fitful gleams of light, till the days of Alfieri. [See ITALIAN LITERATURE: 1450-1505.] The Renaissance literature in France was the prelude to a literature, which, for vigour, variety, and average excellence, has in modern times rarely, if ever, been surpassed. The reason for this superiority on the part of France, for the fact that the Renaissance produced there more abiding and more far-reaching results, may be ascribed partly to the natural law that precocious and rapid growths are always less hardy than later and more gradual ones, partly to the character of the French nation, to its being at once more intellectual and less imaginative than the Italian, and therefore more influenced by the spirit of free inquiry than by the worship of beauty; partly to the greater unity and vitality of its political life, but in a large measure to the fact that in France the Renaissance came hand in hand with the Reformation. . . . We must look upon the Reformation as but a fresh development of the Renaissance movement, as the result of the spirit of free inquiry carried into theology, as a revolt against the authority of the Roman Church. Now the Renaissance in Italy preceded the Reformation by more than a century. There is no trace in it of any desire to criticise the received theology. . . . In France on the other hand the new learning and the new religion, Greek and heresy, became almost convertible terms. Lefèvre d’Étaples, the doyen of French humanists, translated the New Testament into French in 1524: the Estiennes [see PRINTING AND THE PRESS: 1466-1508], the Hebrew scholar François Vatable, Turnèbe, Ramus, the great surgeon Ambroise Paré, the artists Bernard Palissy and Jean Goujon were

all avowed protestants; while Clement Marot, Budé, and above all Rabelais, for a time at least, looked on the reformation with more or less favour. In fact so long as the movement appeared to them merely as a revolt against the narrowness and illiberality of monastic theology, as an assertion of the freedom of the human intellect, the men of letters and culture with hardly an exception joined hands with the reformers. It was only when they found that it implied a moral as well as an intellectual regeneration, that it began to wear for some of them a less congenial aspect. This close connexion between the Reformation and the revival of learning was, on the whole, a great gain to France. It was not as in Germany, where the stronger growth of the Reformation completely choked the other. In France they met on almost equal terms, and the result was that the whole movement was thereby strengthened and elevated both intellectually and morally. . . . French humanism can boast of a long roll of names honourable not only for their high attainments, but also for their integrity and purity of life. Robert Estienne, Turnèbe, Ramus, Cujas, the Chancellor de l'Hôpital, Estienne Pasquier, Thou, are men whom any country would be proud to claim for her sons. And as with the humanists, so it was with the Renaissance generally in France. On the whole it was a manly and intelligent movement. . . . The literature of the French Renaissance, though in point of form it is far below that of the Italian Renaissance, in manliness and vigour and hopefulness is far superior to it. It is in short a literature, not of maturity, but of promise. One has only to compare its greatest name, Rabelais, with the greatest name of the Italian Renaissance, Ariosto, to see the difference. How formless! how crude! how gross! how full of cumbersome details and wearisome repetitions is Rabelais! How limpid! how harmonious is Ariosto! what perfection of style, what delicacy of touch! He never wears us, he never offends our taste. And yet one rises from the reading of Rabelais with a feeling of buoyant cheerfulness, while Ariosto in spite of his wit and gaiety is inexpressibly depressing. The reason is that the one bids us hope, the other bids us despair; the one believes in truth and goodness and in the future of the human race, the other believes in nothing but the pleasures of the senses, which come and go like many-coloured bubbles and leave behind them a boundless ennui. Rabelais and Ariosto are true types of the Renaissance as it appeared in their respective countries."—A. Tilley, *Literature of the French Renaissance*, ch. 2.—"When the French armies under Charles VIII. and Louis XII. made a descent on Italy, they found everywhere a recognition of the importance of art, an enthusiasm for beauty, a feeling for the æsthetic as well as the scholarly aspects of antiquity."—E. Dowden, *History of French literature*, p. 81.—"For . . . Frenchmen [the] first contact with Italy was a sort of revelation. . . . The primary characteristic of this new spirit is the development of individualism. . . . Owing to the exercise of this . . . freedom, to this basis of individualism, another idea takes shape, which may be termed the central idea of the Renaissance, an idea of which foreigners themselves admit that François Rabelais was the living incarnation; we allude to the idea of the goodness or of the divinity of Nature."—F. Brunetière, *Manual of the history of French literature*, pp. 47, 54.—"Around Francis I. . . . men of learning and poets gathered. . . . The King's sister, Marguerite of Navarre (1492-1549), perhaps the most accomplished

woman of her time, represents more admirably than Francis the genius of the age. . . . Her poems, *Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses* (1547), show the mediæval influences forming a junction with those of the Renaissance. Some are religious, but side by side with her four dramatic Mysteries and her eloquent *Triomphe de l'Agneau* appears the *Histoire des Satyres et Nymphes de Diane*, imitated from the Italian of Sannazaro. Among her latest poems, which remained in manuscript until 1896, are a pastoral dramatic piece expressing her grief for the death of her brother Francis I.; a second dramatic poem, *Comédie jouée au Mont de Marsan*, . . . [and] *Les Prisons*. . . . The union of the mundane and the moral spirit is singularly shown in Marguerite's collection of prose tales, written in imitation of Boccaccio, the *Heptaméron des Nouvelles* (1558). . . . Among the poets whom Marguerite received with favor at her court was Clement Marot, the versifier (1495- or 1496-1544). . . . In his literary origins Marot belongs to the Middle Ages, . . . but the spirit of the Renaissance and his own genius delivered him from the pressure of . . . authority. . . . Escaping, after his early *Temple de Cupido*, from the allegorising style, he learned to express his personal sentiments, and something of the gay, bourgeois spirit of France, with aristocratic distinction. . . . His gift to French poetry is especially a gift of finer art—firm and delicate expression, felicity in rendering a thought or a feeling, certainty and grace in poetic evolution, skill in handling the decasyllabic line. A great poet Marot was not, . . . but . . . his work served literature in important ways; it was a return from laboured rhetoric to nature. The most powerful personality in literature of the first half of the sixteenth century was not a poet, though he wrote verses, but a great creator in imaginative prose, great partly by virtue of his native genius, partly because the sap of the new age of enthusiasm for science and learning was thronging in his veins—François Rabelais."—E. Dowden, *History of French literature*, pp. 82-87.—"Rabelais was born at Chinon in Touraine, probably in 1400, though the actual date is uncertain . . . His one great work in literature consists of the chronicles of two fabulous giants—*La Vie très Horrificque du Grand Gargantua* [see EDUCATION: Modern: 16th century: Rabelais' Gargantua] and *Pantagruel, Roy des Dipsodes, avec ses Faicts et Prouesses Espouventables*. . . . Though Rabelais was a product of the early Renaissance, the roots of his genius were in the Middle Ages."—W. H. Hudson, *Short history of French literature*, p. 41.—"If the genius of the Renaissance is expressed ardently and amply in the writings of Rabelais, the genius of the Reformation finds its highest and most characteristic expression through . . . Jean Calvin (1509-64), . . . the great Reformer. . . . Yet Calvin was not merely a Reformer: he was also a humanist. . . . [In] 1530 he published his lucid and logical exposition of the Protestant doctrine—the *Christian Religionis Institutio*. It placed him, at the age of twenty-seven, as leader in the forefront of the new religious movement. But the movement was not merely learned, it was popular, and Calvin was resolved to present his work to French readers in their own tongue. His translation—the *Institution*—appeared probably in 1541. . . . It is perhaps not too much to say that Calvin is the greatest writer of the sixteenth century."—E. Dowden, *History of French literature*, pp. 93-94.

1500-1700.—Development of the drama.—Corneille, Racine, Molière, Hardy, Rotrou, Regnard, etc. See DRAMA: 1500-1700.



JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU



JEAN FRANÇOIS MARIE
AROUET VOLTAIRE



FRANÇOIS RABELAIS



MICHEL EYQUEM
DE MONTAIGNE



GEORGE SAND
BARONNESS DUDEVANT



GUY DE MAUPASSANT



ALEXANDRE DUMAS



VICTOR HUGO



HONORÉ DE BALZAC

FAMOUS FRENCH WRITERS

1549-1580.—Rise of the classical school.—The Pléiade.—Transition from the Lyons school.—Ronsard.—His poetry and his influence.—Other members of the Pléiade and their work.—Du Bellay.—“In 1548 two gentlemen—one aged twenty-four, the other twenty-three— . . . dreamed of founding a new literary school, which, frankly breaking with the school of Marot . . . would not only partake of the spirit of the great Italians (as Seve did), but of the classical writers especially, and would unite in itself all the best aspects of humanism. . . . These two young men were Pierre de Ronsard and Joachim du Bellay. At Paris they saw each other frequently, and gathered round them a small number of friends. . . . One day they perceived they were seven—Daurat, the master of Ronsard, and their master in everything, Ronsard, Du Bellay, Baif, Belleau, Jodelle, and Pontus de Thyard. Thereupon they called themselves the Pléiade in imitation of the Alexandrian Pleiade. Later, in spite of the sacred number, about a dozen poets will have to be considered as forming the Pléiade. . . . In 1540 the manifesto of the new school, drawn up and signed by Du Bellay alone, appeared under the name of the ‘Défense et Illustration de la Langue française.’ . . . A very large part of the book is concerned with the means of enriching and strengthening the French language and literature; and now for the first time we have general principles laid down in a book of French criticism. . . . Ronsard in his conversations, in the two prefaces to the ‘Franciade,’ and in his little ‘Art Poétique à M. d’Elbenne,’ added some valuable instructions to these counsels. . . . The manifestoes of the Pléiade [are] . . . of such a kind that French literary art was inspired by them, and one might almost say lived on them, for two hundred years. The year 1540, then, marks the beginning of a classical literature, and more especially of a classical poetry.”—E. Faguet, *Literary history of France*, pp. 208-200, 302-303.—“The transition from Marot to Ronsard is to be traced chiefly through the school of Lyons. In that city of the South, letters flourished side by side with industry and commerce. . . . The Lyonesse poets, though imbued with Platonic ideas, rather carry on the tradition of Marot than announce the Pléiade. Pierre de Ronsard [1524-1585], . . . and Du Bellay broke with the tradition of the Middle Ages, and inaugurated the French classical school. . . . During forty years Ronsard remained the ‘Prince of Poets.’ . . . His work as a poet falls into four periods. From 1550 to 1554 he was a humanist without discretion or reserve. In the first three books of the *Odes* he attempted to rival Pindar; in the *Amours de Cassandre* he emulates the glory of Petrarch. From 1554 to 1560 . . . he was in discipleship to Anacreon and Horace. It is the period of the less ambitious odes found in the fourth and fifth books, the period of the *Amours de Marie* and the *Hymnes*. From 1560 to 1574 he was a poet of the court and of courtly occasions, an eloquent declaimer on public events in the *Discours des Misères de ce Temps*, and the unfortunate epic poet of his unfinished *Franciade*. During the last ten years of his life he gave freer expression to his personal feelings. . . . and to these years belong the admirable sonnets to Hélène de Surgères.”—E. Dowden, *History of French literature*, pp. 97, 100-101.—“Ronsard . . . was, in truth, one of the greatest of French poets. . . . [His] chief fault [was] that he sought to absorb in some way the most diverse and the most alien imaginative expressions, Greek, Latin, or Italian. . . . It was in the elegy proper, the expression of the most intimate feelings, that Ronsard

attained to the highest degree of perfection. . . . He restored classic poetry in France. The entire French poetical movement up to 1800 . . . springs from Ronsard. He is one of the three or four great names in French literature.”—E. Faguet, *Literary history of France*, pp. 306, 313, 317.—“Of the other members of the Pléiade, one—Jodelle—is remembered chiefly in connection with the history of the drama. Baif (1532-80) . . . translated from Sophocles and Terence, imitated Plautus, Petrarchised in sonnets, took from Virgil’s *Georgics* the inspiration of his *Météores*, was guided by the Anacreontic poems (found and published in 1554, by Henri Estienne) in his *Passe-Temps*, and would vain rival Theognis in his most original work *Les Muses*. . . . Remy Belleau (1528-77) practiced the Horatian ode and the sonnet; translated Anacreon; followed the Neapolitan Sannazaro in his *Bergerie* . . . and adapted the mediæval lapidary . . . to the taste of the Renaissance in his *Amours et Nouveaux Échanges des Pierres Précieuses*. . . . [His] delicate feeling for nature . . . is seen at its best in . . . *Avril*, included in . . . *Bergerie*. These are minor lights in the political constellation; but the star of Joachim du Bellay [1520-1560] shines with a ray which, if less brilliant than that of Ronsard, has a finer and more penetrating influence.”—E. Dowden, *History of French literature*, pp. 103-104.—“He became acquainted with Ronsard, as we have already seen, in 1548, issued his ‘Défense et Illustration’ in 1540, his first collection of poetry, the ‘Olive,’ in 1550. . . . He was, at first, a Petrarchan poet. . . . But this passion of his youth was short-lived, as was, moreover, his passion for antiquity. After the ‘Olive’ and some translations of Virgil, Ovid, and Ausonius, he returned . . . to his true vogue, which was that of an elegiac and satiric poet. [In] the ‘Antiquités de Rome’ and the ‘Regrets,’ . . . he gives us the feelings with which ancient Rome and modern Rome inspired him. . . . The satirical genius . . . may be already perceived in the ‘Poète Courtisan’ of 1550 and in the ‘Défense et Illustration.’ . . . The true Du Bellay is to be found in Du Bellay the melancholy and tender elegist. . . . It was this poet that wrote . . . the song of the *Vanneur de Blé*, which is still quoted by everyone. . . . And in a more lofty spirit . . . he wrote his ‘Sonnet du Petit Lire.’ . . . Du Bellay has much less imagination, less flower, and fewer original ideas than Ronsard, but he is a more sympathetic writer. . . . Among the other poets of the Pleiades were Olivier de Magny, a great friend of Ronsard and Du Bellay, Jacques Tahureau, Pontus de Thyard, and Amadis Jamyn, who deserves a less complete oblivion than that into which most literary histories cast him. . . . After the death of Ronsard between 1580 and 1610, his school showed signs of decadence—in its exaggeration, seen in the works of Du Bartas and d’Aubigné, in its enervation and weakness, exemplified by Desportes and Bertaut.”—E. Faguet, *Literary history of France*, pp. 317-320, 322, 324, 326.

1552-1610.—History and philology.—National feeling.—Philosophy.—Literature of the civil wars.—Du Bartas.—D’Aubigné.—Montaigne and his philosophy.—“The historical origins of France were studied for the first time with something of a critical spirit by Claude Fauchet in his *Antiquités Gadoises et Françoises* (1570-1601). . . . Etienne Pasquier (1520-1615) . . . in his *Recherches de la France* treated with learning and vigour various important points in French history. . . . Henri Estienne (1531-98) . . . in a trilogy of little treatises (1595-70) . . . attempted to establish [the] superiority [of the French language]. . . .

The philosophy of politics is represented by one great name, . . . Jean Bodin (1529-96), whose *République* may entitle him to be styled the Montesquieu of the Renaissance. . . . The *Commentaires* of Blaise de Montluc (1502-77) are said to have been named by Henri IV. 'the soldier's Bible.' . . . The controversies of the civil wars produced a militant literature. [Among those who wrote in this spirit were François Hotman, Hubert Languet, Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde, Du Perron, Henri Estienne, and others.] The French Huguenots were not without their poets. Two of these—Guillaume Saluste, Seigneur du Bartas (1544-90) and Agrippa d'Aubigné [1550-1630] are eminent. The fame of Du Bartas . . . was indeed European."—E. Dowden, *History of French literature*, pp. 108-114.—"Du Bartas possessed a type of imagination which was little else but an extreme mastery over words. . . . He exaggerated all the faults of Ronsard. . . . D'Aubigné is a quite different sort of man. He was a narrow-minded, violent sectarian, . . . but he was a very noble man, and possessed great imagination. He wrote enormously, both in prose and verse. . . . The book which gives him his chief title to fame [is] '*Les Tragiques*,' written in 1577, but not published till 1616."—E. Faguet, *Literary history of France*, pp. 327-328.—In an age of confusion working towards clearness, an age of belligerency tending towards concord, [we have] a moralist, the most original of his century—Michel de Montaigne. Michel Eyquem, Seigneur de Montaigne, was born . . . in the year 1533. . . . He . . . retired from public functions in 1570, to enjoy a tranquil existence of meditation, and of rambling through books."—E. Dowden, *History of French literature*, p. 122.—"Montaigne's work in literature is relatively small in bulk and is throughout in a single form, for it is comprised entirely in three books of *Essais* (the first two published in 1580, the third in 1588), varying in length and numbering 107 in all."—W. H. Hudson, *Short history of French literature*, p. 47.—"The unity of the book, which makes no pretence to unity, may be found in the fact that all its topics are concerned with a common subject—the nature of men; . . . and that the same tranquil, yet insatiable curiosity is everywhere present. . . . The doctrine of Montaigne . . . is conveyed to the reader without system, in the most informal manner, in a series of discourses which seem to wander at their own will. . . . The style, although really carefully studied and superintended, has an air of light facility; . . . the book is of all books the most sociable, a living companion rather than a book, playful and humorous, amiable and well-bred, learned without pedantry, and wise without severity."—E. Dowden, *History of French literature*, pp. 123, 125-126.—See also EDUCATION: Modern: 16th century: Montaigne, etc.

1600-1630. — Poetry. — Malherbe. — His disciples.—Other poets.—Cyrano de Bergerac.—"The 'grand siècle,' as French historians call the seventeenth century—though for purposes of literary classification this must be understood to extend till the death of Louis XIV. in 1715—saw the consolidation of the power of the crown by Richelieu . . . and the culmination of the absolute monarchy. . . . The political movements have a direct importance for the student of literature. Centralisation in government was accompanied by centralisation in culture, and this in turn was largely responsible for the triumph of classicism. . . . Our present concern is with the poetry of the classical period. François de Malherbe, with whom our study begins, was born at Caen in 1555 [and died in 1628. His] . . . poems give him a certain place in

the history of his time as the poetic exponent of those ideals of government which it was Richelieu's great work to realise. Otherwise they have little interest for the modern reader."—W. H. Hudson, *Short history of French literature*, pp. 52, 55.—"He had begun by being a poet of the Petrarchan and 'precious' school, as almost everybody else was. . . . '*Les Larmes de Saint-Pierre*' . . . contains some very ridiculous passages . . . but also some very striking ones of true beauty. . . . Malherbe . . . drew up a poetical code of extreme severity. . . . Briefly, [his] doctrine is an attempt (not to proscribe, as he believed it to be) to improve and purify the classical doctrine already found in Ronsard. . . . Malherbe, although he was not followed by many disciples, was so greatly respected that he exercised at once a great influence on the French language. . . . His school, properly speaking, . . . was a restricted one. He had, in truth, but three disciples, the one slavish and lacking in talent, Colomby; the second possessed of a certain amount of talent, but independent-minded and indeed owing him but little, Maynard; and the third, highly gifted, but quite undisciplined, and who really owed him nothing, but is more a fascinated friend than a disciple, Racan. . . . Around them and after them, until 1830, flourished a literature, and especially a poetical literature, which was by no means classical. Théophile de Viau, whose reputation was . . . great, . . . was often put forward in opposition to Malherbe. . . . Saint-Amant resembles him in many ways, though less distinguished and pushing eccentricity and irregularity to a further extreme. . . . Cyrano de Bergerac must also be placed in the group of grotesques, though, in truth, Cyrano cannot be easily classified. . . . He was a *virtuoso*, a very versatile genius who could write easily in all styles, and succeeded brilliantly enough in them all. . . . In the history yet to be written of the authors who in the seventeenth century continued the traditions of the sixteenth century, and served as a link between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, Cyrano . . . will occupy a very important position."—E. Faguet, *Literary history of France*, pp. 364-366, 370-375, 370, 381-382.

1608-1715.—Hôtel de Rambouillet and the Précieuses.—Prose writers.—French Academy.—Poetry after Malherbe.—Critics of the classical school.—Boileau.—Fables of La Fontaine.—Mémorial and letter-writers.—Quarrel of the "Ancients and Moderns."—"In 1608 a distinguished lady, Catherine de Vivonne, Marquise de Rambouillet, . . . decided to retire from the rude Gascon court of Henry, and to throw open her mansion for literary and social gatherings. . . . Such is the origin of the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*, the first of those literary and social salons . . . which were destined to have so great an influence on French literature. . . . The real importance of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, and its famous *chambre bleue* . . . dates from 1618. . . . [Its] history falls into three periods. From 1620c.-1630 the circle takes in recruits and prospers. The hosts include Richelieu, the famous Mlle. Paulet, . . . and among authors, Malherbe, Racan his friend, Chapelain, Vaugelas, and [Jean Louis Guez de] Balzac. The second and most brilliant period extends from 1630 to the death of Voiture in 1648. . . . Fresh hosts [had been] added, [including,] among literary lights, Corneille, Ménage the grammarian, but above all the plebeian Vincent Voiture (1598-1648), the soul of the circle, who held his place on the tacit understanding that he should always be witty. . . . He wrote poems, . . . but he is more famous for his letters addressed to the marchioness and

the lords and ladies of her entourage. . . . Till about 1640 the talk of [the] *salon* remained free from exaggerated affectation. . . . But soon after, the epidemic broke out; heated discussions took place on minute topics of little moment. Things became still worse in the third period (1648 to 1665), (the date of the death of the Marquise de Rambouillet), though a few more additions were made, and Mme. de Sévigné, Mme. de la Fayette, and Fléchier joined the fashionable assembly. The quarrel of the *Uranistes* and *Jobelins* (1649) split the assembly, . . . and introduced a spirit of coterie and rivalry. It was then that the terms *précieux* and *précieuse* were first applied to the frequenters of the *Hôtel*, and similar literary salons formed on its model. Of these the most famous . . . [are those of *Mlle. de Scudéry* and *Mlle. de Sablé*.] . . . In time the salons of Paris were copied and their faults exaggerated by provincial coteries. . . . It was these later imitations that chiefly contributed to render preciousity ridiculous. In 1650 Molière dealt the *précieuses* . . . a severe blow in his satiric comedy of the *Précieuses Ridicules*. . . . But [their] faults were more than outweighed by the real services which preciousity rendered to French literature. François de Sales (1567-1622), . . . at the king's request, published a collection of spiritual letters addressed to a relative under the title of *L'Introduction à la Vie Dévote* (1609). Madeleine de Scudéry's (1607-1701) two chief novels are *Artamène, ou Le Grand Cyrus* (1640-1653), and *Clélie* (1654-1661). . . . In 1622 Charles Sorel (1500-1674) published the *Histoire Comique de Francion*, and five years later the *Berger Extravagant*. The greatest of the literary societies of France, the French Academy, sprang from a private society of men of letters at Paris, which about the year 1620 used to meet at the house of one Courart. . . . Richelieu . . . offered his protection and official recognition, . . . and under the title of *Académie Française* they held their first sitting on March 13th, 1634. . . . Their chief occupation . . . was the compilation of a dictionary, which has become famous under the name of *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*, and of which the first edition appeared in 1694. The Academy by undertaking its dictionary, and projecting a grammar, took away from polite society the direction of the language, although its object was the same as that of the *précieuses* and their followers. The efforts of both tended to make the language gain in dignity and precision, but impoverished it by the elimination of its picturesque and forceful elements. [See also ACADEMY, FRENCH.] . . . It received much help from Vaugelas (1585-1650), one of its early members. . . . One of the most famous of the academicians was Jean Louis Guez de Balzac (1594-1654), who was the first to apply to prose the principles which had guided Malherbe in verse. . . . If Balzac was devoid of ideas no man ever had more than his great contemporary and friend René Descartes, the founder of modern philosophy, as opposed to scholastic disputes and subtleties. . . . His chief works consist (a) of the *Discours de la Méthode* (1637), the first philosophical work of importance written in the French language; (b) of the posthumous *Traité des Passions* (1650), also in the vernacular; (c) of the *Meditationes* (1641) and *Principia* (1644), written in Latin. . . . By far the greatest writer of this period was Blaise Pascal. A consideration of his work [must include mention] of Port Royal and the Jansenists. [See PORT ROYAL.] . . . Pascal, when about twenty-three, . . . read eagerly in the writings of Jansen. [About] 1654 . . . he joined . . . [the community of Port Royal] and henceforth till his death in

1662 he threw himself with passionate devotion into its cause. Apart from Pascal's works as a mathematician and a physicist, his two great works are the *Lettres Provinciales* (1656-57) and the posthumous *Pensées*. [See also PORT ROYAL AND THE JANSENISTS: 1602-1700.] . . . The recognized critic of the classical school . . . is Nicholas Boileau, surnamed Despréaux. [He] was born . . . in 1636. . . . His first publications were *Satires* (1660-1665), . . . followed by the first *Épîtres*, by the *Art Poétique* (1674), by the first cantos of the clever serio-comic poem *Le Lutrin*. In 1677 Boileau was appointed, together with Racine, to write the history of the king. . . . The last period of his life, down to his death in 1711, was taken up with his polemics with the Moderns. To this period belong the *Reflexions Critiques sur Longin* (1694), the *Ode sur la Prise de Namur* (1693), the three last *Épîtres* (1695), and the three last *Satires* (1694, 1698, 1705). All Boileau's most important contributions to literature . . . fall under the head of literary criticism. . . . His . . . influence as a critic was immense, and lasted till the rise of the 'Romantic School' at the beginning of the 18th century. . . . Jean de la Fontaine [was] the greatest fabulist in the literature of the world. [He] was born on the 7th of July, 1621, . . . and his death [occurred] in 1695. Besides his *Fables* . . . La Fontaine is the author of five books of *Contes*, . . . five larger poems, . . . various smaller poems, . . . a tedious paraphrase of *Psyche*, and twelve plays which prove that La Fontaine was destitute of dramatic genius. The *Fables*, which consist of twelve books, were published and written at different times between 1668 and . . . 1694. . . . What distinguishes him above all things from most of his illustrious companions is the fact that he is a poet, in the sense that we can always recognize the unobtrusive but perpetual intervention of his own personality into his work. . . . But instead of depicting man only he made animals his special study, and, what is more, he is the only writer of his century who introduced external nature into his works. [Between 1650 and 1680] prose developed considerably in the direction of memoirs. Of these the most remarkable are the *Mémoires* (1662-1670) of Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de Retz (1613-1679), in which he relates the events of the Fronde. . . . The same period is also covered by the *Mémoires* of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld [1613-1680], the author of the more famous *Maximes*. . . . Epistolary art also finds many a notable representative in this age; in fact, it may be said to have reached perfection in the letters of Mme. de Sévigné (1627-1686). . . . A letter-writer also . . . was Marie Madeleine, Countesse de la Fayette (1634-1693). [A prose writer of the second half of the century was Jean de la Bruyère (1645-1696).] Apart from his unimportant *Dialogues sur le Quétisme* (1600), his only work is the *Caractères ou les Mœurs de ce Siècle* (1688), appended to a translation of the *Characters* of the Greek writer Theophrastus. . . . [It] consists of maxims and portraits [on many subjects]. The leading idea of the eighteenth century, the idea of human progress, first emerged in the famous 'Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns,' which had its origin in an academic disputation as to whether Christian heroism and Christian faith afforded more suitable material for a Christian poet than the history and fables of antiquity. . . . The quarrel, which seemed appeased, broke out again at the beginning of the 18th century. [See CLASSICS: 16th-17th centuries.] . . . [François de la Motte Fénelon (1651-1715) was a writer whose] "respect for religion and antiquity connect [him] with the 17th century, but

[whose] political opinions, [and] intellectual curiosity, betray the immediate precursor of the 18th century. . . . The varied character of Fénelon's works is a proof of the originality and flexibility of his intellect."—L. E. Kastner and H. G. Atkins, *Short history of French literature*, pp. 100-103, 117, 119-124, 127, 129-131, 145-146, 153, 155, 157.—See also HISTORY: 24.

1700-1794.—Poetry of the eighteenth century.—"The literature of the eighteenth century, despite the many great names which adorn it, and the extraordinary practical influence which it exercised, is, from the point of view of strict literary criticism, which busies itself with form rather than matter, a period of decadence. In all the departments of Belles Lettres a servile imitation of the models of the great classical period is observable. . . . During the reign of Louis XVI., the Revolution and the Empire, . . . the average literary value of what is written in French is but small. . . . Poetry and the drama naturally suffered most from the course of events and poetry pure and simple suffered more than the drama. . . . The first poet who is distinctly of the eighteenth century, and not the least remarkable, was Jean Baptiste Rousseau (1669-1741). . . . Rousseau [was] a direct pupil of Boileau, who, with great faculties for the formal part of poetry, and not without some tincture of its spirit, set himself to be a lyric poet after Boileau's fashion. . . . Rousseau's principal works are certain odes, most of which are either panegyrical, . . . or else . . . drawn from the Bible. The *Cantates* are of the same kind as the latter. There . . . are curiously contrasted with the third principal divisions of his poems, consisting of epigrams. . . . It would not be easy to give a clearer idea of the strange conception of poetry which prevailed in France at this time than is given in the simple statement that Voltaire was acknowledged to be its greatest poet. . . . During the whole of his long life his literary production was incessant, and the form most congenial to him was poetry, or at least verse. Besides the *Henriade*, his only poem of great bulk is the scandalous burlesque epic of the *Pucelle*. . . . Besides these two long poems Voltaire produced an immense quantity of miscellaneous work, tales in verse, epistles in verse, discourses in verse, satires, epigrams, *vers de société* of every possible kind. . . . [Jean J.] LeFranc de Pompignan . . . had some poetical talent, which was shown principally in his ode on the death of J. B. Rousseau. . . . Saint Lambert . . . imitated Thomson's *Seasons* . . . in a poem of the same name, which set the fashion of descriptive poetry in France for a considerable time. The three most remarkable of his followers, all considerably superior to himself in power, were Lemierre, Delille, and Roucher. . . . It has been said that the glory of Delille as the greatest poet of the last quarter of the century was shared by . . . Escouchard Lebrun. . . . The places accorded by their contemporaries to Delille and Lebrun really belonged to two writers of a very different character. . . . Parny and André Chénier. . . . Chénier, beyond question the greatest poet of the eighteenth century in France, was born . . . in 1762. . . . He wrote frequently in the *Journal de Paris*, the organ of the moderate royalist party. . . . He was at last arrested in March, 1794, and was guillotined. . . . His poems are mostly antique in their titles and plans. . . . *La Jeune Tarentine*, *La Jeune Captive*, *L'Aveugle*, and some others, are of extreme merit."—G. Saintsbury, *Short history of French literature*, pp. 367-374.

1700-1799.—Drama.—Bondage of tragedy to

the classical form.—Crébillon.—Tragedies of Voltaire.—Comedy.—Its superiority to the tragedy of the period.—Beaumarchais. See DRAMA: 1700-1790.

1700-1800.—Philosophical spirit.—Fontenelle.—Montesquieu.—History and letters.—Voltaire.—Memoirs of Beaumarchais.—"The entire literary and intellectual movement of the eighteenth century is very often called the *philosophe* movement, and the writers who took part in it, *les philosophes*. The word 'philosopher' is, however, here used in a sense far different from its proper and usual one. *Philosophie*, in the ordinary language of the middle and later seventeenth century, meant simply freethinking on questions of religion. This freethinking . . . involved no revolutionary or even reforming attitude. . . . As, however, the next century advanced, the character of French scepticism became altered. . . . French 'philosophism' suddenly became militant and practical. . . . This spirit . . . overflowed into every department of literary occupation."—D. Saintsbury, *Short history of French literature*, p. 445.—In the eighteenth century there are "a number of writers who represent the transition from the old to the new, and are commonly described as the precursors of the *philosophes*. We will here confine our attention to two of these—Fontenelle and Montesquieu. Bernard Le Bouvier de Fontenelle was the son of a sister of Corneille, and was born in Corneille's native town, Rouen, in 1657. He found his true line in his entertaining book of popular science, *Entretiens sur la Pluralité des Mondes* (1686), his *Histoire des Oracles* (1687), and his *Éloges des Académiciens* (1708-19). He died in 1757. . . . Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède and de Montesquieu, was born in the Château de la Brède, near Bordeaux, in 1689. . . . He died in 1755. . . . His principal contribution to general literature is to be found in his earlier *Lettres Persanes* (1721). . . . In their direct social and political purpose the *Lettres Persanes* distinctly anticipate the later eighteenth century literature of reform; in their combination of solid thought and vivacity of style they quite as distinctly point forward to . . . Voltaire."—W. H. Hudson, *Short history of French literature*, pp. 126, 128.—"The Baron de Montesquieu was an apostle of political liberty. . . . The *Lettres persanes* . . . is a bitter satire of the ridiculous characteristics of European society, in which Montesquieu touches upon the most serious questions of philosophy, politics, and morality. [With the publication of the *Lettres*] Montesquieu's reputation was suddenly established; the *Lettres*, we are told, 'sold like bread.'"—A. L. Kosta, *History of French literature*, pp. 307, 309.—"Montesquieu's place in the thought of this age is a high one. His views were noble and his scope of view was wide. His learning was sufficient to serve as a basis for his sound judgment to build upon, and his imagination served him well in enabling him to bring charmingly witty satire to the aid of his good sense and just discrimination in the sphere of political thought."—C. W. Hutson, *History of French literature*, p. 154.—"The most brilliant, influential, and infinitely versatile of all the French writers was Voltaire, whose real name was François-Marie Arouet, born at Paris in 1694. . . . [In] his *Lettres Philosophiques sur les Anglais*, . . . he undertook to make France understand England. These brought upon him further persecution, and it was in . . . retirement that he composed the *Éléments de la Philosophie de Newton*. This work, in the course of a few years, de-throned the official philosophers of France and Germany, Descartes and Leibnitz. The publication

of the *Épître à Madame du Châtelet* on the philosophy of Newton raised a new storm. . . . *Candide, ou l'optimisme* [was] his most important philosophical novel. . . . [The] years . . . passed in his retreat at Ferney were extremely fruitful. His prolific mind produced a quantity of poems of the most varied types, . . . numerous works of religious polemics, the *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, a number of pamphlets directed against his enemies. . . . At the same time Voltaire kept up an immense correspondence and animated with his spirit the *Encyclopédie* which d'Alembert and Diderot were compiling."—A. L. Kosta, *History of French literature*, pp. 286, 291-292, 295.—"In judging a man's character, it is unwise and unjust to separate him from his age. It is peculiarly fitting that he should be judged by his age when, as in the case of Voltaire, his is the greatest name of his age. His varied excellence, his immense influence, his prolonged period of intellectual work, entitle him to an extraordinary place in the literature of his country. On the other hand, his open unbelief, the mockery which he directed against everything held sacred by others, the bitterness of his assaults upon Christianity, have combined to give him a bad eminence. . . . But when we come to look deeply into the history of his times, it is easy to see how a mind, clear, subtle, bold, and naturally honest, was brought to indignant revolt against such religion as he saw around him, . . . while its lack of depth kept it from seeking the truth for itself with vital earnestness. . . . When we see how nearly he touches the supreme of excellence in . . . anything and everything except comedy, we cannot fail to be amazed at the fertility and versatility of his genius, and the wide sweep and sparkle of his powers. If he lacked depth, he had everything else."—C. W. Hutson, *History of French literature*, pp. 156, 171.—"In history proper, that is to say, the connected survey from documents of . . . the past, the age saw, if not the beginning, certainly the maturing of a philosophical conception of the science. Putting Bossuet out of the question, Vico in Italy, Montesquieu and Turgot in France, are usually and rightly credited with the working out of this great conception. But though pretty fully worked, or at least sketched out, it was not applied in any book of bulk and merit. The writings of Montesquieu and Turgot themselves are not history—they are essays of lesser or greater length in historical philosophy. Nor from the merely literary point of view has France any historical production of the first rank to put forward at this time. . . . Nor again do the memoirs of this time equal those of the seventeenth century in literary power, though they are useful as sources of historical and social information. . . . On the other hand, the letter-writers of the time are numerous and excellent. Although no one of them equals Madame de Sévigné in bulk and in completeness of merit, the letters of Mademoiselle de l'Éspinasse, of Madame du Defand, of Diderot to Mademoiselle Volland, and some others, are of very great excellence, and almost unsurpassed in their characterization of the intellectual and social peculiarities of the time. . . . Voltaire's . . . strictly historical work was indeed considerable, even if what is perhaps the most remarkable of it, the *Essai sur les Mœurs* (which may be described as a treatise, with instances, on the philosophy of history, as applied to modern times), be excluded. Besides smaller works, the histories of Charles XII., and Peter the Great, the *Age of Louis XII.*, the *Age of Louis XV.*, and the *Annals of the Empire*, belong to the class of which we are now treating. Of these there is no doubt that the *Siècle de Louis*

Quatorze, 1752, is the best, though the slighter sketches of Charles, 1731, and Peter, 1759, are not undeserving of the position they have long held as little masterpieces. Voltaire, however, was not altogether well qualified for a historian; indeed, he had but few qualifications for the work, except his mastery of a clear, light, and lively style. He had no real conception, such as Montesquieu had of the philosophy of history, or of the operation of general causes."—G. Saintsbury, *Short history of French literature*, pp. 400, 400, 411.—See also HISTORY: 25.—Mention must be made of the *Mémoires of Beaumarchais*, written during this period, which were among the contributing causes of the discontent preceding the revolution. They contained clever, witty attacks on judicial injustice and must be rated as among the most audacious polemics in literature.—See also FRANCE: 1789: Survey of France on the eve of revolution: Literary forerunners.

1700-1814. — Fiction. — Development of the novel and the short tale.—Philosophical and didactic tendency of later prose-writing.—"The peculiarity of the eighteenth century in France as regards literature—that is to say, the application of great talents to almost every branch of literary production without the result of a distinct original growth in any one department—is nowhere more noticeable than in the department of prose fiction. The names of Lesage, Prévost, Marivaux, Voltaire, Rousseau, are deservedly recorded among the list of the best novel writers. Yet, with the exception of *Manon Lescaut*, which for the time had no imitators, of the great works of Lesage which, admirable in execution, were by no means original in conception, and of the exquisite but comparatively insignificant variety of the prose *Conte*, of which Voltaire was the chief practitioner, nothing in the nature of a masterpiece, still less anything in the nature of an epoch-making work, was composed. The example of *Manon* was left for the nineteenth century to develop, the others either died out . . . or else were subordinated to a purpose, the purpose of advocating *philosophe* views, or of pandering to the not very healthy cravings of an altogether artificial society. Yet, so far as merely literary merits are concerned, few branches of literature were more fertile than this during the period. The first, and, on the whole, the most considerable name of the century in fiction is that of the author of *Gil Blas*. Alain René Lesage was born at Sarzeau, near Vannes, on the 8th of May, 1668, and died at Boulogne on the 17th of November, 1747. . . . He turned, though not very early, to literature and began by a translation of the 'Letters' of Aristænetus. . . . Perhaps the greatest stroke of good-fortune in his life was the suggestion of the Abbé de Lyonnet that he should turn his attention to Spanish literature. . . . He translated the 'New Don Quixote' of Avellaneda . . . and he adapted freely plays from Rojas, Lope de Vega, and Calderón. . . . *Gil Blas*, his greatest work, originally appeared in 1715, but was not completed until twenty years later. He also wrote—besides one or two bright but trifling minor works of a fictitious character, *La Valise Trouvée*, *Une Journée des Parques*, a keen piece of Lucianic satire, many other romances in the same general style as his great works, and more or less borrowed from Spanish originals. . . . The first writer of fiction after Lesage who is worthy of separate mention at any length . . . is Marivaux, an original and remarkable novelist, who, though by no possibility to be ranked among the great names of French literature, occupies a not inconsiderable place among those who are remarkable without

being great. . . . [The] works which concern us are the famous [unfinished] romance of *Marianne*, 1731-1742, and the less-known one of the *Paysan Parvenu*, 1735. His dramas, rather than his fictions, procured him a place in the Academy in 1742. . . . It is certain that [*Marianne*] is a remarkable novel, and that it, rather than the plays, gave rise to the singular phrase *Marivaudage*, with which the author, not at all voluntarily, has enriched literature. . . . The real importance of *Marianne* in the history of fiction is that it is the first example of the novel of analysis rather than of incident (though incident is still prominent), and the first in which an elaborate style, strongly imbued with mannerism, is applied to this purpose. [See also DRAMA: 1700-1790.] . . . A third eminent writer of novels was, in point of production, a contemporary of Lesage and Marivaux . . . and he more than either of them set the example of the modern novel. The Abbé Prévost, sometimes called Prévost d'Exiles, was born at Hesdin, in Picardy, in April, 1697. . . . His chief works of fiction are the *Mémoires d'un Homme de Qualité*, 1720, *Cleveland*, and the *Doyen de Killérine*, 1735, romances of adventure occupying a middle place between those of Lesage and Marivaux. But he would have been long forgotten had it not been for an episode or rather postscript of the *Mémoires* entitled *Manon Lescaut*, in which all competent criticism recognises the first masterpiece of French literature which can properly be called a novel. . . . The works of the three principal writers who have just been discussed belong to the first half of the century, and do not exhibit those characteristics by which it is most generally known. . . . The *philosophe* movement, which dominated the middle and latter portions of the age, was not long in invading the department of fiction. Each of the three celebrated men who stood at its head devoted himself to the novel in one or other of its forms; while Montesquieu, in the *Lettres Persanes*, came near to it, and each of the trio themselves had more or fewer followers in fiction.

"No long work of prose fiction stands under the name of Voltaire, but it may be doubted whether any of his works displays his peculiar genius more fully and more characteristically than the short tales in prose which he has left. Every one of them has a moral, political, social, or theological purpose. *Zadig*, 1748, is, perhaps, in its general aim, rather philosophical in the proper sense; *Babouc*, 1746, social; *Memnon*, 1747, ethical. *Micromégas*, 1752, is a satire on certain forms of science; the group of smaller tales, such as *Le Taureau Blanc*, are theological or rather anti-theological. *L'Ingénu*, 1767, and *L'Homme aux Quarante Écus* (same date), are political from different points of view. All these objects meet and unite in the most famous and most daring of all, *Candide*, 1758. Written ostensibly to ridicule philosophical optimism and on the spur given to pessimist theories by the Lisbon earthquake, *Candide* is really as comprehensive as it is desultory. . . . No inconsiderable portion of the extensive and unequal work of Diderot is occupied by prose fiction. He began by a licentious tale in the manner, but without the wit, of Crébillon the younger; a tale in which, save a little social satire, there was no purpose whatever. But by degrees he, like Voltaire, began to use the novel as a polemical weapon. The powerful story of *La Religieuse*, 1760, was the boldest attack which, since the Reformation and the licence of Latin writing, had been made on the drawbacks and dangers of conventual life. *Jacques le Fataliste*, 1766, is a curious book, partly suggested, no doubt, by Sterne, but

having a legitimate French ancestry in the *fairasie* of the sixteenth century. . . .

"Neither Voltaire, however, nor Diderot devoted, in proportion to their other work, as much attention to prose fiction as did Jean Jacques Rousseau. Even the *Confessions* might be classed under this head without a great violation of propriety, and Rousseau's only other large books, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, 1760, and *Émile*, 1764, are avowed novels. In both of these the didactic purpose asserts itself. In the latter, indeed, it asserts itself to a degree sufficient seriously to impair the literary merit of the story. The second title of *Émile* is *L'Éducation*, and it is devoted to the unfolding of Rousseau's views on that subject by the aid of an actual example in *Émile* the hero. . . . As a novel, properly so called, it has but little merit. The case is different with *Julie* or *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. This is a story told chiefly in the form of letters. . . . This famous book set the example, first, of the novel of sentiment, secondly, of the novel of landscape painting. . . . Jacques Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre was born at Havre in Bernardin, 1737 [and died in 1814]. . . . He met Rousseau, and the influence of Jean Jacques developed the sentimental morality, the speculative republicanism, and the ardent, if rather affected, love of nature which had already distinguished him. His best book, *Paul et Virginie*, is perhaps the only one of his works that can properly be called a novel; but *La Chaumière Indienne* deserves to be classed with it, and even the *Études de la Nature* are half fiction. . . . The later eighteenth century saw a vast number of novelists and novels, few of which were of much literary value, while most of them displayed the evil influences of the time in more ways than one."—G. Saintsbury, *Short history of French literature*, pp. 389-391, 393-400.

1750-1785.—Diderot and the Encyclopædists.—Rousseau.—His social philosophy and its influence.—Buffon.—Turgot.—"Diderot's [1713-1784] special achievement was as editor of the Encyclopædia. In its large folios were brought together all that free inquiry had been able to learn about every imaginable topic. Its articles on the practical arts were of great value. It was outwardly respectful toward Church and State, because otherwise authorization to publish it would have been refused. Articles upon ecclesiastical matters were usually given to liberal churchmen, but references were added to other articles upon kindred subjects in which opinions altogether different were set forth. The fundamental philosophy of the work was hostile to supernatural religion. It was a formidable exhibit of the triumphs of human reason unhampered by the restraints of an orthodoxy which still revered the medieval theologians as authoritative teachers. . . . By 1765 the seventeen volumes were ready to be delivered. There were also supplementary volumes, eleven of them filled with plates."—H. E. Bourne, *Revolutionary period in Europe*, p. 40.—Director-in-chief Diderot was primarily responsible for the entire enterprise, and he also provided innumerable articles on history, philosophy, and the applied sciences. But he also secured the co-operation of most of the leading men of the day . . . who wrote on their own special subjects—Montesquieu on taste; Voltaire on elegance, eloquence, wit, imagination; Rousseau on music; Marmontel on literature; Baron d'Holbach . . . on science; the Abbé Morcellet on theology; Quesnay and Turgot on political economy; and so on. After Diderot's, however, the name most closely connected with the *Encyclopédie* is that of the great mathematician Jean Le

Rond D'Alembert (1717-83). . . . The object of the *Encyclopédie* was twofold: it was intended both as a storehouse of information and as an arsenal of weapons for the use of all who were engaged in doing battle with the forces of ignorance and obstruction. . . . Its principal influence was exerted through the tone and tendency of its thought. On all subjects dealt with it represented the revolt of the modern spirit against authority, tradition, dogmatism, and the dead hand of the past. For this reason it was violently attacked by the conservative party in Church and State; . . . its editor was in frequent peril. . . . Only his splendid courage and tenacity of purpose enabled him to carry it forward. . . . The *Encyclopédie* was so closely identified with the activities of the philosophic party that *encyclopédie* came to be used currently as a synonym for *philosophe*. We have now to turn to the great opponent of the philosophic spirit, the Swiss 'Man of Feeling,' . . . Jean Jacques Rousseau, [who] was born in Geneva in 1712. . . . Rousseau's philosophy was one thing, his character quite another. . . . Though for some years he continued to live in squalid poverty he gradually became intimate with many women of social prominence and with a number of leading men of letters, among them Diderot, at whose invitation he undertook, as we have seen, the articles on music for the *Encyclopédie*. [See also ENCYCLOPÉDISTES.] . . . In 1749 the Academy of Dijon proposed as the subject for a prize essay the question 'Si le rétablissement des sciences et des arts a contribué à épurer les mœurs?' On reading this question in the *Mercur de France*, Rousseau . . . resolved to compete; he wrote his essay, which from first to last is a violent diatribe against all culture, in a sort of frenzy; it was crowned by the Academy; its publication in 1750 created a furor of excitement; and at thirty-eight he stepped from his obscurity and on the instant became famous as the audacious and eloquent apostle of a new and piquant gospel—the gospel of 'Back to Nature.' Four years later he followed this essay up with a *Discours sur l'Origine et les Fondements de l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes*, which further surprised the world by its startlingly radical central thesis that all civilisation is at bottom corruption. . . . Later . . . he wrote *Julie* (1761), *Le Contrat Social* (1761), and *Emile* (1762). . . . The *Contrat Social* is a work of a very different character; it is a treatise written in a style of scientific brevity and precision on the fundamental principles of government and civil society. Logical as it is in method, however, this Bible of the revolutionists (as Lecky aptly called it) is entirely utopian in theory, for in it, after his habit, Rousseau ignores historical facts and builds on the sandy basis of abstract speculation. But its bold proclamation of the sovereignty of the people made an immense impression in that era of general political unrest, and so great was afterwards its effect in the hands of the Jacobin leaders that it is no exaggeration to say that, visionary as were Rousseau's doctrines, 'his dream became a deed that shook the world.' [See also EDUCATION: Modern: 18th century: Rousseau.]

"George Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707-88), is chiefly famous for his massive *Histoire Naturelle*, which well exemplifies the eighteenth-century enthusiasm for science and its fondness for reducing all knowledge to system. The consideration of this work does not fall within our province. But the *Discours* which he delivered on his admission to the Academy, commonly known as his *Discours sur le Style* (1753), gives him a certain status in literature. The principal interest

of this lies in its emphasis upon the purely individual quality in style—the quality which classicism tended to repress."—W. H. Hudson, *Short history of French literature*, pp. 141-145, 148, 151.—"Very many writers . . . attacked economical subjects at this time. But Turgot, though not remarkable for the form of his writings, was the most original and influential writer of the liberal school in this department. . . . He was born in 1727, and . . . died in 1781. Turgot's literary work is not extensive. . . . It consists of . . . discourses at the Sorbonne, of memoirs on various political occasions, of some letters on usury, of articles in the *Encyclopédie*."—G. Saint-bury, *Short history of French literature*, p. 462.—See also FRANCE: 1780: Survey of France on the eve of revolution: Literary forerunners.

1789-1820.—Period of transition.—Romanticism.—Madame de Staël.—Chateaubriand.—"The period of the Revolution and the Empire was a time of transition between the 18th and 19th centuries, belonging entirely to neither, but on the whole more akin in spirit to the latter than to the former. It marks the great change which came over literature from the time when the *Encyclopédie* still voiced the prevailing modes of thought and intellectual ideals, to the full outburst of the new genius in the Romantic movement. . . . We have seen that the *philosophes* and Encyclopédistes of the 18th century, while questioning all merely traditional authority in religion and politics, remained on the whole fairly conventional in matters of literature. It was the work of the writers of the transition period of which we now speak to point out new ideals more in keeping with the times, and to pave the way for the great literary revolution which was to follow, while going a considerable part of the way themselves. The two great names are those of Madame de Staël and Chateaubriand, who while working along different lines, had very much in common, and both in their different ways furthered the same tendency. Madame de Staël, by directing the attention of her countrymen to the literatures of other lands, and above all to that of Germany, suggested wider ideals, and struck the first note of that cosmopolitanism which was one of the proudest boasts of the Romantic school. She first drew attention to the Northern literatures as being especially worthy of consideration, and pointed out the romanticism which is their essential characteristic. It is, moreover, noteworthy that she was the first to use the word Romantic in its literary sense, as the opposite of Classic. Romanticism she declared to be the natural and only really living spirit of the time, classicism having no longer anything but a transplanted and unnatural existence. In this the revolt from 18th-century classicism and the declaration of the coming movement are very clearly and directly expressed. Chateaubriand's work in the transition was the necessary complement of that of Madame de Staël; for as she defined the characteristics of the change and established its theory, so he furnished it with ideals, and gave inspiration to the youthful reformers who were to carry the movement to its final realization. Like her he attached great importance to the literature of other countries, while his own writings range over the widest variety of subjects and scenes. He has been called the 'father of romanticism,' and the title is applicable both in the general and in the particular, for he both promoted by his general influence the tendency of the rising literature, and furnished the sources of the many different currents which that tendency later developed. . . . [Madame de Staël's] principal work

are: *De la Littérature considérée dans ses Rapports avec les Constitutions Sociales* (1800), *Delphine* (1802), *Corinne* (1807), *De l'Allemagne* (1810), and the unfinished *Considérations sur la Révolution Française* (1818). In the *Littérature* she lays down principles of literary criticism in its relation to the laws and institutions of society. . . . Her two novels, *Delphine* (1802) and *Corinne* (1807), both present the author herself in different guises and situations, and both show the liberty of the individual in conflict with the fetters and restraints of society. . . . The great and lasting work, however, on which her reputation depends is *De l'Allemagne* (1810). . . . The *Considérations sur la Révolution* (1818), which was left unfinished at her death, is more directly concerned with the political than with the literary side of her activity. . . . The new ideas and the theory of art defined by Mme. de Staël were realized by François René de Chateaubriand. His principal works are:—The *Essai sur les Révolutions* (1797), *Atala* (1801), *Le Génie du Christianisme* (1802), *René* (1805), *Les Martyrs* (1809), *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (1811), *Les Natchez* (1826), and the *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, which appeared partly before and partly after his death. Chateaubriand's first literary venture, the *Essai sur les Révolutions*, published in England in 1797, is curious from the fact that the ideas it contains are the exact opposite of his later creed. The work is impregnated with pessimism and scepticism. However, hardly was the work published when he turned round, principally owing to letters from a dead mother and sister. . . . This sentiment of religion, rather a sweet dream than a belief founded upon or requiring proofs, was for the rest of his life, with the royalism with which it was so closely connected, his faith and profession. Moreover, hardly had he published his *Essai* than he set about its refutation in the *Génie du Christianisme*. From this he detached and published in 1801 *Atala*, a kind of prose poem, an episode from the mass of his American impressions and reminiscences, which had a great and immediate success, and established his literary reputation. . . . It is not as a thinker that he is of such importance for the student of French literature. . . . Where his characteristic genius is to be seen is the glowing diction of his descriptive writings, in which he surpassed even his masters, Rousseau and Bernardin de St. Pierre, in the majestic language in which he speaks of some of the great and noble enthusiasms of life, and which acted like a trumpet call and an inspiration to the young and impressionable leaders of the Romantic school. On them Chateaubriand's influence can be traced, not in one style or in one direction alone, but in the most comprehensive fashion."—L. E. Kastner and H. G. Atkins, *Short history of French literature*, pp. 215-216, 210-223, 227.

1800-1875.—History.—Work of Mignet.—Methods and influence of Guizot.—Philosophical history of de Tocqueville.—Political history.—Nationalism.—Historical work of Lamartine, Thierry, Quinet, Michelet. See HISTORY: 26 to 30; 32; 33.

1800-1885.—Romantic movement.—Poetry and prose.—Lamartine.—Victor Hugo.—"Hernani" and the defeat of the Classicists.—Alfred de Vigny.—Alfred de Musset.—Reaction against romanticism.—"Emaux et Camées" of Gautier.—The Parnassiens.—Criticism.—Saint-Beuve.—"With the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth literature was revived by imagination and sentiment. . . . Along with the ideas liberated by the social ferment was min-

gled the influence of that foreign literature brought to France during the wars of the Republic and of Napoleon. England, Germany, and the Orient all contributed to the great change that came in French literature; most notable was the influence exercised by Shakespeare and Goethe. . . . The romantic school originated in Germany, toward the end of the eighteenth century. . . . In France the movement was not accomplished until another revolution. . . . had occurred: the bitter fight between the adherents of the old classic school and those of the new school—the Romanticists. It raged from 1820 to 1830, the Romanticists finally winning a victory with the memorable performance of Victor Hugo's *Hernani* at the Théâtre Français. . . . The Romantic movement found the best expression in four great poets: Lamartine, . . . Hugo, . . . de Musset, . . . and de Vigny. . . . After these great masters came Auguste Barbier, Brizeux, Théophile Gautier, Sainte-Beuve, and others. Alphonse de Lamartine (1790-1869) . . . was by parentage Alphonse du Prat; but he inherited the fortune and name of his maternal uncle. . . . [He was] in turn historian, publicist, diplomat, orator, and politician. . . . His first literary work, published in 1820, was a volume of poems entitled *Méditations poétiques*. . . . Lamartine's *Chant du sucre* . . . won for him the cross of the Legion of Honor. One of his best lyric productions is *Le Lac*. . . . In his *Harmonies poétiques et religieuses* he seems to have attained the acme of his lyric talents. Lamartine's *Jocelyn*, a tragic poem, . . . is, according to Béranger, the best work of French narrative poetry. His novels are *Les Confidences*, *Raphael*, *Geneviève*, *Le Tailleur de pierre de Saint-Point*, *Graziella*."—A. L. Kosta, *History of French literature*, pp. 357, 360, 370-372.—Lamartine's poems presented "in outward form considerable resemblance to the accepted lyric poetry of the latter classical period, but [were] characterized by a much greater freshness and truth of poetical expression and thought. . . . But though the verse of Lamartine expressed the new spirit in old forms, and in a hesitating way, it still expressed it."—G. Saintsbury, *Primer of French literature*, p. 117.—See also HISTORY: 30.—"Victor Hugo (1802-1885) . . . was, at different times, a royalist, like his mother; a Bonapartist, like his father; . . . and a democratic Republican at his death. The works of Victor Hugo, as numerous as they are varied, attest his great imagination and his extraordinary power of thought."—A. L. Kosta, *History of French literature*, p. 372.—"The immense literary work of Victor Hugo began within four years of the battle of Waterloo, by the establishment of the journal called, oddly enough, *Le Conservateur Littéraire*, in which the poet, then only a boy of seventeen, took part with his brothers Abel and Eugène, and by degrees with all the rising spirits of the new movement. . . . But he soon appeared as an independent author, and his Royalist *Odes*, his mediæval *Ballades*, his barbaresque *Orientales*, and the somewhat more sober but not less beautiful volumes which followed under the titles of *Les Feuilles d'Automne*, *Les Voix Intérieures*, *Les Rayons et les Ombres*, etc., soon placed him at the head of French poetry, a position which in more than sixty years of life he did not lose. His innovations in drama were not less than those which he affected in poetry proper. *Cromwell* was not performed, but *Hernani* served as the battlefield between classics and romantics and resulted in the decided victory of the latter. It was followed by many other dramas which had an almost equal success. The main characteristics of Victor Hugo's poetry are an extraordinary boldness of thought

and phraseology, a complete contempt of artificial rules as to versification, diction, and choice of subject, and above all the most surprising command of musical language, and of a rushing style which carries away the reader whether he will or no. The young writer soon showed himself to be possessed of an equal faculty for prose and for poetry. His earliest prose works were romances of a wild character. . . . *Han d'Islande* [is] an impossible romance of Norway. . . . [In] *Bug Jargal*, . . . the scene is shifted to St. Domingo. . . . *Notre Dame de Paris*, in which the author shifts again to mediæval times, at once took rank as one of the most striking though one of the most unequal prose romances of the century, during which, till his death in 1885, Victor Hugo remained at the head of French literature, and perhaps of the literature of Europe."—G. Saintsbury, *Primer of French literature*, p. 110.—See also DRAMA: 1800-1900.—"A new era for French literature began in 1830. . . . As Chateaubriand, Lamartine, and Lamennais set the tone in 1815, so Hugo with his friends and others of the same free spirit did in 1830. . . . But Victor Hugo outlived all parties and groups and associations of which he was a member in that early time, and his life subsequent to the exciting days of 1830 was a steady development. . . . In 1841 Hugo was elected a member of the Academy. . . . [He] became more and more radical in politics. . . . When Louis Bonaparte, not content with his election to the presidency in 1848, overthrew the government, and proclaimed himself Napoleon III, . . . [in] 1851, there was no enemy more irreconcilable than Victor Hugo. The brave poet was banished, and did not touch the soil of France again till 1870, after Sedan when the Empire had ignominiously dissolved. . . . Most of his exile he spent on the island of Jersey, under the English flag. From there he issued a political pamphlet, 'Napoléon le Petit,' and a succession of volumes of poetry. His second great work of fiction, 'Les Misérables,' appeared in 1862, followed by 'Les Travailleurs de la Mer' [Toilers of the Sea], in 1866 and 'Quatre-vingt-treize,' in 1874. . . . Of his novels 'Les Misérables' is incomparably the best."—G. McL. Harper, *Masters of French literature*, pp. 197, 201, 204-206.—See also DRAMA: 1800-1900.—"The romantic love of vastness, richness, and sublimity, and the romantic absorption in the individual—these two qualities appear in their extremes throughout the work of Hugo; in that of Alfred de Vigny it is the first that dominates; in that of Alfred de Musset, the second. Vigny wrote sparingly—one or two plays, a few prose works, and a small volume of poems; but he produced some masterpieces. A far more sober artist than Hugo, he was also a far profounder thinker, and a sincerer man. . . . In his *Moïse*, his *Colère de Samson*, his *Maison du Berger*, his *Mont des Oliviers*, and others of his short reflective poems, he envisions man face to face with indifferent Nature, with hostile Destiny, with poisoned Love, and the lesson he draws is the lesson of proud resignation. In *La Mort du Loup*, the tragic spectacle of the old wolf driven to bay and killed by the hunters inspires perhaps his loftiest verses, with the closing application to humanity—'Souffre et meurs sans parler'—summing up his sad philosophy. No less striking and beautiful are the few short stories in his *Servitude et Grandeur Militaires*, . . . In the best work of Vigny there are no signs of the strain, the over-emphasis, the tendency towards the grotesque, always latent in Romanticism; its nobler elements are alone preserved; he has achieved the grand style. Alfred de Musset presents a complete contrast. He was the spoilt child

of the age—frivolous, amorous, sensuous, charming, unfortunate, and unhappy; and his poetry is the record of his personal feelings, his varying moods, his fugitive loves, his sentimental despairs. . . . Some of his lyrics are perfect; the famous song of Fortunio in itself entitles him to a high place among the masters of the language; and in his longer pieces—especially in the four *Nuits*—his emotion occasionally rises, grows transfigured, and vibrates with a strange intensity, a long, poignant, haunting note. . . . In poetry, the reaction against Romanticism had begun with the *Émaux et Camées* of Théophile Gautier—himself in his youth one of the leaders of the Romantic School; and it was carried further in the work of a group of writers known as the *Parnassiens*—the most important of whom were Leconte de Lisle, Sully Prudhomme, and Heredia. Their poetry bears the same relation to that of Musset as the history of Renan bears to that of Michelet, and the prose of Flaubert to that of Hugo. It is restrained, impersonal, and polished to the highest degree. The bulk of it is not great; but not a line of it is weak or faulty; and it possesses a firm and plastic beauty, well expressed by the title of Gautier's volume. . . . The *Parnassiens* particularly devoted themselves to classical subjects, and to descriptions of tropical scenes. Their rich, sonorous, splendidly moulded language invests their visions with a noble fixity, an impressive force. Among the gorgeous descriptive pieces of Leconte de Lisle, the exquisite lyrics of Sully Prudhomme, and the chiselled sonnets of Heredia some of the finest and weightiest verse of the century is to be found."—G. L. Strachey, *Landmarks in French literature*, pp. 218-220, 240-241.—"As Victor Hugo was the poet of the new movement, so Sainte-Beuve (1804-1869) was its critic; and like the poet, the critic retained for the whole of his life the superiority which he attained at the beginning of his career."—G. Saintsbury, *Primer of French literature*, p. 120.—"The chief critical writings [of Sainte-Beuve] are contained in the five volumes of 'Port-Royal,' the two volumes of 'Chateaubriand et son Groupe,' the three volumes of 'Premiers Lunds,' the five volumes of 'Portraits contemporains,' the three volumes of 'Portraits littéraires,' the single volume 'Portraits de Femmes,' and . . . best of all in the fifteen volumes of 'Causeries du Lundi,' and the thirteen of 'Nouveaux Lunds.' Forty-seven volumes, and yet no mention made of half-a-dozen others which might be classed as literary criticism! Of the importance of this work I cannot say too much. It is unique among the histories of literature in all languages. . . . Sainte-Beuve must be accounted really great as a discoverer, an appreciator, a defender of good literature."—G. McL. Harper, *Masters of French literature*, pp. 231-232.—"Of the various critics whom the general adoption of Sainte-Beuve's method has called, as already mentioned, into notice, three are perhaps deserving of special mention. [These are Taine, Scherer, and Paul de St. Victor.]—G. Saintsbury, *Primer of French literature*, p. 130.—Other famous and powerful critics of modern French literature are Brunetière (1840-1907) and Faguet (1847-1916).

1800-1921.—Romantic and idealistic novel-writing.—George Sand.—Dumas the elder.—Anatole France.—There was an "astonishing growth of the novel in the nineteenth century. . . . The surpassing exponent of idealistic fiction was a woman—George Sand. She possessed a rich inventive faculty and keen powers of observation, and while her gift of fancy conducted her into the realm of the ideal, she did not fall into the exaggerations of the romantic school. A writer of ex-

traordinary powers, she had an innate love for nature and humanity; within her peculiar province she was a master of French prose. Aurore Dupin (George Sand) was born at Paris in 1804 [and died in 1876]. . . . Latouche gave her a place on the editorial staff of *Le Figaro*, with indifferent results. It was then that she met . . . a young writer, Jules Sandeau, who collaborated with her in a romance, *Rose et Blanche*, under the pseudonym of 'Jules Sand.' . . . The novel *Indiana* [by Mme. Dudevant alone] was published under the name of George Sand. It created a sensation even among the victories of Romanticism. . . . [Other novels of this period are] *Valentine*, . . . and . . . *Lélia*. . . . After her break with de Musset in Italy George Sand published . . . the *Lettres d'un voyageur*, *Jacques*, *André*, *Le Secrétaire intime*, *Leone Leoni*, *Mauprat*, *Lavinia*, etc., . . . novels that belong to her initial period of productivity. . . . The second phase of George Sand's genius and ideas is expressed in her activities during the succeeding eight years. . . . She . . . became a philosopher and socialist. . . . She wrote . . . *The Itinerant Journeyman*, . . . *Spiridion*, . . . the *Sept cordes de la lyre*, *Le Meunier d'Angibault* (The Miller of Angibault) [which] is almost communistic, and . . . the *Pêché de M. Antoine* [in which she] preaches the socialistic theories of Charles Fourier. . . . [In] her country place at Nohant . . . she wrote . . . *Francis the Foundling*, . . . *The Master Bellringers*, . . . *La Petite Fadette* and . . . *The Devil's Pool*. . . . George Sand, in ten volumes, told the story of her past life in *Histoire de ma vie* and in *Elle et Lui*. . . . Madame Dudevant now entered on the third period of her literary career. It embraced: *Jean de la Roche*; *Valvèdre*; . . . *La Confession d'une jeune fille*; *Mademoiselle de la Quintinie*; . . . *Malgré Tout*; . . . *Césarine Dietrich*; *Soeur Jeanne*, etc. These novels are purely romantic. The best drama by George Sand is the *Marquis de Villemer*. . . . [She wrote many] other plays. . . . During the last years of her life she gave another proof of her versatility in [her] pleasing fairy tales. . . . George Sand's literary fertility is almost past belief. . . . Yet in the forty-four years of her literary life her powers did not deteriorate. Damas père, Sue [1804-1857], and Soulié were the principal representatives of those romanticists, called 'les violents,' whose special achievement was dramatic effect and the portrayal of exaggerated passions. Alexandre Dumas, the elder, is without doubt the most productive of modern novelists; he is also celebrated as a dramatic author. . . . *Les Trois Mousquetaires* [The Three Musketeers] remains one of the most popular works in the literature of all nations."—A. L. Konta, *History of French literature*, pp. 401-407.—See also DRAMA: 1800-1900.—Other novelists of note are Paul de Koch (1794-1871), Edmond About (1825-1885), playwright and journalist as well as novelist, Jules Verne (1828-1905). Here also we must consider Pierre Loti, whose real name is Julien Viaud. The scenes of his exotic novels are placed in the Orient, with which he was personally familiar. In a letter published by Osman Edwards, Lafcadio Hearn has said of him, "There is not much heart in Loti; but there is a fine brain; and there is a nervous system so extraordinary that it forces imagination back to the conditions of old Greek life, when men had senses more perfect than now. . . . No other literary man living sees and hears and smells and thrills as finely as he. . . . As for what he says of the Japanese women, it is perfectly impeccably accurate as far as it consists of a record of observations of senses. . . . But he keeps to sur-

faces; his life is surfaces." Among Loti's novels are "Azyadé," and "Les Désenchantées," Turkish stories, and "Japonneries d'automne" and "Madame Chrysanthème," whose heroines are Japanese. Anatole Thibaut, known as Anatole France, was born in Paris in 1844. Both as a critic and a novelist, he has become one of the foremost of modern French writers. His novels include "La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque," "Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard," "Thaïs," "Le Mannequin d'osier," and "L'Orme du mail." "His wit is so abundant that one forgets there were 'father wits' in times bygone. . . . [But] in his satires there is no fury. He does not wage war like Voltaire; the needful conviction and resentment are both wanting in him. . . . Anatole France is one of those diversely gifted minds to whom it is almost impossible to assign any one characteristic epithet. . . . In particular . . . [he] is a man of wit. This in itself is no small praise. . . . To be at once a critic, a novelist, a *fantaisiste*, according to occasion or circumstance, is thrice to merit the honors he has reaped."—Y. B. de Bury, *French literature of today*, pp. 213-215.—Jules Lemaitre, born in 1853, is known as a poet and playwright, a writer of tales, but especially as a literary and dramatic critic. His collected tales include "Serenus," "Myrrha," "Dix contes." "Les Rois" is a remarkable novel. "His way of writing being entirely the result of his own individuality, Lemaitre's talent is many-sided, bold, ironical, poetical, at times almost religious, and always proud and lofty. . . . His fame as a reviewer rose long before his first victories as a playwright."—*Ibid.*, pp. 185, 188.

1800-1921.—Realistic school.—Balzac.—Later realists.—Naturalism.—Zola.—De Maupassant.—Short story writing.—Psychological novels.—"Romanticism found other enemies than the defenders of classical tradition. . . . Scarcely fifty years had passed since the dawn of Romanticism, when it was destined to receive the deathblow of fatal decadence. . . . The triumph of Realism over Romanticism is the victory of science over imagination and sentiment. . . . Literary realism is the expression of a society no longer believing in the ideal, and with no other religion than that of facts. . . . In all styles, from lyricism to history Romantic literature had been poetry. . . . Stendhal, Mérimée, Balzac, and indeed, all the initiators of Realism, openly manifested their scorn for verse. . . . If Realism has not entirely stifled poetry, it has at least changed its character. . . . The novel, which already held as important a place in our literature, during the second half of the century becomes the richest and most flourishing of literary styles."—G. Pellissier, *Literary movement in France during the nineteenth century*, pp. 322, 332, 408.—"Balzac is the greatest French novelist. One-third or one-half of the best French novels are his. . . . He expressly formulated, and on many a page he illustrated, an unimpeachable doctrine of realism. He is the greatest French novelist, but wrote some of the most inartistic books in all French literature. He was the father of the realists; yet, for many of his own works his sons are tempted to disown him. . . . His life, from the turning-point in or about 1822, was one continual debauch of labor. . . . A large part of his work is the production of a weary mind and lacks spontaneity. . . . Whoever wishes to read something of Balzac and cares little about toiling through the long valley of the shadow which [his] whole 'Human Comedy' . . . really is, . . . will do well to begin . . . with the . . . successes of the great master. They are numerous enough. No other French writer, perhaps no two or three of them together, can offer so long a list

of splendid novels. 'Eugénie Grandet,' 'César Bironneau,' 'Le Curé de Tours,' 'Le Père Goriot,' 'La Femme de Trente Ans,' 'Un Début dans la Vie,' 'La Rabouilleuse,' 'Le Colonel Chabert,' 'L'Envers de l'Histoire contemporaine,' and of short stories: 'Jésus-Christ en Flandre,' 'Un Episode sous la Terreur,' 'Le Chef d'oeuvre inconnu,' 'La Messe de l'athée,' 'L'Auvergne rouge,' 'Le Requisitionnaire,' 'El Verdugo,' 'Un Drama au Bord de la Mer.'—G. McL. Harper, *Masters of French literature*, pp. 280, 285, 314-315.—"Prosper Mérimée (1803-1870), a man of exact taste and great scholarship, began by forging imitations of the Illyrian and other barbaric poetry, according to a general fancy of the early Romantics. He soon however quitted the school so far as outward companionship went. But he continued to write in a marvelous prose style, and to compose short tales and novels of extraordinary merit in construction and subtlety in depicting character."—G. Saintsbury, *Primer of French literature*, pp. 121-122.—Among his novels and short stories are "La Jacquerie," "Matteo Falcone," "Carmen, and "Colomba," which is his masterpiece.

"Marie-Henri Beyle (1783-1842), who took the pseudonym of Stendhal from the birthplace of the German scientist Winckelmann, whom he greatly admired, was a writer of great power and originality, and exercised a marked influence on the later writers of the naturalistic school. . . . Yet he wrote abominably, and it was not till long after his death that literary criticism awoke to his importance. 'I will not say he writes badly,' says Faguet, 'but that he does not write at all. He regards neither form nor method. He drafts, he never writes. Nevertheless, he is a great novelist.' . . . Of Stendhal's novels, *La Chartreuse de Parme* (immortalized by its description of the battle of Waterloo) and *Le Rouge et le Noir* are generally regarded as his most important fiction, and as having paved the way for the French psychologists of our own time. . . . Stendhal's best work, perhaps, is his minutely analytical study, *De l'Amour*, which fell flat at the time of publication, but has come to be recognized as unsurpassed of its kind. . . . If the deranged nervous system of Gustave Flaubert (1821-80) had not belied a body that bespoke the robust giant, he might have been the king of the Romanticists; for romantic he was by inclination and equipment. Instead, he wrote *Madam Bovary*—a dreary, a sordid tragedy of provincial life in Normandy. . . . Flaubert, however, though he has been acclaimed the high priest of realism, does not really belong to the school of disciples who afterward hailed him as master. . . . In one of his romantic reactions he took refuge in antiquity, and wrote *Salammbô*."—A. L. Konta, *History of French literature*, pp. 424-427.—Other novels are "La Tentation de Saint-Antoine," and the "Trois contes," containing three novelettes.

"Those curious literary twins, the brothers Goncourt (Edmond, 1822-06; Jules, 1830-70), afford a singular example of collaboration: each took the same subject, and elaborated it on the same plan, and then together they fused their separate productions into one work issued under both their names. The literary method which they introduced, and applied to the writing of history, as well as fiction, was microscopic in observation, and infinitely laborious and tortured in the record. . . . Among the novels which they jointly produced were *Sœur Philomène* (1861), . . . *Revue Maupepin* (1864), . . . *Germinie Lacerteux* (1865), . . . *Manette Salomon* (1867), . . . *Madame Gervaisais* (1860). . . . The dramas produced jointly are *Henriette Maréchal* and *La Patrie en danger*, protestations against

romanticism. The Goncourts made a specialty of the eighteenth century, and their art criticisms and historical studies are of considerable value. . . . After . . . the . . . death of his brother Jules, [Edmond Goncourt] continued his labors alone. Between 1844 and 1878 he produced the novels, *La Fille Elisa*, *Les Frères Zemganno*, *La Faustine*, *Chérie*; and he lived to see a fungous growth of the naturalistic fiction he had helped to nourish. From 1887 until his death he was occupied with the nine volumes of *Le Journal des Goncourt*, which is packed with information—more or less indiscreet—concerning the lives of himself and his literary contemporaries. . . . Alphonse Daudet (1840-97), one of the most engaging figures in modern French literature, combined the imagination and fancy of an idyllic poet with the faculty of observing and recording modern life in some of its sinister aspects. The exuberance of the Provençal was tempered and restrained by his Parisian environment and associations; his impressionable temperament and his keen perception of human suffering were held in check by a sense of humor that, in the main, saved him from errors of intolerance and disproportion. At first he wrote poems, collected in book form, in 1858, with the title *Amoureux*. This brought him some celebrity, but he did not long pursue the vocation of poet. In these first years he essayed the drama, to which he returned from time to time—always with indifferent success; earned his bread in journalism, and produced some fairy tales, including *Le Roman du Chaperon rouge*. Then in 1868-69 . . . there appeared two works that made him famous. The first of these, *Le Petit Chose*, was a pathetic leaf from his own life; the second, *Lettres de Mon Moulin* (Letters from my Windmill), a collection of tales and sketches—idyllic, realistic, humorous, analytic—that marked him a master of the *conte*. Daudet thereafter wrote many short stories—a vehicle in which his varied powers are seen in miniature, and in which he has not been surpassed by any of his contemporaries. With the publication of *Jack* (1873)—a poignant story of an illegitimate child, that profoundly affected George Sand—he realized that his *métier* was the novel. A year later, *Fromont jeune et Risler aîné* was a popular success, and revealed him as a realistic novelist of penetration and power."—A. L. Konta, *History of French literature*, pp. 428-431.—Other novels are "Numa Roumestan" (1882), "L'Évangéliste" (1883), "Sapho" (1884), "Tartarin de Tarascon" (1872), "Tartarin sur les Alpes" (1886), and "Port-Tarascon" (1890).

"'Naturalism,' says a distinguished critic, 'is still realism, but realism advertising scientific pretensions; or rather, it is an attempt to assimilate the proceedings of literature and the proceedings of science. It is, therefore, experimental. In short, the naturalistic novelists have been attentive observers of modern life, but have unfortunately paid attention only to its obscenities.' The chief representative of this school is Emile Zola (1840-1902), whose so-called scientific method . . . was especially directed to expounding human motives and conduct with reference to heredity. It is pretty generally agreed that he was the victim of his own theories—which he defined in his *Roman expérimental* and in his *Romaniers naturalistes*—and that in failing to demonstrate them in his own writings, he also failed to obtain the lasting recognition which he might otherwise have achieved through a happier employment of his powers. These consist of a prodigious talent for description; . . . of a gloomy imagination that impelled him to write as a kind of epic poet masquerading as a

scientific observer; of a vigor in composition, a fecund creative ability. . . . After the appearance of *Mes Haines*, *Mon Salon*, and *Edouard Manet* (an appreciation of the impressionistic painter), he produced a volume of short stories, *Contes à Ninon* (1864) that are not inferior in literary value to his later and more celebrated work, together with several novels, of which *Thérèse Raquin* (1867) will bear comparison with some of his most vivid creations. From 1871 until 1893 Zola occupied himself in writing the series of twenty novels on which his reputation chiefly rests—novels comprising a separate story in each volume, but linked by the same purpose, and introducing members of the same family under the general title, *Les Rougon-Macquart, histoire naturelle et sociale d'une famille sous le second Empire*. The Rougon-Macquart novels, in the order of their appearance, are: *La Fortune des Rougon*, *La Curée*, *Le Ventre de Paris*, *La Conquête de Plassans*, *La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret*, *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon*, *L'Assommoir*, *Une Page d'Amour*, *Nana*, *Pot-Bouille*, *Au Bonheur des Dames*, *La Joie de Vivre*, *Germinal*, *L'Œuvre*, *La Terre*, *Le Rêve*, *La Bête Humaine*, *L'Argent*, *La Débâcle*, *Le Docteur Pascal*. This plan—pursued partly by the methods of naturalistic observation, and also in a great measure by devouring books on the subject in hand—was to demonstrate scientifically and with reference to hereditary laws how a certain number of people of the same origin would conduct themselves in different environments. With two exceptions, these novels are repulsive and distorted pictures of life, often deformed, even in their most brilliant passages, by coarseness and bad taste. . . . In 1898, four years before his death, he startled France by his daring and eloquent espousal of the cause of Dreyfus—his famous letter in the *Aurore*, beginning 'J'accuse' . . . leading to an investigation and exposure of the conspiracy against the long-suffering army officer. . . . Both in his person and in his work *Guy de Maupassant* (1859-93) presents a paradox. Outwardly a ruddy athlete, a powerful oarsman and swimmer, he was in reality a neurasthenic; in his literary labors he found no joy, but only, as he has himself confessed, a refuge from the emptiness of life. . . . 'He was born,' says Faguet, 'to see and to paint that which he saw—and only that. But he saw it with a fullness and a miraculous intensity of vision, and he described it with a breadth and at the same time with a precision which enraptured and stupefied.' . . . After serving a literary apprenticeship of seven years (1873-80) to Flaubert, who was his godfather and an old friend of his mother, he put forth a volume of poems (*Des Vers*) of marked originality. In the same year he astonished the literary world with his story *Boule de suif*, contributed to the *Soirées de Médan*—a collection of short tales by Zola, J. K. Huysmans and others. This together with the two novels, *Une Vie* (1883)—a very painful but convincing picture of an average woman's tragic life—and *Pierre et Jean* (1888), are among the most remarkable of his productions. Maupassant's fame rests principally on his short tales, of which he composed over two hundred. Very many of these are models of concision and style."—*Ibid.*, pp. 434-438. —"One of the most puzzling enigmas of present-day literary France is the personality of . . . Romain Rolland [1866-]. Here is a Frenchman born in the heart of France, of French descent, and yet with a temperament curiously un-French. Something that is Celtic, a great deal that is Teutonic, one may trace in the mentality of this great writer; but of the influence of that Latin or romance element which as a rule dominates French culture,

there is singularly little trace either in the man or in his work. . . . His inherited Teutonism has enabled M. Rolland to penetrate deep into the soul of the German people, to comprehend and to describe with power and insight the faults and the virtues of this nation. But not of this nation only, for it would be highly unjust to M. Rolland to represent him as merely interested in Germany; with equal insight and impartiality he has seized and portrayed the soul of his own people, and of those other Swiss and Italian peoples among whom he has dwelt from time to time. Superb flashes of racial psychology illuminate the pages of *Jean Christophe*. . . . M. Rolland, far from confining his sympathies to any one nation, has the faculty of thinking Europeanly, if one may use such a word. He, like his own Jean Christophe, 'has a European mind.'"—W. Stephens, *French novelists of to-day*, series 2, pp. 97, 101, 102.

1840-1896. — Symbolists and *décadents*. — "Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867) introduced into French literature the important influence of Poe whom he translated, but is chiefly known for the *Fleurs du mal* which, continuing the morbid Romanticism of Sainte-Beuve's *Joseph Delorme* combined with solicitude for form, was responsible for the vogue of the *genre macabre* and the cult of the 'horrible' that minor 'bold and bad' poets have since imitated in their pessimism. . . . Baudelaire was one of the first in France to praise Wagner's music, and he was among those who in poetry gave vogue to Symbolism. Alfred de Vigny employed symbols but did not leave a disciple. Baudelaire, on the other hand, at least prepared the way for the Symbolists and *décadents* who built their theory of poetry on the element of suggestion and the relations between things and the soul, precisely such as they professed to see in the music of Wagner. . . . For a short time the *décadents* were merely a party of protest, without any definite mark except the eccentricity which the Frenchman always assumes to scandalise the *bourgeois*. Soon the theory of Symbolism was devised and the *décadents* and Symbolists appeared as one party, though such was the individualism of these latter-day Romanticists that each man was really a law unto himself. In general, Symbolism was a method of evocation or of double suggestion, somewhat akin to tendencies more familiar to English poetry, whether in the Lake School or the pre-Raphaelites, in which an object is thought of in terms of another linked with it by some bond of union which the poet descries. We have seen in France a logical Symbolism in Alfred de Vigny, and even Leconte de Lisle occasionally let a suggestion of personal feeling be shown in some poetic figure. But the Symbolists got their method chiefly from Baudelaire . . . and through him they go back to Sainte-Beuve and the poems of *Joseph Delorme*. . . . The Symbolists were not particularly numerous, though they were noisy and eager to establish reviews such as *la Plume* in which to air their theories. . . . The deities of the *décadents* were Verlaine, Mallarmé, and to a minor degree, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam and Huysmans. The life of Paul Verlaine (1844-1896) was a tragedy. . . . Yet Verlaine probably came nearer to genius than any other poet of his time. Totally lacking in equilibrium and self-control, he in turn wrote lewd poems and verses permeated with devotion. . . . Verlaine's chief works were the Parnassian *Poèmes saturniens*, the *Fêtes galantes*, the transitional poems *la Bonne chanson*, *Romances sans paroles*, *Sagesse*, *Jadis et naguère*. The poems of his last years, often erotic babblings, represent the decline of his genius. Verlaine is a pre-Symbolist."—C. H.

C. Wright, *History of French literature*, pp. 792, 800, 802-804.

1850-1921.—Modern French drama.—Origins.—Development.—Scribe.—Dumas, fils.—Sardou.—Augier.—Maeterlinck. See DRAMA: 1850-1921.

1914-1922.—Literary activity during and after the World War.—“As early in the war as the winter of 1914-1915, writers began to speculate upon the nature of the after-war literature. Their prophecies, which at first were very dogmatic, became more and more uncertain as months and years elapsed, until gradually they were discontinued altogether when it became evident how deeply the war had cut into human affairs and how hazardous, therefore, any statement regarding the future must necessarily be. The cessation of hostilities has thrown no new light upon the subject, so that it is as useless as ever to attempt a description of the spirit of the literature of to-morrow. . . . The first short period of high emotional exaltation was followed by a longer period of keen observation of events, and also of intense intellectual tension and activity; . . . [the] second period was in its turn followed by one of marked decline of interest in the war or in war problems. And this is true of the whole field of literature: War experiences ceased, to a great extent, to inspire poets; war recollections ceased to be read so eagerly by the public; and, if some novelists, for conscience' sake, continued to make warriors of their heroes, they laid little stress on their heroic deeds; many novelists, indeed, ignored the war altogether. The same obtained, to even a greater degree, on the stage. . . . This is all easy to understand. But now, not only does that state of relative exhaustion explain the state of affairs during the last year of the war; it must also be taken into account in thinking of the future: for the nervous strain would not cease all at once with the signing of the armistice, nor even with the signing of the peace. Indeed, it is likely to be felt more and more for a long period of time. Can we not observe even in the finest writers of the war indisputable signs of that exhaustion? After *Gaspard*, Benjamin has produced more and more indifferent books; Barbusse has repeated himself after *Le Feu*, in *Clarté*; Duhamel himself may have rounded up his philosophy as he continued producing war books; after *Vie des Martyrs*, he did not improve in artistic beauty; Porché, once the vigorous singer of *L'Arrêt sur la Marne*, ends in the roughness of *Les Butors et la Finette* and *La Fille aux Joux Roses*; and others could be added to the list, Genevoix, Péricard, Massis, etc. . . . On the other hand, modern progress undoubtedly favors rapid developments. . . . It is not unreasonable to believe that science will help us to recover more rapidly from the formidable shock than many seem inclined to believe. . . . Therefore, the lapse of time between the war and the interpretation thereof by poets and thinkers need not be so long as it would have been in the past. Indeed, attempts are actually being made in France to link up directly post-war literature with pre-war literature. This is the case with that group of young French writers who gather about the standard of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*. They have tried bravely to keep alive the spirit that animated them before 1914. It remains to be seen whether the same review-cover will actually “cover” the same philosophical tendencies as at the time when the war interrupted publication.”—A. Schinz, *French literature of the Great War*, pp. 381-384, 386-387.

FRENCH POSTAL SYSTEM. See POSTAL SYSTEMS: 476 1600; 1600-1800.

FRENCH PROPHETS. See CAMISARDS.

FRENCH REVOLUTION. See FRANCE: 1789: Survey of France on the eve of revolution: Résumé of causes; 1789 (July): Mob in arms; 1791-1792 to 1799 (November-December); EUROPE: Modern: French Revolution.

FRENCH SCHOOL OF PAINTING. See PAINTING: French

FRENCH SCULPTURE. See SCULPTURE: Gothic; Modern.

FRENCH SECRET SERVICE. See WORLD WAR: Miscellaneous auxiliary services: II Espionage: a, 3.

FRENCH SHORE QUESTION, Newfoundland. See NEWFOUNDLAND: 1899-1901

FRENCH SPOILIATION CLAIMS. See U. S. A.: 1800.

FRENCH WARFARE, 17th century. See MILITARY ORGANIZATION: 16.

FRENCH WEST AFRICA. See AFRICA: Modern European occupation: Later 19th century; NIGERIA: 1882-1890.

FRENCH WEST INDIA COMPANY. See CANADA: 1664-1674.

FRENCH WEST INDIES. See WEST INDIES.

FRENCHTOWN, Battle at. See U. S. A.: 1812-1813: Harrison's northwestern campaign.

FRENTANIANS, one of the ancient Samnite tribes, on the east coast of Italy. See SABINES.

FRESCOBALDI, Girolamo (1583-1644), Italian organist. Studied with Luzzaschi, Ferrara; was organist, St. Peter's, Rome, 1608-1644; appointed court organist, Florence, 1628-1633; credited with anticipating the modern key system and the introduction of advanced ideas in musical notation; regarded by many authorities as the greatest organist in the first half of the seventeenth century.

FRESNES, village about seven miles southwest of Verdun, eastern France; taken by the Germans in 1916.

FRESNOY, town ten miles northeast of St. Quentin, northeastern France. On May 3, 1917, it was captured from the Germans by the Canadians, but not permanently held. See WORLD WAR: 1917: II. Western front: c, 15; c, 17; 1918: II. Western front: j, 1.

FREYA, Norse goddess. See MYTHOLOGY: Germanic: Identification of Germanic gods, etc.

FREYBURG, Saxony. See FREIBURG.

FREYCINET, Charles Louis de Saulces de (1828-). French statesman and member of the French academy. Associated with Gambetta in the department of war, 1871; minister of public works, 1877-1879; premier and minister of foreign affairs, 1879-1880, and 1882; minister of foreign affairs under Brisson, April, 1885 to January, 1886; premier, 1886; minister of war, 1888-1893; premier, March, 1890 to February, 1892; minister of war, November, 1898 to May, 1899; minister without portfolio, 1915. See FRANCE: 1875-1880.

FREYTAG, Gustave (1810-1865). German writer. See GERMAN LITERATURE: 1798-1800.

FRIAR LANDS, Philippine islands. See PHILIPPINE ISLANDS: 1002-1003; 1004-1012.

FRIARS. See BENEDICTINE ORDERS; DOMINICAN FRIARS; FRANCISCAN FRIARS; MONASTICISM: 13th century.

Austin friars. See AUSTIN CANONS.

Begging friars. See FRANCISCAN FRIARS; MONASTICISM: 11th-13th centuries.

Black friars. See BLACK FRIARS; DOMINICAN FRIARS.

Carmelite friars.—White friars. See CARMELITE FRIARS.

Grey friars. See FRANCISCAN FRIARS.

Minor friars. See FRANCISCAN FRIARS.

Preaching friars. See DOMINICAN FRIARS; FRANCISCAN FRIARS.

FRIBURG, Peace of (1517). See FRANCE: 1516-1517.

FRICK, Henry Clay (1849-1919), American manufacturer and capitalist. See CAPITALISM: 19th century; United States; GIFTS AND BEQUESTS.

FRICKTHAL, town in Germany ceded to France by the Treaty of Lunéville. See GERMANY: 1801-1803.

FRICOURT, village three miles east of Albert, northeastern France. Captured from the Germans by the Allies at the start of the battle of the Somme, 1916. See WORLD WAR: 1916: II. Western front: d, 5.

FRIDOLIN, Saint, Christian missionary of the sixth century. See CHRISTIANITY: 5th-9th centuries.

FRIED, Alfred Hermann (1864-), German publicist and international peace advocate. See NOBEL PRIZES: Peace: 1911.

FRIEDBERG, town in Hesse Darmstadt, Germany.

1287.—Declared imperial city. See CITIES, IMPERIAL AND FREE, OF GERMANY.

FRIEDENSTURM (*attack to secure peace*), the name applied by the Germans to their last great offensive in the World War in 1918.

FRIEDJUNG TRIAL. See AUSTRIA-HUNGARY: 1908-1909.

FRIEDLAND, Battle of. See GERMANY: 1807 (February-June); AUSTRIA: 1800-1814.

FRIEDLAND, SAGAN AND MECKLENBURG, Duke of. See WALLENSTEIN.

FRIEDLANDER, David (1750-1834), German Hebrew scholar. See JEWS: Germany: 18th-19th centuries.

FRIEDLINGEN, Battle of. See GERMANY: 1702.

FRIEDRICH, Stephen (1883-), Hungarian statesman. See HUNGARY: 1919-1920.

FRIENDLY ISLANDS. See TONGA, OR FRIENDLY ISLANDS.

FRIENDLY SOCIETY. See INSURANCE: Fire insurance: Early forms.

FRIENDS, Society of: Origin and early history (1647-1689).—"The religious movement which began with the wandering preacher George Fox . . . grew into the Society of Friends, or, as they came to be commonly called, 'The Quakers.' George Fox was born in 1624, the year before Charles I came to the throne; and he was growing up to manhood all through the troubled time of that king's reign, while the storms were gathering which at last burst forth in the civil wars. It was not much that he knew of all this, however. He was growing up in a little out-of-the-way village of Leicestershire—Fenny Drayton—where his father was 'by profession a weaver.'" While he was still a child, the companions of George Fox "laughed at his grave, sober ways, yet they respected him, too; and when, by-and-by, he was apprenticed to a shoemaker, his master found him so utterly trustworthy, and so true and unbending in his word, that the saying began to go about, 'If George says "verily" there is no altering him.' . . . He was more and more grieved at what seemed to him the lightness and carelessness of men's lives. He felt as if he were living in the midst of hollowness and hypocrisy. . . . His soul was full of great thoughts of something better and nobler than the common religion, which seemed so poor and worldly. . . . He wandered about from place to place—Northampton, London, various parts of Warwickshire—

seeking out people here and there whom he could hear of as very religious, and likely to help him through his difficulties. . . . After two years of lonely, wandering life, he began to see a little light. It came to his soul that all these outward forms, and ceremonies, and professions that people were setting up and making so much ado about as 'religion,' were nothing in themselves; that priestly education and ordination was nothing—did not really make a man any nearer to God; that God simply wanted the hearts and souls of all men to be turned to Him, and the worship of their own thought and feeling. And with the sense of this there arose within him a great loathing of all the formalism, and priestcraft, and outward observances of the Churches. . . . But he did not find peace yet. . . . He writes: 'My troubles continued, and I was often under great temptations; I fasted much and walked abroad in solitary places many days.' . . . It was a time like Christ's temptations in the wilderness, or Paul's three years in Arabia, before they went forth to their great life-mission. But to him, as to them, came, at last, light and peace and an open way. . . . A voice seemed to come to him which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition.' 'And when I heard it,' he says, 'my heart did leap for joy.' Fixing his mind upon Christ, all things began to be clearer to him; he saw the grand simple truth of a religion of spirit and life. . . . It was at Dukinfield, near Manchester, in 1647, that he began to speak openly to men of what was in his heart. . . . In those days, when he was wandering away from men, and shrinking with a sort of horror from the fashions of the world, he had made himself a strong rough suit of leather, and this for many years was his dress. Very white and clean indeed was the linen under that rough leather suit, for he hated all uncleanness either of soul or body; and very calm and clear were his eyes, that seemed to search into men's souls, and quailed before no danger, and sometimes lighted up with wonderful tenderness. A tall, burly man he was, too, of great strength. . . . Everywhere he saw vanity and worldliness, pretence and injustice. It seemed laid upon him that he must testify against it all. He went to courts of justice, and stood up and warned the magistrates to do justly; he went to fairs and markets, and lifted up his voice against wakes, and feasts and plays, and also against people's cozening and cheating. . . . He testified against great things and small, bade men not swear, but keep to 'yea' and 'nay,' and this in courts of justice as everywhere else; he spoke against lip-honour—that men should give up using titles of compliment, and keep to plain 'thee' and 'thou'; 'for surely,' he said, 'the way men address God should be enough from one to another.' But all this was merely the side-work of his life, flowing from his great central thought of true, pure life in the light of the Spirit of God. That was his great thought, and that he preached most of all; he wanted men to give up all their forms, and come face to face with the Spirit of God, and so worship Him and live to Him. Therefore he spoke most bitterly of all against all priestcraft. . . . Gradually followers gathered to him; little groups of people here and there accepted his teachings—began to look to him as their leader. He did not want to found a sect; and as for a church—the Church was the whole body of Christ's faithful people everywhere; so those who joined him would not take any name as a sect or church. They simply called themselves 'friends'; they used no form of worship, but met together, to wait upon the Lord with one another; believing that His Spirit was always with them,

and that, if anything was to be said, He would put it into their hearts to say it." From the first, Fox suffered persecution at the hands of the Puritans. They "kept imprisoning him for refusing to swear allegiance to the Commonwealth; again and again he suffered in this way: in Nottingham Castle, in 1648; then, two years later, at Derby, for six months, at the end of which time they tried to force him to enter the army; but he refused, and so they thrust him into prison again, this time into a place called the Dungeon, among 30 felons, where they kept him another half-year. Then, two years later, in 1653, he was imprisoned at Carlisle, in a foul, horrible hole. . . . He was again imprisoned in Launceston gaol, for eight long months. After this came a quieter time for him; for he was taken before Cromwell, and Cromwell had a long conversation with him. . . . During Cromwell's life he was persecuted no more, but with the restoration of Charles II his dangers and sufferings began again. . . . His followers caught his spirit, and no persecutions could intimidate them. . . . They made no secret of where their meetings were to be, and at the time there they assembled. Constables and informers might be all about the place, it made no difference; they went in, sat down to their quiet worship; if any one had a word to say he said it. The magistrates tried closing the places, locked the doors, put a band of soldiers to guard them. The Friends simply gathered in the street in front, held their meetings there; went on exactly as if nothing had happened. They might all be taken off to prison, still it made no difference. . . . Is it wonderful that such principles, preached with such noble devotion to truth and duty, rapidly made way? By the year 1665, when Fox had been preaching for 18 years, the Society of Friends numbered 80,000, and in another ten years it had spread more widely still, and its founder had visited America, and travelled through Holland and Germany, preaching his doctrine of the inward light, and everywhere founding Meetings. Fox himself did not pass away until [1600] he had seen his people past all the days of persecution."—B. Herford, *Story of religion in England*, ch. 27.—"At a time when personal revelation was generally believed, it was a pardonable self-delusion that he [Fox] should imagine himself to be commissioned by the Divinity to preach a system which could only be objected to as too pure to be practised by man. This belief, and an ardent temperament, led him and some of his followers into unseasonable attempts to convert their neighbours, and unseemly intrusions into places of worship for that purpose, which excited general hostility against them, and exposed them to frequent and severe punishments. . . . Although they, like most other religious sects, had arisen in the humble classes of society, . . . they had early been joined by a few persons of superior rank and education. . . . The most distinguished of their converts was William Penn, whose father, Admiral Sir William Penn, had been a personal friend of the King [James II], and one of his instructors in naval affairs."—J. Mackintosh, *History of the revolution in England in 1688*, ch. 6.—It was during the life time of Fox that the name "Quaker" originated. "At one of the interviews between G. Fox and Gervas Bennet—one of the magistrates who had committed him at Derby—the former bade the latter 'Tremble at the word of the Lord'; whereupon Bennet called him a Quaker. This epithet of scorn well suited the tastes and prejudices of the people, and it soon became the common appellation bestowed on Friends."—C. Evans, *Friends in the seventeenth century*, ch. 2.

1656-1702.—In the American colonies.—"In 1656 Quakers came to Massachusetts from the Barbadoes. Several of them, including one woman . . . were hanged. In Virginia and other colonies also . . . very severe laws were framed against them."—G. P. Fisher, *History of the Christian church*, p. 492.—"But the most important event in the early history of the society on this continent was the settlement of Pennsylvania by William Penn and a large number of his brethren in faith, beginning in 1682. In 1690 there were at least 10,000 Friends in the American Colonies, and in 1702, 20,000 in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. . . . Soon after the Revolution of 1688 [Act of Toleration, 1686] the persecution ceased on both sides of the Atlantic."—I. Sharpless (*New Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia of religious knowledge*, v. 4, p. 394).

1689-1827.—Decline.—"By the end of the seventeenth century they were one of the most important bodies of dissenters in England. With the cessation of persecution, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Friends relaxed their missionary zeal, paid more attention to the discipline of their members and gradually settled down into a comparatively quiet existence. So far, however, was this discipline carried, in its minute supervision of the actions of members, that their numbers declined, and some have expressed a wonder that the society continued to exist at all. About the middle of the nineteenth century a new movement began, and since that time the great majority of the Friends have either dropped or modified many of the old customs and external forms."—United States Census, *Religious bodies*, 1916, pt. 2, pp. 292-293.

1827-1920.—Separation.—War-work.—Present strength.—"In 1827 came the great separation. The differences had been smoldering for years. The central figure was Elias Hicks, an eloquent minister from Long Island. From him one body was called Hicksite while the other was known as Orthodox, though neither side formally adopted the title. The former contained many Unitarians, but their basis was the non-necessity of the beliefs commonly known as Orthodox. . . . The formal separation began in Philadelphia. . . . In London, Dublin, New England and North Carolina, the whole meeting went with the Orthodox body, leaving them as a whole the strongest and best organized. Both bodies have lost numbers in the eastern United States since this date though of late years the tide has probably turned. In England there was also a gradual loss till about 1870 when 'adult school' work and missionary effort began to increase the zeal and spirit of the younger members. English Friends, with divergent doctrinal views, have been free from serious dissensions and are now an open-minded and progressive body. About 1840 there began a new tendency among Orthodox Friends—an Evangelical reaction from the Hicksite position. This was led by an English minister, Joseph John Gurney, and hence is commonly known as a 'Gurneyite' movement. The opposition from a staunch upholder of ancient ways was called 'Wilburite.' . . . Small divisions resulted, the Wilburite bodies being generally few in number though Philadelphia as a whole sympathized with them. . . . This has since in turn produced its reaction and the original basis of friendly doctrine and practise has to some extent reasserted itself."—I. Sharpless (*New Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia of religious knowledge*, v. 4, pp. 304-305).—During the American Civil War the Quakers "endeavored to maintain their ground in favor of peace, although not a few members of the different branches were found in the army. The close of the war brought

relief, and a Peace Association of Friends in America was organized. . . . It is to be noted that the movement for international arbitration received perhaps its strongest impulse from the annual gatherings at Lake Mohonk, N. Y., under the auspices of a Friend. During the decade [1906-1916], chiefly as a result of the Five Years' Meeting, there has been a strong tendency toward greater unity of effort in the fields of home and foreign missions, Bible Schools, Education, evangelistic work, philanthropy, and social reform . . . and the Friends have joined with other churches in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and similar organizations. The official position of the Friends in regard to the war with Germany is practically the same as that taken by Friends at the time of the American Revolution. They have simply reaffirmed their historic position in regard to all war, a position recognized by Congress in the Selective-draft act, which provided for the assignment of those Friends drafted to noncombatant service."—United States Census, *Religious bodies*, 1916, pt. 2, pp. 293-294.—The reconstruction work carried on in Europe, especially in Germany, by the American Friends Service Committee, in which all branches of Friends united, has been acclaimed on both sides of the Atlantic as perhaps the most vivid and concrete example of practical Christianity to-day [see also INTERNATIONAL RELIEF: American Friends]. Recent statistics show 20,028 members and about 9,000 other adherents of the Society of Friends in Great Britain, Cape Colony and Australia besides 2,307 in Ireland which has a separate organization (*Whitaker's Almanack*, 1920, p. 260).—The Society of Friends in the United States consisted of 104,442 members in 1920.—*Year Book of the Churches*, 1920.—See also MASSACHUSETTS: 1656-1661; PENNSYLVANIA: 1681; NEW JERSEY: 1673-1682; SLAVERY: 1688-1780.

ALSO IN: W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*.—Idem, *Second period of Quakerism*.—J. Cunningham, *Quakers from their origin till the present time*.—W. Penn, *Rise and progress of the people called Quakers*.—W. Sewell, *History of the rise, increase, and progress of the Christian people called Quakers*.—I. Sharpless, *History of Quaker government in Pennsylvania*.—M. E. Clark, *Friends in France* (*Cornhill Magazine*, 1916, v. 40, pp. 375-382).—Idem, *Quaker's war record* (*Nation*, May 15, 1920, pp. 640-641).—R. M. Jones, *Service of love in war time*.—*American Friends relief work in Europe, 1917-1919*.—H. J. Cadbury, *Nationwide adventure in Friendship* (*Survey*, Nov. 27, 1920, pp. 300-313).

FRIENDS OF THE TEMPLE.—"This is a small body which had its origin in Württemberg, Germany, upward of fifty years ago [1861]. It is variously called Temple Society, Friends of the Temple, 'Hoffmannites.' The Rev. Christopher Hoffmann, president of the Temple colonies in Palestine, and author of most of its standard literature appears to be its chief leader. The Friends of the Temple have for their great object the gathering of the people of God in Palestine. To this end they constitute Temples, i.e., spiritual communities in various countries, and these assist in the construction of the Temple in the Holy Land, which is to become a center for regenerated humanity."—H. K. Carroll, *Religious forces of the United States*, p. 153.—"A few adherents are found in Saxony, in Russia and in America. . . . Among the colonists in Palestine divisions have occurred which an attempt at reunion in 1897 did not fully reconcile. . . . The importance of the movement there to-day is to be found in its economic aspects, which now admittedly predominate, and in its support of

German interests in the East. Hoffmann's curious mixture of supernatural and rationalistic, Judaizing and Christian, Pietistic and Socialistic elements could never have served as the basis of a permanent structure; and in what he set out to do he may be said to have definitely failed."—*New Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia of religious knowledge*, v. 4, p. 398.

ALSO IN: United States Census, *Religious bodies*, 1916, pt. 2, pp. 683-684.

FRIESLAND, province in the northwestern part of the Netherlands. See NETHERLANDS: Map.

1582.—Educational decrees. See EDUCATION: Modern: 15th-16th centuries: Netherlands.

1815.—Ceded to Hanover by Congress of Vienna. See VIENNA, CONGRESS OF.

FRIEZE, in architecture, either a plain or decorated horizontal band. See ORDERS OF ARCHITECTURE.

"**FRIGHTFULNESS**" (German Schrecklichkeit), term applied in the World War by the Germans to their method of calculated ferocity in warfare, looking to victory through causing fear.

FRIGIDUS, Battle of the (394). See ROME: Empire: 370-395.

FRILING, semi-servile class among the ancient Saxons. See LÆTI.

FRIMAIRE, Month. See CHRONOLOGY: French revolutionary era and calendar.

FRIOUL, Duc de. See DUROC, GERAUD CHRISTOPHE MICHEL.

FRISIANS.—"Beyond the Batavians, upon the north, dwelt the great Frisian family, occupying the regions between the Rhine and Ems. The Zuyder Zee and the Dollart, both caused by the terrific inundations of the 13th century, and not existing at this period [the early Roman Empire], did not then interpose boundaries between kindred tribes."—J. L. Motley, *Rise of the Dutch republic, introduction*, sect. 2.—"The Frisians, adjoining [the Batavi] . . . in the coast district that is still named after them, as far as the lower Ems, submitted to Drusus and obtained a position similar to that of the Batavi. There was imposed on them instead of tribute simply the delivery of a number of bullocks' hides for the wants of the army; on the other hand they had to furnish comparatively large numbers of men for the Roman service. They were the most faithful allies of Drusus as afterwards of Germanicus."—T. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. 8, ch. 4.

Language. See PHILOLOGY: 11.

528-729.—Struggles against the Frank dominion, before Charlemagne. See GERMANY: 481-768.

9th-13th century.—Industry.—Commerce and wealth of the people. See COMMERCE: Medieval: 8th-16th centuries.

FRISO, John William (d. 1711), prince of Nassau and stadholder of Friesland. See BELGIUM: 1746-1747.

FRIULI, district in northeastern Italy which has been claimed by Austria and Italy since ancient times. See AUSTRIA: 805-1246.

1477.—Blockade. See GREECE: 1454-1479.

1805.—Ceded to Italy by Austria. See GERMANY: 1805-1806.

1809.—Joined to Illyrian provinces of Napoleon. See GERMANY: 1809 (July-September).

FROBERGER, Johann Jakob (1605-1677), German organist. Studied with Frescobaldi at Rome, 1637-1641; appointed court organist at Vienna, 1641-1645; reappointed, 1653-1657.

FROBISHER, Sir Martin (c. 1535-1594), English navigator and explorer for northwest passage to China. See ARCTIC EXPLORATION: Chronological summary: 1576-1578.

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